A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE WORK OF SCOTTISH PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONS IN INDIA, 1878 - 1914, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THEIR SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, EDUCATIONAL AND ORGANISATIONAL ACTIVITIES

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ABSTRACT

This is a critical survey of Scottish Presbyterian missionary work in India between 1878 and 1914. Although several theses have been written in British Universities on missionary activities in India, this period seems to be as yet unexplored. It is hoped that this thesis would fill a partial gap in the study of Christian missions in India for the above period.

Two distinctive features of this work are: firstly, it deals with only one denomination and concerns the activities of only those missionaries which came from a small population and a smaller area; secondly, it deals with some of the crucial matters such as the problems of missionary organisation and finance upon which the success or failure of the missionary enterprise largely depended.

The study concerns the work of three Churches: the Church of Scotland, the Free Church of Scotland and the United Presbyterian Church (the latter two were merged to form the United Free Church of Scotland in 1900). The period chosen has its significance; no comparative period was so "fruitful" for the missions as the period of this study.

Before the period of this study, a well-established

nucleus had been created by the Scottish missions and the roots of the future work had been more or less firmly laid down; what was needed henceforth was the development and consolidation rather than the basic organisation of the work.

The educational enterprise of the Scottish missions was considerable. Schools, specially primary, were a common modus operandi in the mission work and these were conducted on a massive local scale; wherever a few pupils could be gathered and an Indian teacher found, a primary school was started; a number of schools were also conducted for girls and instructions were also imparted to Indian ladies in their homes (in the Zenanas). The secondary schools were relatively few, but these largely aimed at the provision of secular knowledge as compared to primary schools which primarily served as evangelistic agencies. An important feature of the Missions' school system was the maintenance of a large number of boarding schools (according to a missionary report of 1900, hundred per cent girls' and fifty per cent boys' boarding schools belonged to missionary societies).

The missions also ran several colleges and in fact their contribution towards higher education was more significant. The number of students in the Colleges managed by Scottish

missions was larger than in the Colleges run by all other British missionary societies put together. It is noteworthy that in both educational commissions of 1882 and 1902, appointed by the government of India, Scottish missionary enterprise was represented. Also, the Madras Christian College founded by the Scottish missions was the foremost missionary institution in India.

The social and economic work of Scottish missions, especially for the development of mission converts, was varied. The Scottish missions' work was concentrated among the aboriginal tribes of Santal Parganas, Pariahs of Madras Presidency and the Chuhras of Punjab. The missionary work during famines, particulary between 1898 and 1902, has been considered; and so also their efforts in healing the sick, comforting the infirm and cleansing the lepers. The medical cases treated by Scottish missionaries every year numbered thousands and the missionaries of both sexes were represented in the treatment of diseases. Both the government and the missionaries had paid special attention to the welfare of Eurasians, and the great achievement of the Scottish missions in this respect was the establishment of St. Andrews Home for the children of Eurasians in Kalimpong.

The mission converts were largely drawn from the socially

converts were the Chuhras of Punjab, but there was also a very small group drawn from educational institutions and the higher castes.

A large number of Indian agents was employed by the missionaries to help them in their work, and besides Indian agents, a small body of mission converts, British merchants and traders, Chaplains to the forces and British residents, and government officials rendered considerable help to missionary enterprise.

The missionary organisation had two aspects: organisation in Scotland and in India. The nucleus of the organisational activity in the former were the parish Churches where most work was done by the minister and the "Council of Elders". Several youth organisations, students' associations, women's societies and such other auxiliary bodies helped to supplement the work of organisation and finance. The headquarters at Edinburgh also offered, from time to time, several suggestions for the better organisation of missionary work and inculcated a spirit of competition for "giving" among larger congregations.

In India, the organisation of missions was based on geographical divisions and the work was carried out by various bodies such as Mission Councils, Finance Committees, District

Committees, Presbyteries, Panchayats (General Assembly of members) and similar others. As the Indian Church grew, consolidation of converts formed an important task of the missions which was done by organising fairs, annual festivals, conferences, assemblies and such other gatherings where the questions concerning the development and consolidation of the Church were discussed. "Self-propagation", "Self-direction" and "Self-support" were the foremost concern of the entire missionary effort in this respect. The aim was to create leaders who would propagate Christianity among their own people, and a Church which would rely to the minimum on foreign support.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Anon.	=	Anonymous
App., Approx.	=	Approximately
Cd., Cmd.	=	Command Papers
C.M.S.	=	Church Missionary Society
C.S.H.F.M.R.	=	Church of Scotland Home and Foreign Missionary Record
D.N.B.	=	Dictionary of National Biography
ed.	=	editor, edition
F.C.	=	Free Church
F.C.S. Monthly	=	Free Church of Scotland Monthly
J. & P.	=	Judicial and Public Department
L. & W.	=	Life and Work
L.M.S.	=	London Missionary Society
M.R.U.F.C.S.	=	Missionary Record of the United Free Church of Scotland
M.R.U.P.C.	=	Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church
n.a.	=	Not available
n.d.	=	No date
N.L.S.	=	National Library of Scotland
P.P.	=	Parliamentary Papers
Rs.	=	Rupees
U.F.C.	=	United Free Church
U.P.	=	United Presbyterian
U.P.C.	=	United Presbyterian Church

(i) SCOPE OF INQUIRY

This study attempts to investigate the Scottish Presbyterian Churches' missionary enterprise in India between 1878 and 1914. In the main, it discusses the educational, social, economic, financial, and organisational aspects of missionary work. It ends with a brief evaluation of Scottish missionary work in India.

Some dilation of the problems discussed in this thesis is necessary. They are few and selective. Discussion of the religious work of the missionaries could *per se* form another thesis for a student of theology. Also, the educational work of the missionaries from its remote starting to the present day could form the staple of another dissertation.

This work also discusses the important but not necessarily distinct role played by women in the mission work. There were several instances during the latter period of this study, when the female missionaries outnumbered their male colleagues.

The work discussed is only of those Presbyterian churches which came from Scotland. It precludes the work of other Presbyterian missions which came to India from other parts of the world, including England. It also excludes the work of hundreds of Presbyterian Scotsmen who worked under different missionary societies, but the relations between Scottish Presbyterian missions and other missionary societies have been considered and many comparisons made.

From 1878 to 1900, the inquiry investigates the work of three missions,

viz. the Church of Scotland, the Free Church of Scotland and the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. In 1901, the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church merged to form the United Free Church of Scotland[1].

Of the three churches, the most important was the Free Church. Not only had the Free Church the largest number of missionaries in the field, but its expenditure on missions also surpassed the total outlay of the other two churches. Moreover, most of the available documentary sources, both Mss. and printed, are concerned with the work of the Free Church.

The monetary figures have sometimes posed a problem. Firstly, the rate of exchange of the rupee fluctuated between 1s.8.7d. in 1877-78 to 1s.2.8d. in 1892-93 (the rate going down every year except for a very slight increase in 1880, 1881, 1890 and 1891). Thereafter, due to some measures taken by the government, the rupee stood "in the neighbourhood of" 1s.4d. until 1916.[2] Secondly, the figures given in the missionary records are not uniform. Figures have therefore been shown in this thesis in rupees or pounds as given in the missionary records.

The term "mission group" as a head of column in most statistical tables (see p.547 for example) refers to the main centre which served as a headquarter of the various surrounding mission stations.

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1. One other Presbyterian Church from Scotland, the United Original Secession Synod also had a solitary mission station at Seoni in the Central Provinces, but no records have survived about the work of this mission. The United Free Church of Scotland itself merged in the Church of Scotland in 1929.
2. See Report of the Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for India to enquire into Indian exchange and currency (p.p. 1920: XIV; (Cmd. 528) p.3 and 7.

(ii) SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The material on which this investigation is based has come from a wide variety of sources. It ranges in scope from the material deposited at the Headquarters of the Church of Scotland in Edinburgh to that in India Office Library, London. The more important sources of information have all been discussed here; the material has been first described and then briefly analysed.

The most important primary source is the Mss. material deposited in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. Though the Mss. material provides much information, it is neither complete nor systematic. The Mss. are of two types; communications received from the missionaries at the missions' headquarters in Edinburgh and the letters sent from the headquarters to the mission stations. The communications received from the missionaries consist of (i) letters, (ii) long reports meant for publishing in missionary periodicals and sometimes (iii) monthly and annual statements, incorporating reports of mission stations. The letters describe the work of the missionaries, difficulties felt by them in their work, and their views about events, the people and their colleagues. Communications meant for publication generally discuss a particular phase or aspect of the work such as missionaries' itineraries and medical work and contain descriptions of

inauguration ceremonies of hospitals, dispensaries, schools or even new villages formed by missionaries. They also deal with baptisms of important converts or groups, the type of people whom they shepherded, the work of abstinence societies, industrial undertakings and other enterprises associated with the welfare of converts. Some communications describe national movements and missionary reactions to them, while others contain eulogies paid by missionaries to government officials who helped the missionary cause.

The annual and periodic reports survey the progress made in the work at various stations and sub stations, and include expenditure on mission projects, and tentative estimates for future work. They also deal with the business conducted in the meetings of Mission Councils and contain the confidential reports of the Mission Council Secretaries. Sometimes they report the number of baptisms, converts or communicants, and at other times they give the names of native agents, the nature of their work, and their salaries. Occasionally, they report progress made in educational institutions, new schools started, examination results in both schools and colleges, the type and duration of religious instruction and the amount received in fees and grants.

The copies of outgoing letters are more systematically arranged, being preserved in a continuous series of bound volumes (see bibliography). They usually consist of replies to the various points raised in the incoming letters, and sometimes provide further information respecting these points.

Of the two types of communications, it is the incoming correspondence which has been freely and frequently used as it contained more valuable information. In all about 30,000 pages (1 page = 1 sheet) of the Mss. material was read or scanned.

Mss. material is also to be found in the India Office Library, the British Museum, and the Mission archives of Church Missionary Society, London Missionary Society and the Methodist Missionary Society in London. The public Record Office, Edinburgh, and the University Library there has also some Mss. records relating to early period of Missions' history.

A large amount of information is available in the missionary journals which keep their subscribers informed about various missionary activities and the way their money is spent. The following were the most important during the period of this study:-

Name of periodical	Issuing body	Frequency	Year when started	Remarks
1. Church of Scotland Home and Foreign Missionary Record	Church of Scotland	Monthly	1839	Ceased 1900
2. Life and Work	do.	do.	1901	Continues still
3. Monthly Record	Free Church of Scotland	do.	1862	Ceased 1892
4. Free Church of Scotland Monthly	do.	do.	1893	Ceased 1900
5. Missionary Record of United Free Church of Scotland	United Free Church of Scotland	do.	1901	Ceased 1929
6. United Presbyterian Magazine	United Presbyterian Church	do.	1847	Ceased 1900

In addition to the above periodicals, female societies for foreign missions, youngmen's guilds conducted by the churches, and several other smaller societies and parishes also published supplements disseminating information on the missionary activities.

The periodicals covered missionary work in general but reflected the Scottish Churches' concentration on India. They contained information on many activities of the missions, the publishing of missionaries' despatches being their most significant feature. With rare exceptions all other missionaries frequently contributed articles. Encouragement was given to shy and reticent missionaries to send their impressions of and reflections on their work. It is evident from the Mss. sources in the National Library of Scotland that before the Mss. material was sent for printing, it was carefully scrutinised and edited.

A vast amount of literature directly or indirectly related to missions was published by the Churches. All the Scottish churches publicised the work of foreign missions during their annual Assemblies. Several missionaries addressed the Assemblies and the printed "Proceedings" contained the annual reports from the mission fields. All the churches published such reports but the best are those of the Free Church and the United Free Church.

The "Minutes" of the foreign mission committees of the Scottish churches and of the women auxiliaries provide less information than might be expected, although they do provide some useful information about the financial and organisational aspects of the missions.

The several "histories" of missions, issued by the Scottish Churches, are a most important source of material. Chief among this group are the histories of five mission stations published by the United Free Church in 1907, and entitled The Story of ... Mission. They cover the regions of Bengal, Santal Parganas, Marathi speaking areas in Bombay presidency, Rajputana (now Rajasthan) and Madras, and provide preliminary information about the mode and extent of missionary work from its beginnings to the year 1904. The history of each region was written by an experienced missionary intimately associated with the work of the mission in that region. Other general works written by Scottish missionaries which partially or fully deal with the history of missions include:

J.R. Fleming. A history of the Church of Scotland, 1875-1929.
J.A. Graham. Missionary expansion of reformed churches.
E.G.K. Hewat. Vision and achievement (A very important work)
J. Murray Mitchell. Foreign missions of Protestant Churches (ii) In Western India: recollections of my early mission life.
J.N. Ogilvie. Indian Pilgrimage. G. Smith. Conversion of India

Robert Hunter's History of the missions of the Free Church of Scotland in India and Africa published in 1873 proved valuable for the historical background of missionary activities.

Special mention must be made of Julius Richter's Indische Missions geschichte (History of missions in India) which was translated into English in 1908. It covers the Protestant missions' activities in India upto the period 1906 and is especially useful on education, social service and organisation.

Prof. K.S. Latourette's A history of the expansion of Christianity (7 vols.), Christianity in the Revolutionary Age, A history of Christianity in the nineteenth and twentieth century (4 vols.) while they deal with missionary activities in general; they contain some references to the work of Scottish missions in India as well.

A very important single document is the printed report of the two man delegation of the Free Church which surveyed the work of that church's missions in India in 1888-89. The delegation consisting of Dr. Lindsay, who in 1892 became the convener of the Foreign Missions Committee of the Free Church, and Mr. Daly, a minister in that Church studied the educational, evangelistic, organisational and other activities of the missions; it pointed out the faults and flaws in the missionary work and organisation, suggested solutions and laid down the principles for future guidance. The report was the result of hard and pain-staking survey. It had been compiled after the two men had visited every

mission station and had looked minutely into every aspect of work.

The consideration of this report by the Foreign Missions Committee of Free Church resulted in the basic changes in the work of that mission. In the words of the secretary of the Foreign Missions Committee of the Free Church, the report "shows an amount of common sense, a knowledge of business, a fertility of resource and kindly frankness rare in such literature" [1].

Some of the annual reports of the Universities' mission, Youngmen's guilds, women's organisations and other smaller societies working under the auspices of Foreign Missions Committees in Scotland contain useful information regarding the organisation of missions in Scotland. Such works as Church of Scotland Year Book, Grant's Church Almanac and similar other works have also provided some important information on financial and organisational activities of Scottish Churches.

The reports of the Decennial missionary conferences of Protestant missions held in India, of the London Missionary Conference held in 1888 and the World Missionary

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1. George Smith. Conversion of India, p.189. (The author was the secretary of the Free Church Missions).

Conference held in Edinburgh in 1910, have also contributed to some extent to this study.

Brief mention should be made of the report of Laymen's Foreign Missionary Enquiry Committee. In 1931, a committee of nine eminent professors of American universities conducted an inquiry on the work of American Protestant missions in China, Japan and India. The report of this Committee is an extremely useful piece of literature. Although it surveyed, among other things, the social, medical, educational, organisational and financial work of American Protestant Missions only, and dealt with the period subsequent to this study, yet some of its findings were applicable to Scottish missions and were more or less true of the period 1878-1914 also.

It would be desirable to discuss the different published sources relating to important aspects of this study. The various sources on Education may be conveniently grouped as missionary, non-missionary and governmental, the latter being treated separately.

The Annual Reports of the missions (published under the title, Report on the schemes of the Church of Scotland and as Appendices to the "Proceedings" in the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church), the general mission "histories" (especially those published during the period of this study) and the periodicals

referred to above provide much information on missionary education. Much general information for the period 1542-1907 is contained in: Henry Huizinga Missionary education in India, a Ph.D. thesis of Michigan University, 1907. It contains some useful portions discussing the contribution of Scotland in missionary education. However, the author being himself a missionary and vice principal of a missionary college in India, he was scarcely in a position to adopt an objective view of missionary effort. Raja Bhushanam Manikam's Missionary Collegiate Education in the Presidency of Madras, India, a Ph.D. thesis of Columbia University published in 1927, discusses higher education in the Madras presidency, and covers Madras Christian College - a Free Church of Scotland institution. A.D. Lindsay's (ed), Christian higher education in India published in 1931 is a thorough study of missionary education. It is chiefly concerned with discussing the missionary "value" of education and was commissioned by International Missionary Council. The survey was conducted by a team of experts working under the guidance of Dr. Lindsay, then Master of Balliol College, Oxford.

The most important non-missionary book on education is S. Nurrullah and J.P. Naik's History of education in India

during the British period (1943). The chief importance of this ponderous volume lies in its use of material from official sources and in its comprehensive documentation. A chapter on Education in the Cambridge History of British Empire, vol.V, is a good, quick and instructive summary of British educational policy in India between 1858 and 1918. The general principles of organisation of educational system discussed in this study are largely based on this chapter. Other sources, which deserve specification in this category are: Philip Hartog. Some aspects of Indian education, past and present; P.J. Breasted. Indian nationalism and Christian Colleges and Arthur Mayhew. The education of India.

Information on the medical work of the missions has been mainly obtained from the Mss. sources, annual reports of the missions and the missionary periodicals. Two published books which deserve mention are John Lowe. Medical missions; their place and power, and National Christian Council. Medical missions in India. Lowe was the secretary of Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society (q.v. p.289), while the National Christian Council was the most important body of Protestant Christianity in India. For missionary work among the lepers W.C. Bailey's Mission to Lepers is important. The author was the founder of "Mission to Lepers".

The information on the organisations and the financial aspects of the missions has also been chiefly derived from the Annual Reports, missionary periodicals and the Mss. material. The first few pages in the Annual

Reports of both the Church of Scotland and the Free Church contained the details of the missionary organisation in Scotland. Brief notes on these aspects are also contained in the United Free Church of Scotland's Practice and procedure in the United Free Church of Scotland,(1905), J.T. Cox's Practice and procedure in the Church of Scotland, (1925).

The bulk of the statistics used has mainly come from the statistical appendices attached to the Annual Reports of the Missions, or sometimes from the text of these reports. The statistics contained are unfortunately not uniform throughout the period, and heads of the columns differ not only in case of different Missions, but also within the same mission during different years. There are also sometimes gaps in them. Of the available statistical sources, covering all Protestant missions, two deserve mention. These are: Centennial survey of foreign missions, (1902) and World Atlas of Christian Missions, (1911) both compiled and edited by Dr. J.S. Dennis, an American Presbyterian missionary. Both the works deal with Protestant missions all over the world. Some statistics on the educational work of the missions are also quoted in the Huizinga and Manikam theses, but the information is not minutely classified; Manikam's work besides as stated earlier deals only with one aspect of education and in one Presidency.

The biographies of the missionaries which one might have expected to be plentiful are in fact somewhat lacking, and

those which exist do not cover all the main figures. The most important biographies are David Williamson, Forty-five years in India: memories and reminiscences of Principal Mackichan; J.M. Macphail, Kenneth S. Macdonald; Henry Morris, Life of John Murdoch; A.W. McClymont, The Travelling Bookman; John Murdoch of Madras; T.W. Gardiner, Dr. Agnes Henderson of Nagpur; Nicol Macnicol, Tom Jobson: a champion of outcastes; Alex. Tomory, Alex. Tomory: Indian missionary; Donald Macmillan, Life of Professor Mastie; George Carstairs, Shepherd of Udaipur and the land he loved; George Smith, The life of Alexander Duff; The life of John Wilson and Stephen Hislop: pioneer missionary and naturalist; and John Braidwood, True yoke fellows of the mission field: Life and labour of Rev. Robert Johnson.

Several bibliographies and other reference sources proved extremely useful as time-saving devices. The quinquennial and decennial subject indexes of the Royal Empire (now Commonwealth) Society, The London Library, the Edinburgh University Library, provided much helpful lists of books. Shorter bibliographies are contained in K.S. Latourette's History of expansion of Christianity, E.G.K. Hewat's Vision and Achievement, J.S. Dennis's

Christian Missions and Social Progress. R.B. Manikam's Missionary Collegiate education in the presidency of Madras, India.

Information about the learned periodical literature on missionary activities is contained in Poole's Index to periodical literature and The Index to religious periodical literature. The later indexes the articles on religion published between 1900 and 1910. A big bibliography of periodical articles on Indian missions is also listed in the Catalogue of Royal Empire Society, vol.IV.

Many works of fiction on missionary activities exist which are not only interesting as works of fiction but sometimes also provide valuable information on missionary methods and techniques of work. The best is W. W. Hunter's the Old Missionary (1895). Its author had held several important positions in India including the editorship of The Imperial Gazeteers. He had a deep insight of missionary activities and was also a sympathiser of the

missionaries and possessed valuable insight about their work.

The chief source of official information used in this study, are the British Parliamentary papers although no paper deals directly with the activities of missions in India during the period of this study. Numerous references to the work of missionaries, however, exist in the government reports on education, famines, moral and material welfare and the like. The reports of the Education Commission of 1882, the University Commission of 1902, Calcutta University Commission of 1917 also have several references to the role of missionaries in the field of education. The quinquennial surveys on Indian education published by authority of parliament from 1886 onwards study the entire structure of education from primary to the university stage[1]. These surveys also discuss vocational and technical education. Their chief purpose was also to report the educational development of particular groups such as backward classes, Muslims, females, Indian princes, Anglo-Indians, Europeans. These reports are also useful in providing a brief summary of the history of Indian education.

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1. These were issued as Command Papers (vide bibliography).

Occasional references to missionary work during famines exist in several command papers. Also, the annual surveys published under the authority of parliament from the year 1901 onwards and entitled as "Moral and material progress of the Indian Empire" contain some references to missionary work in different fields in a particular year.

Mention must be made of the reports of the Indian Census Commissions. The reports of 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1921 contain details about missionary activities in the chapter discussing Indian religions and useful descriptions of racial characteristics of several Indian classes and tribes.

Several reports had been published during the period of this study on Leprosy, Plagues and other diseases, which it was thought would discuss the missionary work in these fields but they hardly refer to missionary work. The Leprosy Commission report for example makes a bare mention of some leper asylums conducted by missions while giving tabulated data and even in those data there is no mention of leper asylums maintained by Scottish missions.

Two indexes of parliamentary papers, which proved extremely useful and time-saving devices deserve mention. The General Index to Parliamentary Papers, 1900-1948-49 prepared by the library staff of the House of Commons brings

together at one place all the important parliamentary papers relating to India under the heading "East India". Another useful document in this respect is a command paper Annual List and General Index of Parliamentary papers relating to East Indies, published during the year 1801-1907 inclusive (P.P. 1909. vol. 64, p.757).

Official material is also deposited in the India Office Library, London. The more important source in the Library is the Ecclesiastical letters of the Presidency governments which occasionally refer to missionary activities. The records of the "Judicial and Public Department" have also, at a time, proved useful and so also the Mss sources of some private collections.

(iii) THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PERIOD, 1878 - 1914

The period 1878-1914 is of manifold significance. It is significant from the point of view of the general expansion of Christianity, from the point of view of the Scottish missions in India and also the history of India. It was a period of large expansion of missions thoughout the non-Christian world. In India, the 1065 Protestant missionaries in 1881 [1] had increased to 5,200 by 1911 [2]. The number of Indian ordained pastors in the Protestant missions had increased from 495 in 1861 to 1665 by 1911 [3], and the number of Protestant missionary societies from 54 to 136 during the same period [4]. As regards the Scottish missions, perhaps no comparable period in their history of missionary activity - as we shall see later - was so "fruitful" as 1878-1914. And as regards Indian history, the social upheavals in the form of famines and other natural calamities and the growth of many social and cultural organisations sometimes as a reaction of or a retaliation to missionary activities, have left their impress on it. NOTE 2

The years 1878 and 1914 are both notable. The death in 1878 of Dr. Alexander Duff, the first and foremost Scottish missionary marks the end of an era in the history of Scottish missions. From the time when the Scottish Churches officially

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1. Julius Richter. A history of missions in India, p.220 (the number excludes missionaries' wives)
2. Jones. Yearbook of missions in India, p.172 (including missionaries' wives)
3. Ibid. p. 175
4. Ibid. p. 167

started their work in India till the year 1878, the personality and work of Dr. Duff dominated the Scottish mission scene first in India and then in Scotland.

The year 1878 witnessed also the beginning of another era in the history of Scottish missions which we may conveniently call the "Miller era". From that year (1877 to be more precise), when he had rechristened Anderson Institution as Madras Christian College, to his final departure from India in 1907, it was Miller's prominence and individuality which dominated the missionary scene in India, particularly in education.

1878 was also important in other ways. It was in the academic year 1877-78 that Dr. Dugald Mackichan became the principal of Wilson College, Bombay, and for forty-five years he nurtured and developed that important institution and also played an important role in higher education in Bombay Presidency by becoming four times the Vice-chancellor of Bombay University. Also, in the same year, Rev. John Small was sent as a missionary to Poona by the Free Church. His efforts for more than two decades in that place led to the gradual expansion of the Church.

The famines of the years 1876-78 had also their effect on the work of the Scottish missions. The ceaseless run of deaths which had started in the year 1876 continued almost

unabated till 1870[1]. It was also in that year that the government appointed a Famine Commission to investigate its causes and suggest measures for preventing future recurrences. For the missionaries, their doles on these occasions resulted in thousands of conversions. It is important to note that the Indian Christian population had increased from 224,258 to 417,372 (i.e. 86%) in the decade 1871 to 1881[2]. Again, it was in the years 1877 - 1878 that orphanages were started by Scottish Churches in Poona, Madras, and several places in Rajputana[3]. Also in 1877-78 the Scottish missions started extensive work among the Bhils in Rajputana and Pariahs in Madras presidency, amongst whom they received thousands of converts during the latter period.

The significance of the year 1914 from international standpoint does not necessitate any comment here, but something may be said of its importance from the point of view of Christian missions. The years 1815-1914 are generally regarded in both Catholic and Protestant Churches

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1. The years 1876-78 had taken a toll of more than 5million people in South India alone and had kept for a time more than eighteen million people on the charity of government and private agencies. See K.L. Butterfield. Christian rural missions in India, p.36; India Office Library, Mss. Eur. Mss. E.218 p.226.
2. J. Richter. History of Christian Missions in India, p.219.
3. See Report of Third Decennial Missionary Conference, Bombay. 1892-93, p.500.

as a "Missionary Century"[1]. For it was in those years that Christian missionary activity encircled the non-Christian world. It was in the century 1815 - 1914 when the missionary activity starting with a zeal, developed and reached its climax - perhaps never to be repeated again on such global scale. From the standpoint of Scottish missions, the year 1914 also saw the retirement of some missionaries from the mission field to the battle-field[2].

It would be worthwhile to review briefly some of the developments relating to our investigation which make this period important. The first and primary importance from this study's point of view lies in the large and very remarkable growth which the Scottish Churches made. This growth was witnessed in several directions. The number of converts gained was remarkable. By 1880, the number of converts of the Scottish Churches, in their more than fifty years of work in India, was 3,359[3], while two years before this study ends, that number had swelled to 28,000[4]. As regards the missionaries in the field, no period hitherto had seen such a large growth. The number of missionaries, both men and women in the field increased from 69 in 1878[5] to 283 in 1912[6].

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1. See "preface" to K.S. Latourette's Christianity in the Revolutionary Age, (London, 1959).
2. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1914, p.549 (See also biographies of the missionaries).
3. Computed from: C.S.H.F.M.R., 1892, p.563; M.R.U.P.C.S., 1881, p.251 and F.C.S. Proceedings, 1881, Appendix, VIII, p.56.
4. C.H. Robinson. History of Christian Missions, p.137-38.
5. See Grant's Church Almanac, 1879, p.62,124 and 141 (In places where the book does not give figures, numbers have been computed from the names of the missionaries in the field).
6. C.H. Robinson. Op.cit. p.137-38. (Including missionaries' wives).

The period was also characteristic in witnessing the large entry of females in the mission field. Individual and isolated female missionaries had come to work in India as far back as 1837, but it was during this period that a rapid and a systematic growth in the number of female missionaries was definitely observed; and before the time this study ends, the female missionaries outnumbered their male counterparts[1].

FEMALES

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1. In 1912, the United Free Church and Church of Scotland had 88 and 33 male missionaries as against 117 and 45 female missionaries (including wive respectively. C.H. Robinson On.cit. p.137-38.

CHAPTER II

(i) BEGINNING OF MISSIONARY ACTIVITY IN INDIA

Traditions account of Christianity introduced to India by St. Thomas, an apostle of Christ, but the data "for the centuries before the Reformation"are "disconnected and isolated", and often untrustworthy[1]. Pantaenus, Principal of the Christian College at Alexandria, is said to be the "first historical missionary of Christ to the peoples of India" in about 180 A.D.[2]. It is also said that among the 318 bishops who took part in the Council of Nicea, there was a certain "John Bishop of all Persia and Greater India"[3]. Thomas, a bishop of Edessa, "accompanied by presbyters and deacons", is said to have landed in Malabar in 345 A.D.[4]. Similarly, in 530 A.D., an Egyptian merchant,Cosmas Indicopleustes,described in his writings the existence of Christians in Quilon in South India, and Kalyan near Bombay. Similar references to the existence of early Christianity in India are also seen in several other writings, including those of Marco Polo[5].

The more precise evidence of Christianity, however, exists only from the time when Portugese explorers established their rule on parts of the Western coast in India in the first quarter of the

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1. J. Richter. A history of missions in India, p.27.
2. George Smith. Conversion of India, p.11.
3. Richter. Op.cit. p.29.
4. Ibid. p.30.
5. Ibid. p.38.

sixteenth century. The Portugese in the 15th and 16th century were not only traders but also zealous crusaders for spreading their faith. Also, they fully believed in the use of political power to achieve their aim. When they obtained political power in Goa and some other parts of Western India, they systematically started the process of proselytisation.

The most important missionary of this period, who converted thousands of people to Christianity, was the Jesuit, Francis Xavier, who worked in India at varying periods between 1542 and 1552. In the letter of 20th January, 1548, Xavier requested King John of Portugal to issue orders to Portugese officials in India to assist him in his work of conversion, which the King did[1]. Xavier was a zealous missionary and in his total period of four and a half years' stay in India, he is reported to

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1. See Catholic Encyclopaedia, vol.VII, p.729-31; Report of Centenary Conference of Protestant Missions, 1888, p.75; King John himself was also a crusader for Christendom. In Goldcoast where the Portugese traders also went at the same period, King John offered "bonus" to merchants for each Ghanian converted by them.
vide. S.K. Odamtten. Role of missionaries in the political social and economic development of Ghana, 1820-1880. p.3 (M.A. Thesis, Birmingham, 1963).

have converted 60,000 people, especially the fishermen of Western and Southern coast of India[1]. He is said to have "baptised tens of thousands of persons whose language he did not understand and whose knowledge of Christianity was limited to the verbal acceptance of few dogmatic statements"[2].

The next important landmark in the history of the expansion of Christianity in India is related to the establishment of the East India Company. The East India Company was granted Charter in 1600, and when the Charter of the East India Company was renewed in 1698, it was laid down that "every Garrison and superior factory" of the Company in India shall have a Minister. A further clause in the Charter added that all Ministers will learn within one year "after their arrival, the Portugese language, and shall apply themselves to learn the native language of the country where they shall reside, the latter to enable them to instruct the Gentoos, that shall be the servants or slaves of the same company, or of their Agents, in the Protestant religion"[3].

The year 1706 witnessed the entry of first Protestant Mission in India, that of the German Lutherans. The mission came under

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1. Niyogi Committee Report, p.35-36.
2. C.H. Robinson. Op.cit. p.13.
3. Charters granted to the East India Company from 1601; also the treaties and grants made with or obtained from the Princes and Powers in India from the years 1756 to 1772. p.220-21 (No authorship and place of publication, dt. 1773).

the patronage of King Frederick IV of Denmark and settled down in Tranquebar in South India[1]. Until 1793, when the British Baptists started their mission at Serampore near Calcutta, the Lutherans were the only Protestant Missionaries who worked among the Indians.

The year 1792 marks an important epoch in the history of Protestant missions. The great missionary movement of the Nineteenth Century which encircled almost the entire non-Christian world had been inaugurated in that year, when the Baptist Missionary Society was formed in England. It was soon to be followed by other missionary societies. In 1795, the non-denominational London Missionary Society was established; in 1796, non-denominational missionary

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1. History of Society for Propagation of Christian Knowledge, p.62; Henry Huizinga. Missionary education in India, p.9;
The Danish King supported Germans because no Dane was prepared to come forward as a missionary.

societies were established in Glasgow and Edinburgh; in 1799, the Anglican Church Missionary Society, in 1810, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in 1813, the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, in 1814, the American Baptist Mission Union, in 1819, the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and in 1820, the Domestic and Foreign Mission Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church were similarly established [1].

It is important to note that the existence of British Power in India, as Prof. Latourette points out [2] was an important factor leading to the growth of Protestant missionary movements in the sub-continent. By 1800, the power of the East India Company had been sufficiently established and, despite several statements in the missionary literature (partly true) that the East India Company was antagonistic to missionary movement, there were many officers and other influential persons in the Company, who were sympathetic to the missionary cause and helped the missionaries to a considerable extent.

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1. See J.A. Graham. Missionary expansion of Reformed Churches, p.90; Ten Brink. C.M.S. Mission of help to the Indian Church in Malabar, 1816-1840 p.87 (D.D. Thesis, Hartford Seminary (U.S.A.), 1959-60); P. Barclay. Op.cit. p.84.
2. K.S. Latourette. History of the expansion of Christianity vol. VI. p.66.

Before the first representative of the Baptist Mission came to India, in 1793, Christianity was represented in South India by Syrian Christians who were for long Nestorians, but Jacobite (followers of Jacob, a sixth century monk) by the last decade of the eighteenth century; in Western India, it was represented by a small community which had sprung up as a result of Portugese rule. In the North, except for a few Roman Catholics, native Christianity generally did not exist. In the East, in Bengal, a small Christian community existed as a result of Portugese missionary activity. The activities of Catholic missionaries had largely receded due to the decline in the power of Portugal, and the suppression of the Jesuits by the Pope in 1773. The French revolution and the Napoleonic wars were also contributory factors in this respect.[1] The decline in Catholic activity was also partly due to discouraging accounts of noted Jesuit missionaries like the French, Abbe Dubois, who after labouring in South India for more than a score of years came to the conclusion that it was almost impossible to convert the Indians[2].

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1. See Catholic Encyclopaedia, Vol. VII, p.729; (1910 ed.); Kenneth Ingham. Social reformers in India, p.1.
2. See Abbe Dubois. Description of the character, manners and customs of the people of India and of their institutions, religious and civil;
Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland, 1890, p.281.

On 11th November, 1793, the first representative of Baptist Mission, William Carey, reached India. The East India Company had then discouraged the entry of missionaries in India [1], and Carey when he landed in India, he had to move up to Serampore (for a short time), then a Danish settlement near Calcutta[2]. Carey was soon followed by two other missionaries of his society - John Ward and Joshua Marshman. The three missionaries, who generally worked together and worked very hard indeed, later became famous in missionary circles as "the Serampore trio".

The Baptist Missionary Society was soon followed by other Societies. In 1797, the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge sent its first missionary to India, and in 1798 the London Missionary Society followed suit. In 1812, the first group of five American missionaries arrived in Calcutta; in 1818, Wesleyan Methodists and in 1829-30 the Church of Scotland started their first mission in India. In addition to the several denominational Societies, there were also a large number of missionaries who

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1. The attitude of East India Company towards missionaries is discussed in subsequent pages.
2. Serampore came under British control in 1845.

worked without attaching themselves to any particular denomination[1]. Of all the Protestant missionary societies and individuals who came to Christianise India at that time and later, nine out of ten were either British or American.[2]

The early missionaries propagated their cause with a vehement zeal. According to some of them, Hindu religious books were fiction and their books of philosophy "fables"[3], Mohammed was an imposter, they added[4]. Within a short time after his arrival in India and without knowing the people properly, Carey had declared, "I suppose that no people can have more completely surrendered their reason than the Hindoos[5]." In another tract composed by Carey, "He exposed the absurdities of Hinduism and the pretensions of its priesthoods to ridicule in the most poignant language"[6]. "Hindus were exhorted to abolish the whole institution of caste, that is to say their whole system of civil polity, as well as their fondest and most rooted religious tenets"[7], and "Hell fire was denounced against a whole race of men believing in the religion of which they were taught by their fathers and mothers"[8]. The "active propaganda" of the missionaries and "a number of violent attacks upon Hinduism and Islam", led to a temporary ban on missionary activity in Calcutta, in 1807, by the then Governor General, Lord Minto[9].

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1. J. Richter. Op.cit. p.146-9; C.H. Robinson. Op.cit. Chapter I.
2. K.S. Latourette. Christianity in the revolutionary age, vol.III, p.407.
3. See British Museum Add, Mss.38892 p.67.
4. See Niyogi Committee Report, p.7.
5. Quoted in G.D. Pearce. British attitudes towards India, p.83.
6. J.C. Marshman. The story of Carey, Marshman and Ward, (1864), p.62.
7. S.S. O'Malley. Modern India or India and the west, p.69.
8. Quoted in Ibid.
9. Ibid.; Kenneth Ingham. Social Reformers in India, p.8. Minto however quickly relaxed the restrictions when his attention was drawn to the hardship these would cause, and when his attachment to Christianity was doubted in England. Ingham. Ibid.

Looking to the "crude"[1], methods of missionary preachings, a cautious contributor in the Edinburgh Review warned them to be discreet in their activities - at least as a measure of self interest. "Even for missionary purposes", he said[2]

> .....utmost discretion is necessary; and if we wish to teach the natives a better religion, we must take care to do it in a manner which will not inspire them with a passion for political change, or we shall inevitably lose our disciples altogether.

Among the missionaries of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Carey, was a notable personality. Though a cobbler in his youth, he had a real missionary zeal. He freely mixed with the people, and learned their languages, traditions and customs to such an extent that before he died, he became a scholar of repute. It was for his scholarship that Lord Wellesley, Governor General between 1798 and 1805, appointed him Professor of Sanskrit, Bengali and Marathi in the Government College for Indian Civil Service Officers at Fort William, Calcutta. Carey translated into English large parts of

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1. O'Malley. Ibid.
2. April, 1808, p.171.

the Hindu epic of Ramayana, prepared grammars of several Indian languages, and founded the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of Bengal. Also, his agitation was partially responsible for the legislation passed by the Governor General, Lord William Bentinck in 1829 which prohibited the practice of Sati or the burning of widows on the funeral pyre of their husbands. In the words of missionary historian Julius Richter, Carey had become so popular in India that even "the Governor Generals held it almost an honour to hold intercourse with him" [1].

Along with religious propagation, the missionaries also did some educational work. In Serampore and in every new station as it was formed, a school was opened for non-Christian children by Carey and his colleagues. By 1818, Baptist missionaries had established and were superintending 126 schools containing 10,000 boys [2]. In the same year, the Serampore missionaries also started a college "in which knowledge was to be imparted in English, Hebre Greek, Sanskrit, Arabic, Chinese and a number of Indian

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1. J. Richter. Op.cit. p.138 For Carey's biography see: Eustace Carey. Memoires of William Carey.
2. Henry Huizinga. Op.cit. p.11.

vernaculars". Other subjects taught in the college were mathematics, medicine, jurisprudence, ethics and theology [1]. Apart from the Baptists, the London Missionary Society and the Church Missionary Society had also started educational work. By 1815, the London Mission had twenty schools with 1651 pupils [2]. The Church Missionary Society started its first school in 1818 when an Indian prince Raja Jay Narayan presented the mission with a large property in Benares [3]. Also in 1819, a Society called "Calcutta Female Juvenile Society for the Education of Native Females" was formed at the instigation of Mrs. Marshman [4].

The attitude of the East India Company towards the missionaries from the last decade of the eighteenth century to 1813, when the Parliament introduced a clause in the Company's Charter which removed most restrictions on missionary activities in India, is worth studying. The Company's officials were divided over whether to permit or prohibit free missionary activity. As a commercial company, the primary interest of the directors and share-holders was obviously in doing business and making profits rather than converting the people. Also, when the political sovereignty was established over large tracts of India, some of the Company's and other officials appointed by the Home Government seem to have realised that it was not worth risking the Empire to gain a few converts [5]. Therefore

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1. Henry Huizinga. Op.cit. p. 12. 2. Ibid. p. 15.
3. Ibid. p.17; J. Richter. Op.cit. p.158. 4. Richter. Op.cit. p. 334
5. See Vincent Smith. Oxford History of India (1959 ed.) p. 579; C.H. Philips. The East India Company. 1784-1834. p.159-161.

when in 1773, Wilberforce and some other evangelicals brought up the matter of missionary activity in India in Parliament, the share-holders of the Company objected. They passed a resolution opposing such a move which they considered was against "all reason and sound policy". They also affirmed that such a policy would endanger the peace and security of the Company's possessions in India [1] and further decreed [2] :

> that it was quite unnecessary to make known Christian doctrines to the Hindus, for their own religious books were remarkable for purity of doctrine, and their religious worship was replete with devotion to God and benevolence to man.

On the other hand, it is observed that the Deputy Chairman of the East India Company, in 1808, was himself an active member of the Baptist Missionary Association. Both, he and the Chairman were also trustees of the "Missions to Africa and the East" [3]. Charles Grant, a director of the East India Company ~~in 1797~~, and three times Chairman of its Court, was not only a zealous evangelical, but also active in the founding of the Church Missionary Society and several other missionary societies [4]. His work

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1. See P. Barclay. A survey of foreign missions, p.84; M.R.U.F.C.S. 1903 p. 508.
2. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1887 p.275 see also; D.E. Smith. India as a Secular State, p. 68.
3. Edinburgh Review April, 1808, p. 158.
4. K.S. Latourette. History ... Op.cit. vol. IV p. 201. A recent work on Charles Grant is by A.T. Embree (1962). His work for Christian missions is also referred in D.E. Smith. Op.cit. p. 99; V.B. Kulkarni, Op.cit. p. 134; S. Nurrullah and J.P. Naik. Op.cit. p.69-76.

Observations on the state of society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain (1813) had a considerable influence on members of parliament [1]. Another Scotsman (Charles Grant was a Scotsman), Claudius Buchanan, a Chaplain in the East India Company, made strenuous efforts by his public speeches and writings both in India and Britain to induce the Company and the Parliament to permit missionary activity in India. Particularly, after his retirement in 1807, he made ceaseless efforts to promote the missionary cause in England. He donated large sums to Oxford and Cambridge Universities, and several Schools for instituting essays on missionary subjects. He also influenced several members of parliament for the missionary cause. In 1810, he wrote Christian Researches in Asia dealing with Christianity and Christian missions in Asia.

From 1793, when Wilberforce's efforts to introduce missionary activity in India failed in Parliament, to 1813, when he succeeded, a large number of evangelicals supported by some officials of the East India Company made great efforts both inside and outside the parliament to

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1. See S. Nurrullah and J.P. Naik. Op.cit. p.69-76.

mould opinion in their favour. To Evangelicals Indian life "though bound up with religion and tradition" was yet idolatrous and a denial of God. Supported by some of the Company's officials, the evangelicals carried out a forceful and influential campaign which had its successful culmination in the introduction of a Clause in the Company's Charter of 1813 which not only provided for free missionary activity in India but also made provision for the establishment of bishops and archdeacons in the three Presidencies of British India[1].

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1. For the efforts of advocates of evangelisation see: Kenneth Ingham. Op.cit. p.10ff; J. Richter. Op.cit. p.149ff.

(ii) SCOTTISH MISSIONARY WORK IN INDIA BEFORE 1878

In the last decade of the eighteenth century, like Scotsmen, (but not Scottish Churches) had also shown missionary zeal by starting missionary societies. In 1796, a Glasgow Missionary Society and a Scottish Missionary Society at Edinburgh were formed. Both societies, though inspired by ministers of religion, were formed outside the Church and on a non-sectarian basis. Soon after their formation, both societies sent large number of circulars to most Scottish parishes inviting them to support missionary work. The efforts of the two societies resulted in the discussion on missions in the General Assembly meeting of 1796. In the General Assembly debates of that year, three resolutions were moved two suggesting and one opposing the introduction of missionary activity abroad. The third resolution was moved by George Hamilton, minister of Gladsmuir. His opposition was on three counts: firstly, he argued, "men must be polished and refined in their manners" before they are given any religious enlightenment. "Philosophy

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1. For the formation of these societies see: Elizabeth Hewat. Vision and achievement p.5; J.N. Ogilvie. Indian pilgrimage. p.8; Robert Hunter. History of the missions of the Free Church of Scotland in India and Africa p.3; J.M. Mitchell. Op.cit. p. 6-7

and learning" must precede ~~before~~ the actual work of conversion, he emphasised. His second contention was that "engrafting" on other peoples' manners and customs will only disturb their traditional life instead of resulting in "morals" and "happiness". Thirdly, he pointed out, that as long as there were hundreds of heathens at home, it was worthless "spending" the strength abroad. He also opposed collecting funds for missionary cause.[1] George Hamilton was supported in his arguments by Dr. Carlyle of Inveresk and Dr. George Hill, Principal of St. Mary College, University of St. Andrews. When his motion was ~~to~~ put to vote, it was carried by 58 to 44 [2]. Thus in 1796, the Church of Scotland had to postpone its missionary activity.

After 1796 and until 1824, when an Act for introducing missionary activity was passed in the General Assembly, hardly any missionary activity was noticeable within the church. In 1813, when parliament was renewing the Charter of the Company, the Church of Scotland sent a petition requesting free missionary activity in India and

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1. Church of Scotland. Accounts of the Proceedings and Debates in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 27th May, 1796, p.17-25.
2. Ibid, p.65.

also the establishment of Presbyterian Chaplaincies among the officers and the soldiers of the East India Company. Both the demands of the Church were met when the Charter of the Company was renewed in that year. In 1814, the first chaplain of Church of Scotland, Dr. Bryce, went to Calcutta. He was soon followed by two others, Dr. Allan in Madras and Mr. Clow in Bombay. In 1824, Dr. Inglis, "a celebrated Scottish Minister" who had been studying missionary activities since 1818, put before the General Assembly a suggestion for starting missionary work under the authority of the Church. The General Assembly this time unanimously approved the suggestion and appointed a Committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Inglis, to prepare a report on how best that task could be accomplished. While the Committee was busy preparing the report, it received a memorial from Dr. Bryce urging the Church to establish missions at Calcutta. The importance of this memorial lay in the fact that it directed the attention of the Church to India as a Mission field. The Committee reported in May, 1825, recommending "one or other province in India" as a field for missionary labour [1]. The Committee also

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1. Robert Hunter Op.cit. p.7-11.

suggested sending three missionaries, one of whom should start a school and act as a headmaster while the other two colleagues should impart secular and religious instructions in the school and carry out other missionary work. The report of the Committee was accepted by the General Assembly which from 1826 started collecting funds for mission work [1].

Up to 1824, while generally there was a lull within the Church, the two societies working outside the Church did start some missionary activity. The Scottish Missionary Society had sent missionaries to Russia, India and Jamaica, while the Glasgow Missionary Society, due to lack of strong organisation, made only unsuccessful efforts to establish missions in Sierra Leone and South Africa and subsequently became only an "Aid Society" providing financial aid for other missions [2].

In the Church of Scotland, between 1826 and 1829, the collection made amounted to £300 [3]. In 1829, the Church sent Rev. Alexander Duff as its first missionary to Calcutta and he arrived there the following year; since

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1. Robert Hunter. Ibid.
2. Ibid. p.7-9 E.G.K. Hewat. Op.cit. p.8-14; R. Ogilvie. Op.cit. p.8 The two societies were merged in United Presbyterian Church at its formation in 1847.
3. Robert Hunter. Op.cit. p.11.

1830, the missionary work of the Scottish Churches in India has continued uninterrupted.

The period from 1830 onwards saw the gradual growth of the missions. In 1831, Rev. W.S. McKay was sent to Calcutta to help Duff and in 1834, the two missionaries at Calcutta received a third colleague in Rev. Dr. Ewart. In 1835, when the work of the Scottish Missionary Society had considerably reduced, it transferred to the Church of Scotland the services of its three missionaries stationed in Bombay and Poona. Thus by 1835, the Church of Scotland was represented in two of the three presidencies in India. Also in that year a monthly paper missionary record for disseminating information on missionary work was started. Two years later the third Presidency-Madras - was also represented when John Anderson arrived as a missionary at that place. In the next three years, four other missionaries were sent to India [1]. Thus by 1843, when the Church of Scotland divided into "Free" and "Established", mission stations had been set up in the three Presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, and in the city of Poona in Bombay Presidency. Also the

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1. Robert Hunter. Op.cit. p. 11-18.

collections of the Church rose from about £100 in 1827 to about £5,000 between the years 1838 and 1841[1].

From 1843 onwards, there was a large growth of missionary activity, since not only the Free Church and the Church of Scotland sent a number of missionaries to India, but the United Presbyterian Church also entered the field in 1860. The number of Scottish missionaries and their length of service for some years up to 1877 has been shown on p. 547 and p. 548, respectively.

As all but one of the missionaries, Miss Saville of Calcutta, joined the Free Church, that Church was in an advantageous position from the point of view of personnel. However, from the financial standpoint, that Church's position was crippled soon after the disruption. But with the help of able leadership, better organisation and the efforts of its missionaries the Free Church improved its financial position and in fact within a year had a larger income than the Church of Scotland[2]. In 1844 the Free Church started a new station at Nagpur when it received £2,500 from Sir William Hill who was asked by his wife before

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1. The exact figures for four years were as follows:

1838	£5,437	1840	£4,690
1839	£5,241	1841	£4,158

Robert Hunter. Op.cit. p.19. The increase in missions' income in 1838 and 1839 was partly due to Duff's "going through the country expounding his plan", which "awakened a new interest in the work of missions" (D.N.B.) Duff returned to India in 1840.

2. In 1843-44, the Free Church income was £7,046 (F.C.S. Proceedings, 1900, Appendix VIII, p.10) and that of Church of Scotland, £2,409 (R.W. Weir. Op. cit. p.190).

her death in 1844 that her money should be utilised for establishing a Mission station [1]. In 1854, the Church of Scotland started a Mission at Vellore in Madras presidency when it received a school established by Lieutenant Cook, an army officer [2]. In 1855, the Free Church started a Mission at Jalna when a soldier Mr. Clarke and his colleagues asked John Wilson, a Free Church missionary in Bombay, to send a catechist to that place whom they agreed to support financially. Wilson readily obliged [3]. Two years later, the Church of Scotland, besides filling up some gaps in missionary personnel, caused by disruption, also started a Mission station at Sialkot in Punjab [4]. The mission was started as a result of £1,000 provided by a Scots lady Mrs. Campbell in memory of one of her relative Captain Murray who was a soldier in Punjab for a long time [5].

In 1860, the United Presbyterian Church which had established a Mission Board in 1847 with the object of

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1. Robert Hunter. Op.cit. p.23.
2. R.W. Weir. Foreign missions of the Church of Scotland p.64.
3. E. Hewat Op.cit. p.60; N.L.S. Mss. 7831 p.128-31.
4. E. Hewat. Op.cit. p.115; P. Barclay. Survey of foreign missions p.45; R. Ogilvie. Op.cit. p.25; The first missionary at this place, Rev. Thomas Hunter, was killed during the uprising of 1857.
5. Later, when the Church of Scotland started a College in Sialkot in 1889, it was named after Mr. Murray as Murray College.

extending "the Gospel in the heathen lands", sent its first official missionary, Rev. Williamson Shoolbred, to start a Mission station at Ajmer-Marwara in Rajputana (Now Rajasthan) [1]. In fact, Dr. John Murdoch, a minister of the United Presbyterian Church had been working in India since 1850, but he was supported by individual members of that Church. In 1869, the Free Church sent Mr. Vernieux an Anglo-Indian to start a Mission station among the Santal tribes of Bihar province [2]. In 1870, the Church of Scotland started a mission station at Darjeeling. In 1872, missionary work was started by the United Original Secession Synod at Seoni, 79 miles from Nagpur [3]. In 1873, the missionary work at Kalimpong was started by the Church of Scotland. Thus before the period of this study, a net-work of mission stations had been established by Scottish Churches in India. By 1877, the Church of Scotland had six main stati at Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Sialkot, Chamba and Darjeeling,

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1. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1908 p.253; John Robson. Missions of the United Presbyterian Church, p.18.
2. E. Hewat. Op.cit. p.146 Bihar was then part of the Presidency of Bengal.
3. Ibid. p. 168-69.

and also a number of sub stations in the outlying districts. The Free Church by that date had the following main and sub stations - the latter being situated within a distance of fifty miles from the former:

Main Stations	Sub Stations
1. Calcutta	Kalna, Mahanad, Chinsurah, Triveni
2. Bombay	Alibag, Revdanda and Thana
3. Madras	Chingleput, Royapuram, Conjeeveram, Walajabad
4. Nagpur	Amraoti, Bhandara and Wardha
5. Pachamba (Santal Parganas)	Bamdah, Toondi.

The United Presbyterian Church by 1877 had established stations at Beawar (1860), Naserabad, Todgarh (1861), Ajmer (1862), Jaipur (1866) Ashapura (1869) and Deoli (1871) [1].

The reasons for scattering mission stations in different parts of India were varied which could be perhaps better studied at two distinct periods - missions started before 1860 and those started thereafter. For the missions started before 1860, an important reason advanced by the Free Church was that "when missions began in India, the government of the day was bitterly opposed to mission work .... and (the missionaries) were glad to get permanent settlement where they could" [2] But there were also several other reasons. Duff, who came to India in 1830, was indeed told not to settle down at Calcutta, but he started his first mission station at Calcutta, because "after observing the missionary methods being pursued by the Baptists, and Independent and

1. J. Richter Op.cit. p. 213.
2. F.C.S. Report, 1838, p. 4.

Anglican, he perceived an opportunity for an aggressive method of reaching the Brahmanical sections of middle class Hindu Society that formed practically closed land against the gospel" [1].

The desire to win over the Brahman coverts was in fact very strong in the early missionaries. When a Scotsman, Robert Haldane, wished to start mission centres in India, in 1796, he desired to settle down at Benaras - "the chief seat of the Brahmans" [2]. Conjeeveram - another centre of orthodox Hinduism - was similarly selected as a mission centre by John Anderson, despite realising that it was a hard place to work [3]. Poona, a closed city for the missionaries until 1829, was soon occupied by the Scottish missionaries from Bombay, when the ban on missionary work was removed in that year [4]. Similarly, one of the reasons for starting the mission station at Gaya by the Church of Scotland was its being an important religious centre of Hindus [5].

Proximity of the British government's officials or soldiers appears to be another reason for selecting mission centres before 1860. Thus one of the reasons for selecting Ajmer as a mission station by the United Presbyterian Church, in 1860, was that Ajmer was under the British occupation [6].

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1. Alex Tomory. Story of our Bengal mission. p. 16
2. See letter (dt. 14/9/1796) from Robert Haldane to William Wilberforce, Edinburgh University Library, Mss. Dept.;
3. See N.L.S. Mss. 7845, p. 64
4. Hewat, op.cit. p. 53;
5. Ibid. p. 157
6. Frank Ashcroft, op.cit. p. 26-27.

Naserabad, near Ajmer, and Sialkot were chosen as mission fields because they were British cantonments [1]. Similarly, Jalna was started at the request of the British soldiers [2], Chamba, at the instance of the wife of the British Resident [3], and Nagpur at the request of Sir William Hill [4].

Another reason which decided the selection of mission fields was to avoid competition from other missionary societies. Thus the selection of Ajmer by the United Presbyterian Church and Gaya by the Church of Scotland were motivated, partly, by the above reason [5].

Mission stations were started in the outlying districts of the cities, such as at Alibag and Thana near Bombay, Chinsurah and Triveni near Calcutta, Chingleput and Sriperumbudur near Madras because mission work was comparatively more successful at these places. According to a Scottish missionary historian, during the 'sixtees, there was a strong desire in Scotland "to make the new experiment not in the city but in the 'mufussil' or country district" [6]. In the Church of Scotland, one of the reasons for selecting rural centres for the mission work was

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1. Frank Ashcroft. Story of our Rajputana Mission, p. 26-27
2. John Torrance. Story of our Maratha Missions, p. 52
3. Mowat. Op.cit. p. 117
4. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1900, Appendix VIII, p. 9
5. Mowat. Op.cit. p. 127 and 157
6. Ibid. p. 157

also the apparent failure of the work in the cities, where the work was mainly concerned with education. In 1862, the Foreign Missions Committee of that Church suggested that its General Assembly consider changes "involving the discontinuance of the Institutions in the Presidential towns, and the transferrence of the labours of the missionaries to the interior" [1].

Some other reasons which influenced the missions' judgement in selecting mission centres were [2] : better communication, particularly railway facilities; suitable climate; location of other missionary societies within a reasonable distance for guidance and consultation in the earlier stages; and a city area with large number of surrounding villages.

After 1860, definite emphasis was laid for working among the low castes, tribes, rural folks and such other people in which Christian Communities could be formed with the minimum amount of energy and resources. Although among the Scottish Churches, the Free Church, due to the efforts of some of its distinguished missionaries was partly successful in gaining some of the notable converts, yet the number gained was not large [3] . In the Free Church, new stations started after 1860 were mainly among the aboriginal tribes of Gondwana (1869) and the Santal Parganas (1869), low caste Pariahs of Madras, rural folks of Hooghly

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1. See Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland, 1890, p.394
2. See Mewat. Op.cit. p. 157
3. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p. 11

near Calcutta, and Amraoti, Bhandara and Wardha near Nagpur (See Appendix 6).

As seen on p. 50 , the Church of Scotland reconsidered the location of its mission centres in 1862 and thereafter emphasised working among the low caste Chuhras of Punjab and aboriginal tribes of the Eastern Himalayas [1]. In the United Presbyterian Church also, more attention was paid for working among the Bhils. Some stations, such as Piploda in Rajputana, and among the Katkaris (an aboriginal tribe) in Bombay Presidency were started as a result of the famine relief operations by the United Presbyterian Church and the Free Church respectively [2] .

The early history of Scottish missions in India was dominated by a few personalities such as Alexander Duff, John Wilson, John Anderson, and Stephen Hislop. Each one of them had some characteristics which made him known among the people. They were also stationed at strategic positions in East, West, South and Central India respectively. It would be desirable to discuss briefly the work of each of the four missionaries.

Duff was born in 1806 in the parish of Moulin, Perthshire.

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1. See the Table of European missionaries of the C.of S. at p. 57
2. Report to the schemes of the U.F.C.S., 1915, p. 46

Soon after finishing his theological studies at St. Andrews, he sailed as a missionary to India in 1829. After being ship-wrecked twice on his way, he reached Calcutta in May, 1830, after a journey lasting nine months. At Calcutta, "His plan was to open an English School, which should by and by develop into a college, this to become the headquarters of a great campaign against Hinduism"[1]. In the early period of his English School he received assistance from Raja Ram Mohan Roy[2], who was of course interested only in the secular results of English education. Duff's school was highly successful though occasionally it broke down due to conversion of some or other student. In his educational efforts in the early days, he received the co-operation of some important Englishmen like Sir Charles Trevelyan, Under-Secretary to the Foreign Department in the Government of India and stationed at Calcutta[3]. After working hard for four years, Duff returned to Scotland in 1834 and was there for over five years. During these years, he worked ceaselessly to arouse the people to

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1. D.N.B. Article on Duff.
2. Alex Tomory. op.cit. p.17.
3. Ibid. p.19.

missionary activity. He delivered a large number of addresses before parish congregations and the General Assemblies, was conferred with the degree of D.D. by Aberdeen University, wrote his magnum opus; India and the Indian Missions and generally raised considerable enthusiasm among the people for missionary work before he returned to India in 1840. During the disruption of 1843, he joined the Free Church and built a new institution from the foundation in Calcutta. In 1846, he was offered the professorship of theology at the Free Church College at Edinburgh which he declined,

> begging the Presbyteries, Synods and General Assembly, who requested him to give up his preferences, to allow him to retain in the view of all men, the clearly marked and distinguished character of a missionary to the heathen [1].

In 1850, he again returned to Scotland and sought to arouse the Free Church to more earnest missionary effort in India. In 1854, he visited the United States and Canada and addressed "thousands" of people about the mission work. It was during this tour that the degree of L.L.D. was conferred on him by the University of New York. Also, in 1854, he gave evidence before the Committee of the House of Lords on the education of India. In 1854, Duff returned

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1. Encyclopaedia of Missions, p.216.

back to India and was there until 1863. During this period, he started a school for high caste girls in Calcutta, made extensive tours in the cause of missions, wrote several letters during the outbreak of 1857 which were later published as a book entitled The Indian Mutiny: its causes and results, and assisted in the establishment of Calcutta University [1]. In 1863, when he left Calcutta for good, four scholarships were instituted under his name in that University. A few Scotsmen in Calcutta presented him with a gift of £11,000 [2]. In 1864, he was installed as the Convenor of the Foreign Missions Committee of the Free Church of Scotland. As convener, he raised the sum of £10,000 for establishing a Chair for the study of Missions in the New College, Edinburgh. Later he was pursuaded to be the first occupant of the Chair. He also visited several mission stations in Africa, Syria and Lebanon. During his work in Scotland after 1863, he also paid much attention to the better training of missionaries.

Two distinguishing features of Duff's missionary work need mention. The first was his great emphasis on education

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1. Duff's work in this respect is further discussed in the chapter on "Education".
2. D.N.B. Article on Duff.

as a missionary agency. Duff had observed that the efforts of many missionaries to convert the people through preaching had failed:

> Henry Martin, a saint and scholar, who had burned up for India, had declared that he could as soon expect a man rise from the dead as to see a Brahmin converted to Jesus Christ..... Lacroix who spent fifty years in evangelistic work among higher castes, confessed the almost utter barrenness of that mode of work [1].

Duff did succeed in converting some high caste Hindus by utilising education as an evangelistic agency. It has been said that [2]:

> Of the 43 educated converts of Duff's mission in 1871, ... nine were ministers, ten catechists, seventeen professors and higher grade teachers, eight were government servants of the higher grade, and four were assistant surgeons and doctors.

His efforts in education also led many other denominations to follow his method. The other distinguishing feature of Duff's work was the use of the English language. Hitherto, the education imparted in missionary institutions was almost wholly through vernacular languages. In imparting education through English, Duff believed that the English language would ultimately become "the channel for Christian learning, of the Western World"[3].

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1. Quoted in Henry Huizinga. Op.cit. p. 21 Both Henry Martin and Alphonso Lacroix were important among the missionaries; the former came to India as a Chaplain between 1806 and 1810 while the latter, a Swiss, worked in India between 1821 and 1859. In 1825, he became a British subject and joined London Missionary Society.
2. Quoted in Hewat. Op.cit. p.69
3. J. Richter. Op.cit. p.177.

John Wilson was born at Lauder in Berwickshire in 1804. After schooling, he studied for ministry at Edinburgh. Even as a student for ministry, he revealed extraordinary zeal. In 1825 he founded the "Edinburgh Association of Theological Students in aid of the Diffusion of the Gospel" and in the same year he offered his services as a missionary candidate to the Scottish Missionary Society. In 1828, he published anonymously "The Life of John Elliot; the apostle of Indians. After his marriage in that year, he proceeded to India and arrived in Bombay in 1829.

As stated earlier, in 1835 the services of Wilson and two other missionaries serving under the Scottish Missionary Society in Western India were transferred to the Church of Scotland. The educational institutions conducted by him and his wife were also put under the care of that Church. Wilson quickly learned the regional language, Marathi, and within six months was able to preach the people in their own language [1]. Within two years of his arrival in Bombay, he had started schools, edited an English paper - Oriental Christian Spectator - and had also formed a small native church "on Presbyterian principles". In his missionary efforts,

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1. E. Hewat. Op.cit. p.44 (foot note).

Wilson was assisted by his wife who ran a school for Indian girls. Two features distinguished Wilson's educational work from that of Duff at Calcutta. Firstly, Wilson generally gave education in Indian languages like Marathi, Hindustani and Gujrati, while Duff used only English. Secondly, while Wilson paid attention to female education right from the beginning of his missionary work, Duff did not.

Of the several schools conducted by Wilson, Ambroli English School deserves some mention. This school was started at the request of "a group of earnest British laymen in Bombay" [1], and used the English language. It was in this school that he received the first important fruits of his labour - the conversion of two Parsi youths who later occupied important positions in the Presbyterian Church of Western India. The school also resulted in the conversion of a Roman Catholic and two Armenians [2]. It was this institution which later developed into Wilson College. Up to 1843, when Wilson joined the Free Church, he not only interested himself in starting schools, converting people, but also took a keen interest in oriental languages, religions

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1. E. Hewat. Op.cit. p.44
2. Robert Hunter. Op.cit. p.218.

and philosophy. His work in this respect, which is discussed in the chapter on Education, was considerable. The publication in 1843, of one of his books, The Parsi religion, unfolded, refuted and contrasted with Christianity, led to his election as a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1845 [1].

In 1843, Wilson returned to Scotland on furlough and addressed several meetings in parish congregations and also a meeting of the General Assembly in Glasgow. He returned to India in November, 1847 and in the same year, he was appointed Chairman of the "Cave Temples Committee" whose purpose was to decipher the "writing, art, and sculpture of Buddhists and Jains remains of Western India" [2], a position he held till 1861. When Bombay University was founded in 1857, he was appointed a Fellow and in 1868, he became Vice-Chancellor. In 1869, when he was departing for Edinburgh on a second furlough, he was presented with a purse of Rs.21,000 by the citizens of Bombay, which he donated to the University for establishing a Philological Lectureship [3]. On his return to Scotland, he was appointed

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1. D.N.B. Article on Wilson.
2. Ibid.
3. E. Hewat. Op.cit. p.48.

Moderator of the Free Church in 1870. He returned to India again in 1872 and died near Bombay in 1875.

A brief estimate of Wilson's work may be made. As a missionary, Wilson was very successful in bringing a number of people to his faith. "He numbered by the hundreds those whom he had been instrumental in attracting to Christianity" [1]. He gained converts from several sources: Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Portugese of Catholic descent, Armenians and Abyssinians. He also trained and baptized several Africans brought to him by Dr. Livingstone [2]. His contribution as an Orientalist and Scholar proved useful in the development of the University of Bombay and also to the Government of Bombay. As a linguist, his services proved helpful to the British Government in India during the uprising of 1857, when he deciphered the revolutionaries' "secret despatches written to evade detection in various archaic characters and obscure idioms" [3].

John Anderson was born in Galloway in the parish of Kilpatrick-Durham in 1805. After his education in Parish

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1. K.S. Latourette. History...Op.cit. Vol VI p.118.
2. Robert Hunter. Op.cit. p.249-50 Livingstone was in India from September, 1865 to January, 1866.
3. Article in D.N.B. on John Wilson. Dr. George Smith has written a biography of Wilson which is perhaps the only biography on him. Wilson himself wrote many works which are listed in the bibliography.

schools and in Theology at the University of Edinburgh, he went as a missionary to Madras in 1837. Anderson was the founder of Madras mission and like Duff he also considered education as the most important branch of mission work. His object in educating the people, as he laid down in the prospectus of the first school started by him was "to carry through the channel of good education as great an amount of truth as possible to the native mind, and especially the Bible truth" [1]. He started seminaries for preparing teachers and preachers who, according to Anderson, would convey "to their benighted countrymen sound education and the blessings of the gospel of Christ" [2]. His first school became the nucleus of the new well-known Madras Christian College. A significant feature of Anderson's work was non-recognition of caste in his schools. On one occasion when he admitted a low caste student in the school, the whole class of high caste students left, but he refused to change his rule. According to a missionary historian:

> The results of the first twelve years of the educational work of Anderson and his colleagues in Madras were 50 teachers trained, 7,000 Hindus and Mohameden students instructed, 1,000 girls in the schools, 36 believers baptized, three ordained preachers and five others almost ready for the same work.[3]

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1. D.N.B. Article on John Anderson.
2. Ibid.
3. H. Huizinga. Op.cit. p.48-49.

The female education also attracted the attention of Anderson. It was difficult in those days to persuade high caste girls to attend schools, firstly, because girls married at a very early age and secondly, because the education of girls did not offer any material benefits since the high caste girls generally did not work in gainful employments. However, with his efforts Anderson succeeded in persuading at least some girls to attend his schools [1].

Stephen Hislop was born at Duns, Berwickshire in 1817. Like Anderson, he also had his early education in parish schools and Thelogical education at Edinburgh. Before coming as a missionary to India in 1845, he had worked for a short time as a Secretary of the Scottish Ladies Society for Female Education in India. In India, he settled at the newly started Free Church mission station in Nagpur. In 1846, he started a school which ultimately developed into what is now Hislop College, Nagpur. For twelve years, he did hard missionary work. He made extensive preaching tours of neighbouring areas and was

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1. For Anderson's biography see (i) John Braidwood. True yokefellows in the mission field; life and labour of John Anderson and Robert Johnstone. (Edinburgh, 1862) (ii) D.N.B. (iii) Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae. Vol 7, p.687.

successful in converting a few Tamilians and Rajputs who had come there in search of work but were not the original inhabitants of the area. He also took an interest in the botany and geology of the area. In 1859, he went on furlough to Scotland and after his return to India in 1861, he is said to have led a political agitation for drawing the attention of the Government authorities to the grievances of the people of his area. His biographer in D.N.B. asserts that it was due to his pleadings and protests that Lord Canning, Governor General of India in 1856, was at last "induced to organise Central Provinces (the area of his work) as a single government...". Because of his knowledge of the people, he was consulted by the government authorities with regard to school education, civil reforms and "objects of scientific interests" [1].

The work of these four missionaries, as stated earlier, was not only established in important parts of the country,

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1. See George Smith. Stephen Hislop: pioneer missionary and naturalist; (ii) D.N.B.
His work as a Naturalist is discussed in the chapter on Education.

but also had another important element. This was that some of the converts gathered by them were also from the high castes as against the converts of the lowest rank which had been largely gathered by other denominations.

It would be worth-while to give a brief summary of important activities and discuss salient features of the general mission work before 1878. By 1877, mission stations had been established in some important parts of India. A small Christian community had been formed, and generally important aspects of mission work tried and experimented.

Of the several facets of missionary work, the preaching tour was the oldest and yet an important one. The general nature of evangelical work done in this way can be discerned from the following passage quoted from the posthumous biography of a Free Church missionary written by his wife:

> He was full of fire, and purpose and enthusiasm. He rode over great tracts of country, attended the melas [fairs] or festivals, preaching from the back of his pony, talking, chaffing, yet deeply sympathising, and full of untiring interest in the people, especially in the fine manly race who inhabit the Maratha country. He knew their favourite poet, Tukaram, intimately recited his abhangs [verses], translated them, and wrote verses in imitation in their own language, but setting forth Christian truth. Some of these verses are still sung at the services in the native churches. He had ... the privilege ... to carry the Gospel ... to many scattered villages in the Deccan ... [1].

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1. Mitchell Murray (Mrs.) Sixty years ago, p. viii-ix.

The chief method of the missionary work of the Scottish missions was however education which absorbed most of the missions' men and money. The missions conducted elementary and secondary schools, and some of the latter had also the College classes attached to them. In 1846, the Free Church Institution at Calcutta had 937 pupils in its School Division and 107 in its College. The Bombay Institution had 631 pupils of whom 263 were learning English and the rest Marathi. The Nagpur Insitution had between 80 to 150 pupils on roll during different periods of that year, and a School at Kamptee, near Nagpur, 75. In the School at Nagpur only 12 were learning English and the rest Marathi, while at Kamptee all were receiving instructions in Marathi[1].

The educational enterprise of the missions, particularly that of the Free Church increased considerably in the next twenty years, as will be seen in the following Table[2]:

PUPILS

	1857	1867
Bombay	1061	1445
Calcutta	2538	Not known
Jalna	-	166
Madras	2651	2134
Nagpur	720	737
Poona	820	1051

And as shown on page 549, the Free Church and the Church of Scotland in

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1. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1847, p.74-80.
2. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1857 and 1867. (From the reports of the above stations).

1877, were conducting more than a hundred primary and secondary schools with upwards of 10,000 pupils, and were also educating more than five hundred youths in their four colleges.

The educational work of the missions sometimes encountered the opposition of the orthodox people, particularly in big cities. In Bombay, on 14th September, 1843, "all" the Brahman inhabitants met together and stated that the missionaries by distributing books and preaching "in various ways" induced the people to embrace their religion and "for this purpose have also established numerous schools". And since Hindu children attend these schools and "being ignorant of their own religion and hearing the missionaries constantly abusing the Hindu religion and praising Christianity, some of them have lost their reason" and forsaken their religion. To prevent further conversions, the Brahmans laid down the rule that no Brahman shall attend the schools of the Christian missionaries, nor shall they allow their children, or any under them to attend these schools. If anyone disregarded the above rule, he was to be outcasted. A committee was also appointed to supervise that the rules were enforced[1].

Also in Calcutta, the conversion of two students by Duff in 1845, resulted in the students' population in his Institution decreasing from 1300 to 300[2]. And, in 1848, in that city a "Hindu Society" was formed which bound its members "by solemn covenant to refuse to send their sons to any missionary school, where in view of recent baptisms, there was every probability of their faith being perverted[3]".

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1. Free Church Magazine, 1844, p.27
2. Alex Tomory. Story of our Bengal mission, p.22.
3. Ibid, p.23.

An important aspect of the missionary work was the production of missionary literature in vernacular languages. The distinguished figure in this field was that of Dr. John Murdoch, a missionary for long supported by two Scottish congregations of United Presbyterian Church. In 1844, he formed the "South India Christian School Book Society" for preparing school text books, which was later merged with the larger "Christian Vernacular Education Society" whose founding member and guiding spirit was also Dr. Murdoch. The Society was founded in London in 1859, but its sphere of work was to be in India. From 1859 to 1904, the Madras branch of the society alone had produced twenty-one million copies of various publications in Indian regional languages such as Marathi, Urdu, Hindi, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada[1]. The society despite attaching "Vernacular" to its name, also published a large literature in English language.

The medical work of the missions, which in later years formed an important agency of missionary work, had also been started before 1878. In 1851, the Free Church sent its first medical missionary to Calcutta, to be followed in 1856 by another who went to Madras. Of the Scottish Churches, the United Presbyterian Church had been the most successful in the recruitment and supply of medical missionaries to its various mission fields in India. From the very beginning, it had sent important missionaries like Dr. Shoolbred and Dr. Colin Valentine to its mission stations in India. By 1877 it had established medical missions in Beawar, Ajmer, Naserabad and Udaipur. Also, before 1877 a "Mission to Lepers" had been formed by W.C. Bailey, an Irishman, who had worked as a missionary for the Church of Scotland at Ambala between 1869 and 1874.

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1. Henry Huizinga. Op.cit. p.50.

Mission work among the aboriginal tribes of Santal Parganas, Rajputana and Gondwana in East, West and Central India respectively, had been started before 1878. Also, missions had been started among the tribes and lower castes of the Eastern Himalayas in Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Duars. The work had also been started among the outcaste pariahs (q.v.p.234) of Madras Presidency and Mangs and Mahars of Jalna. In 1867, a survey of the Church of Scotland missions in India was conducted by Rev. Dr.s Macleod and Watson. An important recommendation of this survey was to suggest that the Church should concentrate its efforts on the conversion of aboriginal tribes and low castes as it was easy to win them over. Henceforth, that Church's efforts were largely concentrated among these groups of peoples.

The work among the Indian women, which expanded greatly during the period of this study, had been started as far back as 1835 when the Scottish Ladies' Association had sent Mlle. Jallot, a French convert from Catholicism, to work in Bombay[1]. Afterwards many more ladies had followed. In 1852, Mr. and Mrs. Fordyce had been sent to Calcutta by the Ladies' Association of the Free Church, who worked there for four years. After their return to Scotland in 1856, they devoted special attention to organise the work among women[2]. Between 1843 and 1877, twenty four female missionaries of the Free Church had come to India, and two of the United Presbyterian Church.[3]

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1. Ellis. Our eastern sisters. p.41.
2. Robert Hunter. Op.cit. p.108-113.
3. See B.H. Badley (ed.) Indian Missionary Directory (1881 ed.) p.237 and 242 (The source also gives the names of the missionaries and the dates of their arrival.).

The evangelical efforts of three churches resulted in the conversion of 3,359 people by 1880[1]. The number of the people received into the Free Church in its different mission stations was as follows, in 1877[2]:

Mission	Numbers
Bombay	248
Calcutta	311
Jalna	321
Madras	218
Nagpur	223
Poona	205

In financial matters, while considerable progress was witnessed in the Free Church, there was much less progress in the Church of Scotland. Before "disruption", when Duff was on his long furlough between 1834 and 1839, he had, through his lectures and sermons from the pulpit and platform, helped the Church of Scotland considerably to raise subscriptions for foreign missions. While the income from the foreign missions in 1835-36 was £1,805, it had increased to £4,502 in 1836-37 and to £8,383 in 1839-40[3]. After "disruption", the home income of the two Churches during some years up to 1877-78 was as follows:[4]

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1. See p. 2-3
2. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1877, Appendix VIV, p.62-71.
3. R.W. Weir. Op.cit. p.46.
4. Sources: F.C.S. Proceedings, 1900, Appendix VIII, p.10; R.W. Weir. Foreign missions of the Church of Scotland. p.190-91.

Year	Free Church	Church of Scotland
1843-44	£7,046	£2,609
1854-55	£10,653	£3,818
1865-66	£16,613	£5,878
1877-78	£24,086	£11,980

The Church of Scotland had suffered much both financially and organisationally after the "disruption". Its missionary activity suffered from three factors: "lack of adequate financial support from home, a vacoilating missionary policy in Edinburgh, and dearth of missionaries"[1]. While in the period between 1843 and 1877, there was a general increase in mission funds, there were also sometimes lapses. In the first five years, the income of the foreign missions had actually decreased.[2] Occasionally, the income was so low that in the eighteen-fifties the Foreign Missions Committee suggested that the General Assembly should sell its "large educational buildings" in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. The General Assembly however did not agree to it[3]. Also for seven years between 1847 and 1854, that Church could send only one missionary to India[4].

Some differences in the organisation of the missions before and during the period of this study might also be mentioned. Firstly, while most missionaries during the period of this study generally looked after only one aspect of the mission work, the earlier missionaries had to look after several aspects. For example, when Dr. William Miller arrived

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1. E. Hewat. Op.cit. p.72.
2. See R.W. Weir. Op.cit. p.190.
3. Hewat. Op.cit. p.73.
4. R.W. Weir. Op. cit. p.60.

as a Free Church missionary in 1863, he was put in charge "not merely of the Central Institution, but of all the boys' and girls' schools in Madras and the district, the congregation, the English services and the work of catechists"[1]. But later on, as the mission staff increased, he was concerned only with the College education. Secondly, while the women missionaries' help before 1878 was negligible, it now became substantial. Thirdly, while before 1878, there was usually only one European missionary at a small station, later, particularly after 1890, there was often more than one. Such was the case, for example, in the Jalna and Poona missions of the Free Church.[2] One or more European in the midst of indigenous population not only helped the lonely missionary to expand the scope of mission activities but also enabled him to benefit from mutual consultations. Fourthly, while much attention was paid to win over high caste converts before 1878, afterwards the missionary energies were chiefly devoted to the conversion of the low castes, the aboriginal tribes and the famine orphans[3]. Lastly, while before 1878, the work was largely one of gathering followers, later, the important task was also to consolidate thousands of converts who had thronged the missions in "mass movements".

Finally, it might be salutary to point out the assistance of Scotsmen living in India in the establishment and expansion of missions. In 1820, before there was any strong missionary movement within the Church of Scotland, some Scotsmen in Bombay on their

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1. K.G.K. Hewat. Op.cit. p.88.
2. See p. 571
3. Richter. Op.cit. p.230.

own initiative, had started a "Scottish Missionary Society" (not to be confused with the society of same name formed in Edinburgh) to promote missionary activity in India. In 1822, they had requested the the society of the same name formed in Edinburgh to send a missionary in Bombay and as a result of which the first Scots missionary Donald Mitchell had sailed to India in August, 1822.[1] Also, in the foundation of the mission at Madras, the assistance received from the Scotsmen living at that place was useful. The foundation of the school which ultimately developed into Madras Christian College had been laid down by the Scotsmen in Madras in 1835. It was handed over to John Anderson when he came as a missionary there in 1837. It may also be recalled that the mission stations of Jalna and Sialkot had been started as a result of enthusiasm shown by soldiers, presumably Scotsmen. It may also be remembered that Dr. Bryce's communication had proved decisive in selecting India as a mission field.

Duff had raised, from time to time, several sums of money in India for the building of mission Schools and several other missionary purposes. It would not be unreasonable to assume that a substantial proportion of them would have come from Scotsmen just as he received £11,000 from his country-men when he was returning to Scotland for good.

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1. E. Hewat. Op.cit. p.43; Kenneth Ingham. Op.cit. p.3.

CHAPTER III

(i) INTRODUCTION

"Upon the education of the people of this country", said Disraeli, "the fate of this country depends" [1]. Disraeli 's statement, though made with reference to Britain, was then equally, if not more, true for India. Lack of education was and still is one of the important causes of the backwardness of the country.

"Love of learning" existed among Indians since the Vedic period and there had been "an uninterrupted succession of teachers and scholars" [2] until the Islamic invasion in the eighth century. Also, the art of writing existed since times immemorial and the philosophical schools of Benaras and Nadiya were quite well-known. But from the eighth century to the nineteenth century, while the country did occasionally produce scholars of repute, the number of these was such that it rarely had any tangible influence on the society as a whole.

The education provided during this period both among the Hindus and the Muslims was largely theological, but some kings had made bold attempts at providing both secular

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1. vide Disraeli's speech in the House of Commons dt.15.6.1874. (Hansard 3rd series: 1874 vol. 39 column (618).
2. The Vedic period began before 1500 B.C.

and religious education. Under the Mughal Akbar, in the 16th century, every student was taught "a list of subjects ... hardly less formidable than that of Milton" [1]. But from the days of Akbar to the establishment of British raj and in fact until the sending of Sir Charles Wood's Despatch in 1854, education in India was much neglected.

Indigenous education provided during this period was "private or public, elementary or higher, administered at home to boys and exceedingly rarely to girls, or administered to boys alone in schools which, inspite of serious defects were maintained and managed by the people themselves" [2]. Higher education was given in Persian, Arabic or Sanskrit [3]. In teaching, Mss. were sometimes

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1. Parliamentary Papers. 1929-30, Cmd.3407. p.9. In Milton's "School", pupils were expected to study before the age of fifteen a wide range of subjects - "Latin, Greek, Childean, Syrian, Italian, French, Arts, Sciences and practical subjects such as Military Science, architecture and agriculture". In his educational ideas Milton laid main emphasis on moral and spiritual principles while Arts, Sciences and other "practical" subjects were to be subsidiary. Milton paid scant attention to the education of girls which was also true about India for a long time. His main works on education are Tractate of education (1644) and A ready and easy way to establish a free commonwealth (1660).
2. Cambridge History of British Empire, vol. V, p.100-101.
3. Ibid.

employed, but never text books; the learning consisted of reciting religious and mythological stories, simple arithmetic and at some places learning the "grammar of what is probably the most philosophical language (i.e. Sanskrit) in existence"[1]. The teachers were "poorly remunerated by presents, fees and perquisites"[2].

The East India Company, which acquired Divani (right of revenue collection) over Bengal in 1765 and became a paramount power thereafter did not acknowledge responsibility for educating Indians over whom it ruled; education in England was generally considered a matter for private initiative. Occasionally officers of the Company took the initiative in conserving the existing system of education or starting institutions on English pattern; for example, in 1780 Warren Hastings, started a Madarsa or a College imparting Islamic instruction at Calcutta; in 1791 Jonathan Duncan, the Resident at Benares, started a Sanskrit College there. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay (1819-27) started an English School, an Engineering Institution and a Sanskrit College at Poona (afterwards Deccan College), while Thomas Munro, who died during his governorship in Madras in 1827, also interested himself deeply in the education of that Presidency.

In 1813, when renewing the Charter of the East India Company, Parliament directed that a sum of not less than a lac of rupees

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.

should be set apart each year and applied to the "revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India"[1]. Until 1823, when the Company appointed a Committee of Public Instruction, various grants, ranging between five to twelve thousand pounds a year[2], were given to the Presidency governments. Between 1823 and 1833, the Committee started a Sanskrit College in Calcutta, established two more Oriental Colleges in Delhi and Agra, employed Oriental scholars to translate English books and undertook the printing of Arabic and Sanskrit books on a large scale.[3]

At the same time some public-spirited Englishmen showed an enthusiasm for native education. For example, in 1817, a Vidyalaya or a College imparting indigenous education was started in Calcutta due to the efforts of Sir Hyde East, Chief Justice of Calcutta. In the same year, David Hare, a Calcutta watch-maker, started a College for Western Education which led to the "springing up all over Bengal of English Schools"[4]. Hare's institution ultimately developed into what is now the famous Presidency College, Calcutta.

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1. Quoted in P.P.1914, vol.62, Cmd.7485, p.5.
2. For the exact amounts of the grants given each year between 1813 to 1823, see Nurullah. op.cit. p.91.
3. Ibid. p.92.
4. P.P.1904, vol.65, Cmd.2181 p.457.

An important problem before 1854, when the Company assumed more responsibility for education, was to decide whether to continue Indian education on traditional lines or to provide what is known in India as "English Education". Two schools of of thought described as the "Anglicists" and the "Orientalists" existed among the members of the Committee of Public Instruction. The "Anglicists" supported the liberal education through the medium of English language, while the "Orientalists" were the supporters of oriental learning, particularly of the classical languages. The chief Indian supporter of the "Anglicists" was Raja Mohan Roy, perhaps the most important Indian of the period, who when the Company started the College at Calcutta in 1824 had sent a petition to the British Government pleading for the introduction of institutions teaching western sciences. Duff was also a great supporter of the "Anglicists" point of view. The chief spokesman of the "Orientalists" standpoint was H.T. Prinsep, a noted "Orientalist", then Secretary to the Government of Bengal in the Education Department. In the early years, the "Anglicists" were in a tiny minority hence the support of the Committee for the oriental learning. But the differences in the Committee of Public Instruction came to a head in 1834. This time out of ten members on the Committee,

five supported each point of view.[1] The point was ultimately decided in favour of the "Anglicists" because of Macaulay's "vehement rhetoric, though based on no knowledge of Indian languages"[2]. Macaulay who was then President of the General Committee of Public Instruction, "carried the day against the Orientalists" and in 1835, it was laid down that

> ... the great object of the British government ought to be the promotion of English literature and sciences among the learned natives of India and that all funds appropriated to education would best be employed in English education alone[3].

From the beginning of the nineteenth century to the

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1. Vide. Nurullah. Op.cit., p.131; G.O. Trevelyan. Life and letters of Macaulay, p.290.
2. P. Griffith. Op.cit., p.60.
3. Ibid. Conversion of India to Christianity was an underlying motive of Macaulay's Minute on Education. In a letter to his father in 1836 Macaulay predicted: "It is my firm belief that, if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolater among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence. And this will be effected without any efforts to proselytise; without the smallest interference with religious liberty; merely by the natural operation of knowledge and reflection". G.O. Trevelyan. Life and letters of Macaulay, p.330.

period of this study and even thereafter, both elementary and higher education in India were influenced by the missionaries and the Scottish missions had to play an important part in it. In the framing of Macaulay's Minute on education, Duff's influence is described as potent. Sir Charles Trevelyan, brother-in-law of Macaulay, paying an obituary tribute to Duff wrote in 1879:

> The indirect influence of his exertions upon the action of the government was at least equally important. The example of his success and stimulus given by him to popular demand entered largely into causes which brought about the Resolution of the government of the seventh of March, 1835 [1].

Also Duff was one of the few persons who was invited to give his evidence before the committee of the House of Lords which was responsible for framing Sir Charles Wood's Despatch of 1854 on Indian education. This Despatch on which modern educational system of India is largely based provided for (i) Departments of education in three Presidencies of India, (ii) the establishment of a University in each of the three Presidencies, (iii) the establishment of teacher training institutes, (iv) increased attention to elementary education and (v) grants to private institutions. This last aspect helped the missionary institutions to develop rapidly since

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1. Quoted in George Smith. Life of Alexander Duff, vol. 1, p.196.

the grants formed a significant proportion of missions' expenditure.

In the Indian Education Commission of 1882, which surveyed the progress made in education since 1854, Scottish missionary enterprise was represented by Dr. Miller, Principal of the Madras Christian College. Again, Dr. Dugald Mackichan, Principal of Wilson College, Bombay, was the sole representative of the missionary enterprise in the Indian Universities' Commission of 1902. Indeed, in the Protestant missionary circles, the Scottish missions were considered as the educational missions, par excellence [1]. Finally, the role played by the Scottish missionary enterprise in Indian education is testified by the fact that even today a Scottish missionary, Dr. H. John Taylor, is the Vice Chancellor of Gauhati University, Assam.

Before discussing, in detail, the education imparted by the Scottish missions during the period of this study, it would be worthwhile to trace briefly the elaborately organised structure of education in India. The system began with the primary education although at some places pupils were also required to attend infant classes for a year [2]. The primary schools were of two types - the lower primary and the upper primary. In most provinces the duration of study was three years in the lower primary and five years in the upper primary school.

The Secondary Schools were also of two types: the High Schools and the Middle Schools. The Middle Schools prepared students up to a certain

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1. J. Richter op. cit., p. 183
2. See P.P. 1904: vol. 65: Cmd. 2181, p.7.

academic level which involved three or five years of study after primary education. Schools were further designated according to the medium of instruction as "Middle English" or "Middle vernacular", "English Secondary" or "Vernacular Secondary" [1]. Three years of further study was required for a Middle School passed student to qualify for the High School examination [2]. The Schools which received grants were "recognised" by the government and inspected by its officers. High Schools were allowed to teach students either through English or vernacular languages, but candidates for the highest examination in High Schools (called Matriculation), had to answer their papers in English. "The object was to ensure that all matriculates should be able to follow College lectures (which were in English) satisfactorily ...." [3]. The final examination of the High Schools was conducted by the Universities.

Higher education was through the universities. Universities were administered by the Senates consisting of a Chancellor, a Vice

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1. P.P. 1909: Vol. 63: Cmd. 4635, p. 62
2. P.P. 1904: Vol. 65: Cmd. 2181, p. 7-8.
3. Cambridge History.... Op.cit. p. 336 The University Commission of 1902 pointed out that "Notwithstanding the prominent position given to English throughout the course (in High Schools), the results are most discouraging. Students after matriculation are found to be unable to understand lectures when they join a college". Quoted in Nurrullah & Naik. Op.cit. p. 526.

Chancellor and a number of Fellows. The Senate drew up by-laws and regulations for the approval of the Governor General or the Lieutenant Governor of the provinces. As the Senate was a very large body [1] and unsuitable for discussing important matters, the important administration of the University was carried out by a small body called the Syndicate consisting of the Vice Chancellor and some Fellows.

The Despatch of 1854 had suggested the institution of Chairs in several faculties, but this was rejected by the Governor General (Lord Dalhousie) who observed "that Universities would be ill qualified to superintend actual tuition" [2]. Teaching for higher education therefore rested with "widely scattered colleges, government, missionary and private" [3], which were affiliated to the universities. Many affiliated colleges in their early days held classes also in School courses and had been originally High or Anglo-vernacular Schools. Also High Schools possessed College classes [4]. However, this was _ _ _ _ _ _ _

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1. In 1907, the number of Fellows in Indian Universities was as follows: Allahabad (112), Bombay (296), Calcutta (181), Madras (198), Punjab (136). P.P. 1909: Cmd. 4635, p.8.
2. Cambridge History of the British Empire, V, p. 337
   The situation however changed later; when Allahabad University was started in 1887, it was allowed to have teaching functions; also the Universities' Act of 1904 provided for teaching to be carried out by all Universities; but in practice, however, even today the teaching, particularly undergraduate, is generally carried out by the affiliated Colleges. (For first part of the statement, see P.P. 1914: Vol. 62: Cmd. 7485, p. 41).
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

gradually discontinued in course of time. The Universities' Commission of 1902 suggested:

> Where a College has grown out of a High School, we think it important that the College classes should be conducted in a separate building and under separate management. We recommend that the Universities should decline to affiliate any new second grade College [1].

Colleges were affiliated to the Universities on the satisfaction of prescribed conditions. In 1906, a Committee of the University of Punjab hesitated to affiliate Murray College managed by the Church of Scotland because the College was incomplete "As regards building, equipment, and staff, to say nothing of hostels, library and other matters ...." [2]. The Committee however recommended temporary affiliation of the College for the period of two years.

The affiliated colleges were of two types: First grade and Second grade (now called Degree Colleges and Intermediate Colleges). The second grade colleges prepared the students for F.A. (see p.148) examination, while the first grade colleges prepared students for the degree courses. The college teaching was in English by lectures and very rarely by tutorial assistance.

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1. Quoted in Jubilee Number (1939), Murray College Magazine, Sialkot, p.5.
2. Ibid.

The organisation of education in India from 1871 onwards rested with the provincial governments each of which was given "fixed assignments from the Central revenues". Higher officials of the Education Departments were appointed by the Secretary of State for India, who in their turn appointed officers of the junior ranks [1].

Until 1882, High Schools and Colleges could prescribe any books of their choice for State examinations; the Education Commission of 1882 (whose report was published in 1883) laid down that henceforth all books prescribed by High Schools and Colleges should be approved by the Text-book Committees which should be formed in each province and consist of "(a) Departmental Officers, (b) qualified persons of different sections of the community". It further suggested caution against "text books which are of an aggressive character or are likely to give unnecessary offence to any section of the community" [2].

The general pattern of education in Indian States during the period of this study, was similar to that in British India since the examinations of the students of the High Schools and Colleges were conducted by the universities, all of which were situated in British India.

1. Cambridge History ... Op.cit. p.338.
2. See S. Nurullah and J.P. Naik. Op.cit. p.251.

(II) PRIMARY EDUCATION FOR BOYS

Primary education was defined by a parliamentary paper as the education of masses in vernacular[1]. Its object was, said a government report surveying the progress of education in India in 1911-12 to 1916-17, to make the pupils "permanently literate"[2]. Also, the secular function of the missionary primary schools, said the Rev. Mitchell Murray, a senior Free Church Missionary, at the second Decennial Missionary Conference, Calcutta, 1882, was "to fit the pupils for the better discharge of their inevitable lot in life, not to render them generally dissatisfied with it"[3]. Without elaborating the point further, he also added that the mission schools aimed at making the pupils "better plough boys", and providing that education which was "humble and complete" in its own way[4].

The primary education was not compulsory, and in fact an effort made by Mr. G. K. Gokhale, in 1910, in this respect had failed[5]. However, an attempt was made "to bring the education within the reach of all classes of the population and to instil among them an appreciation of its benefits, but once the facilities are provided, it rests with the good sense of the parents to make use of them"[6]. But it was stated at the same time that "four villages out of five are without a school; three boys out of four grow up without education, and only one girl in forty attends any kind of school"[7].

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1. P.P.1914 Vol.62 Cmd.7485 p.105 (at some places, for instance, Madras, English was taught as an optional subject. Ibid.)
2. P.P.1919 Vol.38 Cmd.256 p.108.
3. Report of the II Decennial Missionary Conference, 1882, p.136.
4. Ibid.
5. P.P.1914 Vol.62 Cmd.7485 p.131.
6. P.P.1904 Vol.64 Cmd.2181 p.2.
7. Ibid. p.459.

The management of the primary schools rested with the government, Local Boards, unaided private bodies, and the aided private bodies, the last having the management of the bulk of the Schools during the period of this study. The policy of the government was to gradually shift the management of primary schools from private hands to those of the local authorities [1]. But this was only partly achieved during the period of this study. Even in 1916-17, it was estimated that while the government and local authorities respectively looked after 1353 and 39,172 schools, the aided bodies had as many as 85,353 [2]. Un-aided institutions were those which were "unable to fufil conditions on which the grant in aid depends, and are either waiting to be admitted to the aided list, or, perhaps have been excluded from it" [3].

The aided bodies were supported with grants by the local authorities, who in their turn were financed from the provincial revenues [4]. Most of the primary schools in the villages were usually in the charge of a village committee, consisting of the "village headman and other prominent residents of the village" in Bombay Presidency [5].

The number of primary schools for boys and the percentage of male population attending these during some years of this study is as follows: [6]

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1. P.P. 1914, Vol. 62: Cmd 7485, p.iv; P.P. 1919: Vol.38: Cmd.256, p. 103.
2. Ibid.
3. P.P. 1904: Vol. 64: Cmd 2181: p. 4
4. P.P. 1919: Vol. 38: Cmd. 256: p. 104
5. Ibid.
6. P.P. 1919: Vol. 38: Cmd. 257: p. 146 and 150, and P.P. 1914: Vol. 62: Cmd. 7486, p. 248.

Year	Schools	%of male population	% of boys of school-going age
1886-87	84,673	2.4	
1891-92	91,381	2.38	15.9
1896-97	97,381	2.69	
1901-02	92,226	2.6	17.4
1906-07	102,947	2.59	20.5
1911-12	110,692	3.57	23.8

The percentage of children of the total population in the primary schools, was lower than several other countries. The report on the progress of education in India, 1911-12 to 1916-17 said that 2.38% of the total population were in primary schools, while during the same period the corresponding percentages for the U.S.A. was 19.8%, for England and Wales 16.52%, for Ceylon 8.94%, and even for Brazil it was 2.6%. [1]

The total number of boys in these schools, which increased from 2.061 million in 1882 to 4.523 million in 1911-12, have been shown on p.55c for making some comparisons there.

The area served by boys' primary schools, differed during different periods and also varied from place to place. Thus, while Bengal had on average one primary school for boys for every 3.4 square miles in 1886-7 (3.3 square miles in 1896-7), the Punjab during the same period, had one for every 65.7 square miles (45.1 square miles in 1896-7) [2].

The average number of "towns and villages" served by a boys' primary school also varied likewise. The all-India average of 6.8 "towns and villages" served by a boys' primary school in 1886-7 was reduced to 4.3

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1. P.P. 1919: Vol. 38: Cmd. 256, p.5. (Includes both boys and girls)
2. Ibid. Cmd. 257, p. 147

in 1916-17, while in the provinces, the average varied from 3.9 in Madras Presidency in 1886 (1.9 in 1916-17) to 21.1 in the Punjab in 1886 (6.7 in 1916-7) [1].

The average number of boys per school increased from 28 in 1886-7 to 42 in 1916-7 in British India, and varied in different provinces from 25 to 75 [2].

Before missionaries came on the scene, some Scots laymen had already displayed interest in the education of Indians. In 1822 a society was formed by Scotsmen in Bombay to propagate Christianity through schools. The society approached the Scottish Missionary Society in Edinburgh for a missionary teacher which was sent as desired. The first missionary, who died within a year, established ten schools. By 1827, four missionaries who followed him had established eighty schools with 3,000 pupils [3]. In 1835, twelve Scottish citizens of Madras at the instigation of the Chaplains Laurie and Bowie "resolved to try to do for Madras what had been done for Calcutta by Dr. Duff" [4]. Soon a school was started which was eventually handed over to the Church of Scotland's first missionary (John Anderson) and later became well-known as the Madras Christian College.

The missions provided primary, secondary and higher education. The primary education was provided on a massive

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1. Ibid. p. 146
2. Ibid. p. 148
3. Elizabeth Hewat. Op.cit. p. 43. We do not know the exact nature of these schools. Most of them were presumably elementary schools.
4. Ibid. p. 83

local scale. The Scottish missions conducted a number of primary schools. In 1880, the United Presbyterian Church conducted 76 schools with about 2,500 pupils in Rajputana[1]. In a small place like Bhandara, in the Central Provinces, with a population of 15,000, in 1905, the Free Church conducted three boys' and a girls' school in 1882[2]. When the first school was started in 1881, there were only six boys, "meeting in a mud hut", but by 1905, there were five schools at this place with over 500 pupils[3]. In the Chingleput district, the Free Church had seventeen primary schools with the following (in bracket) pupils in 1892, the last ten being started in that year[4]:- Guduvanchari (50), Sriperambudur (68), Chingleput Poor (68), Attur (35), Kalattur (41), Tirukkalukkunram (37), Narasamangalam (15), Vedal (28), Kuttarambakkam (12), Kuttuvakam (13), Tirumanikupam (14), Araneri (26), Tattanur (20), Chenkuram (18), Andreyapuram (16), Tandelam (12), and Puthupedu. In 1881, the same Church conducted 37 primary schools in Bengal, each attended by about twenty to thirty pupils.[5] The Church of Scotland had, in 1883, 13 schools with 43 Indian teachers in a small district of Gujrat in Punjab[6]. In the Darjeeling and the Kurseong districts, the Church of Scotland in its forty schools, was educating more than 2,000 boys in 1909[7].

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1. Frank Ashcroft. Op.cit. p.91.
2. John Torrance. Op.cit. p.74-75.
3. Ibid.
4. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1893, Appendix VIII, p.39-40.
5. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1881, Appendix VIII, p.18.
6. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1883, p.612.
7. L. & W. 1909, p.248.

The available figures of primary school boys have been shown p.550. It will be seen that in the Free Church the number of boys increased from 2,124 in 1877 to over 4,000 in 1899, the largest increase being in the Santal Parganas, where incidentally the Church had the largest number of followers. From 1901 onwards, separate figures for primary schools of that Church and also of different sexes are not available. The Church of Scotland witnessed a larger growth in the number of primary pupils between 1881 and 1913, from 876 to over 4,800. Its significant growth was in the Eastern Himalayas, where like the Santal mission of the Free Church, the number of converts at that place had considerably increased (see p.569). On the other hand, the increase in the Punjab mission, where that Church had the largest number of followers, and one might have assumed a significant increase, is relatively insignificant. However, several possible explanations for the smaller number of pupils in Punjab could be offered. These are:

(a) the number of primary schools managed by local bodies was much larger in Punjab, while in Eastern Himalayas and the Santal Parganas, primary education had been almost entirely entrusted to missionaries[1];

(b) possibility of some pupils in the primary schools being accounted with the secondary schools: firstly, because at some places, primary schools served as the primary departments of the secondary schools[2], and secondly because the number of secondary school pupils of the Church of Scotland was disproportionately larger in Punjab than in its other missions (see p.551);

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1. P.P.1909 Vol.63 Cmd.4635 p.302 and 310.
2. P.P.1909 Vol.63 Cmd.4635 p.97.

(c) missionary staff did not increase in proportion to increase in the number of converts in Punjab, as in the Eastern Himalayas (see p.569 and; 571;

(d) perhaps, as in the case of some places in Rajputana[1], more attention was paid to consolidation of mission work, than to starting primary schools.

Figures on p.550 would show that the Scottish missions were educating about 0.3% of all primary school boys in British India, in 1881-2. But the proportional increase during later years appears to be larger in the Scottish missions - also a feature of Protestant missions generally. Comparing the boys in Scottish primary schools with those in all Protestant missions' primary schools in India, we find that while the boys in the former numbered 5,922, in 1881, they numbered 84,760 in all Protestant missions' schools[2]. Thus the Scottish missions were educating 7.1% of the boys in all the Protestant mission schools. Also, the Protestant missions were educating about 4.1% of all primary school boys in British India in 1881, the proportion, however, increasing to about 10% in 1911 when the Protestant missions were educating 446,083 male pupils in the primary schools out of 4.523 million in British India[3].

The question whether the churches started schools only at those places where they had a significant number of converts deserves some more discussion. The Free Church report of 1888 said that some missions delayed starting schools "until there is a nucleus of Christian children

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1. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1903, Appendix V, p.44.
2. See p.550 and Sherring. History of Protestant missions, p.444-45
3. See p.550 and Yearbook of missions in India, 1912, p.270.

for whose benefit the schools are mainly established" [1]

Although this appears to be the policy of the Free Church Missionary, Adam Andrew, in Chingleput, who, in 1892, started ten schools "for the children of recent converts" [2], and said on another occasion, in 1899 [3]:

> Mari Paul the leading native Christian in this new movement (of mass conversions) came to me with a request that we should open a school in his village of Narasamangalam as he desired his children to be educated. I told him to become Christian first and get his friends to follow him and then we will certainly look after his and their children. He said he would consider it ..... ,

yet it does not appear to be the official policy of the Scottish Churches. In Jammu, for example, the pupils in the Church of Scotland's school in 1908, were described as "all Mohammeden" [4]. In the outlying districts of Calcutta, in the schools conducted by the Women's Society of the Free Church, there were only 11 Christians out of 218 in 1913 [5]. Also in the big cities of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras where also the missions conducted a number of schools, the number of mission converts was extremely small [6].

Were there any laid-down criteria for the starting of the mission schools? There does not appear to be a fixed or a laid-down policy in this respect. Generally if a few pupils could be gathered within a

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1. F.C.S. Report, 1838, p. 9
2. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1893, Appendix VIII, p. 39-40
3. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7849, p. 230
4. Report on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland, 1908, p. 143
5. U.F.C.S. : Report of the Women's Association of the foreign missions, 1914, p. 109
6. For figures, of converts in the cities, see the annual reports of the missions.

reasonable distance of the mission station in order to supervise it, an Indian teacher (preferably Christian) found, and possibly some support received either from the government, local authority, or the people themselves, a school was started. A missionary in Darjeeling, in 1879, started schools only when the people provided a house for the school and teacher, and if the manager of the tea plantations in the neighbourhood wanted a school for their employees' children, they were in addition asked to pay half the teacher's salary [1]. Another missionary at Kalimpohg said, in 1900, that "Almost all the buildings for the village schools are provided by the people themselves" [2]. Similarly, in Julna, a school was opened in 1899 when the people showed some interest "by building a shed, where the school might meet" [3]. The following questionnaire which was to be filled by the female missionaries of the Church of Scotland before starting a primary school, provides some more clues with regard to the starting of the missions schools [4].

1. How far is the place where you propose establishing a girls' school from our Mission at ?
2. Does any other missionary society carry on work in the neighbourhood, and if so, at what distance is their nearest girls' school?
3. Does a suitable building already exist, either for renting or purchase, or must one be erected?
4. By whom, and to what extent, would superintendence be exercised over the school, and who will be willing to report to the committee?

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1. Report on the Schemes of the C.of S., 1879, p. 157
2. Ibid. 1900, p. 116
3. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1900, Appendix VIII, p. 52
4. Bye Laws of the Ladies' Association of the Foreign Missions. Quoted in the Report on theschemes of the C.of S. 1890, p.221

5. What teachers would be required - men or women? And do you know of any Christian to fill the position?
6. What amount of religious instruction would be given daily in the school?
7. From what class would the pupils be drawn - Mohemmedans, high caste Hindus, low caste girls, or native Christians? What number might be expected to attend?
8. Would fees be taken, and to what amount?
9. State details of probable expense, cost of building, or rent of schoolhouse, teachers' salaries and incidental outlay.

An important reason which partly induced the missions to increase the number of schools, according to the missionary historian, Richter, was the payment "from the third to one-half of the entire cost of equipment and upkeep" by the government [1]. The Free Church report of 1838 gave the reasons for multiplication of the schools as the "grants of money" and the easy availability of "competent men who are not Christians to act as teachers at a small salary" [2].

Some other reasons for starting the schools were: (i) the training of the Indian assistants, and (ii) dissemination of a "fundamental knowledge of Christian teachings" [3].

The primary schools, both missionary and non-missionary, could be broadly viewed from three standpoints: (i) the nature and character of the schools (ii) the curriculum, and (iii) the type of students and teachers. In their physical structure the schools had little in common with the British schools. Most village schools, particularly in the

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1. Richter. Op.cit. p.307
2. F.C.S. Report, 1838, p. 9 (The salaries of teachers were very poor. In 1913, the government of India recommended a minimum salary of Rs. 12 per month for trained primary school teachers. P.P. 1919: Cmd 256 p. 29)
3. Richter. Op.cit. p. 311-12

Madras Presidency were described in 1907 and in 1917 as "ephemeral in character, ill staffed, ill housed and ill equipped". The typical village school was of a teacher-manager type, the teacher for his temporal support depending "upon his grant and payment from parents partly in money and partly in kind". He further supplemented his income by acting as "stamp vendor, petition writer and in various other capacities, which are apt to interfere with his teaching duties" [1].

As regards the primary school buildings, a parliamentary paper gave the following picture of the primary schools in Bengal, in 1907: [2]

> The rooms are cramped and dark, ill ventilated and cheerless. The little boys are often crowded into verandahs opening on to village street, and where this is the case, they are exposed to the gaze of passersby, the dust from the road, and the exhaltations from the neighbouring drain. During ... monsoon these verandahs are often enclosed for the protection from the wind and rain and at such times they are dark and atmosphere pervading them is fetid. There is a prevailing belief that bad sight and phthisical disease are on the increase in Bengal and that is due in part at least to the wretched buildings in which the young people are educated.

Village schools conducted by the Scottish missions seem to be very simple in their physical appearance. A village schools has been described and illustrated as one where students sat under a tree instead of a class room; on mats or floor instead of benches or chairs; using wooden plates instead of slates for writing, and sometimes taking their lessons in the Churches [3]. In thewords of a Free Church missionary, which are obviously doubtful, a village school in the Santal Parganas could "get along very

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1. See P.P. 1909: Vol. 63: Cmd. 4635, p. 110-112 and P.P. 1919: Vol.38: Cmd. 256: p. 103.
2. P.P. 1909: Vol. 63: Cmd. 4635, p. 107-8.
3. See C.S.H.F.M.R. 1886, p. 529; F.C.S. Monthly, 1893, p. 233; John Robson, Op.cit. p. 53; John Torrance. Op.cit.p. 58; H.F.S. Taylor. In the land of five rivers. p. 92

well without a school building, or school furniture, or school material or even at times without a school master" [1].

At some places schools were conducted for long hours. In Rajputana, some of the schools of the United Presbyterian Church started working as early as six o'clock in the morning, when prayers were done and Bible was taught, and continued until five o'clock in the evening [2]. At other places, in Santal Parganas, for instance, some schools were conducted for a short period, "where lads who were earning their bread could read for an hour or two at mid day when the cattle were brought in from the pasture lands"[3]; also in the Chingleput district of Madras in 1895, several schools were conducted in the early morning and late afternoons to enable the children to attend to their cattle in between [4].

Some missionary schools were started on an experimental basis. Starting one school and closing down another was sometimes seen. A missionary at the Darjeeling station of the Church of Scotland said in 1879: "On the 1st of April, I reduced their number from twenty to eighteen, and towards the end of the year reduced further the numbers from 18 to 16. I find by experience that it is very little use trying to keep a school where someone or other is not interested in it, and where it cannot be looked after"[5]. The same missionary closed down some more schools because at first the people promised and provided a house for the school

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1. J.M. Macphail. Op.cit. p. 53
2. Frank Ashcroft. Story of Rajputana mission, p. 41
3. J.M. Macphail. Op.cit. p. 53
4. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1895, Appendix VIII, p. 58
5. Report on the Schemes of the C.of S., 1879. p. 127

and teacher but later did not do so (no reason is given) [1]. Also a missionary among the Santals said in 1894: "Those two Santal schools have been regularly inspected by our Headmaster, but the report is so unsatisfactory both as regards teachers and scholars, they will be closed down in January, 1895" [2]. A third missionary in the Madras mission of the Free Church closed down some schools in 1899, because both the pupils and parents did not take any interest when the school was started, although at first they evinced a desire to have the school [3]. And a fourth missionary belonging to the Church of Scotland closed down seven schools in 1907, because the "small number attending did not appear to warrant the expense of maintaining them" [4].

It was, however, a common practice among the missionaries to give away their schools to some other mission rather than close them down. On some occasions some other mission could be found ready to assume the charge of the school [5].

During the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century and sometimes also during the period of this study missionaries had to bribe students and even put pressure on them to attend schools. Sweets and oranges were distributed; one pie (¼ of a farthing) was given to each student; prizes were given for singing hymns well and on occasions

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1. Ibid.
2. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1894, Appendix VIII, p. 24
3. Ibid. 1900 p. 64; see also p. 52
4. Reports of the Schemes of the C.of S., 1908, p. 127
5. "I am hoping to hand over two schools to Church of Scotland mission this week and hope the Wesleyans will take others". L.M.S. Tamil Miss.1914 Mss. No. 3046. See also L.M.S. Mss. No. 7825 p. 49; Hewat: Op.cit. p. 95.

students "were put under escort of two or three men who were stocked with sweet meats and charged not to let the boys escape". But it is sometimes stated that despite inducements only low caste students attended the missionary schools [1]. However when the schools were firmly established, fees were sometimes charged, particularly in the big cities. The average annual fee of a primary pupil in India, during some years of this study was as follows [2]:

Year	Rs.	A.	P.
1886-7		15	9
1891-2	1	0	5
1896-7		15	4
1901-2	1	0	4
1906-7		14	1
1911-12		14	6

Both missionary and government managed schools were attended by a small percentage of pupils as we have already seen. Lack of employment opportunities even after passing the highest primary examination was probably the most important reason for the lack of interest. Successful completion of primary education did not secure "openings provided by an education in English" [3]. Besides, the parents had the notion that children could be more advantageously utilised at a farm or a field, or in a hereditary craft than placed in the school [4].

The attitude of the parents, in fact, has been repeatedly described as an important factor for the lack of interest for education among the pupils. A missionary complained about a village school, in Chamba,

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1. See K.M. Brockway. A larger way for women: aspects of Christian education for girls in South India, p. 51; C.S.M.F.M.R., 1886, p. 529: 1882, p. 334, Scottish Universities' Mission report, 1883, p.17; Robert Hunter, Op.cit., p. 161 (foot note). Carstairs. Shepherd ... Op.cit. p. 198.
2. P.P. 1919: Vol. 38:Cmd. 256: p. 156. 3. P.P. 1919:Vol 38:Cmd 256, p.81
4. See N.L.S. Mss. No. 7831,p.66 and 7844,p.114; P.P.1919:Cmd 256, p. 119

in 1879, that "neither the parents nor the children having any appreciation of the benefits of education" [1]. In the same year another missionary at Kalimpong stated about the lack of parental interest in their children's education [2]. And in 1886, a missionary in Rajputana discussing the large percentage of absence in the primary schools asserted that "we are not likely to get this corrected until the parents fully realise the value of education" [3]. Also a report of the International Missionary Council pointed out in 1920 in connection with the converts' education: "We have sometimes found Christians even of the third generation not only illiterate but requiring something approaching compulsion to secure the attendance of their children at schools for an adequate time" [4].

In many village schools of Eastern Himalayas Mission of the Church of Scotland, as soon as the students acquired the ability to read and write and to keep simple accounts, they generally left the schools [5]. The Education Commission of 1882 pointed out that the school going age usually terminated at nine and seldom extended beyond the eleventh year [6].

The Churches also conducted schools for Europeans, Eurasians and Jews where those communities were in fair numbers. In Madras, the Free Church had a school in 1882 attended by fifty Europeans and Eurasians.

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1. Report on the Schemes of the C.of S., 1879, p. 112
2. Ibid. p. 157
3. Proceedings of the U.P. Synod, 1886-88, p. 349
4. International Missionary Council, Village education in India: a report p.20
5. Scottish Universities' Mission report. 1889, p. 7 and 1901, p. 7
6. Quoted in London Quarterly, 1886, vol. 65, p. 60

In Bombay, missions co-operated with local Presbyterian philanthropists who were conducting schools and orphanages for the children of the Eurasian community. In Alibag, the Free Church was conducting a school specially for Jewish children [1].

Conducting night schools for those who were busy doing other work during day-time, was another feature of primary school organisation. In Bengal, in 1905, the Free Church was conducting seven night schools with 249 students on the roll. Similarly in 1931 at the Chakai mission station in Santal Parganas (Provinces) the same Church had fourteen night schools in a small area of 66 villages [2] and twenty night schools in 1912 within the four miles radius of that mission station [3]. The Church of Scotland had similarly a number of night schools in Kalimpong in 1907 [4], and the United Presbyterian Church, four in Todgarh in 1913 [5]. The curriculum in the primary schools aimed at "instilling a knowledge of the 3 R's". Other subjects taught in different provinces included: English, Geography, Civics and Indian History, Nature Study, and Elementary Science, Drawing, and Arithmetic [6]. But it was added that the teaching is "largely determined by the answer to two questions - what is the teacher able to teach and what is the pupil ready to learn" [7].

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1. See F.C.S. Proceedings. 1883, Appendix, VIII, p. 34; INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY. Bombay: Ecclesiastical and Educational letters 1881, p. 529; M.L.S. Mss. No. 7820, p.1.
2. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1881, Appendix VIII, p. 21-22
3. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1912, p. 490
4. Report on the schemes of the C.of S., 1908, p. 128
5. U.F.C.S. Proceedings, 1914, Appendix II, p. 48
6. Progress of Education in India, 1912-17 (P.P. 1919: Vol.38:Cmd 256)p.116
7. Ibid.

In the Scottish mission schools the secular contents of the syllabuses in the first and second years of school consisted of elementary readers in vernacular languages, writing characters on the board and copying them, repeating words and phrases, spelling and dictation. Older students in addition were taught simple arithmetic, history and geography. The arithmetic syllabus in some schools consisted of notation, numeration, addition and subtraction [1]. Visible symbols were largely employed to teach simple arithmetic. Also in the government schools, until the turn of the century at least, arithmetic was taught through tamarind seeds and cowrie shells [2].

A part of the students' learning in the mission schools was religious [3]. In the Sikkim mission of the Church of Scotland, Bible stories beginning with the Book of Genesis were told to the first two classes. The students of the upper classes were to learn the Gospel of Matthew, the Acts of Apostles, and the Book of Exodus [4]. Students were also supposed to read the Scriptures at home [5]. Music, particularly the singing of hymns, formed an important part of the curriculum. Scottish songs were also sometimes sung [6].

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1. See D.G. Manuel. A Gladdening river, p. 163; Scottish Universities Mission report, 1888, p. 12; India Office Library. India: Ecclesiastical and Educational records, 1890, p. 207.
2. P.P. 1909, Vol. 63, Cmd. 4635, p. 110.
3. See F.C.S. Proceedings, 1882, Appendix VIII, p. 28; John Robson. Op.cit. p. 52; F. Ashcroft. Op.cit. p. 92; G. Pittendrigh. Op.cit. p. 30: Scottish Universities' Mission Report, 1888, p. 10.
4. Scottish Universities' Mission report, 1888, p. 12: M.R.U.F.C.S. 1903p. 200
5. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1896, Appendix VIII, p. 26
6. "We were delighted to hear a Scots song" A hundred pipers an' a'a'. C.S.H.F.M.R., 1895, p. 312.

Evidence lacks for finding out the general standards and efficiency of the primary schools conducted by the Scottish missions, but a Commission appointed by the International Missionary Council, which inquired into the type of rural education offered by the Protestant mission schools, and which also included a Scots missionary, J.H. Maclean, gave the following ironic description of nine rural schools conducted by Protestant missions in 1920 [1].

> We have just visited nine far-out schools. It is about the most discouraging thing a mortal man can do. The records were fine, attendance perfect for weeks at a time, including Saturdays and Sundays. There was no mistake in these, for were they not all newly written up in fresh ink, expecially for our visit? Nearly all the teachers were low grade workers. It was unusual to find any pupil beyond the first pages of the primer; most seemed to be learning alphabet 'for ever'. Arithmetic occasionally reached multiplication by four, although addition was very uncertain. Bible stories and singing reached higher level, but altogether village school seemed only in a name.

Several teachers employed by mission schools do not appear to be bright [2]. The Normal School of the Church of Scotland at Kalimpong admitted candidates who were still "learning letters". After the training of two years at the Normal School, the candidates were sent in districts for teaching [3]. The poor teacher, besides providing both secular and religious instruction had often to itinerate from village to village in his spare time, and preach whatever knowledge of Christianity

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1. International Missionary Council. Village education in India, p. 33
2. "The teacher, poor fellow, has often no aptitude for teaching and does it in a wooden, uninteresting, way. It is just the work that has to be got through". W.S. Hunt. India's outcastes, p. 80(The author was a missionary).
   And again:
   "In many cases the teachers were but little in advance of the scholars ....". H.F.S. Taylor. In the land of five rivers,p.90; See also; N.L.S. Mss. 7832, p. 207; Report on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland, 1879, p.160; Report of the Committees of the United Presby. Church, 1895, p.119.
3. See p. 122

he possessed [1].

Some of the teachers, it seems, adopted teaching as a profession only when they failed to earn their livelihood from farming or a hereditary craft which formed the professions of the majority of the people in contact with the missions. The salaries of the teachers were very low. They were paid about £1 a month or sometimes a little more [2], a paltry sum which could not support a couple any reasonable standard of life [3].

In some schools, missionaries also employed pupil-teachers. In the Santal mission of the Free Church on occasions teachers only initiated the teaching of a lesson which was continued by a senior student [4]. In 1892, in some primary schools of Jalna also teaching was done by pupil-teachers [5]. Speaking of pupil-teachers, Dr. Dyer of Santal mission said in 1884:

> In Spring I was able to dispose of the services of one teacher having appointed two boys as pupil-teachers. They receive their food and clothes along with the other boys and Rupee one (1/6d) per mensem besides. I find the arrangement works very well and enables me to save a few rupees per mensem [6].

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1. L. & W. 1905, p.58; N.L.S. Mss. No. 7829, p.162.
2. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1881, p.337; N.L.S. Mss.7820, p.237 and 7823,p.76.
3. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1881, p.337.
4. E.G.K. Hewat. Op.cit. p.150.
5. N.L.S. Mss. 7830, p.20; See also N.L.S. Mss. 7835, p.120.
6. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7841, p.242.

The mission reports do not account for the percentage of the total expenditure on primary schools, nor indeed do they give the figures in any other systematic form. But the cost to the Home Committees for running the primary schools does not appear to be large. The maintenance of 10 primary schools with over 550 pupils in Madras, in 1887, including the salary of a supervisor, cost the Free Church Rs. 1295, and nine schools in the Chingleput district with nearly 400 pupils, only Rs. 1053 [1]. In Gujrat, in Punjab, in 1888, the "entire establishment, comprising 16 teachers and 502 pupils, did not cost the Home Committee (of the Church of Scotland) more than £500"[2]. A year later, a primary school with 82 boys, at Amraoti, was run on a monthly expenditure of £7 which included the salaries of teachers, administrative expenses and other contingencies. And in fact half the above amount was received from grants, while the other half through "local subscriptions and other resources"[3]. In the Santal mission, in 1903, fifty one schools were described as "supported by District funds, and not by mission money" [4].

The average annual expenditure per primary school for boys in British India increased from Rs. 85 in 1886-7 to Rs. 203 in 1916-7, and varied from place to place from Rs. 48 in Bengal in 1886-7 (Rs. 117 in 1916-17) to Rs. 272 in Bombay in 1886-7 (Rs. 557 in 1916-7). But the cost was nearly thrice in the schools wholly managed from the public funds as against the "aided" schools [5]. The average cost per unaided school was lower than the aided school [6].

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1. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p. 80-81
2. Report on the Schemes of the C. of S. 1889, p. 115
3. N.L.S. Mss. 7835, p. 102
4. U.F.C.S. Proceedings, 1903, Appendix V, p. 17
5. P.P. 1909: Vol. 38: Cmd. 257, p. 153
6. Ibid. p. 154

III THE SECONDARY EDUCATION FOR BOYS

The Secondary Schools in India during the period of this study were mostly managed by the private, generally grant-aided bodies. Some were managed by the local authorities and the government. The government schools were "intended to keep up the standard of the secondary education by serving as models" [1]. The policy of the government was "to provide at least one government High School for every district". But this policy was not always enforced, and, in 1909, there were almost as many districts in India without government High Schools as there were with them.[2]

The general control over the High Schools was two fold. The University laid down the courses for the highest classes, and the local government laid down the inter-school rules and also gave the grants-in-aid and recognised schools "for the privilege of presenting schools for scholarship examinations" [3]. The number of English Secondary schools and the boys in them during some years of this study was as follows: [4]

Year	Schools	Pupils (boys)	Average per school (boys)
1886-7	2301	271,654	
1891-2	2543	301,963	
1896-7	2760	339,704	
1901-02	3097	422,187	
1906-7	3285	473,130	144
1911-12	3674	667,068	182

It was also estimated that, by the year 1916-17, there were 479 government schools, 1430 local government secondary schools, and 5780

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1. P.P. 1909: Vol. 63: Cmd. 4635, p. 68.
2. Ibid.
3. P.P. 1919: Vol. 38: Cmd. 256: p. 83.
4. Ibid. Cmd. 257, p. 131-33

secondary schools managed by the private bodies, of which 4350 were aided and 1430 unaided [1].

Although the number of schools and the pupils in them was apparently small, it compared favourably with some of the more advanced countries. Thus, in 1911, whereas the percentage of total population in Secondary schools in India was .436, it was .32 in France and .354 in Japan [2].

As already stated, the secondary schools were divided into Middle Schools and High Schools, the former further classified as "Middle Vernacular" and "Middle English". The object of the Middle Vernacular Schools was described as affording "an opportunity of further study to boys who are not content with a merely elementary education but who do not desire, or for some reasons are unable, to learn English" [3]. Sometimes the Middle-pass qualification also admitted the pupils to such vocational institutions which did not require a knowledge of English[4]. The vernacular Middle Schools generally existed in the rural areas, where English education was less accessible than the towns[5]." Middle English" education, on the other hand, was described as meaning "an incomplete high school education" but "not a secondary education of any distinct purpose or method of its own". However, it was supposed

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1. P.P. 1919: Vol 38: Cmd. 256, p. 83.
2. Ibid, p. 5. (In England and Wales, the percentage was .62)
3. Progress of Education in India, 1912-17 (P.P. 1919: Vol. 38: Cmd.256) p.32
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.

to be a "sufficient qualification" "for some callings" [1].

The medium of instruction in the Middle Schools varied from place to place. It was often the regional language, but English was taught as a subject of study [2]. While in the High Schools, English, apart from a subject of study was also the medium of instruction. It was stated, in 1907 that but for one School in Punjab, which prepared the pupils for oriental studies, all other High Schools in the country taught through English language [3].

The average annual cost for maintaining a school varied from about Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 11,000 between 1836-37 and 1911-12, and differed up to three times at different places [4]. The average annual expenditure on a pupil in a secondary English School for boys varied from about Rs. 11 to Rs. 52 between 1836-7 and 1911-12, showing more than three times difference at different places [5].

The Scottish missions conducted a number of secondary schools. Direct evangelism apart, other purposes of these schools were [6] (i) to provide education to the converts and to prepare them as teachers for the mission schools and for other mission work (ii) to provide secular knowledge to the people to off-set any feelings of discontent there might be among the people for the missions' religious activities,

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1. P.P. 1909: Vol. 63: Cmd. 4635, p. 62.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. P.P. 1919: Vol. 38: Cmd. 257, p. 138.
5. Ibid.
6. See C.S.M.F.M.R. 1880, p.195; Alex. Lemory. Op.cit.p. 42; Report of the Second Decennial Missionary Conference, Calcutta, 1882-83,p.143; H. Huizinga. Op.cit. p. 107-8. Proceedings of the Free Church of Scotland, 1847, p.81; Frank Ashcroft.Op.cit.p.90; U.F.C.S. Proceedings, 1904

(iii) to influence the parents of the students through the religious teaching of their children (true also of primary schools). (iv) to prepare pupils "for entering upon the ordinary business of life", (v) "to secure attendance of boys of the better classes" and thus have an access to higher castes, (vi) to provide "feeders" to the several Colleges maintained by the missions.

While the Scottish missions have described their objects as above, Lord Curzon, in 1905, described the secondary schools as the "basis of all industrial and professional occupation in India" [1].

A fair number of the Middle and the High Schools was conducted by the Scottish missions in many parts of the country, even in smaller areas. The Free Church had, in 1888, one High School each at Bombay and Alibag, four in Calcutta and its outlying districts, five in Madras and its outlying districts, and one each at Nagpur and Poona [2]. The Poona School was given up in 1890[3]. The Church of Scotland, by the same year (1888) had a High School each at Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Sialkot, the Bombay School being given up in 1891 [4]. The United Presbyterian Church conducted three High Schools at Beawar, Naserabad and Ajmer in Rajputana, which, b y 19 00, were each attended, on average, by 300 pupils [5].

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1. P.P. 1909: Vol 63: Cmd. 4635, p. 62.
2. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p. 10
3. Ibid.
4. Hewat. Op.cit., p. 49-50
5. Dennis. Centennial survey of Christian missions, p. 92,93 and 98.

The statistics of the High and Middle Schools separately has not been provided by the mission reports, and during some years, the statistics of all Schools, including primary, have been grouped together. The number of boys in the Free Church Secondary Schools between 1878 and 1900, as will be seen on p.551, increased from over 4400 to over 6600, and shows a significant growth, particularly in its Madras and Nagpur group of missions. The increase is not accounted for in the mission reports, but the possible explanations for the increase in the Madras Presidency are: (i) the largest number of missionaries stationed at that place, (see p.571), (ii) partly, the greater desire among the pupils and capacity to afford the education, during the course of the years(iii) partly due to the influence of Dr. Miller, a strong advocate of educational missions (see p.197fn) (iv) because in Madras Presidency most Protestant missions, including Scottish, had concentrated [1], and perhaps also because illiteracy and lack of education was very great among Christians at that place. "In the Presidency of Madras, (except Travancore and Cochin), of 636,344 Roman Catholics and 372,279 Protestants, there were according to the calculations of the Scotch missionary, Rev. Adam Andrew, in 1901, not less than 734,000 Christians above five years of age who could neither read nor write" [2].

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1. P.P. 1904: Vol. 65: Cmd. 2181, p. 41 (The source also gives figures of missionary institutions in Madras Presidency). Between 1881 and 1901, increase in the number of Protestant Christians in the Madras Presidency was far greater than in the rest of India, including Burma, See Richter. Op.cit. p. 444 (tables)
2. Richter. Op.cit. p. 322.

In the Nagpur group of missions, increase was seen partly in the High School, which acted as a "feeder" to the College (started in 1883), and partly in several schools in the outlying districts of Amraoti, Wardha and Bhandara, particularly at the last station. [1].

In the Church of Scotland, notable increase was in its Punjab mission, probably because of the largest number of followers of that Church at that place.

Respective figures for the primary schools and the secondary schools, and for different sexes, are not available for the United Presbyterian Church (afterwards United Free Church). But the total number of pupils, both boys and girls, and, in both the primary and the secondary schools, are as follows: [2]

1885	4536
1889	4168
1894	5262
1904	5215
1909	3432
1913	3417

It should be added, that the figures of the schools conducted by the women missionaries before 1900, were added along with the above figures, but after 1900, they were shown separately, and are not included in the above figures.

Except in Madras and Punjab, in 1899, there is not a sharp decline in the number of pupils at any other station during a particular year

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1. See the figures of the schools in the outlying districts of Nagpur in the Statistical appendixes to the Annual Reports of the Mission.
2. Figures taken upto 1900 from the Reports of the Committees of the United Presbyterian Church, and after 1900 from the Proceedings of the U.F.C.S.. Appendix V or II, for the years next to above i.e. 1886, 1890 ..... 1914.

in the series. Although no special reason has been given in the missionary reports for this, the causes sometimes put forward for fall in numbers were: famines, Plague, and scarcity of food whereby people migrated from one place to another [1]; starting of another School in the neighbourhood, sometimes as a rival [2]; increase in fees [3]; shortage of teachers [4]; conversion of a pupil [5]; and maintaining "discipline and efficiency", and therefore reducing numbers [6].

While reducing the High Schools from three to two in the outlying areas of Madras city, a Free Church missionary said that "concentration rather than expansion seems most called for" now since all missionary societies are engaged in the work of education [7].

The number of pupils in those High Schools which acted as "feeders" to the Colleges has been shown on p.552. The number in them was much larger as compared to the other three High Schools of the Free Church in Madras city, whose pupils between 1888 and 1892 numbered as follows [8]:

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1. Report on the Schemes of the C.of S. 1877, p.113 and 1908, p.145, F.C.S. Proceedings, 1900, Appendix VIII, p. 30; Report of the Committees of the U.P. Synod, 1900, p.89; U.F.C.S. Proceedings, 1914, Appendix II, p. 43; U.F.C.S. Proc. 1907: Appendix V p. 45.
2. Report on the Schemes of the C.of S. 1878, p. 117-8 and 1890, p. 98; Report of the Committees of the U.P. Synod, 1895, p. 120; Proceedings 1914 Appendix V p. 37.(U.F.C.S.)
3. Report on the Committees of the C.of S. 1890, p. 98.
4. Report of the Committees of the U.P. Synod, 1895, p. 119
5. Report on the Committees of the C.of S. 1878, p. 117-8
6. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1882, Appendix VIII, p. 24.
7. U.F.C.S. Proceedings 1905, Appendix V p. 43
8. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1893. Appendix VIII, p. 35

Place	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892
Nellore	371	333	290	239	244
Conjeeveram	95	97	106	145	116
Chingleput	152	170	170	156	152

In 1881, the Free Church and the Church of Scotland missions alone were educating about 19% of all boys in the protestant missions' secondary schools, 8528 [1] out of 45,249 [2], and in 1899 while the above two Scottish missions were educating more than 9425 boys in their secondary schools, [3] the pupils in all Protestant missions' secondary schools, by about 1907, numbered 41,209 [4].

The curriculum in the secondary schools consisted of imparting liberal education together with the knowledge of the classical and the vernacular languages. In contrast to the primary schools, the education in the secondary schools of the missions was very largely secular.

The subjects taught in the Free Church schools in

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1. See p. 551
2. Sherring. Op.cit., p. 444-5
3. See p. 551
4. Richter. Op.cit. p. 320

Madras before the period of this study included: "English including reading, grammar and composition; writing and accounts; history, geography and arithmetic, mathematics [sic] and algebra; the elements of astronomy and political economy; logic, moral philosophy and Natural Theology, the Evidence and Doctrines of Christianity" [1]. But afterwards Astronomy, Political economy, Logic, moral philosophy and Natural Theology formed the part of College curriculum. The secular subjects in Wilson High School, Bombay, in 1914 were: English, Marathi, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, English and Indian History, Geography, Sanskrit, or Persian or French and practical Physis and Chemistry" [2]. Vernacular languages were taught in different parts of the country and of the classical languages, Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian were the chief [3]. Where staff and equipment were available, pure sciences were also taught [4].

Libraries were attached to many schools in larger cities and according to mission reports, they contained

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1. George Pittendrigh. Story of Madras mission, p.30.
2. M.R.U.F.C.S., 1914, p.329; See also H. Huizinga. Op.cit. p.96-7. In the secondary schools in modern India, the curriculum is largely as above.
3. J. Youngson. Forty years in Punjab. p. 198.
4. C.S.M.F.M.R. 1886, p.500-501.

"some good useful books" [1]. Physical exercises formed a part of studies and among the games taught, cricket and football preponderated [2].

When the missionaries first started schools they were either free or charged low fees, but when they were firmly rooted, more fees, though not as high as the government schools, began to be charged [3]. There were times when government grants and the fees provided almost the entire running cost of these schools [4]. At least up to 1873, in charging fees, discrimination was made among the students of different faiths. While the Hindu students were charged 9d a month, Muslims paid three halfpences and the Christians were educated free [5].

The Missionary Secondary schools were popular among the people. The fact that they provided education through English language, the knowledge of which was an essential

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1. F.C.S. Proceedings. 1886, Appendix viii, p.25. A government report surveying the progress made in education between 1912 and 1917 however informed that most school libraries in Bengal contained "second hand books which to judge from their miscellaneous titles might have been bought by weight.." Vide P.P. 1919; vol. 38, Cmd. 256, p.29.
2. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1914 p.329.
3. NLS C. of S. Mss. 7839 p.197.
4. D. Mackichan. Op.cit. p.132 N.L.S.; Mss. No. 7820, p.136. A government document says that sometimes the grants alone not only sufficed for the running cost of the schools but also left the societies with "a large surplus". INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY. Judicial and Political Dept. Records. 1880, vol.12, Correspondence No. 572.
5. Robert Hunter. Op.cit. p.199.

requirement for better types of employment, was an important factor in making them famous.

As early as 1835 a Church of Scotland report said:

> The prejudice is already conquered which prevents the natives even of distinguished rank from sending their children to a Seminary where they see that, amidst avowedly Christian influence the knowledge is communicated which is indispensable for temporal advancement [1].

Another reason of their preference was their low rate of fees as compared to the government schools [2]. While the average fee in a government school was Rs. 24.5 in 1916-17, it was Rs. 17.3 in an aided school [3]. Running of schools by Europeans was yet another cause of their reputation. With the growth of education, there were occasions when so many students thronged these schools that missionaries had to refuse admission to some [4].

As regards the rate of absense, some High Schools showed a wide variance between 7 to 20% as will be seen in the following table:

Year	School	Church	%of absence
1881 [5]	Conjeeveram	Free Church	8½
	Trivellore	-do-	7
1894 [6]	Bombay	-do-	20 approx.
	Madras	Church of S.	20 approx.
1899 [7]	Madras	-do-	12 approx.
	Madras	Free Church	7.5
	Beawar	U.P.C.	18

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1. CHURCH OF SCOTLAND. Statement of the Committee of the General Assembly (1835), p.3.
2. N.L.S. Mss 7827, p. 128; Richter Op.cit. p.314-15.
3. P.P. 1919: Vol 38: Cmd 256: p.87.
4. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1888, Appendix VIII, p.18.
5. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1882, Appendix VIII, p.48.
6. Ibid. 1895, p.32; Report on the Schemes of the C.ofS. 1895p. 97
7. Report on the Schemes of the C.of S. 1900, p.124; F.C.S. Proceedings, 1900, Appendix VIII, p. 59; U.P. Synod Proceedings, 1900, p.38.

The mission High Schools prepared a number of pupils for the Matriculation examination. The results of the Matriculation examination during some years in some Schools have been shown on p. 553. ~~As the University results are not available, it is hard to estimate their worth. However,~~ Some of the comments on the above results are available in the missionary records. The Sialkot results for 1878 were described as very satisfactory, and it was further pointed out that the five pass students stood as 21st, 44th, 52nd, 54th and 109th in the order of merit from among 211 pupils who passed the examination.[1] The results of Calcutta in the same year were commended with the remark: "The number of our successful candidates here is third in the whole University, being surpassed only by those of the Hindu and Hare Schools, the two great government Schools in Calcutta" [2]. The results of Nagpur School in 1881 were quoted as: "We did not do as well as usual", and it was further explained that these were due to one "unusual question paper" [3]. (It might be added that failure in one subject was treated as failure in all, and the candidate had to reappear in all subjects once again). On the other hand, the results in Bombay during the same year were described as "very satisfactory", and it was added that this result "places our School among the first" [4]. The results of the Free Church School in Calcutta, in 1889, were described as "under the average" [5], and that of Nagpur in that year as "not satisfactory",

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1. Report on the Schemes of the C.of S. 1879, p.108.
2. Ibid. p.127
3. F.C.S. Proceedings. 1882, Appendix VIII, p.43.
4. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1882, Appendix VIII, p.31
5. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1890, Appendix VIII, p.29.

with the additional remark that "such a meagre outcome" was "hard to explain" [1]. The results of the Free Church School, in Calcutta, in 1894, were described as "very satisfactory" [2], and also the results of Jaipur in that year were commended [3]. The results of the Church of Scotland School at Calcutta, in 1904, were described as 59.3% as against 37.4%of the University as a whole [4].

Excessive emphasis on examinations was described as a defective characteristic of Indian Secondary education. The University Commission of 1902 pointed out that whereas "In a rightly governed university, examination is subordinate to teaching, in India, teaching has been made subsidiary to examination" [5]. Other unsatisfactory features of secondary education were described as: [6] (i) its pursuance "with too exclusive a view to entering government service", and thereby unduly narrowing its scope. It was also said that those who fail to obtain any employment under the government, are ill fitted for other pursuits; (ii) the courses of study being too purely literary in character, (iii) "training intelligence of the students too little and their memory to much".

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1. Ibid. p.23
2. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1895, Appendix VIII, p.17.
3. Ibid. U.P. Synod Proceedings, 1895, p.120.
4. Report on the Schools of the C.of S., 1905, p.1.
5. P.P. 1904: Vol 64: Cmd 2181, p. 459 and 67.
6. P.P. 1904: Vol 64: Cmd.2181: P. 459

A fair number of Indian teachers were employed in the mission schools. The table on p. 554 shows the number of Indian teachers employed in the Scottish missions' educational institutions, including Colleges [1]. Attempts were always made to employ Christian teachers, but since they were not readily available, non-Christians were also employed [2].

Why did the missions prefer to employ Christian teachers when they were not so easily available and were, besides, more expensive to employ? The answer according to the Free Church report, of 1838, was, that because non-Christian teachers were "the living examples, whose very presence must suggest to our scholars that after all it is not necessary to become a Christian"[3]. A missionary said, in 1911, that the few non-Christians employed are usually Brahmans, and "reveal an ability and a devotion to their work which cannot fail to be wholesome in its influence upon the Christian teachers" [4].

The following table shows the percentage increase in the employment of Christian teachers in the Protestant missions' Secondary schools

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1. Separate figures for secondary schools alone are not available.
2. "We quite confess that it is easy to condemn or deplore the practice of having non-Christian teachers in our schools; the difficulty is to provide teachers who are Christians".
   F.C.S. Report, 1838, p.18.
   And again:
   "As there was no Christian girl ready for the post I had to appoint a Hindu teacher. This was a great disappointment to me". Women's Foreign Mission Society of the Free Church of Scotland. Annual report 1894-95, p36.
3. F.C.S. Report, 1838, p.18.
4. Yearbook of Missions in India, 1912, p.177.

in three decades between 1871 and 1901 [1].

Year	Christians	Non-Christians	% of Christians
1871	1901	2206	47
1881	3841	2462	61
1891	5207	3132	63
1901	8670	3278	73

Also the table of Indian teachers in the Scottish missions' educational institutions shows largely the same trend, as regards increase in Christian teachers. The shortage of Christian teachers was partly responsible for the closure of a Free Church High School, in Poona, in 1888 [2].

While the missionaries sought to replace non-Christians with Christian teachers, the local prejudice at some places, particularly in villages, was in favour of the Brahman Pundits. In Rajputana, until 1880, most Schools of the United Presbyterian Church were manned by the Hindu teachers, until a policy decision by the Home Church resulted in replacing a majority of non-Christians with the Christians [3]. But it was stated in 1907 that the "village schools with Christian pundits have not proved a great success. The village prejudice has been altogether in favour of a Brahman teacher. The Christian, if at all earnest, has been viewed with suspicion as likely to lead away children, and if otherwise has done more harm than good by an unworthy example" [4].

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1. Quoted in Henry Huizinga. On.cit. p. 119.
2. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.35
3. See U.P. Synod Proceedings, 1890, p.390. 1895, p.11 and 1900 p.90.
4. Ashcroft. On.cit. p.92

The bent towards the Brahman Pundits is also revealed in the following incident: [1]

> The people of Old Deoli came entreating that a School be opened among them, asking of course that the Brahman Pundit be retained. This was refused, and finally a School was opened under one of our most experienced Christian village teachers. Everything went well for some months, when suddenly a Brahman Pundit appeared on the scene called by the villagers. Half or more of our boys left the School, and the villagers wish us now to take over this Pundit, pay him from the mission funds, and retain him along with the Christian Pundit. We do not yield to this, and in the meantime we wait to see how long the villagers continue to pay their own Pundit, a thing they are unwilling to do.

A brief mention must be made of the Boarding schools which formed an important feature of both the boys' and the girls' mission schools. According to a report of 1900, all the girls' and half the boys' boarding schools belonged to the Protestant missionary societies [2]. An important reason for starting the boarding schools was to prepare the agents for mission work. Suggesting the starting of a boarding school in Chingleput, a Free Church missionary said in 1893 that "The training of our own people is utmost important. Because we can mould them to our own

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1. U.P. Synod Proceedings, 1895, p. 118
2. J. Richter. On.cit. p. 320

ideals ... with a view to promoting the cause of Christ" [1]. Bringing up the children of the converts as sincere and not nominal Christians was another purpose of boarding schools. A missionary of Bengal suggesting the starting of boarding school said in 1891 that in the homes the children are "not likely to receive a Christian upbringing unless the Mission gives it to him by taking charge of him from boyhood" [2].

Most of the boarding pupils were orphans, deserted or mislaid boys and others whose parents either could not afford or did not care about their Children's training. Some were found during famines, floods and other calamities, while others were handed over by government authorities to be looked after.[3] In the tribal areas parents themselves entrusted their sons to the missionaries because in Boarding schools their children were well fed, well clothed, and acquired some knowledge as well.

In the boarding schools, while the teacher did his job of teaching, pupils usually shared the other necessary work. The older pupils brought the groceries, cooked the

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1. N.L.S. C. of S. Mss. 7846, p.188; See also 7847, p.190,
2. N.L.S. Mss. 7839, p.17.
3. Report of the III Decennial Missionary Conference, Bombay, 1892-3, p.188.

food, and looked after those younger than themselves, while younger ones fetched water from the wells, washed the dishes, cleaned the apartments and sometimes, where possible, peeled the potatoes[1].

By 1900, the Free Church had the following boarding schools for boys[2]:

Station	Date of Founding	Number of Boarders
Chakai	1890	80
Chingleput	1893	67
Chinsurah	1849	n.a.
Jalna	1895	40

An important institution related to the schools was the Normal School which existed at some large stations. India had a large shortage of trained teachers. The number of trained teachers, in 1917, in British India was 31%, 88,169 out of 280,738[3]. The percentage in the Secondary Schools, in 1917, was 24.4 and that percentage varied from 1.3 in Bengal to 58.8 in Punjab and 63.6 in Madras[4].

The Normal School started by Duff in Calcutta was the first of its type in Bengal[5]. The Normal Schools of the Scottish missions prepared teachers of two types; the first was more an evangelist than a teacher, while the second had more traits of a teacher and less of an evangelist. The former was generally trained for the primary school and the latter for the secondary school[6]. The secular contents of the

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1. See P.P. 1919; Vol. 38; Cmd. 256, p. 179.
2. J.S. Dennis. Centennial Survey of the Protestant missions p. 97-101.
3. Foot-note 1 p. 89-90.
4. Foot-note 1 p. 26.
5. S. Nurrullah and J.P. Naik. Op.cit. p. 175.
6. See C.S.H.F.M.R. 1893 p. 323; M.R.U.F.C.S. 1902 p. 249; Scottish Universities Mission report, 1890, p. 7ff; G. Pittendrigh. Op.cit. p.116ff; F.C.S. Report, 1888, p. 19.

curriculum of the primary teacher training course consisted of elementary grammar, history, geography, arithmetic, Euclid and elementary physics [1]. At the Kalimpong Normal School of the Church of Scotland, the training was largely through vernacular language, though English was also taught. The students were divided in four classes, the last class consisting of two sections: those who could read and write and those who were still "Learning the letters" [2]. The minimum requirements for admission were apparently none. The grammar taught was in Hindi and the arithmetic syllabus included multiplication and division of fractions. Geography was taught in question-answer form. The Institution in 1886 - 87 had a total of 38 pupils (27 Christians) [3].

When pupils were first admitted, in 1877, they were trained for two years and received scholarships on the condition that they would serve the mission for at least two years in the district schools, or otherwise repay the amount spent on them [4].

By 1903, the Institution had become important enough for the government authorities to send their candidates there for training. In that year twenty Indian teachers from the government schools of

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1. Scottish Universities Mission Report, 1895, p.4; F.C.S. Proceedings. 1880, Appendix VIII, p.15
2. Scottish Universities Mission Report, 1887, p.7
3. Ibid. p. 8-10
4. Report on the Scheme of the C.of S. 1877, p.159

Bengal received training at this place. The Education Department not only contributed to their expenses, but also provided grants for the appointment of a European member of staff [1].

The Church of Scotland also conducted a training class for teachers in Terai, in 1890, with seven students on the roll in that year [2].

The United Presbyterian Church had a school for training teachers at Beawarin Rajputana, started in 1892. In this Institution, young children "mostly of Christian parents", were taught. In 1900 there were 37 pupils [3].

The Free Church had a Normal School for training females in Madras, which had 76 pupils in 1889 (all Christian) [4].

Systematic figures of the cost of the secondary schools are not available. In 1878, the High School maintained by the Church of Scotland in Calcutta made a net saving of Rs. 2,780 [5], and in 1882, the Principal of the same School claimed that "after paying all its own expenses (it) will be in a position to hand over a balance of Rs. 2,000 to the general purposes of the mission" [6].

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1. L. & W. 1909, p.13.
3. See Report of the Committees of the U.P.C. 1895, p.111 and 1900, p.58; F. Ashcroft. Op.cit.p.92; M.R.U.F.C.S. 1902, p. 249
2. Report on the Schemes of the C.of S. 1890, p.74
4. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1890, Appendix VIII, p.52 (women's mission annual report)
5. Report on the schemes of the C.of S., 1879, p.128.
6. Ibid. 1882, p. 76.

In 1887, four High Schools maintained by the Free Church in Madras Presidency cost that Church Rs. 3,352 out of a total maintenance expenditure of Rs. 20,894, and, in 1888, Rs. 3,595, out of the total maintenance expenditure of Rs. 20,474 [1]. At the Free Church High School, in Calcutta, in 1906, most of the local expenditure was received in fees, and the Foreign Missions Committee paid only the salary of a European missionary who acted as the Head [2].

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1. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p. 80-81 (the other expenditure was received in fees and grants)
2. U.F.C.S. Proceedings, 1907, Appendix VB, p.10.

IV FEMALE EDUCATION

Winning over women to their cause was very essential for the success of the missionary enterprise. "Unless woman is won for Christ", asserted a female missionary, "His Kingdom shall not be established"[1]. On not few occasions, the influences made by the missionaries on the menfolk were nullified by the counterinfluence of the Indian women. The Rev. Ashcroft of the Free Church said: "The young man impressed in the bazar or school goes home to an atmosphere impregnated with superstition, where the new views he ventures to mention are treated with ignorant scorn"[2]. He added that women were "a conservative force opposed to all change against which the missionary constantly finds himself powerless"[3]. Miss Crawford another Free Church missionary remarked that the women's influence over men "is a fact to be reckoned with"[4]. She added: "The idolatrous mother is the strongest force in keeping men in India from living according to the light which Christianity has brought to them"[5].

Education was an important means to win over or at least influence the women to their cause, and help of the female missionaries to influence, particularly the adult member of their sex, was appreciated by their male colleagues.

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1. C.W. Crawford. Women's work in the Maratha country. p.12.
2. Frank Ashcroft. Op.cit. p.99.
3. Ibid.
4. C.W. Crawford. Op.cit. p.12.
5. Ibid.

The work of women missionaries in the field of female education was considerable. The missionary effort towards female education in India dates as far back as 1712 when the Danish missionaries at Tranquebar in South India made unsuccessful attempts to start schools for girls. In 1715, they repeated the attempt and this time gathered somehow "thirty poor Protestant children", twelve of whom were girls and who were given "diet and education gratis" [1].

The Indian attitude towards the education of women in the 18th, 19th and even in the early twentieth century was one of almost absolute negligence and sometimes contempt. Some of the people are said to have looked upon the education of women as an impossible task. According to a missionary historian when the missionaries made attempts to educate the girls in the early nineteenth century, some people ridiculed them by saying that the "missionaries will soon begin to educate our cows since they think it possible to educate girls" [2]. To become house wives, bear children and continue

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1. K.N. Brockway. Op.cit. p.1.
2. J.S. Dennis. Christian Missions vol.II, p.316-7; See also P.P. 1901, vol.46, Cmd. 249, p.316-7; Parsoe. Two Hundred years of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, p.472.

the family structure was generally taught to the women as the sole purpose of their lives [1], and this attitude towards life proved a stumbling block towards female education. Also, the misconception largely prevailed that education was not essential for being a good house wife and mother. No wonder that for a long time (and to some extent even today) education of women did not keep pace with the developments in many other spheres of life. In 1882, the Indian Education Commission discovered that only 85% girls of the school going age attended the schools [2], while in 1901 that percentage had increased only to 2.3 [3]. The Census Commission found out in 1901 that only one out of 144 women was literate but the report added that in some provinces "there is a prejudice against admitting that women are thus qualified" [4].

Shortage of teachers has been described by a Cambridge historian as one of the reasons of such small percentage of girls at schools [5]. Also, in some areas poverty of the

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1. M.F. Billington. Op.cit. p.23.
2. See Cambridge History of British Empire, vol. V, p.345.
3. P.P. 1901: vol.46, Cmd. 249, p.317.
4. Census of India, 1901, p.158.
5. Cambridge History of British Empire, vol.V, p.345.

people was another cause. A lady missionary who once told a poor Indian woman that her object was to teach Indian women, received the retort: "Yes, it is true. But what is the use of all other things if you have no money to buy rice with and live"[1].

The early attempts of Scottish missions for the education of Indian women date back to 1829. It was a period when according to a government report of 1824, there was not a single female in the schools of Madras Presidency [2]. And according to a Scottish missionary, it was then supposed "that the education of women was wrong or unnecessary or futile, since a girl's mind was incapable of development" [3]. In 1829, Mrs. Wilson, wife of Rev. John Wilson started a school in Bombay for females which had 175 girls within a period of three years [4]. In eighteen thirties Duff is described to have "pushed energetically schools for Indian women, a striking innovation in a land where formal education had

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1. S.K. Datta. Op.cit. p. 208.
2. See S. Nurullah and J.P. Naik, Op.cit. p.14.
3. E.G.K. Hewat. Op.cit. p.49.
4. Robert Hunter. Op.cit. p.211.

traditionally been almost entirely a monopoly of men" [1]. In 1837 a "Scottish Ladies' Association for the Advancement of Female Education in India" was formed [2]. In 1843 when schism rent the Church in two, the Free Church formed a "Women's Foreign Missions Society" who used education as a means of conversion of women in the Foreign Mission fields of the Church [3].

Bribing was largely resorted to make the girls attend schools in the first and second quarter of the nineteenth century and many times also during the later period. Unlike boys, the girls received bribes of several kinds. Not only every girl received half to one farthing for each day she attended the school, but they also received several prizes for most trivial matters such as singing a hymn properly [4].

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1. K.S. Latourette. History ... Op.cit. vol. VI, p.117.
2. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1898, p.1 In 1883, the society changed its name into "Church of Scotland ladies association for foreign missions including Zenana work".
3. See J.S. Dennis. Op.cit. vol. I, p.316.
4. See Robert Hunter. Op.cit. p.161 (foot note); E.G.K. Hewat. Op.cit. p.86; George Pittendrigh. Op.cit. p.96 The American missions also paid part of the dowry to the girls, since many got married before completing their schooling. This included: Rs. 5 for brass pot for water; Rs. 1-8-0 for another brass pot; Rs. 3 for brass lamp; Rs. 3 for two brass plates; Rs. 10 for two coaches; Rs. 8 for clothes; Rs. 8-8-0 for chairs; Rs. 6 cash plus one Bible and two hymn books. See, K.N. Brockway. Op.cit. p.52-53, and 103.

Sometimes bribes alone were not successful. In Madras Presidency, in some areas before the missionaries could start teaching, instructions had for some time to be provided by the Indian teachers until the girls got used to attend schools. However, on such occasions, Indian teachers were instructed by the missionaries, as to what they should teach to the children [1].

Notwithstanding, the lack of enthusiasm among girls, the missionary effort continued and it so rapidly increased in some parts of the country that during the period of this study, every district of Madras presidency was said to have a missionary school for females [2].

A large number of schools, mostly primary, and situated at all important stations were conducted by lady missionaries during the period of this study. In 1883, the Church of Scotland along with the help of 18 British and Eurasian and 76 Indian teachers [3] taught 1700 girls in its schools and 600 women in the zenanas [4]. In 1891, the same Church

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1. George Pittendrigh. Op.cit. p.95.
2. Ibid. p.94.
3. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1883, p.717.
4. For zenanas see p.169.

conducted seven primary schools in Poona which were attended by 700 girls.[1] By 1900, the Church of Scotland and the Free Church together were educating more than 10,000 females and by 1914, more than 12,000.

The statistics of the girls, for some years, in the Church of Scotland and the Free Church missions' schools have been given on p. 555 which generally show a steady increase. The figures do not include the pupils in the zenanas, boarding schools and a Normal School in Madras, since these aspects of the missionary work have been treated separately.

It will be noted that the schools were fairly scattered in several parts of the country and there does not appear to be any emphasis on a particular mission group. Somewhat larger increase in the Madras presidency might be due to the reasons given on p.108

In 1911, the Scottish missions were educating 12,321 girls[2] in their elementary and High Schools, which formed 8% and 12% of all girls in the similar institutions of the British and all Protestant missions respectively[3]. On the other hand, the Protestant missions were educating in 1911,

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1. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1891, p.265.
2. Yearbook of missions in India, 1912, p.661-2.
3. Ibid. Compare pages 661-2 and 665.

1,78,192[1] girls in all their educational institutions (including Colleges, Industrial Schools etc.) which formed about 19% of all female pupils in British India, in that year[2].

The Churches also conducted schools for aboriginal tribes and castes. A number of Free Church female schools existed among the Santal tribe and the education imparted in atleast one of these was appreciated by a Schools' Inspector[3]. Again while the work of many missions was concentrated on the education of low caste girls, the Scottish Churches emphasised the education of high caste girls as well[4]. Sometimes separate provision was made for the education of the children of the converts to uplift them by paying special attention to their education and to prevent their being influenced by their non-Christian neighbours[5].

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1. Ibid.
2. P.P. 1919:Vol.38: Cmd.257, p.170 (The number of all females 'under instruction' was 952,923).
3. 'The Deputy Inspector visited this school and after examining the girls said: 'This is the best school I visit'. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1878, Appendix VIII, p.25.
4. K.N. Brockway. Op.cit. p.51 and 57, John Braidwood, Op.cit. p.225.
5. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1882, Appendix VIII, p.39.

Except with minor variations, the curriculum of the female primary and secondary schools both in secular and religious subjects was similar to that of the boys. The girls were also taught subjects like sewing and embroidery which appealed them much [1]. Religious instruction formed an important part of their curriculum. A missionary describes as follows the nature of these instructions:

> The instruction given in the schools is of thoroughly Christian character... The Bible is taught in all classes as soon as the pupils are able to read it. The children are taught to sing Christian hymns; and every endeavour is made to teach them Christian truth, and to impress it on their hearts [2].

In the mission educational system, the female boarding schools were a common modus operandi with almost all missions. Missionaries invariably found the boarding schools more conducive for teaching the "Christian truths" at an "impressionable age". By 1900, the Scottish missions had the following female boarding schools [3]:

Location	Supporting Church	Date of founding	No. of boarders
Bombay	Free Church	1846	40
Calcutta	Free Church	1872	95
Chakai	Free Church	1894	70
Chingleput	Free Church	1896	42
Darjeeling	Church of Scotland	1895	22

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1. See F.C.S. Proceedings, 1883, Appendix VII, p.38.
2. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1883, p.717.
3. Compiled from J.S. Dennis. Centennial survey of Christian missions, p.93-101.

Location	Supporting Church	Date of founding	No. of boarders
Jalna	Free Church	1896	40
Madras	Free Church	1843	302
Madras	Free Church	1847	180
Madras	Church of Scotland	1876	76
Nagpur	Free Church	1859	100
Naserabad	United Presbyterian Church	1882	101
Pachamba	Free Church	1873	105
Poona	Free Church	1845	40
Sialkot	Church of Scotland	1892	34
Toondee	Free Church	1894	96

The boarding schools served various purposes for the missions. Firstly, as the boarders were under the constant care and control of the missionaries, they could be brought up as the missionaries desired. A Free Church missionary said in 1889 that "only isolated instances are to be found of girls entering heathens and leaving as such" [1]. Secondly, the boarding schools were a good means to provide "proper accommodation and education to native Christian girls" [2]. Thirdly, the missionaries prepared a large number of teachers, Bible women and other mission workers from among its boarders [3]. Fourthly, boarding schools provided wives for a large army of Indian workers of the missions [4].

The girls in the boarding schools were generally taught

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1. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1889, Appendix VIII, p.20.
2. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1894, p.342.
3. See George Pittendrigh. Op.cit. p.110-11; C.S.H.F.M.R. 1894, p. 342.
4. H.F.L. Taylor. In the land of five rivers, p.148.

the same subjects as the girls of ordinary schools. In the boarding schools at Darjeeling, girls were taught Hindi, Bengali, English, knitting and needle work. Pupils preformed domestic duties almost in every boarding school. In one of the Free Church boarding schools in Madras, "small" girls did the work of sweeping, weeding, cutting the long grass and picking up the fallen leaves, while "The bigger girls" kept the school clean, cooked the food in turn, and mended the clothes. In some boarding schools the domestic work also included fetching the water from wells and grinding the millet [1]. In most schools, the boarders were "boarded, educated and clothed free of expense" [2].

The missionaries also made some efforts at the College and University education of women. In 1901-2, 49 out of 112 Indian women studying in Colleges and Universities were Christians [3]. In 1911, a committee of the United Free Church women missionaries resolved in Madras to start a

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1. George Pittendrigh. Op.cit. p.112; C.S.H.F.M.R. 1896, p.103; Women's Missionary Magazine, 1901, p.208; Women's Foreign Mission Society of the Free Church of Scotland, Annual Report, 1894-95, p.17.
2. Women's Foreign Mission ... Ibid.
3. S. Nurullah & J.P. Naik, Op.cit. p.396 It is not known how many of these adhered to Scottish Churches.

College for women at that place in co-operation with the female missionaries of other Protestant denominations. At the end of 1914, perhaps the highest landmark of missionary education for Indian women came into being in the form of Women's Christian College in Madras. Although, it was the result of the co-operation of several British and American Protestant missions, the initiative had come from the female missionaries of the United Free Church of Scotland. It was the female missionaries of that Church who had mooted the idea, made the Home Church agree to their view in 1911, and then made prolonged correspondence with several mission societies to achieve their object. The College when formed had two governing bodies, one in India and the other in Britain; the latter had two representatives each of six Protestant Churches of Britain including the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church. The staff came both from Britain and America and five American missions agreed also to share the running cost of the college [1].

A feature of missionary education was the education of women in the zenanas. Keeping in view the spirit behind the

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1. See Church Missionary Society Mss. 1914: G.Z.I.Z. 147.

aphorism of Mohammed going to mountain, the missionary ladies too went to teach the Indian ladies when the latter could not be contacted in other ways. Thus began the training in the zenanas. It would be desirable to describe the zenana system of education. Under this plan, a mission teacher called at the house of the person who desired to educate his women-folk but who was not prepared, for reasons of Purdah or respectability, to send them out to a public school[1].

The figures, for some years, of the pupils instructed and houses visited by the Church of Scotland female missionaries have been shown on p.556[2]. In the period of nearly thirty years, the number of pupils taught and houses visited show only a slight variation. But a feature worth noting is the change in emphasis. Thus, whereas there is a steady increase in the number of pupils instructed and the houses visited in the Punjab mission during the above period, there is a reverse trend in Poona. The increase in Punjab might be accounted to increase in staff, conversions, and overall work of the mission at that place. But the short-fall in Poona seems curious. A possible explanation is that

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1. S. Nurullah and J.P. Naik. Op.cit. p.168.
2. These are the figures of only those houses and pupils where secular instruction were imparted along with religious, and fees were charged. The female missionaries also visited a number of houses where only religious instruction were imparted.

Poona, being a strong centre of orthodox Hinduism, did not perhaps respond as well to the missionary work as other mission centres, and hence the work was reduced at that place.

Fees were charged from the zenana pupils and the amount collected in fees by the Church of Scotland during some years of this study was as follows[1]:

	Rs.
1889	1214
1894	1452
1899	1221
1904	1375
1909	1010
1913	1167

The teaching imparted in the zenanas were both religious and secular. At one of the zenana classes of the Church of Scotland, the secular teaching consisted of learning the "history of India, science, and geographical readers, writing copies and doing dictation"[2], while at the Free Church Mission station in Madras, secular instruction consisted of the art of reading, plain and fancy sewing, history, geography and arithmetic[3]. The number of women in each of the zenana class of the Church of Scotland in 1883 varied from one to six[4]. The women students came from several strata of the

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1. Reports on the Schemes of the C. of S. 1890, 1895 ... 1914 (statistics attached in tabulated appendices).
2. News of women's Missions, 1912, p.43.
3. George Pittendrigh. Op.cit. p.114-15.
4. C.S.W.F.M.R. 1883, p.717.

society and included "the wives and daughters of government clerks, telegraph clerks, engineer clerks, pleaders, barristers, police inspectors, tea-planters and school masters" [1]. The Indian women have been sometimes described as not very keen for studies. They are said to have frequently absented on slight pretexts of keeping a fast or giving a feast. Sometimes they even absented on the death of a cow or a pet bird or an animal [2].

Preaching preceded and also exceeded the teaching in the zenana classes. "In teaching in the zenanas", said a lady missionary, "we never teach without the Bible. Sometimes, we are asked to accept a higher fee for secular subjects if we will not teach Scripture, but this we refuse and prefer to lose house ...." [3]. Another lady missionary pointed out that while the men wished for their women "not Christianity, but general enlightenment", they (the missionaries) took more interest in teaching "Bible and Christianity" [4]. She further

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1. News of Women's missions, 1912, p.43.
2. Women's Foreign Mission Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, Annual Report, 1895-96, p.43.
3. Report of the Third Decennial Missionary Conference, 1892-93, p.355-56.
4. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1883, p.717.

remarked [1]:

> This is both remarkable opening and peculiar position. But it is plainly the duty of the Christian Church to take advantage of the opening, which has been made, so as to teach Christ where previously His truth could not penetrate.

"Bible teaching", said a third missionary, "holds the first place, but lessons in needlework, reading and writing are given where opportunity offers and these have their place in the work of evangelising" [2]. In Bombay, some orthodox people regarded zenana missionary education with suspicion [3].

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1. Ibid.

2. M.F.L. Taylor. Op.cit. p. 145

3. P.P. 1909: Vol. 63: Cmd. 4635, p.266

V (a) COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

The educational activities of the Scottish Churches were not limited to the sphere of schools only, but extended to higher education as well. In fact, their contribution to higher education was the more significant.

Before discussing the work of the Scottish missions in higher education, it might be desirable to analyse briefly the reasons why Scottish missions laid more emphasis on higher education than other Protestant missions. One was the fact that Scotland "had been from time immemorial the El Dorado of higher education"[1], and the missionaries were apparently influenced by their home environment. To found the Schools and Colleges "for the dissemination of Christian culture in India had been the purport of the first missionary resolution of the Scotch General Assembly in 1825"[2]. Besides, Duff who started the first College for the Scottish missions is said to have "looked upon missions as a kind of educational work"[3]. But apart from the above reasons, Duff had seen - as stated also earlier - that the efforts of the missionaries, so far, had generally resulted in the conversion of "poor, down-trodden individuals belonging to the lowest castes", and he therefore asked himself the question: "Is there then no possible way of getting into touch with the influential classes, the upper castes of India"[4].

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1. J. Richter. Op. cit. p. 174; G. Pittendrigh. Op.cit. p. 26
2. J. Richter. Op. cit. p. 174 and p. 50; Duff. India and Indian Missions. p. 480.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

Duff and his contemporary Scots missionaries believed that it was through higher education that the "main body of the Hindu people" could be influenced[1]. These reasons explain, at least partly, the emphasis of the Scottish missions on higher education.

In the establishment of the first colleges and universities in India, the traces of the contribution of Scots missionaries are evident. Dr. Duff had done much in the field of higher education. Within two years of his arrival in Calcutta, he had founded a school-cum-college which within a short time had become well-known as the General Assembly's Institution. By 1840 the Institution had 900 students on its roll[2]. Dr. Duff's colleagues, Dr. Wilson in Bombay and Mr. Anderson in Madras, started similar Institutions in 1835 and 1837 respectively in their areas. During the disruption of the Church in 1843, while the property of the colleges remained in the hands of the Church of Scotland, almost the entire staff adhered to the Free Church. The Free Church started new colleges in all the three presidencies while the Church of Scotland, after a severe shock once again tried to invigorate its existing Institutions except that at Bombay, which was given up in 1891 after unsuccessful efforts to run it[3]. By the time our study starts, the two Churches had 5 colleges in India - two each in Bombay and Calcutta and one in Madras[4].

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1. G.P. Pittendrigh. Op.cit. p. 26
2. Alex. Tomory. Op.cit. p. 20 (The author was the Principal of Duff College, Calcutta, in 1905)
3. E.G.K. Hewat. Op.cit. p. 49-50.
4. About the establishment of the colleges see: John Morrison. Op.cit. p. 60 ff; E.G.K. Hewat. Op.cit.; R.W. Weir. Op.cit. passim; S. Murrallah and J.P. Naik. Op.cit.; Robert Hunter. Op.cit.; C.S.Srinivasachari. History of the City of Madras, p. 140 ff; L. and W. 1913 p. 60 ff; American Journal of Theology 1910 p. 427 ff; M.R.U.F.C.S. 1911 p. 116

The five colleges became six in 1883 with the starting of Hislop College in Nagpur by the Free Church, and eight in 1889 with the starting of Murray College at Sialkot by the Church of Scotland, and starting of the college classes in the Church of Scotland Institution in Madras. In 1891 the college at Bombay was given up by the Church of Scotland, and later, in the beginning of the twentieth century when the Churches made attempts at reunification the Free Church merged its college at Calcutta (1908) with the General Assembly's Institution of the Church of Scotland, while the Church of Scotland merged its Institution in Madras (1910) with the Madras Christian College of the Free Church. Thus, by 1914 when our study ends, the two Churches had five colleges, which still exist. (Sialkot now forms part of Pakistan.)

In their earlier stages, the colleges combined both the functions of school and college. As the Institutions - the term by which they were generally designated - progressed, and the number of students increased, the two branches were separated. The schools, however, continued as before to act as "feeders" to the colleges, by supplying them with students. All the colleges conducted by the Scottish Churches were affiliated to Universities.

The number of the students during some years, in the Colleges managed by the Scottish missions, has been shown on p. 557 (~~xiv~~). It will be seen that the number of the students increased four-fold during the period of this study, from 656 to 2,923. It will also be

observed that the Scottish missions were educating over 10% of the total Arts and Science students in the country. The figures generally show a steady growth, although some fluctuations are noticeable. Some of these fluctuations have been explained in the mission reports. The decrease in 1890 at the Free Church College, Calcutta, has been attributed to the smaller percentage of students passing the University Entrance examination earlier year[1], the fall in Bombay in 1900 to the Plague in the city in that year[2], and the decrease in the Church of Scotland College, Calcutta in 1905, to a decrease in "class room accommodation"[3].

A parliamentary paper attributed fluctuations to the number of students who desired to receive university education, the numbers who succeeded in University Entrance examinations, the amount of accommodation available in the Colleges and the rate of fees. The rate of fees, had in fact, a considerable bearing on the number of students in a College. Generally, while the government colleges charged the highest fees, the missionary Colleges charged lower, and the Indian-managed Colleges, the lowest, as will be seen in the following table of the Colleges at Calcutta in 1888:[4]

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1. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1890, Appendix VIII, p. 29
2. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1900, Appendix VIII, p. 45
3. Report on the schemes of the C. of S. 1905, p. 136
4. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p. 60

College	No. of Students	Fees Per Month Rs.
Presidency (Government)	333	12
Church of Scotland	415	5
Free Church of Scotland	203	5
Church Missionary Society	83	5
St. Xaviers	189	6
Metropoliton College	837	3
City College	269	3
Ripon College	274	3

The last three were Indian-managed Colleges, and according to the Free Church report, most competition to the missionary Colleges came from them because "The poorer student naturally goes to these native colleges[1]."

Why did the Indian-managed Colleges charge lower fees? Firstly, because the expenses of the Indian-managed Colleges were lower than the missionary or the government-managed Colleges. Thus, in 1888, while the annual expenses per student in the Presidency College were, Rs.364 and in the missionary Colleges varied between Rs. 136 (Free Church) to Rs. 200 (St. Xaviers), the expenses of the Indian-managed Colleges varied only between Rs. 27 to Rs. 57[2]. One might have supposed that the Indian-managed Colleges were not as efficiently managed, but the report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882, said that in Calcutta "The colleges too under native management held a high position ... even though unaided"[3].

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Report of the Indian Education Commission. p. 452-3

Secondly, though the charging of lower fees did not procure for them the government grants [1], yet it was stated that they "find greater advantages [i.e. get more students] in charging a fee of Rs. 3 per month than taking a government grant" [2]. The report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882, pointed out that in Bengal, while, in the Government and aided Colleges respectively, fees formed 27.5% and 29.6% of the total expenditure, in unaided Colleges, fees formed 41.2% of the total expenditure [3]. Thirdly, unaided Colleges paid lower salaries to their staff than the aided and the Government Colleges. The Education Commission of 1882 showed that whereas, in the Government and aided First Grade Colleges, monthly salaries of academic staff ranged from Rs. 150 - 900 and Rs. 75 - 610 respectively, in the unaided Colleges, they ranged from Rs. 60 - 225 [4].

There was also another co-related question : why did a considerable number of students prefer missionary Colleges to those managed by Indians and pay the higher fees? According to a Church Scotland missionary, two reasons accounted for this: firstly, the parents preferred instruction by Europeans and secondly, "whereas in Government and Native Colleges, fees are strictly exacted when due, we, out of consideration for the students do not, as a rule, exact fees until the time of a university examination" [5].

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1. F.C.S. Report, 1868, p.60 "Government insists that all colleges which receive grants-in-aid shall receive no students who do not pay a fee of atleast Rs. five a month"
2. Ibid.
3. Report of the Indian Education Commission, p.280
4. Ibid. p.283
5. Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1890, p.302

The important role which the Scottish missions played in the field of missionary higher education is seen in Richter's History of Christian Missions. Richter shows that by 1901, though of the forty Protestant colleges in India, only seven were conducted by the two Scottish Churches, yet out of 5,930 students attending all colleges, the seven Scottish colleges had more than 3,100 students on their rolls. Of the seven, the Free Church college in Madras had more than 800 students and the General Assembly's Institution at Calcutta had more than 750[1]; and an American missionary remarked, in 1907[2]:

> Nearly one-half the total number of college students of the Christian Colleges of India are enrolled in Scottish colleges; while all the American societies together, though having just double the number of colleges, have only one-third as many students as there are in the Scottish institutions.

He also said that Wilson College was the largest College in Western India[3]. Also, while describing the missionary Colleges, the quinquennial report on the progress of Education in India for the years 1897-1902 made special mention of the Scottish Colleges at Calcutta and Madras[4].

Of the Scottish missionary Colleges, up to 1907 at least, the Church of Scotland Colleges at Madras and Sialkot prepared students only for the F.A. examination[5], while all others provided both the under-graduate and post-graduate teaching. Until 1880, the emphasis

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1. Richter. Op.cit., p. 319 (footnote)
2. H. Huizinga. Op.cit. p.79-80.
3. H. Huizinga. Op.cit. p. 80
4. P.P. 1904: vol.65: Cd: 2181: p. 43-44 (Report of progress of education in India, 1897-1902.)
5. See Table in H. Huizinga. Op.cit. p.130-31

was on the teaching of the humanities and social sciences, but after 1880 stress was laid on the teaching of pure sciences as well. Expensive equipment for laboratories of Wilson College and the Madras Christian College was imported from Scotland during this period and the students began to be prepared for Honours course in sciences of Bombay University[1]. The percentage of the students who graduated from the Universities in "four main" Faculties, in 1901-2 to 1906-7, was as follows:[2]

Arts	-	85%
Science	-	2%
Medicine	-	9%
Engineering	-	4%

The under-graduates had to go through two university examinations - the F.A. and the B.A. The abbreviation F.A. stands for the "First in Arts". The F.A. examination was conducted by the university after two years' attendance at the college. The parallel course in sciences was denoted as F.Sc. During the later period of this study, the examinations of F.A. and F.Sc., in India were termed as Inter-Arts and Inter-Science respectively.

The degree of B.A. or B.Sc. (in some universities) was awarded after successful completion of four years' study at the college and the passing of the final examination, but some students, such as teachers, could appear as "private" students without attending any college.

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1. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1881, Appendix VIII, p.23 and 31, 1882, p.30 and 44.
2. P.P. 1909: Vol. 63: Cmd.4635: p.35.

In the Free Church College at Calcutta the F.A. students were taught English, mathematics, elementary physics and chemistry, history (Greece and Rome) and logic, while the B.A. students could select various groups from among: "English, mental and moral science, Sanskrit or history (England or India) and political economy or mathematics"[1]. During the earlier years of this study, post-graduate students had to prepare independently but were offered tutorial assistance by the college teachers when required[2]. But later regular lectures were given to M.A. students. In the Free Church College of Calcutta, these numbered 150 during the academic year 1903-04[3]. The syllabuses for F.A. and B.A. awards were similar in other colleges except for classical language, which differed in different parts of the country[4]. The number of subjects taught varied according to the size of the college.

The results of the examinations from F.A. to M.A. during some

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1. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p. 48. The F.A. curriculum in the Murray College, Sialkot, in 1905 was similar to one at Calcutta. See: H.F.L. Taylor: Op. cit. p. 113.
2. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p. 48. For the exact curriculum of Bachelor's and Master's degrees in different universities in India. See: P.P. 1904: vol. 65: Cmd. 2181.
3. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1905, Appendix V, p. 19.
4. For example in Punjab instead of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian were taught as classical languages which were more popular in that region because of a large Muslim population, while in Wilson College, Bombay, because of multi-religious population all the three languages Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian were taught.

years of this study have been shown on p.558-60 along with the University results of some years. Some of the comments in the mission reports on the results are as follows: the F.A. results of the College in Bombay in 1880-81 were quoted as 30 per cent as against 22 per cent of the University as a whole, with the additional remark that the results put the College "in the second place among the six Colleges in the Bombay Presidency" [1]. The general comment on the overall results for the College in Bombay in 1888-89 was: "The success of the College in all the University examinations has greatly risen. A larger number have been successful, and the positions taken by our students are higher ... Some of our students have won the highest honours"[2]. About the F.A. results of the Church of Scotland College, Madras, in 1893-94, it was claimed that the College "stands second among the forty five Colleges in different parts of the Presidency affiliated to the University of Madras both as regards the number of students studying for the First Examination in Arts, and the numbers that pass that examination"[3]. The F.A. results of the Free Church College, Calcutta, during the same year and the Free Church College, Madras, in 1898-99, were described as "very satisfactory"[4].

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1. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1882, Appendix VIII, p. 30.
2. Ibid. 1890, p. 11.
3. Reports on the Schemes of the C. of S., 1895, p. 97.
4. F.C.S. Proceedings 1895, Appendix VIII, p. 17 and 1900, p. 60.

The F.A. results of the Church of Scotland College, Calcutta, in 1903-04, were described as 36.6 per cent as against 34.3 for the University as a whole[1]. The general comment on the results of the same College in 1908-09 was that 117 students passed in the various University examinations out of 260 submitted, "some of them taking a very distinguished position"[2]. Similarly about the results of the above College in 1913-14, it was stated that while the University results as a whole were 54 per cent, the College results were 65 per cent[3]. The F.A. results of the Free Church College, Madras, in 1912-13 were described as 45 per cent as against the 33 per cent of the University as a whole[4].

As regards the results of the B.A. examination, it was said about the College in Bombay about 1880-81 results that "as far as our College was concerned, were very satisfactory"[5], and about the results of 1893-94: "In the various university examinations the results were very favourable to the College"[6]. Also it was said about 1908-09 results of the same College that the College "took a good place"[7],

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1. Report on the Schemes of the C. of S., 1905, p. 137.
2. Ibid. 1910, p. 110.
3. Ibid. 1915, p. 127.
4. Ibid. 1914, p. 131.
5. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1882, Appendix VIII, p. 30.
6. Ibid. 1895, p. 31.
7. Ibid. 1910, Appendix V, p. 29.

about Nagpur: "we did well", and about Madras: "as quite satisfactory"[1]. The results of the College at Calcutta during the same year were described as 27.6 per cent as against 14.9 of the university as a whole[2]. Also about the results of the same College in 1912-13 (not shown in figures), it was said that the "average pass was well above the average of the university"[3].

The University results, however, need some qualifying. It might be recalled that the candidates for the university examinations could also appear privately, and the results of such "private" candidates were much poorer than of those attending the Colleges and having the benefit of tuitions. It was estimated, for example, in 1901-02, that whereas the percentage of students passing B.A. examination through the Colleges was 39, that of the "private" candidates was 26[4]. However, considering the fact that the number of "private" candidates appearing was not large (523 out of 3913 in 1901-02)[5], they might have made some but not a substantial difference in the results.

The total time devoted to prepare a student for the B.A. degree was longer than in Scottish Universities. It was stated

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1. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1910, Appendix V, pp. 36 and 41.
2. Report on the Schemes of the C. of S., 1910, p. 137.
3. Ibid. 1914, pp. 127-28.
4. P.P. 1904, Vol. 65 Cmd. 2181, P. 80.
5. Ibid. p. 65.

before the Indian Education Commission of 1882 that whereas a student in a Scottish University could obtain a degree after attending about 700 lectures, the Indian student had often to attend as many as 3,000 lectures[1]. One reason given for so many lectures was the absence of any tutorials as in Oxford and Cambridge[2]. But apparently, much attention seems to have been paid to the learning of English language, since one of the chief characteristics of college education was described as its being in English[3].

The colleges conducted by missions were quite popular among the people. "It is recommendation enough", said a Scottish missionary professor in Calcutta, "to a young man merely to have studied in such a College as the General Assembly's Institution. To receive a certificate from one of the missionaries is esteemed virtually equivalent to a passport to success in life"[4]. The Scottish Colleges at Calcutta and Madras had more students than the Colleges of other Protestant denominations[5]. The reasons for this, according to a Scottish missionary, were the half-hearted support of the Home Committees of other Protestant denominations and attempts to dissociate their colleges from the universities[6]. By the beginning of the

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1. P.P. 1904: vol. 65, Cmd. 2181, p. 66.
2. Ibid.
3. P.P. 1914: vol. 62, Cmd. 7485, p. 11.
4. Report on the Schemes of the C. of S., 1890, p. 303.
5. See p.
6. Report on the Schemes of the C. of S., 1890, p. 298.

twentieth century some of the colleges like Wilson College, Bombay, Church of Scotland College, Calcutta, and Madras Christian College became so crowded that admission had to be refused to some for want of accommodation[1]. In 1914, in Madras Christian College, 1,000 applications were received for 140 places[2].

When the colleges were first started, no fees were charged from the students and this continued "somewhere" up to "Sixties"[3]. Later while full fees were charged from the non-Christian students, Christian students paid half-fees in Calcutta at least[4].

The students who passed from the missionary colleges sometimes obtained positions of prominence. Many of the high posts in South India, for which the minimum requirement was a university degree, were filled by the graduates of Madras Christian College. Again, of the students of Calcutta Colleges, a graduate of the General Assembly's Institution was appointed a Deputy Inspector General of Police, while a graduate of Duff college was appointed Prime Minister to the Maharaja of Jaipur, and another of the same

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1. L. and W. 1907, p. 211: W. Miller. Madras Christian College ... Op. cit. p. 17. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1912, pp. 246-249.
2. Report on the Schemes of the C. of S., 1914, p. 104.
3. M.R.U.F.C.S., 1913, p. 393.
4. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1909, Appendix V, p. 9 (Christian Students paid 4s. per month as against 8s. paid by non-Christians). See also Handbook of the C. of S. for India and Ceylon, 1899, p. 53.

College was the Registrar of Calcutta University in 1909[1]. The colleges were equally well-known to government dignitaries, who on not a few occasions associated themselves with the inauguration of college buildings, social functions and other ceremonies which took place in the colleges[2].

The colleges did not confine their activities only to academic pursuits but also paid attention to the social, cultural and physical well-being of the students. Extra-curricular activities formed an important part of most colleges. A Young Men's Chaitanya[3] Club flourished in the Free Church College, Calcutta, whose object was "to circulate literature and hold lectures". In 1900, the club had a membership of 350 students[4]. Wilson College, Bombay, had a debating society which organised lectures and seminars on various topics[5], and the Scottish Churches' College, Calcutta, an athletic club by 1914[6]. But of all the colleges, Madras Christian College had the largest number of societies. It had, by 1888, a debating society, a philosophical society, a dramatic society, a

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1. J.S. Dennis, op. cit., vol. III, p. 344: Alex Tomory, op. cit., p. 30.
2. F.C.S. Proceedings. 1886, Appendix viii, p. 38; E.G.K. Hewat, op. cit., p. 48: G.S.H.F.M.B., 1892, p. 659: L. & W. 1910, p. 58.
3. Chaitanya was the patron Hindu saint of Bengal. But the word also means "the state of bliss".
4. J.S. Dennis, op. cit., vol. I, p. 242: F.C.S. Monthly, 1894, p. 15.
5. F.C.S. Proceedings 1881 Appendix viii, p. 24, and 1888, p. 18.
6. Report on the Schemes of the C. of S., 1914, p. 128.

cricket club and a Lawn Tennis Club. Some of the societies aimed at turning the colleges from mere "influencing agencies" - as many colleges in India were then described to be - into "real centres of educational and cultural influences"[1].

The development of the colleges and the availability of more funds from the fees and grants in particular, enabled the management to provide hostels for the students. The Free Church Colleges at Calcutta and Bombay had a hostel each. The Hislop College, Nagpur, had two hostels by 1910[2], the Madras Christian College had three hostels by 1912, and in the same year a piece of land was purchased for the construction of the fourth. A feature of the hostels in Madras Christian College was their separate allotment to different castes and creeds[3]. The Church of Scotland College in Calcutta had four hostels by 1914, and in the same year, a fifth was nearing completion[4]. Of all the students in 1914 in that College, 409 lived with parents, 363 with guardians, 200 in hostels, 86 in college messes, and 58 in "unattached hostels and messes"[5].

Hostels offered the missionaries a greater opportunity for keeping contacts with students. A missionary hostel superintendent,

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1. F.C.S. Proceedings 1888, Appendix viii, p.24.
2. Reports of the Committees of the United Free Church of Scotland, 1910, p. 36.
3. See P.P. 1914, vol. 62, cd. 7485 p. 89; M.R.U.F.C.S., 1902, p. 248; R.S. Wilson, Indirect effects of Christian missions in India, p. 144.
4. Report on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland, 1915, p. 127.
5. Ibid.

described them as "a most important and helpful factor in the life of the College"[1]. And, in 1908, a Conference of the "missionaries and other Christian workers" urged for the wider provision of hostels because they afforded "special opportunity for personal contact"[2].

In fact, one of the important questions debated in the missionary circles, during the later period of this study, was, "whether instead of High Schools and Colleges maintained by missionaries, hostels under missionary management attached to non-missionary educational institutions may not be equally effective as a missionary agency?" However, replying to the above question in the negative, the acting Principal of the Madras Christian College wrote, in 1911, that "The influence of a teacher of profound personality is so undeniably great that nothing can adequately fill the place of an efficiently managed Christian School or College, not even the best of our hostels"[3]. But, he added that if some societies could not afford to maintain High Schools and Colleges, hostels would be "the best substitute" "for securing the religious influence on the students"[4].

Grants were given for "the erection, enlargement or purchase of buildings" for the hostels - the maximum amount varying in different provinces. An interesting controversy took place

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1. Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1915, p. 127.
2. Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1908, p. 203.
3. Yearbook of missions in India, 1912, p. 312.
4. Ibid.

between the Madras Christian College and the Education Department of the Madras Government in this respect. In 1905, that College applied for a grant of Rs. 24,500 (the maximum amount permissible under rules) "towards the purchase by the College Council of the range of buildings near the College ... known as the Penn Hostels". These buildings were the private property of the Principal, Dr. Miller, and valued at Rs. 73,500, and were to form a fourth hostel for the students. The Education Department refused the grant to the College, whereupon the College sent a petition to the Government of India saying that the Madras Government had refused the grants "assigning no reason for its action". The petition was sent through the Madras Government, and while forwarding it to the Government of India, Madras government enclosed its submission which said:

> When the application was under the consideration of Government the Bursar and the Secretary of the College was granted an interview by a member of Government, and in the course of conversation it was gathered that in any event it was Dr. Miller's intention to present the hostel as a gift to the College. The Government was not satisfied that in the proposed purchase of the building any money was meant to pass from the College to Dr. Miller, or that the public grant asked for was a bona fide proportion of any actual expenditure to be incurred by the College. Another consideration which weighed with the Government in the decision they arrived at was that to give a grant for a building constructed long ago and for many years in use was contrary to any principle that must properly govern building grants which are intended to call buildings into existence. Moreover the College had already in the last few years received from Government in addition to ordinary building grants at various times as much as

> Rs.24,200 as grants towards the provision of students' hostels, while in other provinces of India the maximum building grant is ordinarily limited to Rs.10,000 and the whole arrangement seemed designed by the Christian College simply to add to its finances by the amount of the Government grant and was altogether beyond the objects and intention of the Code.

The submission further observed that in its application for grant, the College did not say how "it was going to meet its share of the cost of the building" and added that the credit balance of the College was only Rs. 12,602.

The Government of India, in its reply, stated that the:

> reasons for the refusal of the grant should have been communicated to the College Council, and they would suggest that this should now be done. If the Governor in Council, after receiving the reply of the College Council, and assuring himself that he is in full possession of all the facts relevant to the application, should still feel that the application does not fall within the scope of the building grant rules, but is nevertheless satisfied that the grant if sanctioned would be utilized to supplement any fund and any further grant for the construction of an additional hostel, the Government of India would suggest that the Government of Madras should consider whether some relaxation of the rules should not be permitted to meet the peculiar circumstances of the present case.

The reply also showed, with instances, that the grants over Rs. 10,000 had been, in fact, sanctioned by several provinces for building purposes and that the "The Madras government is also alone with that of the Central Provinces in limiting its grants to one-third of the cost of the building".

The Madras government replied that keeping in view "of the suggestions of the Government of India", it would make the following

proposal to the College authorities:

(1) On payment of a grant of R24,500 the Fenn Hostel to be transferred by Dr. Miller to the College.

(2) The College to spend the equivalent of the balance of the price set on the Fenn Hostel, namely, R49,000, on the provision of further hostel accommodation.

(3) On such accommodation being provided, the Government to pay a further grant-in-aid under their rules.

The reply further added "that unless these or some such conditions are made, the grant of R24,500 would not be devoted either to the purchase of the Fenn Hostel or to the provision of further hostel accommodation, but to an object of which they do not approve and for which the College Council have failed to obtain aid by more direct means."

The Government of India, however, replied that as the matter was "within the discretion of the local government", "the Council of the College may be informed that the Government of India decline to interfere in the matter"[1].

It seems the Government of Madras eventually did give the grant to the College, but perhaps not the amount requested. The annual report of the United Free Church for 1906 stated that the Fenn hostel had been acquired and that the total cost of the four hostel (the College already had three) was "approximately £15,000, and in acquiring them £4,000 was contributed from College funds, Government

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1. See NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA (New Delhi): Home Dept. Proceedings, 1905: Education: Part B: Progrs. Nos. 50, 53, 54, 55, 91 and 92.

contributed £2,600 and the balance was the gift of Dr. Miller"[1]. The equivalent amount of £2,600 then was Rs. 41,600, and until the grant for Fenn hostel was received, the total grants received by the College for the earlier hostels had amounted to Rs. 24,200, as already shown in the Madras government's letter to the Government of India.

As regards the staff members, Indians were paid lesser salaries, and their service conditions also appear to be inferior. In the Madras Christian College and Wilson College, Bombay, due to the regulations laid down by the Foreign Missions Committee, however efficient an Indian staff member, he could not be a member of the College Senate[2]. In Wilson College, there were two separate staff rooms - one for the missionaries and the other for the Indian professors[3]. A professor who could not tolerate this discrimination had to resign his position[4].

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1. U.F.C.S. Proceedings, 1907, Appendix V, p. 38.
2. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7822, p. 216; Church Missionary Society Mss. 1914: G2: I2: Mss No. 53.
3. The term "professor" is often loosely used in India and sometimes junior members of academic staff in colleges are also denoted as "professors".
4. The professor who resigned in Wilson College complained: "...the native professors were treated like hired servants and had no voice in any matter, whatever, regarding the affairs of the Institution. They were not invited to common room meetings and had not the smallest opportunity of influencing the decisions of any college question of whatever nature. I protested against this and pointed out that though financial questions need not come before native professors for decision, yet there was not the smallest reason why purely educational matters should not be disposed of by the ntive and Europeans professors jointly ..." (this was afterwards agreed by the College authorities)

   About the staff room incident on which he had to resign, he deplored that while the European staff had a separate "well furnished and airy room", the Indian professors "were consigned to an ill-furnished room on the ground floor - a room which was put to a variety of other uses, for holding classes in, for receiving peons' clothes and things etc. etc.".
   N.L.S. Mss. 7822, p. 216.

As regards the salaries, in the College at Calcutta, jointly managed by the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church, while the salaries of the European staff members, in 1908, were £400 per annum, the proposed salaries of Indians were[1]:

Professor of Mathematics £240: Professor of Science £200:
Professor of Sanskrit £120: Professor of History £200.

Apart from building their own Colleges the Scots missionaries also contributed to the development of the Indian Universities. Dr. Duff had been consulted over the Educational Despatch of 1854 which provided for the establishment of three universities in India and he was appointed by the Governor General to serve on the committee which established the Calcutta University. According to his biographer in the D.N.B. during

> the first six years of the history of the university ... in all that secured its catholicity, and in such questions as pure text books and the establishment of the Chair of Physical Science contemplated in the despatch, Dr. Duff led the party in the senate. ... The examining system still in force was of his creation ... He was the first person that insisted on education in the physical sciences.

Duff's colleague, Dr. Wilson, was the Vice Chancellor of Bombay University in 1868. He too "contributed largely to the shaping of the university of Bombay"[2].

During the period of this study, Dr. Mackichan, Principal of Wilson College was for three terms in 1888, 1902, and 1905, the Vice Chancellor of Bombay University. Dr. William Miller, Principal of Madras Christian College, though he had

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1. U.F.C.S. Proceedings, 1907, Appendix VB, p. 9.
2. K.S. Latourette. History of the expansion of Christianity, vol. VI, p. 119.

been Vice Chancellor of Madras University only for a term of five years, was regarded and respected with such esteem that for the long period he was the Principal of Madras Christian College, he exercised important influence over the affairs of the university. The reputation of Dr. Mackichan and Dr. Miller was such that the former was one of the three missionaries to be appointed on the Education Commission of 1882, while in the University Commission of 1902, the latter was the only missionary representative. In 1894, the "past and present students of Wilson College presented a portrait to Dr. Mackichan in recognition of his services to the College" [1]. When Dr. Mackichan died the University of Bombay acknowledged his services with deep appreciation and recorded: "During a period of forty years, he placed the University under a deep debt of obligation and made a great contribution to the whole cause of education in the Presidency" [2].

Apart from the Principals of the Colleges, several professors held important positions on the university senates and other committees of the universities. Dr. Macdonald, a Free Church educational-cum-evangelical missionary had held several offices in Calcutta University

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7821, p.12 and 18.
2. Quoted in D. Williamson. Forty five years in India..., p.20.

during his life-time. He was at different times, a Fellow of Calcutta University, the Chairman of the University's Board of Accounts, member of the Faculty of Arts on the Syndicate, President of the Board of Studies in English, Philosophy and History, member of the University Library Committee and the member of the Executive Committee of the University Institute [1]. Another Free Church missionary, Russel James, was a Fellow of the University of Madras and a member of that University's Senate [2]. E.M. Macphail of the same Church was a Fellow of the University of Madras (1899-1923), and later the Vice Chancellor (1922-'25) [3]. Alexander Moffat, also of the same University and the same Church, held the positions of Chairman of the Board of Studies in Physics, President, Faculty of Science, and was a member of the Syndicate at the University of Madras during the period of this study [4]. Alex. Tomory of the same Church was a member of the Calcutta University Senate [5]. Mr. Wilson, a staff member of the Church of Scotland College, Calcutta, was elected to the Syndicate by the Fellows in 1886 [6], and Mr. Wann another staff member in the same College was a member of the University's

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1. J.M. Macphail, Kenneth S. Macdonald, p. 214.
2. Fasti of the United Free Church of Scotland, p. 543
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid. p. 544
5. Ibid. p. 536
6. Report on the Schemes of the C.of S. 1886, p. 76

Senate and Syndicate in 1904 [1]. Mr. Robert Kilgour, a missionary at Darjeeling (1889-1909) was an examiner in Nepali in Allahabad and Calcutta Universities [2].

Rivalry was occasionally noted in the field of higher education between the Catholic and the Protestant missions. In most big cities where Protestant missions had their colleges, the Catholics also started one of their own if they had none and vice versa. In Madras and in Bombay, said Dr. Miller, in 1889, the Jesuits "are doing all that can be done by lavish outlay by ingratiating themselves with the people, by yielding in the meantime to every popular impulse, to make their colleges dominating ones" [3]. He added that the Protestant Schools and Colleges were finding it "very hard to maintain their place in front of the lavish expenditure, the patient determination and the organising skill of Jesuits" [4]. And the Principal of the Church of Scotland College at Calcutta remarked at the same time that "One Protestant institution for Anglo-Indian and Eurasian youths has lately been obliged to close its senior classes, mainly - I have been informed on good authority - owing to the competition of St. Xavier's better equipped and cheaper college" [5]. On one occasion, ----------

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1. Ibid. 1905, p. 138
2. Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae, Vol. 7, p. 697
3. Report on the Schemes of the C.of S., 1890, p. 282-3
4. Ibid. p. 281
5. Ibid. p. 294

In 1879, the Principal of a Catholic managed college in Madras complained to the educational authorities that grants paid to the Madras Christian College were excessive and unjustified. As a result of the complaint, the Education Department investigated its entire grant system which also resulted in the reduction of the grants to Madras Christian College from Rs. 10,047 to Rs. 8,220 [1].

The missionaries sometimes came in conflict with the government authorities in the field of higher education. Their objection was that government was providing education which was "Godless" [2]. The Despatch of 1854 had suggested that government should gradually withdraw from the field of higher education [3]. But the missionaries refrained to point out another Despatch (No. 6, dt. 14th May, 1862) which said inter alia that "Her Majesty's Government are unwilling that a Government school should be given up where the inhabitants show a marked desire that it should be

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1. India Office Library. J. & P. Records, 1879, vol.41, correspondence 832.
2. S. Nurrullah and J.P. Naik. Op.cit. p.243.
3. The exact wording of the Despatch was: "The Despatch further looks forward to the time when many of the existing institutions especially those of the higher order, may be safely closed, or transferred to the management of local bodies under the control of and aided by the State". Quoted in: A native of Southern India. Missionary crusade against the State education in India. p.29.

maintained"[1].

From 1870 onwards the missionaries pressed the demand for government's withdrawal from the field of education but the government did not oblige them because it thought that time was, as yet, not appropriate for withdrawal. In 1878 the Protestant missionaries formed an association called "General Council on Education in India" to fight the government on the issue. As it generally was the case, Scots missionaries were active, in this body as well. The missionaries mobilised opinion in their favour both in India and Britain. In 1881, some of the important missionaries met the Marquess of Hartington, then Secretary of State for India, and presented him with a memorandum signed, among others, by sixty members of Parliament, demanding "an inquiry into the working of the Education Despatch for India of 1854" [2]. They continued to press their demands until a Commission was appointed in 1882. An interesting controversy took place between Dr. Mackichan, the principal of Wilson College, Bombay, and Dr. Wordsworth, the principal of Elphinstone College (a government institution),

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1. Ibid. p.28.
2. John Johnstone. Abstract and analysis of the report of the Indian Education Commission of 1882, p.2. See also S. Nurrullah and J.P. Naik. Op.cit. p.243-4.

Bombay, over the issue of government's withdrawal from higher education. Submitting his evidence before the Education Commission of 1882, Dr. Mackichan reminded the Commission that government should withdraw from the field of higher education as suggested in the Despatch of 1854. To this principal Wordsworth replied that "the place left vacant would in actual fact be occupied in this country by those powerful religious bodies whose primary objects are rather religious conversions than intellectual improvement". Dr. Mackichan upon this curiously argued that the government by continuing its institutions was violating the principle of religious neutrality. To this principal Wordsworth asserted that it would be a great folly to

> ... Close institutions, which it (government) has deliberately established for the benefit of the people of this country, because a certain number of teachers whose primary object is to detach the people of the country from their ancestral beliefs, think that these institutions are an impediment to their own plans.

He further asked:

> If India possessed the privilege of self government, would it be possible even to discuss seriously such a proposal? If a strict interpretation of the principle of religious neutrality requires the withdrawal of government from the direct management

> of schools and colleges, does it not much more require the withdrawal of all aid from institutions whose professed object is the extinction of religion of the country [1].

The commission however reached the "unanimous opinion that the withdrawal of direct departmental agency should not take place in favour of missionary bodies and that departmental institutions of the higher order should not be transferred to missionary management" [2].

Also in 1893, a controversy arose over the question of religious instruction between the Rev. McCulloch, a Free Church missionary at Hooghly, and Mr. Booth, Principal of the Hooghly College (a Government institution). The Rev. McCulloch started a Bible study class, "as he states", upon receiving a request from 31 students of the Hindu Hostel. Whereupon, the superintendent of the hostel, who, according to Mr. Booth, acted as his deputy, asked the students not to attend these classes without obtaining their parents' permission [3]. Complaining against this, the secretary of the Free Church Mission at Calcutta (Mr. Hector), wrote to the officiating Director of Public Instruction (Mr. Martin) that Mr. Booth's instructions to the superintendent were unreasonable, and that the attendance of the students at the Bible classes "should not and could not be regarded as a breach of discipline of the hostel" [4]. He further said that if at all, any instructions are to be issued to students in this respect, "it falls

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1. C.H. Parekh. Christian Proselytisation in India. Quoted in, Government of Madhya pradesh. Report of the inquiry committee on the activities of Christian missionaries in Madhya Pradesh, p.106 (This controversy does not appear to figure in the text of the report of the Indian Education Commission. It is definitely not in section 10 which discusses "The withdrawal of the State from the direct Provision and Management of Education, especially of higher Education" (p.451); But the names of witnesses do include both Principals Mackichan and Wordsworth (p.629)
2. Report of the Indian Education Commission (1883), p. 453
3. India Office Library. Bengal General Proceedings No. 22-23 1895,p.173
4. Ibid.

within the province of any Government official or department" rather than the Principal of a College. (He was perhaps assuming that the Principal was not a competent authority to issue such instructions) [1].

The officiating Director of Public Instruction, after making inquiries, however agreed with Mr. Booth's version of the dispute, and reported to Mr. Hector: [2] (i) That "Mr. Booth regards himself, so far as the hostel students are concerned, in loco parentis, and he is justified in prohibiting such students from attending any classes, non-Hindu religious in character, until they furnish him with satisfactory evidence that their parents wish them to attend such classes".

(ii) "Mr. Booth regards it as improper conduct on the part of students to attend classes which they must know their parents most probably would object.."

(iii) That "the boys in the hostel are Hindu boys, not old enough or educated enough to enter upon religious discussion with trained teachers of another religion" [3].

Upon this, the Rev. J.P. Ashton, secretary to the Calcutta Missionary Conference wrote a long letter to the Director of Public Instruction, the substance of which was [4] :

(i) That the superintendent of the hostel, by refusing permission to the students to attend the Bible class, was acting as "Conservator of Hinduism",

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1. Ibid. p. 174
2. Ibid.
3. "The ordinary age for matriculation varied from about fourteen to seventeen, Students sometimes graduated at eighteen or nineteen." Cambridge History of British Empire, Vol V; p. 337.
4. Bengal General Proceedings, Op.cit. p. 175-76.

and that "the principle of religious neutrality does not give any government officer in charge of such hostels the right, much less oblige him, to act as a conservator of Hinduism, either directly or indirectly".

(ii) That "a Hindu hostel under government auspices... is an institution intended only to be an accommodation to a Hindu peculiarity not an institution for the buttressing of Hinduism".

(iii) That the student "must exercise his freedom of choice in the light of what he himself knows of the wishes, expressed or understood, of his parents or guardian".

(iv) "If the decision stands", let it be officially made public and applied to all government hostels.

(v) That a delegation would like to have an interview with him.

In the meantime, the Director of Public Instructions, (Mr. Croft) had resumed his duties, who had an interview with Dr. Macdonald, one of the Free Church missionaries, at Calcutta. At this interview, according to the Rev. McCulloch, the main figure in the controversy, Mr. Croft promised Dr. Macdonald, that he would "refer the matter to the Bengal government in such a form that while he argues in support of the decision of his locum tenens he may yet in no way make it difficult for the Bengal government to decide in our favour" [1].

The long reply, which Mr. Croft sent to Mr. Ashton, the secretary of the Calcutta Missionary Conference, generally supported Mr. Booth's stand in the dispute. The main point in Mr. Croft's letter was his

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7839, p. 123-24.

interpretation of the term religious neutrality, which, according to him, meant "equal protection of all religions". He further went on to say that if his interpretation be admitted, then [1];

> it throws a very different light upon the action of the Principal of the Hooghly College. Under his control there is not only a Hindu but a Muhammadan hostel also. If the invitation to attend the Bible-class had extended to the residents in the Muhammadan hostel, the action of the Principal would have made him, in the opinion of the Conference, a conservator of Hinduism and Muhammadanism equally. To these two instances let me add a hypothetical case, which seems to be relevant. Let me suppose that an institution like the Government Boarding School for Europeans at Kurseong were also under the control of the Principal; that a convert to Muhammadanism like Mr. Webb, who lectured last year in Calcutta in favour of Muhammadanism and against Christianity, were to go to Hooghly and invite the Christian students of the boarding school to attend his lectures; and that the Principal were to refuse his permission. Under these conditions the Principal would be a conservator of Hinduism, Muhammadanism, and Christianity alike. In other words, by acting consistently in the way that you condemn, he would be a conservator of each religion, only in the sense of giving it the same support and protection that he afforded to the rest. He would not, indeed, be indifferent to religious questions, but he would be impartial between them; and I wish to suggest that in adopting the latter attitude, he would still be conforming to the principle of religious neutrality.

But after generally defending Mr. Booth's stand, Mr. Croft concluded [2];

> The question, however, is not free from difficulty, and I do not know that I can lay claim to be an authoritative exponent of the Government policy in this matter. If, therefore, the Conference are unable to accept my decision as satisfactory, I would venture to suggest that the correspondence be submitted to Government for final decision.

The missionaries agreed to Mr. Croft's suggestion.

The Lt. Governor of Bengal, who dealt with this question, sought to find out if any rules already existed in other provinces, but in vain.

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1. India Office Library. Bengal General ~~Assembly~~ Proceedings Op.cit p. 177
2. Ibid. p. 178.

The replies from the provinces revealed "wide diversities of opinion regarding the proper answer to the question" [1]. And, wrote the Lt. Governor's secretary, "While the Director in the Central Provinces would apparently approve Mr. Booth's action, as you yourself do, the directors in the Punjab and the North Western Provinces would have objected to it" [2]. All the Directors agreed that "A superintendent of a boarding house stands to the boarders in loco parentis," but they differed, as to "what kind of a parent does he represent, and what sort of parental authority he sought to exercise" [3].

After studying the whole question the Lt. Governor concluded that "no superintendent of a hostel is bound to impose any restrictions upon the freedom of action of the resident students, except such as are imposed by the obligations of a morality and by further consideration to health and good manners" [4].

As regards the cost to the missionary societies for maintaining colleges, it appears to have been borne almost entirely on the salaries of the missionaries. Other expenditure of the Colleges, including the salaries of Indian (and sometimes some European) members of staff, were mostly met from the local income, particularly fees and grants [5]. In 1878, the income from the fees and grants in the Church of Scotland College, Calcutta, exceeded the "local" expenditure by Rs. 10,670 [6].

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1. Ibid. No. 24, 1895, p. 181
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid. p. 182
5. For the income received in fees and grants during some years, see p.
6. Report on the schemes of the C.of S., 1879, p.128.

In 1881, the fees, grants and the local revenue at Calcutta were described, in the Church of Scotland, as sufficient to pay "not only all the local expenses of the Institution, but the cost of evangelistic work in the Presidency, and the salary of the junior missionary" [1]. In 1887, the deficit in the local income over local expenditure in the Free Church Institution (College and High School), Calcutta, was Rs. 1,463, but it was added that Rs. 1,500 were kept aside for the repairs on the expenditure side. [2] A year later, in the Church of Scotland, there was a surplus of Rs. 4,440 in its Institution at Calcutta, in the "local income over local expenditure" [3]. Also, in Madras, in the same year, the surplus was Rs. 2,713, and in Bombay, Rs. 78 [4]. A year later i.e. (1889), the High School and the College at Calcutta cost the Church of Scotland, £594, and in Madras, £66, including the salaries of three missionaries [5]. In 1893, the secretary of the Free Church claimed in his book that "The four Indian colleges now meet all their expenditure locally, only the ordained missionaries' salaries being sent out, and these partly from endowments" [6]. In 1900, it was said of the Free Church College,

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1. Ibid., 1882, p. 76
2. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p. 58
3. Report on the schemes of the C.of S. 1889, p. 67
4. Ibid p.95 and 105
5. Report on the schemes of the C.of S., 1890 p. 428
6. George Smith. Conversion of India. p. 189

Bombay, that "All local needs, such as salaries of the Indian staff, scholarships, and prizes, upkeep of library and laboratory, repairs and taxes etc., and also the salary of one of the six European professors have to be met from local income" [1]. Also, during the same year it was said about the Church of Scotland College, Calcutta, that "the local income of the college was sufficient to pay the total expenditure of the college, excluding the salaries of the Europeans" [2]. In 1908, at the College in Calcutta, jointly managed by the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church of Scotland, all the local expenditure of the college and the salaries of two European Professors were expected to be met from the local income. [3]

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1. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1900. Appendix VIII, p. 30
2. Reports on the schemes of the C. of S. 1900, p. 124
3. U.F.C.S. Proceedings, 1907, Appendix VB p.9.

V (b) Dr. William Miller and the Madras Christian College

Two forces - a personality and an institution - have left such a mark on higher missionary education in South India that separate discussion of them becomes absolutely necessary. The personality was that of Dr. William Miller and the institution was the Madras Christian College of which he was the principal up to 1907.

The Madras Christian College, described as the "greatest missionary monument" [1] and "foremost" [2] missionary institution, was started as a school by public-spirited Scotsmen in 1835. In 1837 the school was handed over to John Anderson, a resident of St. Andrews, who came as the first missionary in Madras and for years he was associated with it. Until the arrival of Dr. Miller in 1863, the Institution made little headway. In 1867 the first students for B.A. were accepted. In 1877, the college was re-named Madras Christian College when other missionary bodies (Infra. p.181) participated in its finance and administration and it became the largest missionary college in the whole of India [3].

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1. New Cambridge History, vol.XI. p.420.
2. Vincent Smith (ed.) Oxford history of India (1958 ed), p.724.
3. For the early history of the college see: G. Pittendrigh. Op.cit. p.10ff and p.53ff; R.B. Manikam. Missionary collegiate education in the presidency of Madras. Passim; P.P. 1904 vol. 65 Cmd. 2181 p.45; L. and W. 1908 p.80ff; F.C.S. Report. Op.cit. p.68ff; M.R.U.F.C.S. 1907 p.450ff. It may be added that I. Job Thomas is currently engaged on writing the history of the college.

As its name suggests, the main aim of the re-named college was to educate the Indian Christians [1]. The admission was, however, not restricted to Christians only, firstly because it would have been uneconomic to maintain a large college with few students and secondly because the college provided the best means of conversion of the people of higher castes which were not easily accessible by other means.

The College was popular with people who looked on it with admiration and the students generally preferred Christian College to others. It had the largest student population among the colleges in Madras. In the year 1885, the college had more students than the government college and all colleges under Hindu management put together in the city [2]. The college also produced a greater number of graduates than any other college. Of the fifteen degree colleges affiliated to Madras University, the Christian College produced more than one-third of the eight thousand students who took a degree from the university between the years 1875 and 1905 [3].

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1. F.C.S. Proceedings. 1889, Appendix viii, p.21.
2. G. Pittendrigh. Op.cit. See also E.G.K. Hewat. Op.cit. p.90.
3. Anon. Facts and fancies of missions progress in India ... p.1; E.G.K. Hewat. Op.cit. p.90.

Quantity apart, the quality of the students attending the college was equally good. In 1878 when the government reduced the grants of the college, observing that it had received proportionally more grants than other colleges, one of the many reasons advanced by the college authorities in justification of larger grants was that the college generally stood "first at the university examinations among all the institutions of Southern India alike as regards the numbers and the positions taken by the pupils" [1]. In its efficiency the college was described as "second to none ... among the educational institutions in India" [2]. A chief characteristic of its educational system was that it discouraged the traditional Indian feature of cramming - the "disease of education" as its Principal described it [3].

Besides the academic education, the college provided many other facilities to students. It was the first college in India to provide a hostel for the students in 1882 [4]. Several literary and other societies for the overall development of the faculties of mind and body

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1. India Office Library. India: Judicial and Political Dept. Records, 1880, vol. 26, corresp. 1145 A.
2. F.C.S. Proceedings. 1887, Appendix viii, p.34.
3. William Miller. Education and unrest in India, p.13.
4. P.P. 1904 vol.65 Cmd.2181 p.474; E.C.K. Hewat: Op.cit. p.90.

flourished in the college. Physical exercises were compulsory and among the sports, cricket, football and lawn tennis tended to be more popular [1]. From 1881 onwards, the college also published a literary magazine every month to which present and past students and the missionaries were encouraged to send their contributions [2].

The students admitted to the College came from every part of Southern India and Ceylon [3]. A few even came from distant northern towns. Similarly the graduates which the college produced were employed all over South India, about 40% of the total being in government employment in 1899 [4].

The students seem to have liked their College very much. Even after leaving the college their emotional attachment to the alma mater did not wane. When any call came for the support of the College, they responded generously [5].

An important point worth noting about the College was

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1. W. Miller Op.cit. p.13.
2. Report of the 3rd Decennial Missionary Conference, Bombay, 1892-93, p.679.
   The magazine had a bent towards religion. It also discussed literary, scientific and other topics of students' general interest.
3. F.C.S. Proceedings. 1897, Appendix viii p.112.
4. F.C.S. Monthly. 1899, p.162; See also C.H. Robinson. Op.cit. p.96.

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that it cost the Church less than its counterparts in Bombay or Calcutta [1]. A large sum was derived from the fees and government grants and the College was also partially subsidised by two other missionary bodies. The annual expenditure of the college £9,500 in 1905 was derived as follows [2]:

Fees	£5,000
Government grants	£2,000
Grant from Foreign Missions Committee	£1,400
Grant from Wesleyan Methodist Mission	£ 300
Grant from Church Missionary Society	£ 300
Miscellaneous receipts	£ 500

Dr. William Miller had his early education in Scotland. He had graduated from Marischal College, Aberdeen and had obtained his doctorate in Divinity from New College, Edinburgh. In 1865, he was sent as Principal of the Free

(Con'd from previous page).

5. "... two accidents to the new college building caused a loss of Rs. 16,000 to 18,000 towards which the old students loyally contributed." F.C.S. Proceedings 1886 Appendix viii p.23, and 25. See also F.C.S. Proceedings. 1881, Appendix viii, p.31; M.R.U.F.C.S., 1908, p.63; Madras Christian College Magazine, 1924, p.14.

1. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.75.
2. George Pittendrigh. Op.cit. p.15, 56 and 58.

Church Institution at Madras which had clearly demarcated its school and College sides in that year, and had also started preparing students for the degree course of the Madras University. With his hard work, genial and lovable nature, extreme devotion to duty and with the qualities of an able academic and adroit administrator, he made himself a favourite both among the students and the teachers[1]. He wanted to bring about active collaboration among Protestant missionary societies, at least in the field of education.

To put his views into practice, after seeking the approval of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, he sought the co-operation of other missionary societies to develop and systematise Christian education in India. He approached the London Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. The first society, though agreeable in principle, politely refused to co-operate[2], but the other two agreed

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1. See Christian College Magazine, Oct. 1923 and Jan. 1924 passim.

2. In 1912, London Missionary Society agreed to co-operate. Like the Church Missionary Society and Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, it also shared the expenditure and from 1920 assisted further by supplying a missionary of its Church on the college staff. N. Goodal. A history of London Missionary Society, 1895-1945. p. 76.

to his proposals. The result was the creation of a College in 1877 with a new name of Madras Christian College and with inter-denominational management. The overall administration and financial matters rested with the Free Church but the two societies shared partially the running expenditure and sometimes assisted in the recruitment of European staff.

From the time he assumed his duties until his retirement in 1907, he proved himself a successful teacher and a capable Principal. Exceptions apart, he was very much loved and honoured by his colleagues, the missionaries of other denominations, as well as the students. So much was he esteemed among the students that they referred to him by the Indian term of guru [1] - a term of tribute normally applied only to highly respected teachers. He himself also took a personal interest in the students and knew many of them by their personal names [2]. An old student, while reflecting on his early days in Madras Christian College and paying compliments to Dr. Miller about his intense interest in the students writes:

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1. L.S.S. O'malley. (ed.) India and the West, p.330
   The word guru literally means a religious teacher.
2. Library Herald (New Delhi) 1964: vol.6, No.4, p.119.

> He identified himself with each one of his students. I have heard it said that he could call each of his students by his name. In later years, it appears that he could also tell each of his students the name of his father or uncle who had been in the college earlier. My uncle had told me that Miller often calls a student by his father's name![1]

Another past student paying an obituary tribute to Dr. Miller similarly said that he affectionately called the students as "his boys" - "whom he had but to see once or twice to remember their faces ever after". He also described Dr. Miller as the Mahamahopadhyaya (a title generally conferred on highly learned academicians) of South India and added: "Methinks, 'tis prize enough to have been his pupil". "As a teacher", the same writer went on to say, "he was incomparable"[2].

A member of the Free Church delegation to India, in 1889, speaking similarly from his personal experience about Dr. Miller's interest in the students enthusiastically remarked: "I shall not forget going through the classes with your principal and how lovingly, resting his arm on one student or another, he was able to name every student we met"[3].

Dr. Miller ranked as one of the best academics in South India during his time. Because of his deep devotion to the College and the University affairs, he has been described as "the first non-official Vice-Chancellor of the University

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1. Ibid.
2. Madras Christian College Magazine, 1923, p.255-6
3. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1889, Appendix VIII, p.22

of Madras" [1]. A missionary remarked that few had done more than Dr. Miller "to promote highest education and original research in South India" [2]. Because of his services in the cause of education, he was awarded an Honorary Doctorate of Madras University [3].

Dr. Miller seems to have identified himself completely with education and its development. He spent practically all his savings for educational purposes. In 1887, he made an offer to the university to award a "Miller Gold Medal" every year to a student securing the highest marks in the B.A. examination. The award was the highest in the faculty of Arts and was instituted in the memory of his father [4]. In 1889, when the Foreign Missions Committee was thinking of closing down a school at Madras for financial reasons, he proposed to give £75 every year from his salary so that the school be continued [5]. In 1890, he initiated a fund with a personal donation of £1,800 to provide "retiring allowances" to the professors

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1. Library Herald. Op.cit. p.200.
2. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1901, p.463.
3. Library Herald. Op.cit. p.200.
4. Christian College Magazine. 1888, vol.4 p.381-382.
5. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p. 77.

of the college [1]; in 1894, he donated £300 for the construction of Anderson Hall in the college [2]; in 1901, he gave £900 for providing studentships [3] and in 1904, he contributed £1,500 for the extension of the college building [4].

Dr. Miller's qualities as an educationist were recognised by the government when he was honoured with a seat on the Indian Education Commission of 1882. As a member on the commission, he "exercised a powerful influence over the great issues on which the commission had to decide" [5]. Also, it was due to his educational achievements that Queen Victoria conferred on him the title of Knight Commander of the Indian Empire (K.C.I.E.) in 1884. His relations with the government officials were so cordial that whenever he appealed for subscriptions for the development and extension of the college or its particular administrative or academic units, they were generally granted [6].

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1. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1890, Appendix viii p.37.
2. do. 1895, p.54.
3. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1901, p.463.
4. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1907, p.452; P.P. 1909,vol.63, Cmd.4635, p.45.
5. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1883, p.615.
6. See for instance, P.P. 1909: vol. 63: CMD. 4635, p.45. See also NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA: Home Dept. Proceedings, June 1905:Prog. No. 54, which says: "... the College has been treated liberally in the matter of building grants, for during the past twenty years it has received building grants amounting to Rs. 52,858 against an expenditure by the College Council of Rs. 2,34,000 exclusive of the two hostel grants of Rs. 10,000 ... and Rs. 14,200".

Dr. Miller took a keen interest in the education of the Indians and a more objective approach towards their religion. Even some of the Indian critics of missionary activities have paid tributes to his work[1]. He differed from several other missionaries who painted only one-sided pictures of Indian religions[2]. He agreed with some other Britons that Hinduism was "too often maligned in missionary reports"[3], but added that this tendency was gradually declining. He also criticised the "arrogant denunciation of Hinduism" of some of his fellow-missionaries and opined that "like sacred Christian works, sacred books of the East are [also] full of sublime teachings"[4].

In appreciation of his services, the past and present students of the college and some prominent local residents of Madras erected a bronze statue of Dr. Miller in 1901,

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1. Vide K.M. Panikkar. Foundations of New India. p. 48-49.
2. See J.M. Macphail. Kenneth S. Macdonald, p. 210.
3. Hibbert Journal. 1903, Vol. 1, p. 670.
4. Ibid.

unveiling which the Governor of Madras said:

> ... in the whole history of Southern India, this is the first instance in which the conservative natives of diverse and opposite races have joined together to honour a Christian missionary whose very name was once a source of horror and terror to the community ...

and added:

> Surely, it is impossible to confer a more unique and singular honour on any man than to raise a statue of him during his life time and before his work among you is ended [1].

In the affairs of the University Dr. Miller was the central figure during his time as a principal of the Madras Christian College. In 1893, he was elected to the Madras Legislative Council from the seat reserved for the University Senate [2]. His vote had "as much weight in the Madras Legislative Council or in the senate of Madras University as in the great missionary conferences" [3]. In 1901, he was elected as the Vice Chancellor of the Madras University for a period of five years [4].

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1. M.R.U.F.C.S., 1901, p.115.
2. F.C.S. Monthly, 1893 p.233.
3. Julius Richter. Op.cit. p.319 (footnote).
4. Madras Christian College Magazine, January, 1924, p.4.

During his term of office as a Vice Chancellor, Dr. Miller sought to introduce various reforms in university affairs which have been described by one of his Indian friends as under:

> Dr. Miller thought that the most permanent reforms in the university were those which emanated from the Colleges. In such reforms Madras Christian College had taken a leading part - the hostel system, the constitution of the senatus or the college Governing body instead of the principal being the sole representative authority, in the management of the College, the provision of a consulting room, the introduction of inter-school and inter-college rules, the annual College Day - these were some of the features of college life introduced and practiced in the Christian College before they were adopted in other colleges and thus made part and parcel of University life in the Presidency. These features now received a sort of consecration by their appearance in the new Universities' Act [of 1904] for all India. There were other features like the legal incorporation of the college, the establishment of a Retiring Fund for the teaching staff, and the publication of College Calender which had not then come to be generally adopted ... other features have been introduced, of which one, namely, the facilities provided for the students to read for themselves in the College Hall under the supervising eye of a Silent Professor or a Lecturer and with the help of books from the Consulting Library between 7 p.m. and 9 p.m. may be mentioned [1].

Dr. Miller was confident of the success of the missionary educational enterprise. He strongly believed that Christian education ultimately prepared the student for

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1. Madras Christian College Magazine, 1924, p.5-6.

conversion [1] and it was largely due to his insistence that the Free Church retained its educational institutions which were indirectly suggested for discontinuation in favour of evangelical work by the Foreign Missions Committee report of that Church in 1888.

Dr. Miller's attachment to the College continued even after his retirement. This is seen in the variety of his writings on Indian educational problems and other issues relating to education in general and the Madras Christian College in particular. For his long loyalty to the college, he was made Honorary Principal of the College after his retirement and continued to hold that position until his death. So much had he identified himself with the College that for a long time afterwards students affectionately referred to the college as "Miller School" [2]. In 1932, the College library was named after him [3].

In the Scottish missionary circles, Dr. Miller occupied as great a place of pride as Dr. Alexander Duff or

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1. That Dr. Miller was wrong in his belief was adequately borne out by later evidence when missionary schools and colleges hardly produced any converts.
   vide Report of Christian Higher Education in India, (Lindsay Report), 1931. p.43.
2. Library Herald. Op.cit. p.201-204; The Education of India, p.116. By Arthur Mayhew.
3. Idem.

Dr. John Wilson. In the annals of Scottish Missionary education, if we treat the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century respectively as the Duff and the Wilson eras, the last quarter could conveniently be described as the Miller era because of the profound influence which he exercised. In one respect, he even surpassed the other two. While both Duff and Wilson believed in education as a means of conversion and vigorously acted in that direction, Miller absorbed himself so thoroughly in the cause of education that for him it became almost an end in itself. No wonder he was loved by all who knew him except the few who "viciously attacked" him because of his tolerant approach towards Hinduism[1].

Many tributes were paid to him for his work. Admiring him in the House of Lords, Lord Napier described him as a "missionary teacher known alike for his piety and public zeal, whose services in the cause of higher education are probably unsurpassed in India"[2]. Perhaps the best tribute was paid to him by his contemporary Dr. W. W. Hunter

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1. J.M. Macphail Kenneth S. Macdonald, p. 209-10; See also Madras Christian College Magazine, 1923, p. 249.

2. M.R.U.F.C.S., 1901, p. 115.

who had held some of the highest positions in India as a Census Commissioner, as a Chairman of Education Commission of 1882 and as the editor of Imperial Gazeteers of India. Dr. Hunter wrote:

> If I were asked to name the two men who during my service in India, have exercised the great influence on native development and native opinion in Madras, I should name not a governor, nor any Departmental Head, but a missionary bishop of the Church of England and a missionary educator of the Free Kirk [1].

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1. Contemporary Review. vol. 84, p.31.

VI HIGHER EDUCATION AS A MISSIONARY AGENCY

An important controversy which affected the missionary societies after the introduction of Sir Charles Wood's Despatch on Education in 1854 and figured very significantly during the last quarter of the 19th century and, more or less, continued at least till 1931, was, whether the missionaries should conduct institutions of higher learning, particularly High School and Colleges for non-Christians. At the decennial missionary conferences at Allahabad (1872), Calcutta (1882) and Bombay (1892), this question had "invariably led to animated and often to elaborate discussion"[1]. The controversy figured significantly among the Scottish Churches, and all the three Churches, dealt with in this study, reconsidered this aspect of their missionary work between 1888 and 1890.

At the outset, it should be emphasised that the controversy did not concern the primary education and the middle schools, because these were regarded as evangelistic agencies. Why did the missions consider primary schools as proper evangelistic agencies and not High Schools, particularly Colleges? The answer was, because the former schools were planted in the districts where the preaching missionary worked. "The scholars as they grow up are within the sphere which the missionary influences"[2], whereas in Colleges and sometimes in High Schools, the students come from longer distances, sometimes a distance of hundreds of miles, and when the education was over, the students were similarly dispersed in a wide area[3].

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1. Richter. Op.cit. p. 313
2. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p. 16
3. Ibid.

Also, it might be emphasised that those who opposed maintaining institutions of higher education had no objection to maintaining few institutions for the education of the mission converts. The question at issue was whether institutions of higher education should be established "for the non-Christian youth of India ... in order through them to disseminate Christian knowledge among the heathen masses of the people"[1]. The arguments of some of the Scottish ministers, who opposed the missionary higher education, as put forward by the Rev. Paton Gloag, a Church of Scotland minister, were[2]:

> (i) That there is hardly any "aggressive Christian work" done in the missionary colleges.
> (ii) "In the matter of conversions, and even in the extension of Christianity generally, the colleges and schools have not fulfilled the expectations of their founders and supporters".
> (iii) That education should follow conversion, and not precede it.
> (iv) That the high schools and the colleges conducted by the government and the people themselves "have taken the place which the mission schools first occupied".

Other arguments, put forward at the decennial and other missionary conferences in India were as follows:

> (a) That, in the educational system as it existed, the missionary energies were almost entirely directed to see that the pupils passed the examinations and as a consequence "to hope to accomplish anything of value in imparting a Christian knowledge" was a "delusion and a snare". That such a sacrifice was neither required, nor right[3].

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1. Richter. Op.cit. p.313 (Richter considers the controversial aspect of education as a missionary agency generally, but the controversy actually concerned only Higher education.)
2. Scots Magazine, 1890, p. 403
3. Report of the II Decennial missionary conference, 1882, p. 125; Richter, op. cit. p. 314

(b) The scholars and students tolerate religious instruction "often unwillingly, making the best of it as a kind of bad bargain because they have better chance of passing a State examination in a mission school, or because the fees of the mission school are lower than those of the competing government establishment"[1].

(c) The number of baptism from the High Schools and Colleges "bear no sort of comparison with the means and strength employed" and "many mission schools are unable to record one case of baptism in an entire decade"[2].

(d) General school and college teaching is not the missionary work, and the purpose of mission institutions is simply the education of the mission converts[3].

(e) "Any union between the State and the missions can only be to the detriment of the latter; it is used by the strong partner, the State simply as an auxiliary to the attainment of its own ends, which are alien to the objects of the missions"[4]. And, moreover, the "regulations with regard to the teaching staff, school buildings, the school inventory, school hours etc." place the missions at the "mercy or caprice" of the government[5].

Quoting statistics, it was pointed out that in Madras the number of baptisms as a result of all higher missionary education was as follows:[6]

1852-56	39
1856-61	10
1862-66	5
1867-71	1

As against above, a retired chaplain of the Church of Scotland, an opponent of higher missionary education, quoted in 1889, the following figures of conversions in South India while discussing the success of so called evangelistic missions[7]:

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1. See Report of the II Decennial ... p. 125; Report on the Schemes of the C. of S. 1889, p. 340; Richter. op.cit. p. 314-15
2. Richter. Op.cit. p.315
3. Report of the II Decennial .... Op.cit. p.124 Many Americans and the British Baptist missionaries had declared at the Conferences of 1872, 1879 (Banglore), 1882 and 1892 that the "Missions have neither a call nor mandate to teach English literature, history, mathematics or natural sciences". Richter. Op.cit. p.314
4. Richter. op. cit. p.314; Report of the II Decennial 1882, p.124
5. Richter. Ibid.
6. Quoted on Scots Magazine, 1890, p. 408
7. Report on the schemes of the C. of S.. 1889, p. 343

Society	Baptised	Adherents	Total
Church Missionary Society	75,996	19,993	95,989
Society for Propagation of the Gospel	45,968	20,746	66,714
London Missionary Society	18,708	30,652	49,360
Wesleyan Mission	10,733	118	10,851
Church of Scotland	416	3	419
Free Church of Scotland	337	2	339

Of the several arguments put forward above, two deserve comment. Firstly, the government education before 1854 was regarded as complementary rather than competitive. In a speech before the General Assembly, in 1835 Duff regarded the government educational institutions as "auxiliaries" to the missionary cause. A government seminary, he said, will help "demolishing idolatry and superstition", and where it does so, "there let us be prepared to plant the Christian Institution for destroying false philosophy and false religion"[1]. Similarly, he said, "wherever a government library is established that shall have the effect of creating an insatiable thirst for knowledge, there let us be forward in establishing our depositories of Bibles ..."[2].

Secondly, the question why education succeeded as a missionary agency in the earlier period and not during the period of this study also requires comment; as an answer to the question, the Free Church report suggested the following three points[3]:

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1. See F.C.S. Proceedings, 1909, Appendix V, p. 8
2. Ibid.
3. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p. 13-15

(i) There was no half-way house between Hinduism and Christianity in the earlier period; the educated Hindu, if he revolted against the "gross immoralities of Hinduism", had the choice of either remaining in that state or become a Christian, but now there were several associations like the Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, Prarthana Samaj and others which "are all modern counterparts of the various forms of the Gnosticism of the first three centuries of our era, and deliberate attempts to graft Christian truths on ancient Hindu philosophy and religion".

(ii) That the missionaries, because they devote too much time in preparing students for the examinations, "has not now the same time and strength which Educational missionaries had long ago for quiet personal talks on religious matters".

(iii) That the missionaries now were not prepared to risk the desertion, almost of all students, as a result of a single conversion; they do not risk this because they feared the possibility of heavy financial strain on the Foreign Missions Committee, as a result of loss in fees and grants.

A Church of Scotland missionary in Punjab however gave another reason for the general absence of baptisms in the High Schools. According to him this was because "a missionary dare not baptise a boy under sixteen years of age without the consent of his parents"[1].

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1. J. Youngson. op.cit. p.197 (But some missionaries, including Scots, did baptise some boys without obtaining their parents' consent which was required. Some Scots missionaries had to appear in Court on this account, and return the custody of the children to their parents, if the children lived with missionaries. According to an Anglican missionary, some missionaries were also persecuted because of administering such illegal baptisms. See N.L.S. Mss.7839, p.73-78; Alex. Tomory. op.cit. p.50-51; Church of Scotland. Report of the Women's Association for foreign missions, 1908; Bernard Lucas. Shall we evangelise or proselytise India, p.102).

On the other hand, the educational missionaries put forward the following arguments, which besides replying to most of the above points, also said something more and new:

(i) That the number of baptisms alone are no criterion of measuring the spiritual results[1], and moreover the Colleges and High Schools do account for some baptisms (no figures were quoted)[2].

(ii) That the main purpose of the higher educational institutions is rather preparing the students for evangelism (praeparatio evangelica) than forming the direct agencies of conversions[3].

(iii) That though the religious instruction in the High Schools and Colleges might be regarded as "necessary evil" by the students, yet "the Hindu nature is so essentially religious, that it is a comparatively easy thing to create a deep interest in these young men for religious questions"[4].

(iv) Regarding the relations with the State, it was said, that the missionaries still have a fair say in the senates and syndicates of the universities, and with the government[5]. Dr. Mackichan, Vice Chancellor of Bombay University and a Free Church Missionary, said at the Third Decennial Missionary Conference that the missionary education was neither "influenced in any injurious manner", "nor deflected from its highest purpose" as the result of its association with the government[6]. Also, an Indian Christian Professor said at the same Conference that the "curriculum of university studies are sufficiently wide and includes works that are distinctly Christian in tone as well"[7], and the Principal of the Church of Scotland College, Calcutta, said: "the textbooks in English literature are, many of them, just as missionaries could desire - selections from Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Goldsmith, Cowper, Wordsworth, Tennyson, etc. in poetry; and from Bacon, Milton, Addison, Burke, Helps, Carlyle, etc., in prose". He further said that "none of the books prescribed in the least interfere with our desire to educate and move the young men spiritually"[8].

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1. See The report on the schemes of the C.of S. 1890, p.429; Report of the III Decennial Missionary Conference, 1892, p.268; P.C.S. Proceedings, 1905, Appendix V, p.8.
2. C.S.H.F.M.R.1889, p. 228
3. Richter. Op.cit.. p. 315-16; Report of the II .... 1882, p. 127 and Report of the III Decennial ... 1892, p. 269, 279.
4. Richter. Op.cit. p.316; Report of the III ... 1892 p.266.
5. See Richter. Op.cit. p.315-16; Report of the II Decennial ... 1882, p.120
6. Report of the III Decennial Missionary ..., 1892, p. 434
7. Ibid. p. 266
8. Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1890, P.287

(v) That the institutions of higher learning were almost the only place from where the converts of high castes could be derived[1]. And, according to Bishop Caldwell, " a missionary worthy of Carey and Duff", in his forty two years of work in India, he had not seen a single high caste convert being received in the Church except through college education. He added that "such converts may not be numerous, and I regret that they are not, BUT THEY ARE ALL THAT ARE"[2].

(vi) Since the government institutions do not provide religious instructions, young man loses "belief in the creed of his fathers, but receives no new faith" - a vacuum is thus created, which missionary could fill[3]. As a Scottish missionary put it, while the Christian instruction "certainly subvert the old beliefs of the non-Christian pupils, they impart a knowledge of Christian truth and morality, and that the effects of this Christian teaching may be deeper and more far reaching than is at first sight apparent[4]." It was further added that it was due to the religious instruction in the High Schools and the Colleges that the "Christian influences" are more or less witnessed in the country[5].

(vii) That the "weakness of the native ministry" and the lack of "highly educated and forceful men" could be filled only by making an attempt to convert the educated classes[6].

The most vocal champion of the educational missions in India, was the Free Church missionary, Dr. Miller, "the most famous educational missionary alive" as Richter called him[7]. Miller personally did not much believe in the methods, since according to him it was the spirit which counted most in the missionary work[8].

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1. Ibid., p. 430; Report of the III Decennial ... Op.cit., p.270 and 304
2. George Smith. Conversion of India, p.136 (foot note)
3. Richter. Op.cit. p. 315-16; Youngson. Op.cit. p. 197
4. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1889, p. 228
5. See F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.12; Report of the II Decennial ...., 1882, p.120; Report of the III Decennial ..., 1892, p. 270
6. Report of the III Decennial Missionary ... 1892, p.278; C.S.H.F.M.R. 1889, p.228
7. Richter. Op.cit. p. 183
8. See Miller's Introductory speech at the III Decennial Missionary ... 1892, p. 259; Christian College Magazine, 1924, p.7

In his book, Educational Agencies in India (Madras, 1893) he mentions two purposes of the colleges: that they are "a strengthening, training, developing agency", and "a preparatory agency". The latter was, however, the primary purpose of the missions according to him; "A certain not valueless preparation may be made when the light of Christ is reflected from the poetry, the philosophy and the history of a Christian land"[1]. So important was this "great preparatory work" according to him, that compared with it, the obtaining of individual converts was "a side product"[2].

Also, in submitting his testimony before the Committee appointed by the Church of Scotland to reconsider its educational missions, he further pointed out that the conversions of caste Hindus has resulted only from the educational institutions, and if the work of higher education is withdrawn, "the central Hindu people would be as much untouched today as it was when the early Roman Catholic missionaries used to say that it was an absolute impossibility that a Brahman should become a Christian"[3]. He was also of the view that the withdrawal of the Protestant missionary institutions would result in Jesuits taking their place who were making "the most determined bid for the foremost place in education"[4].

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1. See The Report on Christian Higher Education in India, (Lindsay Report), 1931. p.22-23
2. Ibid.
3. See Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1890, p. 280-84
4. Ibid.

He added that the Protestant schools and colleges were already finding it "very hard to maintain their place in front of the lavish expenditure, the patient determination and organising skill of the Jesuits". The Jesuits were also described as "immensely more active in education than Protestant Missions". In the Madras Presidency, specially, he said, "there is most danger of our being sooner or later broken down by the Jesuits. They have nothing disorganised ...". He further asked[1]:

> Is the Scottish Church by withdrawing from educational efforts in favour of more exclusive efforts at conversion, going to revive antiquated forms of Roman Catholic proselytism which are now given up by the Church of Rome? I am convinced that any withdrawal of funds, or of Christian zeal, from the work of education will have grievous consequences on Protestant Christianity in India[2].

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1. Ibid.
2. The educational enterprise of Catholics, as compared to the Protestant missions in 1911, was about one-third in respect of Colleges, and about half in respect of schools and other institutions. In an article published in The Year Book of Indian Mission, 1912, (a Protestant work), Fr. Hull, the editor of the Catholic paper Examiner (Bombay), gave the following figures of the Catholic missions' educational enterprise in India:

Type of Institution	BOYS No.	Pupils, students, etc.
Colleges	11	1,320
High Schools	65	8,257
Middle Schools	248	23,269
Elementary Schools	2,438	98,103
Boarding Schools	74	5,917
Industrial Schools	47	1,351
Orphanages	97	4,854
	GIRLS	
High Schools	59	2,744
Middle Schools	244	14,574
Primary Schools	672	41,451
"Various others"	70	2,521
Boarding Schools	103	4,790
Orphanages	126	7,084

/Continued...

In this heated controversy, all the three Scottish Churches reconsidered their educational mission work between 1888 and 1890. The Free Church appointed a committee in 1888 to investigate its entire missionary work in India. But the report of the committee stated about the higher education that "No missionary problem received so much attention from us, and we have sought information about it from every source"[1]. In their report the members of deputation did not oppose maintaining existing institutions of higher education, although they gave according to missionaries, an impression that the Church had "blundered" in taking up the work of the higher education[2]. Also, although it contained various phrases and expressions emphasising the importance of higher education such as "the higher education must be included among missionary agencies, and given an important place"[3], that in most parts of India, "the Gospel has access to Caste Hinduism only through the higher education"[4], and "Students are scarcely ever converted to Christianity while attending High School or College, but men who have gone through mission Colleges and Schools are continually giving themselves to Christ, and professing their faith in him in baptism after they have left College"[5], yet it contained so many expressions ("forms of speech ... difficult to

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1. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p. 8
2. Ibid. p. 136
3. Ibid. p. 10
4. Ibid. p. 11
5. Ibid. p. 13

Thus, the total boys under instruction were described as 143,051 and girls, 73,164, out of whom 11,938 were orphans. (For the figures of the Protestant missionary work, see the source quoted below, p.656-665)
Yearbook of Indian Missions, 1912, p. 162 (Similar figures of Catholic missionary enterprise in education can also be confirmed in Catholic Encyclopaedia, (1910 ed.) Vol.7, p. 732

reconcile with") disfavouring any further expansion of higher education that it brought the following reaction from the missionaries on the field. The policy of educational missions, said thirty missionaries, in a joint submission to the report of the deputies[1]:

> ... has certainly had its opponents within, and especially outside, the Church. But the members of deputation have kept these opponents far too much in view. The educational work which takes an important place in the Church policy is indeed vindicated; but there is a tone of apology and concession to its opponents, which, in our opinion, is uncalled for. It is hardly suggested that this work is evangelistic in its aim and its effects; and it is often distinguished so sharply and emphatically from other forms of evangelistic effort as to leave - though no doubt unintentionally - the impression that it is not evangelistic. At all events, the effects of Christian education, are by no means adequately appreciated or uniformly recognised throughout the report.

The Foreign Missions Committee, however, largely adopted the recommendations of the deputies, and, in 1891, it resolved inter alia[2]:

> That as the evangelistic side of the work has not been developed pari passu with the other, the committee regard it necessary, while in no way sanctioning any thing that may tend to impair the efficiency of educational work, especially to foster the evangelistic operations, and therefore resolve ... to limit to the present amount the resources spent on the educational institutions and to devote to the evangelistic side whatever increase of contributions may be received, and any saving that may be affected in connection with educational work without detriment to its efficiency.

It might be pointed out that the financial considerations were an important factor which influenced the judgement of the Free Church in not expanding its work of higher education. The Free Church report of 1888 had very pertinently put this as follows[3]:

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1. Ibid. p. 132
2. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1891, Appendix VIII, p. 7.
3. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p. 17

> Granting that Educational Missions are a real and indispensable part of Mission work in India, and granting that a Church which has honestly faced the problem, recognised the limitations of that work, and resolved that the work is one which is not merely justified in doing, but bound to do - the question comes, Do the Mission resources of our Church justify it spending such a large amount of our Missionary strength on the Higher Education as it does? The question is one of Missionary economics. We have no hesitation in saying that our Church is spending an amount upon the Higher Education which is out of all proportion to its present resources.

Unfortunately, the exact amount which that Church spent on Higher Education is not available, but the number of missionaries it employed for this task was more than half.

More important still, from the educational missions' point of view, was the special report of the Church of Scotland of 1889. The Church of Scotland had appointed committees in this respect earlier also. In 1862-63 it appointed a committee to find out the desirability of maintaining the educational institutions "from the altered circumstances of India"[1]. The reference is to the larger entry of the government in the field of higher education after the Despatch of 1854. As the terms of the committee further clarified: "the Presidency towns and the principal stations in the interior, are now supplied with opportunities of intellectual culture with which it were perhaps vain ... to attempt competing"[2]. The committee however suggested: (i) that the primary schools of the Church should be retained for providing useful vernacular education "pervaded by religious instruction" "at comparatively small outlay", (ii) that the Institutions (High Schools cum Colleges) should also be retained specially for those primary pupils who should wish

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1. See Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1890, p. 398
2. Ibid.

to proceed for higher education and used "chiefly as a vehicle for more advanced religious instruction"[1].

In 1885, the Church of Scotland again appointed a three man committee for investigating the missionary work of its educational institutions, and this committee again suggested retention of the educational institutions, stating:[2]

(i) that the special gift of the Scottish Church "lie in the pathway of education".

(ii) that even if converts in fair numbers were not received in the educational institutions, yet the Church was having influence on those who will have "a large say in forming and governing the public opinion".

(iii) that there is an "incalculable amount of success in a field of thought and feeling not far removed from the kingdom of Christ".

(iv) that the government provides substantial grants in aid.

(v) "that other Churches have arranged their mission work in Calcutta on footing that this department of missionary enterprise shall be taken by ourselves".

(vi) that if the Church withdraws, it will leave "bulk of the educated portion of the natives either without any faith in God or without any fear of God".

In 1889, that Church appointed another committee, because "doubts are entertained in many quarters as to the advisability of maintaining the Educational Institutions of the Church in India as now constituted:[3]

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1. Ibid.
2. Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1890, p. 395-6
3. Report on the Schemes of the C. of S., 1890, p. 231

The enquiry was to investigate "the value of these institutions as missionary agencies"[1].

That Church sent over 100 questionnaires "to all missionary societies and to those believed to have had the best opportunity of forming an opinion on the question"[2]. Of the questionnaires returned, sixty-eight favoured retention of the educational work and sixteen did not[3]. However, of those who were in favour, some gave only half-hearted approval, and according to a Church minister, Paton Gloag, they ought to have been better characterised as neutrals[4].

Most of the arguments put for and against the educational missions have already been covered, but some deserve fuller discussion since they were put forward by some very eminent persons, both lay and clerical. Sir. W.W. Hunter (See p.190) considered the Scottish missionary work from two points of view: for the welfare of the people of India, and for the "interest of Christianity in India". As regards the first, he observed that the withdrawal of the Church's work in the field of higher education would be "disastrous"; and as regards the later, he said, that as a result of the withdrawal "the Indian races would be left to the influence of a constantly increasing propaganda of Hinduism and Islam, while the Christian teaching hitherto given by the Scottish mission Schools and Colleges would be curtailed"[5]. He further feared the withdrawal affecting the future of Protestant Christianity in India.

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1. Ibid.
2. Scots Magazine, 1890, p. 402
3. Report on the Schemes of the C. of S., 1890, p. 405-10 (names counted)
4. Scots Magazine, 1890, p. 403
5. Report on the Schemes of the C. of S., 1890, p. 239

He wrote:[1]

> Roman Catholics in the 16th and 17th centuries made the mistake of converting without educating. Their conversions were on an enormous scale, and they have left behind a hereditory caste of Christians, numbering about 1.7/3 million of the two million native Christians in India. It is not too much to say that the native Christians thus left behind by the rapid conversions of Roman Catholicism were for long a reproach to Christianity. It is these 'Portugese Christians' who have given rise to the popular idea in India that a native Christian is a drunkard and a thief. There are many thousands of exceptions to the rule. But the rule is so general that an 'Old Colonel' when he writes to the Times, usually speaks of it as universal.

Sir Charles Aitchison, Lt. Governor of Punjab, (1882-7), wanted the retention of the Colleges because Duff's belief that "western education of any kind became a direct missionary agency, effective at least in overthrowing the false religions", had been amply justified by the experience. He also added, that it was "of primary importance now, just at this time, when the Government of India itself is looking anxiously round for some means of supplementing the deficiencies of its own secular system of education, to get hold of the youth of India and impregnate them with Christian truth".[2] And, furthermore, he said, about the students: "They are the generation in whose hands the immediate future of India will lie, and the importance of bringing them under direct Christian influences is beyond all calculation"[3].

Sir William Muir, a past secretary to the Government of India, and Lt. Governor of several Indian Provinces, favoured maintenance of missionary colleges because "It was the Scotch schools and Colleges which first called forth the sympathies of Hindus towards occidental learning, and in doing so gave them a bent towards Christianity. xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

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1. Ibid. p. 240
2. Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1890, p. 238
3. Ibid.

xxxxxThe country has by them been innoculated with Christian sentiment"[1]. Sir Henry Ramsay, a past Lt. Governor of the United Provinces, gave the same argument as Sir William Muir for the maintenance of the Colleges, and also stated that the Roman Catholics paid more attention to education[2].

Although the number of those who opposed the higher educational work of that Church was small, it was nevertheless influential, and they seem to have put forward their views more vigorously. Their main criticism was the small number of baptisms as a result of the educational work. As the report said: "In various letters which suggest changes in educational work, reference is made to the small number of conversions, as indicated by the baptisms recorded"[3]. Those who opposed the work of higher education included: Sir Monier Williams, then Chairman of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, Oxford University, the Rev. Edward Johnson "Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India", Chairman of the Foreign Mission Board of the United Presbyterian Church, secretary of the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society, Secretary of the Mission to Lepers, Financial Secretary of the Baptist Mission, Calcutta, and the editors of some British-owned Indian newspapers. Sir Monier Williams did not object maintaining High Schools by the missions, but about the Colleges, he said:[4]

> Whether your church or any Christian Church should establish in India, Colleges for what is called 'higher education', that is, for preparing natives for university degrees - even though, while so preparing them, the truths of the Gospel are also

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1. Ibid., p. 242
2. Ibid., p. 243
3. Report on the Schemes of the C. of S., 1890, p. 429
4. Ibid., p. 368

imparted, seems to me a very doubtful point. To compete with the government colleges, supported by government grants, must necessitate an expenditure scarcely justifiable; and I doubt whether the high training needed for the university degrees is conducive to trueconversion.

Dr.Pierson, editor of the Missionary Review of the World, said: firstly, "education must be subordinate to evangelisation - preaching precedes teaching in the divine order, and we are first to make disciples and then teach them", and secondly, "it is Christian and not secular education to which the Church is called"[1]. As regards the small number of baptisms, he added that the evangelistic missions "are reported as winning thousands when educational missions reach tens"[2]. Mr. T. Roberts, a Judge in Punjab, was inclined to doubt whether the time and labour devoted by the missionaries of the various Protestant societies to higher education in India might not be more profitably employed in "direct evangelistic efforts"[3].

The Church of Scotland report also quoted criticism of some Indian newspapers in this respect, parts of which appear worth reproducing:[4] The Times of India (Bombay) said: The main object of the mission institutions should be not to make graduates, but converts. It is for this reason pious people in Scotland and England subscribe liberally for the missionary schools and colleges". The Madras Mail was surprised that the "chief outcome of the colleges has been university graduates rather than Christian converts"[5].

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1. Scots Magazine, 1890, p. 404
2. Ibid., p. 411
3. Ibid., p. 403
4. Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1890, p. 381
5. Ibid. p. 382

The Bombay Gazette was of the opinion that the colleges as evangelistic agencies were a complete failure[1], and the Daily Post remarked: "that the way the money has been spent on education in mission schools can only be styled misappropriation ... If a government servant acted in this way, he would find himself in hot water"[2].

The Church of Scotland circulated the report among its Presbyteries and invited their opinion. Sixty favoured retention of the educational institutions and ten did not. The report was then considered by a special committee of the General Assembly, which resolved inter alia[3]:

(i) That the Higher educational institutions should be continued, and where they were weak, they should be merged with the institutions of other Churches.

(ii) Although the expenditure required to run these is largely met from fees and grants, greater attempt should be made to make them self-supporting.

(iii) That the employment of non-Christian teachers should be dispensed with as soon as possible.

(iv) That a greater co-operation with other missions in the educational field should be attempted.

As against the Free Church, financial considerations did not influence the judgement of those who opposed maintenance or extension of higher education by the Church of Scotland in India. On the contrary, the small cost of maintaining Colleges was put forward as a strong argument by some of those who supported the continuance of that Church's

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid. p. 383
3. Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1890, p. 426

Colleges. The Presbytery of Edinburgh proved with detailed figures that the total cost to the home Church for maintaining Colleges at Calcutta and Madras, in 1888, was only £594 and £66 respectively, which also included the salary of three missionaries employed in the Colleges. As against this, the maintenance of schools (including High Schools) cost that Church in that year £3,128[1].

During 1890, the United Presbyterian Church also partly re-considered its educational work in Rajputana, although it did not conduct any College and its High Schools were also relatively few, (only three at Ajmer, Beawar and Naserabad). After acquiring the evidence of the missionaries and the ministers of its Church, the Foreign Mission Board of that Church, having considered it, suggested its missionaries "to keep steadily in view that the great object of the mission is to evangelise the natives - every other agency being made subordinate to this, - and that therefore the chief strength should ever be directed towards carrying on aggressive work among those who are still in heathenism"[2]. The report further recommended:[3] firstly, that Christian teachers should replace the non-Christians in the schools; secondly, that "some systematic means of training the younger converts for the work of the teaching as well as evangelistic agents" should be adopted; and thirdly, that careful superintending should be exercised over non-Christian teachers.

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1. Ibid., p. 432-3
2. Proceedings of the U.P. Synod, 1889-90, p. 390
3. Ibid.

Although the controversy continued thereafter in the Protestant missions, it was less vehement. The Decennial Missionary Conference, Madras, 1902, did not even discuss it![1] And the Education Committee of the World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh, 1910, concluded:[2]

> It is the deliberate judgement of the Committee that such schools and colleges constitute an indispensable agency for the achievement of the purpose of Christian missions, and that the great help they have rendered and are rendering to the cause of the missions, by the creation of a Christian atmosphere for the highest intellectual culture, and by the training of leaders of the Christian community ought to avail to prevent any recurrence of those wars of anti-educational sentiment which have in times past checked or undone the educational work of the missions.

But the controversy continued, so much so that the International Missionary Council felt it desirable, in 1931, to appoint a Commission for Indian Missions to "inquire into the value of the mission college as a missionary method under present conditions in India, with reference both to Christian and non-Christian students"[3].

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1. See Yearbook of missions in India, 1912, p. 308
2. Report of the World Missionary Conference, 1910, Vol. 3, p. 52
3. See Report of the Christian Higher Education in India, (1931), p. 2.

(VII) FURTHER EXTENSION ACTIVITIES IN EDUCATION

In addition to administering schools and colleges, the missionaries' enthusiasm was reflected in various other activities supplementing and complementing education. These activities consisted of conducting adult education classes, writing books on vernacular languages, disseminating Christian literature, particularly among the converts, and in doing some work in such disciplines as natural history, Indology and the like.

The missionaries conducted several classes exclusively for their adult converts during their spare time and generally during evenings and nights. The chief purpose of these classes was to communicate to them that knowledge which they could not obtain, for one reason or another, during their youth. Reading and writing formed the major part of their learning, but sometimes they were also taught simple accounts so as not to be "defrauded of their hard won earnings by unprincipled men" [1].

In the linguistic field, some missionaries rank prominently among those who reduced several Indian dialects to writing.

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1. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1893, Appendix viii, p.23.

There were some 179 different languages in the country and if dialects were added, these numbered up to 720[1]. Every missionary was to acquire the knowledge of the vernacular language in the region where he worked. In fact during later period of this study, part of a missionary's salary depended upon fulfilling this condition[2]. Some of the missionaries obtained such a mastery that they could produce grammars and dictionaries in the language of the region where they worked. Dr. Campbell, a missionary among the Santals was one of those who reduced to writing (in Roman script) their spoken language. He also prepared a dictionary in three volumes which was both of literary and ethnological interest[3]. Another missionary Rev. Graham Bailey of Punjab similarly reduced to writing a Punjabi dialect[4]. The chapter on "language" in the census reports issued during the period of this study occasionally refers to the contribution of the missionaries, particularly in connection with tracing the geneology of several languages and dialects.

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1. G.A. Grierson. Linguistic Survey of India, (1898-1928), vol. 1 p.26.
2. See p.361 ff
3. See: Dennis. Op.cit. vol.III p.411; Alex. Tomory. Op.cit. p.67; M.R.U.F.C.S. 1905, p.368.
4. Bailey's work was commended in the Linguistic Survey of India. The compilers of the Census of India, 1901, also acknowledged his help with regard to dialects spoken in the hills between Muree and Kashmir.
   Census of India, 1901, p.247 (footnote) Bailey was appointed as a reader in 1920 at the School of Oriental Studies, London. His work has been microfilmed by Micro Methods, London,
   Vide. Micro Methods Catalogue, March 1962.

In the field of literature for converts or potential converts, the missionaries' contribution was immense. The Protestant missions had a central agency called "The Christian Vernacular Education Society" which produced literature for all Protestant societies. The Society was created because the government schools refrained from offering instruction in the "Word of God" [1]. Its secretary was a missionary of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. The Society published literature - largely theological - to reach the masses in every village and to approach them through their vernacular and district languages. Some missionaries produced literature to provide their colleagues "weapons in their difficult spiritual warfare" against Islam [2]. In addition every mission produced literature for its own converts. Dr. Macdonald, an evangelical-cum-educational missionary stationed at Calcutta, alone wrote 149 books and tracts and several articles during his life-time [3], and most of the large stations published a weekly

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1. Christian Vernacular Education Society. The masses of India and how to evangelise them, p. 3.
2. J. Richter. Op.cit., p.304.
3. J.M. Macphail. Op.cit., p.79.

or a monthly journal. For the educated convert, the magazines of the Christian College, Madras, and Wilson College, Bombay, provided enough food for Christian thought[1]. The literature was either distributed free or sold at a very low price[2].

The books and tracts distributed and sold, numbered thousands, and the figures increased almost every year. The table on p.561 shows the large increase in the Church of Scotland Mission in this respect.

The missionaries not only wrote profusely themselves but also encouraged the converts to make attempts at writing. The converts' writings generally consisted of translating the Bible and other Christian literature.

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1. Up to 1900, the Free Church and United Presbyterian Church were publishing the following journals:

Name of the journal	Producing body	Frequency	Place of publication
Hitartha Patrika	U.P. Church	Weekly	Ajmer
Bandhu Priti	Free Church	Weekly	Jalna
Eastern Star	Free Church	Weekly	Madras
Dharwak	Free Church	Monthly	Toondee
Christian College Magazine	Free Church	Monthly	Madras
Wilson College Magazine	Free Church	Annual	Bombay

Compliled from J.S. Dennis. Centennial Survey of Protestant Missions, p.184-186.

2. J.M. Macphail. Story ... Op.cit. p.79.

Occasionally the writings were directed at attacking their own ancestral faith or contained the defence of Christian creed and convictions[1]. Baba Padmanji, a Free Church convert in Bombay "wrote no fewer than 92 books and articles in Marathi in defence of the Christian faith"[2]. Some of the highly educated mission converts could edit weeklies and monthlies[3]. The wife of a Free Church convert in Madras had three books to her credit[4].

A missionary activity, partly useful to the students and teachers, but at the same time meant for propagating specific doctrines, was the production of the School text books. As early as 1855, a South India Christian School Book Society was formed with a Scottish missionary, John Murdoch, as secretary. The headquarter of the Society was in Madras. Its objects were to provide "useful" material for the improve teachers and attempt at the preparation

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1. L.B. ... bay. Antidote to Brahmaism. passim (the author was a Free Church convert in Calcutta); G. Smith. Conversion ... Op.cit. p.221

2. Hewat. Op.cit. p.47

3. S. Sathianadhan. Sketches of Indian Christians, p.30

4. Ibid.p.97-8

of the text books and to insinuate Christian dogmas and doctrines through the text books [1].

More important still was the Christian Vernacular Education Society started in 1858 in which the South India Education Society was merged and which changed its name to Christian Literature Society for India in 1900. The Society published text books and religious literature for mission institutions; it also prepared teachers for religious instruction in Mission and such other private institutions which some how agreed to provide Christian religious instruction to their students. The Secretary of this society was also Rev. John Murdoch. According to its Annual Report of 1881 "the society trained native teachers, instructed heathen Children, and published educational and Christian literature in all the principal languages of India". The report further informed that in that year the Society possessed three training institutions, trained 710 native teachers and mission agents, provided Christian instructors to 32,000 children. Up to that year the Society had published 9.27 million copies of various books and tracts in 18 Indian languages and employed 158

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1. Henry Morris. Life of John Murdoch, p.78.

Colporteurs besides teachers and other mission agents[1]. According to another report, in 1903, the "Society published far more books than all denominations put together"[2].

It is difficult to assess exactly the usefulness of the literature produced by the Scottish missions. A purpose which it served was to disseminate missionary information among the people. Another purpose which it fulfilled was to keep the convert in touch with the rudiments of reading and writing, which he had learned at the school. The report on the progress of education in India, 1912-17, discovered that 39% of village students relapsed into illiteracy within five years of their leaving school[3]. A government report in 1929 lamented the same feature of rural education[4]. The free or cheap literature of the missionary was perhaps a boon to the poor Indian convert in retaining his association with the written word. Attempts were made to present the matter in such a form that a mere literate could understand the contents[5].

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1. Quoted in The Times Dt. 2.5.1882, p. 5, col.1.
2. Encyclopaedia of Missions, p. 161.
3. P.P. 1919; vol.38; Cmd. 256, p.122.
4. P.P. 1929; vol.10; Cmd. 3407, p.49.(As a matter of interest it might be pointed out that the definition of literacy was changed in India after 1901, when a literate was defined as one "who could write a letter to a friend and read his reply". Census of India, 1911, p.291).
5. Report of the Third Decennial Missionary Conference, Bombay, 1892-3, p.667-68.

Sometime literature was also published to deal 'vigorously' with the tracts issued by the Indian societies like Arya Samaj[1].

The missions also established some free reading rooms and libraries. Some missionaries also contributed to the daily press[2].

Some missionaries interested themselves in certain aspects of Indology. The early Scots missionaries, in particular, were famous for their contribution on Indology. Dr. John Wilson of Bombay was elected to Bombay Literary Society in 1830, and in 1835, he became its President. He partially deciphered the rock inscriptions of the days of the famous ancient Indian king Ashoka at Girnar, on the West Coast, in 1838. He was the Chairman of 'Cave Temple Committee' appointed by the Government of Bombay in 1848 for knowing and deciphering the writings, art and sculpture of 'Buddhists, and Jain Remains of Western India'. He was for a long time an examiner in the Bombay University in 'Sanskrit, Persian, Hebrew, Marathi, Gujarati and Hindustani

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1. Ibid. p.677
2. M.R.U.F.C.S., 1907, p.499; J.S. Dennis. Centennial Survey ... Op.cit. p.242; N.L.S. Mss 7823, p.93.

languages". It may be recalled that he was also the Vice Chancellor of Bombay University in 1868.

Stephen Hislop of Nagpur, Central India, had distinguished himself in the study of Central Indian tribes, their languages and folk-lore. He was also a naturalist, a geologist and a botanist. According to his biographer, the government of Bombay which was then responsible for the administration of Central Indian territories, frequently consulted him when it introduced any major scientific measures. He contributed several papers to the learned societies of Europe on various aspects of Indian life.

Duff was responsible to some extent for the development of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, a very prominent learned body in India. He was also one of the founders of Calcutta Review in 1844, a learned journal of the time. He also edited the same paper after two years of its establishment until 1849 [1].

During the period of our study Rev. Robert Scott, a missionary professor in Wilson College, was the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay, in 1905 [2]. Another

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1. Vide the biographical sketches of the above three missionaries in D.N.B.
2. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1905, p.174. The Bombay branch of the above society was founded by a Scotsman Sir James Mackintosh in 1804.

missionary had composed some verses in Marathi, an important regional language [1]. Dr. Mackichan, the principal of Wilson College, was the first president of the then famous K.R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay [2]. Dr. Hutchinson, a medical missionary at Chamba had compiled a District Gazeteer of that place at the request of Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India [3].

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1. Idem.
2. D. Williamson. Op.cit., p.20.
3. L. and W. 1911, p.127.

CHAPTER IV

(i) SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF THE CONVERTS

Once any person was received into the Church, every attempt was made to raise his standard of living and uplift him socially, materially and morally. The social stratum from which the majority of converts were drawn was such that their attitudes and modes of life were inconsistent with decent standards of living. Also, unless properly shepherded, some at least went back to their old faith. Almost every aspect of the convert's life needed development.

It is essential to know the background of different groups of people whose entire attitude towards life the missionaries sought to change. These groups could be conveniently classified under half a dozen different headings but may be broadly grouped under two heads: aborigines and depressed classes. An extremely large number of the converts were derived from these groups who formed about one-sixth of the total Indian population or between 45 to 55 million - varying at different periods of this study [1].

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1. See J.N. Farquhar. Modern religious movements in India, p.66 and C.S.H.F.M.R. 1892, p.562.

The work of the Scottish missionaries among the aborigines was concentrated at four different places: Bhils in Rajputana, Santals in Bihar, Lepchas in Kalimpong and Duars, and Gonds near Nagpur. Although the above tribes had been living in India for centuries, there was not much material change in their life and outlook. With few exceptions in the long history of India when some kings sought to ameliorate their position, the aboriginal tribes had remained neglected. The missionary activities among the aboriginal tribes also drew the attention of some Indian social organisations who later strived to improve their lot.

The work among the aboriginal tribes had been started after the missionaries' scarce success among the educated classes and the urban population. A missionary while pleading for starting a mission among aborigines stated:

> For more than fifty years vast sums of money and great labours of many earnest and faithful agents have been devoted to this object [i.e. converting the educated]; yet it must be admitted that our direct missionary results appear to be very meagre [1].

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1. See A. Scott. Proposal for ... Op. cit. p.3

These were the people whose social and economic develop: :ment could bring large number of converts; but the missionaries have usually maintained that they were more "accessible to Gospel influences" than the Hindus of the plains [1].

Santals were a very large aboriginal group from which the Free Church derived a large number of converts. They lived in the regions of Chota Nagpur and Bihar in India. They had many under-developed concepts of life. In the words of a missionary their religion was "a strange mixture of Hindu superstition, demon-worship, and a belief in and dread of witches, ghosts, and hobgoblins" [2]. Sacrifices to spirits were common among them. They propitiated spirits when either they or even their cattle fell sick or diseased; when the rains failed or when an epidemic arrived. The offerings to the spirits consisted of flour and drinks, goats and sheep, and pigs and hens [3]. They also worshipped a deity known as Marang Buru who

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1. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1879, p.483.
2. J. Philips The Santals p.3.
3. J. Philips. Op. cit. p.4; C.S.H.F.M.R. 1883 p.620; J.M. Macphail. Op. cit. p.15; J.S. Dennis. Op. cit. vol. I. p.157 India Office Library. Eur. Mss. D.318, vol. II p.410-15. C.H. Bumpas - Folklore of Santal Parganas.

according to a missionary was similar to the Hindu god Hanuman. They also worshipped a tree known as sal tree in India [1]. Each family had also a family deity which a missionary conveniently called a "house-hold demon" without perhaps realising its significance. The name of this deity was kept secret by the head of the family and disclosed only just before he died [2].

The Santals are said to have some very interesting traditions that start with the creation of the world and the first human pair. Also according to their traditions, the sun is male, the moon female and the stars their children [3].

In their manners and ways, they were very naive. They are further described as "straight forward, light-hearted and cheerful, kind to their wives and fond of their children" [4]. As witnesses in the courts, they usually said: "If I don't speak the truth, let a tiger eat me or a serpent sting me" [5]! Their main occupations

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1. Census of India 1901, p.353; J. Philips. Op. cit. p.7; J.M. Macphail. Op. cit. p.28.
2. J.M. Macphail. Op. cit. p.15.
3. Census of India, 1931, vol. I, Part III (Ethnographic) p.109.
4. H.H. Risley. Tribes and castes of India quoted in J.M. Macphail. Op. cit. p.12; See also C.S.H.F.M.R. 1883, p.620
5. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1904, p.161.

were cultivating the soil, tending cattle and selling wood, and their amusements were hunting, fishing, dancing and music [1].

The Santals were an endogamous tribe but divided into twelve exogamous septs. They had a sort of caste system by which those who broke the custom regarding marriage were outcasted. The septs were further divided into a number of subsepts and marriage between the persons of the same sept but of different sub-septs though not considered good was not punished with outcasting. The organisation of the Santal villages is described as "Democratic" and generally rested in the hands of five headmen. The positions of headmen were hereditary but the villagers in assembly had the right to "depose any village official and elect a fresh one" [2].

It was Dr. Duff who first originated the idea of a mission among Santals. In 1862-63, he toured the Santal country and collected information about the place and the people; in 1868-69, Rev. Murray Mitchell, a Free Church missionary at Poona, was sent to collect further

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1. India Office Library. Mss. Eur. D. 318 vol. II p.49.
2. Census of India. 1931. Op. cit. p.108-109.

information and later submitted a very favourable report. In 1869, the first mission was started by the Free Church at Pachamba [1]. The territory occupied by the Free Church was divided into twelve small tribes each of which was divided into twelve larger families and then into smaller families. In 1879, two new stations were started, one at Chakai, 30 miles North of Pachamba and the other at Toondee, 30 miles south east of Pachamba [2]. Commenting favourably on the progress of this mission station, the Free Church report of 1888 remarked: "Universal experience has abundantly shown that accessions to Christianity can be secured most easily and in greatest numbers among such tribes when they have comparatively few [practicing] Hindus among them" [3].

The Lepchas inhabited parts of Kalimpong, Darjeeling and Duars. Like the Santals they are also said to have worshipped ghosts and spirits. They believed in good and evil spirits. The good ones did not need propitiation while the evil ones did by offers of sacrifices. Like the

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1. See J.M. Macphail. Op. cit. p.34; F.C.S. Proceedings 1879 Appendix VIII, p.24; Morrison. Scottish... Op. cit. p.58
2. J.M. Macphail. Op. cit. p.38.
3. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.135.

Santals they also propitiated spirits to achieve some desire or to cast out sickness, diseases etc. [1].

The Lepchas were generally agriculturists; their food habits were simple. Their food consisted of a little rice and salt and occasionally some pulses. Though, sacrifices were offered to spirits, meat is said to be a luxury among them. Their poverty was such that they had few cooking utensils and for sleeping stones often sufficed for pillows. Their language was in a primitive and "mono-syllabic" stage and they are not said to have written history of any kind [2].

The first mission among the Lepchas was started in 1888 by the Church of Scotland in cooperation with its auxiliary Scottish Universities' Mission. The funds had been collected among the students of the Scottish universities.

The Bhils were scattered around the Vindhyas and Satpura mountain ranges in Central India. The word Bhil

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1. See: C.S.H.F.M.R. 1884 p.258; L. & W. 1915 p.155; A. Scott. Proposal ... p.5-6; Scottish Universities' Mission Report, 1898 p.2.
2. See Scottish Universities' Mission Report, 1892, p.3; 1896, p.2 and 1902, p.1; C.S.H.F.M.R. 1889, p.160; L. & W. 1909, p.105.

is derived from Tamil, one of the South Indian languages, and means a bow which is also the characteristic weapon of the tribe [1]. References to the Bhils can be traced in some of the earliest records of Indian history. From time to time, many Bhils had moved from the mountain ranges and settled down in the neighbouring villages, and generally lived there "like lower castes".

The main occupations of the Bhils like many other tribes were agriculture and hunting,[2] but in Indian history particularly during the sixteenth and seventeenth century, they were also prominent as good soldiers. Some of the Bhils also had predatory habits. Some famine reports issued during the period of this study show the Bhils' interest in plundering neighbouring areas.

The Bhils are usually described as "truthful". They worshipped some of the Hindu deities, observed the principal Hindu festivals and cremated their dead. Among the more primitive Bhils, when a man was killed by a wild animal away from home, a stone monument was erected at the spot where he died. Among some Bhils there also seem

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1. Census of India, 1931 Op. cit. p.51.
2. Census of India, 1931, Op. cit. p.53.

to be the custom of keeping food and other offerings for the soul of the departed near the monument. According to an Indian ethnographer, among such Bhils, the "spirit of the departed is invoked in times of distress and trouble and it is believed that a childless woman will be blessed with progeny by offering prayers at the monument" [1].

The Bhil was very poor. His plight was pitiable particularly during the two great famines which hit Rajputana in 1869-70 and 1900. The first mission among the Bhils had been started by the United Presbyterian Church in Beawar in 1862.

Gonds, like Bhils, were also concentrated in Central India and more so in the region then known as Central Provinces (Now Madhya Pradesh). Among more primitive Gonds, many practices were similar to those of Bhils, though sometimes distinctions are well evident. For example, unlike Bhils, they buried their children and young persons while the women and the old men like Bhils were cremated. When a person died from disease and was buried, thorns were kept over his grave "to prevent wild animals digging up the body" [2].

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1. Census of India, 1931, Op. cit. p.53.
2. Census of India, 1931, Op. cit. p.74-78.

Many Gonds had customs similar to their neighbouring Hindus. Their marriages were performed by the Brahmin priests. The village Gond wore the dhoti (an Indian trouser), a waist coat and a turban which was also the general costume of many Indians. They did not eat the flesh of cows, worshipped many Hindu gods and goddesses, observed many Hindu festivals and similarly adopted many other Hindu practices in their daily life [1].

The mission to Gonds had been started as early as 1855 by Rev. Stephen Hislop of the Free Church. Hislop is also said to have done "pioneering work on the customs and the languages of Gonds and wrote down the vocabulary of their dialect" [2]. He translated into Gondi the book of Genesis and the first three gospels [3]. But though the mission among the Gonds had been continued during the period of this study, the Free Church was not as success: :ful,as elsewhere,in winning over this tribe.

The second group from which missionaries derived a very large number of converts was that of the untouchables

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1. Ibid.
2. E.G.K. Hewat. Op. cit. p.105.
3. Ibid. p.107.

and depressed classes. The untouchables were the underdogs of the Hindu society. They suffered many disabilities although these varied in different parts of the country. The untouchables were denied entrance to temples and many other places of worship, they were unable to draw water from the same wells as those used by the high caste Hindus; in village schools the untouchable children sat on different benches from the rest of the students. Describing their degraded condition, a missionary said in 1897: "They are ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed. The only enjoyable time they have is when a bullock or a buffalo happens to die, so that they can feed on it" [1]. The missionaries have even alleged that the untouchables' efforts to improve their lot were discouraged by the people of the higher castes. Their views hardly ever extended beyond the narrow bounds of their families and districts; and they earned a precarious livelihood [2].

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1. F.C.S. Monthly, 1897, p.287.
2. For more details see: W.S. Hunt. India's outcastes p.15 and passim; John Mackenzie. Two religions, p.47; Ernest Hocking. Op. cit. p.240; Valentine Chirol. India, Old and New, p.216; P.P.1919. Cmd. 256, p.206; S.K. Datta. Desire of India. p.255; N.L.S. Mss. No. 7830 p.248.

The untouchables or the outcastes were spread all over India. The work of the Scottish Churches was concentrated in three major outcaste communities: the Chuhras of Punjab, the Pariahs of Madras and the Mangs and Mahars of Jalna in Deccan. More than 60% of the Church of Scotland converts were Chuhras. In Punjab, Chuhras formed more than ninety five per cent of that Church's converts. Between 1886 and 1912, more than 10,000 Chuhras had been converted by the Church of Scotland in that province [1]. A classic description of the Chuhras has been given by a missionary as follows:

> Almost all our Christians belong to the despised outcaste Chuhras, who are in the villages the servants of zemindars or farmers. They, as a rule, are extremely degraded, desparately ignorant people... Addicted to degrading habits, all of them eating the dead bodies of animals, possessed of the crudest notions of marriage, ignorant almost of the very conceptions of morality, and almost entirely destitute of worship of every kind... Their worship seems confined to the lighting of tiny earthenware lamps on a tomb or the 'offering' as they term it of some bright hued but very cheap garland... such is the class from whom 19 out of 20 of our Christians come. While we rejoice at any man's accepting Christ or even Christianity, we are sad that those who are not outcastes are so slow in following our Lord... In Wazirabad... there is not one convert who is not Chuhra while the Chuhra converts exceed 1100 [1].

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1. E.G.K. Hewat. Op. cit. p.119; R.N. Ogilvie. Op. cit. p.17.
2. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1897, p.38.

The Pariahs of South India had been so much persecuted and despised that that word has become an appelation to any victim of social injustice and found a place in many English language dictionaries. The word Pariah has been derived from Tamil parai which literally means drum. Historically Pariahs appear to be drum beaters at certain festivals. The Pariahs were members of a very extensive low caste in South India and especially numerous in Madras. J.T. Phillips, an English writer, described them in 1717 "as a sort of people that eat all sort of flesh" [1].

The Pariahs suffered from the four D's: dirt, disease, debt, and drink [2]. Until 1922 Pariahs could not walk on some streets in Madras and in some parts of the then Travancore State; if they entered a temple, they could be fined up to 5 gns. [3]. One can discern from the following description, which was although only partially true in practice, the extent to which the Pariahs were persecuted:

A Nayar could pollute a man of higher caste only by

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1. The information of this paragraph is derived from Oxford Dictionary on Historical Principles.
2. W.S. Hunt. Op. cit. p.37.
3. D.E. Philips. Depressed classes... Op. cit. p.iv.

touching him, people of Kammalan group, including masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, and workers in leather pollute at a distance of 24 feet, toddy [an Indian drink] drawers at 30 feet, Pulayan or Cheruman cultivators at 48 feet, while the Paraiyan, who ate the beef, the range of pollution is not less than 64 feet [1].

Mangs and Mahars of Jalna did not suffer any persec: :ution like Pariahs, nor were they as much degraded as the Chuhras; yet they were generally given menial jobs.

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1. Quoted in Encyclopaedia Britannica Vol. 13, p.504 (1921 edn.); There seemed to be people lower in status than the Pariahs. The Oxford Dictionary on Historical Principles states: "There are several castes in the Tamil country considered to be lower than the Pariahs e.g. the caste of Shoemakers and the lowest caste of washermen. And the Pariah deals out the same disparaging treatment to these that he himself receives from the higher castes."

(11) GENERAL WELFARE WORK OF THE MISSIONARIES

The missionary effort to improve the lot of converts was large and varied. Even the critics of the missionaries have paid tributes to their educational, social and economic work among the Pariahs, Chuhras and other groups of the converts who were received into the Church [1]. As a good shepherd, the missionary was obviously interested in the welfare of his flock. As he was also often a good and careful organiser, he organised and administered the work in such a way that the welfare of the converts was not overlooked. In the words of Sir W.W. Hunter (vide p.190), the Church

> ... provides for the education and moral supervision of its people... assures friendly companionship, pastoral direction and when needful some amount of material aid in their way through the world; while any youth of promise among its body is quickly selected for special instruction, and has an exceptional chance of advancement in life [2].

And said a missionary in 1895:

> The missionaries and pastoral organisations look after them throughout their whole lives, step in to mitigate extreme wants in ordinary times, and labour by medical aid and substantial charity to reduce the loss among them during epidemics and famines [3].

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1. See K.M. Pannikar's Foundations of New India, Chap. II; S.P. Telang's "Christian Missions as seen by a Brahman" in Forum: 1894: Vol. 18: p.495.
2. The Times, 25.2.1888 quoted in C.S.H.F.M.R. 1888, p.392-93.
3. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1895, p.95.

Many were the ways by which the missionaries sought to raise the lot of the converts. Providing them with such basic necessities as food and clothing was of utmost importance. They sold cheap grain to the converts and distributed gifts of clothing received or specially bought for them. Where funds permitted, simple housing was provided. Monthly relief, school fees to the children of converts (where they were charged), funeral expenses, rents for lodgements, cash allowances to widows, train fares for longer journeys and the money for many other purposes was provided [1].

Every effort was made to get the converts employed since many of them had no fixed employment. Government offices, Railways, and Collieries are described by a missionary as among the places where missionaries used their influence to find employment for their converts [2]. Some were recruited for the tea plantations and jute mills owned by Scotsmen in India, while others were

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1. See: Ambroli Free Church. Poor fund and statement of accounts, p.2. J.W. Pickett. Op. cit. passim; Census of India. 1911, p.127; Ernest Hocking. Op. cit. p.31.
2. F.C.S. Proceedings. 1902, Appendix VIII, p.545; See also N.L.S. Mss. 7830, p.303.

recruited for such distant places as Trinidad and Jamaica, where cheap labour was required [1]. Occasionally, societies of converts were also formed to help one another. In 1908, the Punjab mission found a Christian Endeavour Society, whose value lay "not so much in its pledge to read the Word and pray daily as in its sub-committees whose aim it was to find work for every member" [2].

Saving the converts from the clutches of money lenders was a challenge to the missionaries. Money lending and borrowing are freely indulged by the people in India. Invariably, borrowing led the agricultural and rural population into distress. The Indian money lender has been taken to task by many social historians and literary writers including Kipling who has described him in his Kim [3] (p.39) as one who charges 7% interest a month on the mortgage of an unborn calf! He has been described as the "greatest curse" by a missionary [4]. Another missionary remarked that if he were an autocrat,

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1. C.S.M.F.M.R. 1889, p.5; M.R.U.F.C.S. 1911, p.212.
2. L. & W. 1908, p.233.
3. (Macmillan, 1925 edn.)
4. J.S. Dennis. Op. cit. vol. III p.291-92.

he would make money lending a capital offence [1].

The social disease of debt was most prevalent among the poorer classes. Strangely enough the debtor, instead of feeling any sense of inferiority in borrowing, considered it a matter of prestige and remarked that people lent him the money because he was so trustworthy [2]. Most of the converts and even well-paid (according to Indian standards) pastors and priests of the missions were not free from debt. The exorbitant rate of interest often kept many in bondage [3]. A Free Church pastor always claimed to be in debt whenever he sent applications

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1. Nicol Macnicol. Tom Dobson. p.38.

   It should be added that the money lender also served sometimes as a useful institution. For an informative academic article on the subject see: T.R. Metcalfe. "The British and the money-lenders in the nineteenth century India." J. Mod. Hist. 1962: p.390.
2. "In the sight of many, a debt is a certificate of character, a proof that some one in the community trusts the debtor to the extent of risking money on him." J.W. Pickett. Op. cit. p.104.
3. In 1931, a Presbyterian convert (perhaps of Church of Scotland or American Presbyterian Church) in Punjab - a barber by profession - who had an annual income of £7, owed a debt of £37 on which he had to pay £9 interest every year!
   vide J.W. Pickett. Op. cit. p.101. See also: W.S. Hunt. Op. cit. p.39; M.R.U.F.C.S. 1911, p.264.

asking for a rise in salary [1]. Another pastor who was paid a salary as high as the missionaries left a debt of several hundred pounds when he died [2].

Several missionaries made efforts to redeem the converts from debt. An important effort was made by Dr. Mowat, a Free Church missionary at Jalna. In 1894, he started a Provident Fund from which loans were made to converts. Loans were given for renting or buying farms, oxen, "material for making gun powder broom" (?) and for other purposes like buying seeds or manure or starting a small business [3]. A small interest was charged on borrowing of over 15 shillings [4]. Dr. Mowat also paid off the debts of many converts from his own salary and then charged the amount in small monthly instalments [5]. In 1910, a similar effort was made by Rev. Wilkie Brown at Jalna "by which it was hoped to train people to grow in independence, self support and self-respect" [6]. A similar scheme was started among the

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1. See the correspondence relating to Rev. David Malhar in N.L.S. Mss. files no. 7820, 7821 and 7822.
2. See N.L.S. Mss. no. 7820 p.185 and no. 7829, p.271-2.
3. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7830 p.190-91; E.G.K. Hewat. Op. cit. p.63; J.S. Dennis. Op. cit. vol. II p.162; F.C.S. Proceedings, 1896, Appendix VIII p.46; John Torrence. Op. cit. p.60.
4. N.L.S. Mss. 7830, p.191.
5. Ibid. see also: Report of the Third Decennial Missionary Conference, Bombay, 1892-93, p.585.
6. E.G.K. Hewat. Op. cit. p.65.

Santal tribe where the agriculturists were lent money at a rate of interest of 6¼% [1]. Also, in Nagpur a scheme aiming at mitigating the debt of the poor was launched. In Nagpur a fund was started whereby the well-off Christians are said to have contributed a small sum every month for "the poor and the needy of the flock" [2]. In Kalimpong mission of Church of Scotland, an agricultural bank was started in 1908, which provided loans to farmers and organised Annual Agricultural Shows [3].

It may be pointed out that though the efforts of the missionaries were laudable in this respect, they did not much succeed in recovering back the money loaned. In most of the co-operative societies, the people after borrowing the money did not return it or returned it only partially.[4]

Besides the funds of a co-operative nature, other funds for helping poor widows and orphans were started at some places. In Bengal and Madras an Insurance Fund was started by the Free Church. In Bengal members had

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1. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1909 p.453.
2. F.C.S. Proceedings 1883, Appendix VIII p.48. The contributors in this scheme were perhaps British.
3. L.&W. 1908 p.286.
4. Hewat. Op.cit. p.65; J.M. Macphail. Story...Op.cit. p.68-69.

to contribute an annual premium and the amount contributed was repaid with interest to the members at the age of sixty-five. In Madras, when a person died at any age, the nominee or nominees of the subscriber was paid £75. An interesting feature of the Madras scheme was that there were no regular subscriptions but every member had to pay one rupee "on every occurrence of death among the subscribers" [1].

Also, in Madras, the United Free Church of Scotland together with the American Arcot Mission founded "The Union Widows Aid Society" in 1902 "to afford pecuniary aid to the widows and children of its deceased members". The membership of the society was open to the communicants of the two missions. Every member was to pay an entrance fee and a monthly contribution which varied according to the age of a person. Also, there were several categories of contributions, the rate being variable in each. Pensions were given to the members "in proportion to the payments" made. Each prospective member was medically examined before he was allowed to pay his

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1. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.111.

contributions. Medical missionaries were appointed equally from the staff of the two missions, and every missionary of the two societies was an honorary member of the "Aid Society" [1].

On the same pattern, in 1907, the Church of Scotland formed a Christian Endeavour Society in its Kalimpong Mission whose functions were: (i) to spread the word of God (ii) to adjust quarrels among its members, (iii) to find work for each of its member and (iv) to cultivate the habit of village itineration for Church work among its followers [2]. The Free Church had at some places "Societies of Brothers" whose function was to assist their members in worldly affairs and to "redeem their lands and free them from the bonds of their masters" [3].

Sometimes the converts were encouraged to start shops for essential goods such as groceries where the mission bought all its requirements, and instructed its other followers to support the shop [4].

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1. N.L.S. Mss. 7848, p.206-212.
2. L. & W. 1908 p.233.
3. F.C.S. Monthly 1894, p.232.
4. F.C.S. Proceedings 1894, Appendix VIII, p.23.

While all this concerned the physical needs of the converts, their mental welfare was not overlooked. Education was badly lacking among most of the missions' converts. It was also regarded, at least among the Santals, a "positive evil" and useless so far as their occupations were concerned [1]. According to the Census of 1891, only 8 among 1,000 male Santals were literates, while among the females, the illiteracy was the hundred per cent [2]. The boys and girls had to be induced by bribes in cash, provisions of free food and clothing to attend schools. And on many occasions, despite all this bribing, the attendance was meagre [3].

The missionaries made some efforts to remove converts' prejudices. Sometimes they learned the converts' languages, studied their way of life and took some personal interest in them. Occasionally, their

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1. Report of Progress of education in India, 1902-07 (P.P. 1909, vol. 63, Cmd. 4685) p.304-05.
2. Quoted in F.C.S. Proceedings, 1895, Appendix VIII, p.103.
3. "Among the Santals, we offer to clothe, feed and house any boy or girl who will submit to be educated, free, gratis and for nothing, and yet it is hard to fill schools".
   F.C.S. Proceedings, 1893, Appendix VIII, p.30 See also; J.M. Macphail. Story of ... Op. cit. p.81; F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.43; F.C.S. Proceedings 1881, Appendix VIII p.21 and 1896, p.36.

knowledge of the people and their way of life was "unsurpassed", so much so that sometimes even government officials consulted them while introducing educational schemes and other measures of reforms[1].

Along with the physical and mental welfare of the converts, the missionaries sought to reduce the consumption of drink generally, and among their converts particularly. To achieve this sometimes the missionaries came also in conflict with the government authorities. The government authorities were reluctant to stop drink traffic because of the large revenue they derived from it as Excise Tax. In ten years between 1873-74 to 1883-84, the government revenue had doubled from the Excise Tax[2]. And a glance at the "Financial Statements" then published by the Finance Department of the Government of India would reveal a large annual increase from Excise Tax. Between 1903-04 and 1907-08, for example, government's revenue from Excise had increased by nearly 50%[3]. Dr. Macdonald, a Free Church missionary at Calcutta, protested against the drink and opium policy of the government. When the government appointed a Royal Commission in 1883 to look into the matter of

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1. Report on Progress of Education in India, 1902-07, p.304.
2. J. G. Gregson. Drink traffic in India, p.7.
3. See p.p. 1907: Session Vol. 58: Cd. 3479, p.47 (Between 1899-1900 and 1902-03, excise revenue increased from £3.8 to £4.3 million, see p.p. 1903: cmd. 151, p.21).

intoxicants, he is said to have submitted valuable testimony [1]. The same missionary also felt ashamed to see the advertisements of "Gaelic", "Highland" and "Scotch" whisky placarded on tram cars in Calcutta [2].

To reduce the drink traffic, the missionaries organised Temperance Societies at several places. In 1909, Dr. Nicol Macnicol, a Free Church missionary at Poona was elected the President of the fifth All India Temperance Conference [3]. Later, another missionary Tom Dobson became one of the secretaries of Poona Temperance Association [4]. Dr. Husband, a missionary at Ajmer started a Temperance Society at that place and was its President for a long time [5].

Drinking was not uncommon among the several tribes and low castes among whom the missionaries worked. Among the Lepchas, the missionaries made successful efforts for closing down a Public House where the mission converts usually met for drinking. [6] Sometimes prayers were said

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1. J.M. Macphail. Kenneth S. Macdonald. p.196.
2. Ibid. p.69.
3. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1909, p.63.
4. Nicol Macnicol. Tom Dobson p.57.
5. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1909, p.63.
6. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1883, p.684

for the improvement of the drunkards, while at other times some of them were admonished [1]. In Darjeeling, Rev. Turnbull, a missionary belonging to the Church of Scotland, formed an Abstinence Society to discourage drinking. Every member of the society contributed a penny every month and from the collection a silver medal was to be awarded to those who did not drink for a continuous period of five years [2]. Rev. Turnbull also mobilised public opinion against drinking in the area of his activity and advocated from the platform and the press "that the sale of intoxicating beverages to and by natives shall be absolutely prohibited" [3]. He gained the support of "23 European editors, 84 native editors, 329 tea planters and practically the entire native population" for his cause [4].

Among many Santals, the habit of drinking is said to have been deeply rooted. As early as 1881, an Abstinence Society was formed among them where the Santals pledged themselves not to take wine [5].

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1. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1883, p.684.
2. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1889, p.57.
3. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1889, p.294-95.
4. Ibid.
5. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1881, Appendix VIII, p.22.

In the Free Church mission at Bamdah, local Public Houses were said to be doing great harm to the mission converts. In 1887, through his representations to the District Officer, Rev. Dyer, a Free Church missionary at that place succeeded in the closure of a Public House [1]. Efforts among the Bhils to reduce drinking were made by Dr. Shepherd of the United Presbyterian Church. One of the bad habits with the Bhils, according to the biographer of Dr. Shepherd, "was the incorrigible drunkenness. When he is able to get liquour, the Bhil is seldom a sober man, and he is able to get it far too cheaply" [2].

Occasionally, attempts were made to improve the image of the converts in the sight of non-Christian population. One method adopted by the missionaries in this respect was to keep in touch with Indian social organisations and bring contacts between the low caste converts and the upper sections of the society who generally held the leadership of such organisations. This gave some sort of respectability to the mission converts.

The efforts of the missionaries in connection with

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1. J.M. Macphail. Story ... Op. cit. p.72; F.C.S. Proceed: :ings 1888, Appendix VIII, p.55; N.L.S. Mss. No. 7841, p.56; J.S. Dennis. Op. cit. vol. I, p.119.
2. G. Carstairs. Shepherd of Udaipur, p.248. This statement seems to be exaggerated.

raising the social and economic status of the Pariahs would be worth mentioning. In May, 1891 Rev. J. Colville Peattie, a missionary belonging to the Free Church of Scotland on behalf of Madras Missionary Conference, whose secretary he was, sent a long petition to the government of Madras in which he reviewed the degraded position of the Pariahs. The memorandum contained six important points. Firstly, the missionaries pointed out, the Pariahs lived like the slaves of higher castes. Secondly, very large unemployment prevailed among them which deserved the government's special attention. Thirdly, the higher castes which employed them for various works paid them unduly small wages and demanded excessive labour. Fourthly, they were "victims of much vexatious and unnecessary litigation". Fifthly, deliberate restrictions were put by higher castes when the Pariahs sought to raise themselves socially and economically; and lastly, undue obstacles were put by the higher castes in the construction of the houses by the Pariahs [1]. The memorandum urged the government

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7848, p.79-80. A copy of the memorandum submitted is available in the Mss.

to intervene to mitigate their sufferings and persecutions, to enact suitable legislation for protecting their interests, to take steps for their social and economic development and to appoint a Committee of Inquiry to study the whole question[1].

Also, in 1892, the Rev. Adam Andrew, another Free Church missionary stationed at Chingleput, sent a letter to the Governor of Madras asking him to appoint a committee to study the grievances of the Pariahs. He also submitted a list of fifteen members when asked by the Governor to suggest suitable names who should compose such a committee which the government thought might be possible to appoint at some future date. These persons consisted of government officials, both of British and Indian nationality, missionaries, and other Indians not connected with the governmental machinery[2].

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1. Ibid.
2. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7846, p.78-83

(iii) MISSIONARY WORK DURING FAMINES

A part of the missionary work was concerned with rendering relief to famine stricken and sufferers of epidemics. Famines, and the epidemics of Cholera, Influenza, Plagues and other diseases were a repeated curse with India during a large period of this study.

The Indian agricultural system depended upon the vagaries of nature. Drought was followed by famine and the toll taken by famines in life and property was very great. The most important historian on the Economic History of India during the period of this study has mentioned that "By a moderate calculation, the famines of 1877, 1878, of 1889 and 1892, of 1897 and 1900 have carried off fifteen millions of people"[1], or more than half the population of England and Wales in 1891. The famines of 1876-78 resulted in the loss of life of five and a quarter millions and of £9 millions in taxes. It destroyed more than one-third inhabitants of Kashmir valley and generally made the life of the people

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1. R. C. Dutt. Economic History of India, p.i (preface)

unbearable [1]. The famines of 1896 to 1900 were still more serious for they spared hardly any part of the country. The famine of 1896-97, when rains failed over an area of 300,000 square miles, had taken the toll of more than one million lives, had affected sixty three million people and had resulted in the loss of 18 to 19 million tons of food crops [2]. The position had improved somewhat during 1898 but the year 1899 again witnessed a severe famine. The famine this time affected an area of 400,000 square miles and sixty million people but the loss of life was very great. It is said to have resulted in the loss of life of four million people (almost the population of whole of Scotland of that year). The loss of crop was estimated at about £50 millions and it resulted in the loss of several million cattle. It cost the government half a million Pounds in land revenue and for weeks together six million people lived on the charity of the government or private agencies [3]. In several provinces the census of 1901

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1. See J. Roy. Soc. Arts 1885-86: Vol. 36: p.327; Saturday Review 1896: P.489-90; F.C.S. Proceedings, 1878, Appendix VIII, p.29.
2. Census of India vol. I p.84 (P.P. 1901: Vol. 46 Cmd. 249, p.8-11)
3. See Anstey, Vera. Economic Development of India, p.6; Westminster Review: 1902: p.57; John Torrence. Op. cit. p.83.

showed a loss instead of a gain over the population figures of 1891! The area then called the "Central Provinces" decreased by 10%, the small district of Ajmer by 18%, the whole presidency of Bombay by 4% and similarly decrease in population was witnessed in most other areas [1].

The missionaries have described the horrors of famines in the areas they worked. A missionary at Alibag speaking of the people of his district said that "one good meal every second day was not unusual" for the people and those who had that much were "considered lucky to have so much" [2]. Another missionary said of Rajputana: "People lived on roots and grass for weeks together and when they could not get anything after that had been finished, they just died" [3]. A third missionary attached to the Santal mission said in 1896 that "The flowers of one tree forms the staple diet of many for two to three months" [4]. While a fourth missionary also speaking of the Santal tribe described their

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1. Census of India, 1901. vol. I. A p.6 (Table II).
2. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7822 p.22 See also E.G.K. Hewat. Op. cit. p.64.
3. Frank Ashcroft. Op. cit. p.107-08; See also: G. Carstairs. Op. cit. p.213-14.
4. N.L.S. Mss. 7844, p.63.

plight as under:

A great mass of the people live for months in the jungle, on leaves and twigs and roots and berries. This year I have seen them doing what I never saw them do before - breaking the stones of the berries to make a meal off the kernels [1].

The missionaries made efforts to alleviate the suffering of the people and particularly their own followers during the famines. Some missionaries, as those of Rajputana, had already gained some experience of famine relief operations during previous famines. Relief operations on smaller scale were started by the Free Church at Poona and Conjeeveram and by the United Presbyterian Church in Rajputana during the famines of 1877-78. Also a "Friendless Children's Protection Society" was formed by the Free Church to provide relief and protection to children during the famines. The society set up orphanages for destitute children at Conjeeveram and Poona. The Conjeeveram orphanage admitted 99 boys and 33 girls and also provided for a hospital for the children [2].

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7843, p.200 Also quoted in: F.C.S. Proceeding 1897, Appendix VIII, p.27; E.G.K. Hewat. Op. cit. p.152.
2. F.C.S. Proceedings 1878, Appendix VIII, p.35-36; Nicol Macnicol. Tom Dobson, p.27.

It was, however, during the famines which took place during 1896 to 1900 that missionaries did more work. During the famines of 1897 grain shops were started at Alibag where rice was sold at half the market price, every one receiving only a limited quantity. People came long distances to buy rationed rice at the reduced rate [1]. At the same time a relief fund was started by Dr. Mackichan in Bombay for the sufferers of Alibag [2]. Special efforts were made to help a particular tribe called Katkaris at Karjat and Alibag near Bombay, and after the relief, new mission centres were started among the members of that tribe [3]. During the same year, at another mission centre in the Santal Parganas, missionaries provided help to many. Rev. Dyer, a missionary at the above station is said to have provided 36,000 meals to starving people for some days. He also distributed Rs. 1,800 (£130 approx.) in cash and clothes worth Rs. 1,200 (£90 approx.), received from the government, among the famine-stricken Santals [4]. Another missionary

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7822 p.73.
2. Ibid.
3. John Torrence. Op. cit. p.38.
4. J.M. Macphail. Story ... Op. cit. p.57; E.G.K. Rewat Op. cit. p.153.

at this station described his work as follows:

I go through the crowd and select ill, weak and emaciated and give them food. We cannot attempt to feed all who are starving, not even those who have not eaten twenty four or forty eight hours. The approaches to my house are barricaded. There are two small gates at which guards are placed to prevent people from entering... Force has to be employed; twenty men armed with sticks have to clear the place, driving away many women and children whom we know to be starving but we have neither money nor strength to deal otherwise with them [1].

Also, at this mission station, with the help of relief labour [2], the missionaries built some roads to link various places, and tanks for water supply [3].

At Calcutta, Dr. Macdonald, a Free Church missionary, was appointed a member of the All India General Relief Committee started by the Governor General, Lord Elgin in 1897. The Committee was to supervise the relief work in North, West and Central India. Dr. Macdonald was also a member of several committees operating relief work in Bengal [4].

Relief kitchens were started, loans were advanced and the attention of the government authorities drawn to the sad plight of the sufferers during the famine

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7843, p.197-98; F.C.S. Proceedings, 1897, Appendix VIII, p.26.
2. The famine-stricken people were made to work against the receipt of doles.
3. J.M. Macphail. Op. cit. p.63, 65, and 75; E.G.K. Hewat. Op. cit. p.153.
4. J.M. Macphail. Kenneth S. Macdonald, p.201-02.

of 1899 at Jalna [1]. For several days, 1200 persons received meals at these centres. Also, a temporary hospital was set up for the patients suffering from Cholera which had accompanied the famine.

In Madras, during the famines of 1900, soup kitchens financed by government were started where 300 people were fed every day for the whole year [2]. In a suburb of Madras, at Walajabad, Dr. Walker, a Free Church missionary, fed 170 people daily with the money received from the government [3]. A third missionary of the Madras mission described his work as follows during this time:

> For the last three months of the year [1900] when rice was at double its normal price, we gave famine batta [allowances] to the most poorly paid agents and to the school servants who seemed to require it. In some cases we also gave advances for seed as the crop for which the seed was intended has come to little or nothing. We can hardly expect to get these back... our total expenditure up to 18th January was Rs. 2,202-10-6 [£150 approx.] ... The benefit of our relief works was for the most part confined to our own people [4].

In the Madras mission also, the relief labour was employed for digging mission wells, hedging mission lands, building houses for mission agents, etc. [5].

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7831, p.16.
2. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1901. p.463.
3. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7848, p.35.
4. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7848, p.33.
5. Ibid.

In Nagpur, during the respective mild and severe famines of 1897 and 1900, relief kitchens were started in several villages which were left in the charge of mission agents. In many villages 200 to 250 persons every day "sat down to a meal of cooked rice". "These kitchens were the only obstacle between the people and death". Rev. Douglas who was in charge of relief operations at Nagpur also "clothed many hundreds of naked persons" through the grants received from Imperial Charitable Relief Fund [1]. In Bhandara, a neighbouring town of Nagpur, "1000 people received enough money to get a meal" [2].

The princely states of Rajputana suffered heavy losses during the famine of 1900. Some of the smaller States lost up to 45% of their population [3]. Service was rendered by Dr. Shepherd and other missionaries of the United Presbyterian Church. Dr. Shepherd wrote one day in his diary during these famines: "Thoroughly exhausted tonight... have fever today; but am too

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1. John Torrence. Op. cit. p.85.
2. Ibid.
3. Frank Ashcroft. Op. cit. p.105; George Carstairs. Op. cit. p.213.

busy to lie up" [1]. In the region called Mewar, 1000 people were fed every day for more than six months [2]. Cheap grain and cloth shops were started at some places where maize was sold at half the market price and clothes were given free to destitute women [3]. Relief labour was also employed at some places. Of those employed, children were paid a half penny, women three farthings and the men a penny a day [4]. The United Presbyterian Church spent from its own resources a sum of £13,699 during the famine [5].

An aspect of famine work which concerned only the mission agents was to advance them loans before the threat of famines and similar calamities. These loans helped them to buy in advance the food stuffs and other goods which used to be very expensive during the famine period [6].

It is worthy of note that Scotsmen in general

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1. George Carstairs. Op. cit. p.218-19.
2. Ibid. p.218.
3. M.R.U.P.C. 1900, p.306.
4. M.R.U.P.C. 1899, p.127.
5. E.G.K. Hewat. Op. cit. p.134.
6. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7843, p.71; 7848, p.35.

contributed significantly during these famines. Discussing the Scottish philanthropy at this time, a Parliamentary paper made the special mention of the contributions received from Glaswegians and stated: "The city of Glasgow has been specially generous with a donation of Rs. 825,000 " (£62,000 approx.)[1].

An important aspect of missionary work during the famines, which needs separate discussion, was the starting of orphanages. A large number of orphanages were started during the famines of 1877-78 as well as 1896-1900. During the famines of 1877-78, the Free Church had established orphanages at Poona, Indapur and Nagpur. The Nagpur orphanage had 63 children in 1883[2]. During the famine of 1897, an orphanage was started at Jalna which had 500 orphans in that year[3]. An orphanage started at Bhandara during the same year had 50 boys[4]. In 1900, two orphanages were started by the United Presbyterian Church in Rajputana, one each for boys and girls[5]. And by the close of 1901, the United

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1. P.P. 1901, Cmd. 207, p.33.
2. F.C.S. Proceedings 1882, Appendix VIII, p.39 and 1883, p.41.
3. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7830, p.95.
4. John Torrence. Op. cit. p.85.
5. George Carstairs. Op. cit. p.218-19.

Free Church alone was conducting the following orphanages in Western and Central India (in Marathi speaking areas only) [1]:

Name of station	Boys	Girls	Total
Bhandara	228	-	228
Bombay	-	3	3
Jalna	68	77	145
Nagpur	-	155	155
Poona	27	10	37
Wardha	4	-	4

By 1902, the United Free Church was looking after more than 2000 orphans and between 1901 and 1907, the same Church spent over £60,000 on the maintenance of the orphanages [2].

The missions took care of the orphans often from the childhood to adolescence. They supplied them food, clothing and education. The children in the orphanages also learnt several trades and crafts which made them useful citizens. The several trades taught in the orphanages have been discussed later.

An interesting use of the orphanages made by the missionaries was to arrange, solemnise and perform marriages between orphan girls and orphan boys and other mission agents. As soon as the boys became of

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1. John Torrence. Op. cit. p.87.
2. S.K. Datta. Desire of India. p.205.

marriageable age, suitable girls from female orphanages were found for them and marriages were arranged and performed by the missionaries. On some occasions mission agents suggested the choice of a particular bride from the orphanage and sought missionary's assistance to arrange marriage for them [1]. In solemnising marriages between mission agents and orphan girls, the missionaries actually killed two birds with one stone. Firstly, they gained some standing in the public eye by getting an orphan girl married for whom, generally, it would have been difficult to find a husband, and secondly he obliged the mission agent who thenceforth perhaps remained more loyal to the mission work.

Many orphans were supported by individuals or

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1. "In the beginning of the year he [a school teacher] asked Mrs. Revie to get him a wife and suggested one of the boarding school girls in Nagpur. [The girl was an orphan]. Inquiries were made and we did not think the girl suitable" N.L.S. Mss. 7836, p.80.
And again:
"... Mrs. Cooper's girls were in great demand as wives for Christian agents of other missions as well as their own".
C.W. Crawford. Women's work in the Maratha country p.62.
See also:
N.L.S. Mss. No. 7826, p.115; C.S.H.F.M.R. 1878, p.29 and 1880, p.195; F.C.S. Proceedings, 1879, Appendix VIII, p.31; Frank Ashcroft. Op. cit. p.58; George Carstairs. Op. cit. p.218.

congregations in Scotland. During the famine relief work in 1877-78 in Rajputana, when a call for support of orphans was sent by the United Presbyterian Church, there were more adoptors than orphans [1]. When the orphans were supported by individuals or congregations, sometimes missionaries had to abide by the requests of their supporters. The congregation of Ayr which supported a boy orphan at Bhandara suggested that the boy should be renamed as James Stevenson after the name of a past missionary from Ayr who had worked at that place. The boy was renamed accordingly. A girl in the same orphanage was renamed as Jessie Macdonald. When the two grew up, Jessie was married to James! [2].

The work of the missionaries during famine relief and their conduction of orphanages was recognised by the government which conferred several awards on missionaries. Rev. Andrew Campbell of Santal Mission, Rev. John Douglas of Nagpur, Susan Campbell of Ajmer, and Rev. Dr. Macallister of Jaipur all received Kaiser-i-Hind (literally Lion of India) gold medals [3]. Lord

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1. E.G.K. Hewat. Op. cit. p.133.
2. Vide N.L.S. Mss. No. 7835, p.78-80.
3. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1901, p.63 and 113 (See also missionaries' biographies).

Curzon, Viceroy and Governor General of India from January, 1899 to April, 1904 paid the following general tribute to the missionaries for their work during famines:

> Particularly, I must mention the noble efforts of missionary agencies of various Christian denominations. If ever there was an occasion in which their local knowledge and influence were likely to be of value, and in which it was open to them to vindicate the highest standards of their beneficient calling it was here; and strenuously and faithfully they have performed the task. [1]

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1. P.P. 1901, Cmd. 207, p.34.

(iv) INDUSTRIAL MISSIONS

The Free Church deputation of 1888 had recommended the training of a craft and particularly of a "mechanical trade" to the converts of that Church. The acquisition of skill was very necessary in a country like India where unskilled labour was over-abundant. In the rural areas and hilly tracts, where mission stations had been established, the population consisted largely of peasants in seasonal employment. Hundreds of orphans maintained by the missions also had to be taught some craft or industry to make them useful citizens. Also, there were hundreds of those who had become nominal Christians to get some benefits from the missions. Generally, the missionaries paid due attention to the economic well-being of the converts. Starting small industries and crafts formed an important aspect of the missionary work in this respect.

The missionary activities for the material welfare of the converts which shall be termed as "Industrial activities", had three-fold purpose: (i) to provide work to the orphans, (ii) to provide work to the converts dependent on the missions, and (iii) "to improve material conditions of the people either by improved methods of agriculture or by introducing trades which will serve as

alternatives or auxiliaries to it" [1]. By 1905, the United Free Church had bigger or smaller industrial schemes at Jalna, Chingleput, Melrosepuram, Chakai, Toondee, Pachamba, Ajmer, Udaipur, Ashapura and Chajwa [2]. Also, by the same year, the management of some of these had become so much involved that it was felt necessary to run them on business lines.

At least half a dozen different industries and trades were started by the Scottish missions. The Kalimpong mission of the Church of Scotland, the Santal mission of the Free Church and the Rajputana mission of the United Presbyterian Church were the important centres of industrial activities. The Kalimpong station of the Church of Scotland was the largest industrial establish:ment where several trades were taught. In 1890, an experiment was made to start a silk industry on a small scale. Services of a government expert Mr. Nitya Gopal Mukerji were borrowed and experiments were made for a few years which provided employment to a few mission "crafters." After some time, the attempt had to be

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1. J.M. Macphail. Story... Op. cit. p.67.
2. J.S. Dennis. Op. cit. vol. III, p.109.

given up partly because of absence of filature and partly because it was found that other indigenous industries would yield better results and provide larger employment on the investment of the same amount [1].

Weaving was another trade taught at this station. Weaving as a handicraft was known at Kalimpong long before missionaries started their station, but it needed improvement and development. The missionaries took interest and systematised several processes; existing looms were improved and some power looms were added. Besides cotton cloth, the manufacture of new varieties such as "Sikkim Tweeds and Tibetan rugs and carpets" was attempted. Once again, the services of a government expert whose salary was paid by the government and who held a London Diploma in weaving were obtained [2].

"Poultry rearing" was another craft which was improved and developed at Kalimpong. The peasants knew "how to rear fowls and hatch chickens", but the missionaries brought improvements in the existing procedures. New and better breeds were introduced and turkey rearing was added. The industry flourished well and provided

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1. See D.G. Manuel. A gladdening river p.191-93; C.S.H.F.M.R. 1891, p.8.
2. D.G. Manuel. Op. cit. p.197-98 See also: P.P. 1914, vol. 62, Cd. 7485, p.183.

work to some. While teaching some crafts and industries to students, a monthly grant of Rs. 5/- (7/6d) was paid to each for a short period. Thereafter, the trainee was supposed to do piece-work which was provided by the mission [1].

Attached to the Kalimpong centre were also several industries conducted for women. Crafts of special appeal to women such as knitting, sewing, lace making, embroidery and weaving were taught at this place. The first classes in knitting and sewing were started in 1894 by Mrs. Graham, the wife of the missionary at this station. After some training, women were able to prepare "socks, stockings, sillitoes, tea-cloths, bed-spreads, and other articles" [2]. In 1905, the important industry of silk-making was started in which also Mrs. Graham took an active initiative. Government was approached for financial assistance and for the services of an expert which were received [3]. This industry grew to such an extent that by 1909, 300 women were working full-time on the job. The finished product was sold both in India and abroad, and in course of time it became so popular

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1. D.G. Manuel. Op. cit. p.199-200.
2. Ibid. p.193.
3. Ibid. p.194

that an order was placed with the mission to prepare several articles for Her Majesty Queen Mary when she visited India in 1913 [1].

The lace industry started in 1894 at the above centre gradually attracted the attention of the government. A report of 1907 stated that the government of Bengal "intend[ed] to recognise it as the lace teaching centre for the province" [2]. In 1908, classes for poultry rearing for women were also started [3], and in 1913, a "carpet weaving factory" was added for "making delightful Tibetan rugs of soft artistic colouring" [4]. The carpet and rug industry, though specially meant for employing mission converts and paying special attention to their training also accepted students and trainees from outside, and the trainees came also "from distant places in the plains of lower Bengal, some from Assam, and others from Khasia hills" [5]. Speaking of the influence of this industrial centre, a missionary said in 1910 that

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1. D.G. Manuel. Op. cit. p.194-95.
2. L. & W. 1907, p.269.
3. L. & W. 1908, p.107.
4. L. & W. 1913, p.383.
5. Ibid. p.316.

... the lace making, the knitting and many more home industries which have been taught to them have not only enabled many poor people, especially widows to live a self-respecting life of honest industry, but have strengthened the whole social position of the community and particularly of the Christians [1].

The Santal mission of the Free Church also imparted training in several crafts and trades, which included: ironwork, carpentry, masonry, printing, book-binding, agriculture and farm-work [2]. Like the Kalimpong mission, experiments with silk were conducted here as well but the emphasis at this station was more on silk cultivation than on manufacture. In 1891, Rev. Andrew Campbell while returning back to India from furlough in Scotland, visited Lebanon and learned new methods of silk cultivation which were taught to the Santal converts [3]. In 1896, expensive machinery was imported from England [4] and also the "assistance of the government for introducing improved breed and obtaining subsidy for the cultivators" was received [5]. The teaching of the trade had however

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1. L. & W. 1910, p.189.
2. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7844, p.285; J.M. Macphail. Op. cit. p.68. E.G.K. Hewat. Op. cit. p.151 Printing, carpentry etc. taught at this place have been discussed in subsequent pages.
3. J.M. Macphail. Op. cit. p.63; N.L.S. Mss. No. 7844, p.275.
4. J.M. Macphail. Op. cit. p.69; F.C.S. Proceedings, 1897, Appendix I, p.103.
5. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7836, p.200.

to be given up because of lack of interest among the converts [1].

A third important centre was at Ashapura, run by the United Presbyterian Church. This centre had been started during the severe famines of 1897-98. In 1900, an industrial home was attached to it where simple and elementary training was provided in leather work and carpentry [2]. To start more trades and to run them on systematic lines, a superintendent of industries, Mr. J.Y. Buchanan, was sent from Scotland in the same year [3]. In 1901 and 1902, industries of blacksmithy, pottery making, tailoring, masonry and gardening were added to the two industries already started. The industries not only provided employment, but according to the annual report of 1903, also made some profit [4].

An important industry connected with this centre was that of farming. Thousands of acres are reported

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1. J.M. Macphail. Op. cit. p.63.
2. "A hut of reeds make a convenient workshop; a few simple tools equipped the young carpenters; a piece of leather, a bit of thread, and a needle set up a young shoe-maker". Frank Ashcroft. Op. cit. p.111.
3. Ibid.
4. See M.R.U.F.C.S. 1903, p.162 and 1904, p.211.

to have been obtained from the Maharaja on easy terms on a lease of twenty years. Many orphans were settled on the land to whom training was given in farming and agriculture. Every orphan was given 30 acres of land and a pair of bullocks,which it was supposed would provide sufficient returns to pay off the rent and taxes and live a reasonable life [1]. In 1904, a farmer, Mr. Leighton, from Ayrshire was specially sent for the training of the boys [2]. Although the land received was suitable for producing opium, a cash-crop, the missionaries banned its production and utilised it for producing food-stuffs and grains [3]. The training received in several trades and crafts at this centre proved helpful to many orphans in finding suitable employment. In 1903, 593 boys were under training [4], and a report of 1906 said:

> During the year, a number of older lads passed from the school into situations, where they are now entirely self supporting. Three blacksmith lads have gone to the Railway workshops in Ajmer... another

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1. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1903, p.199.
2. E.G.K. Hewat. Op. cit. p.138.
3. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1905, p.460-61.
4. E.G.K. Hewat Op. cit. p.137.

blacksmith lad has gone to be employed as a chauffeur. Three mason lads having become competent builders, left us and are now earning good wages. Six shoe maker lads have gone to Amritsar, Punjab, where they are employed as journeymen at a fair wage. Several others have become house servants, and are doing well [1].

Besides the three important centres started at Kalimpong, the Santal Mission, and Ashapura, the missionaries provided training in several specific trades which deserve mention. An important trade among these was that of printing. The missionaries had started printing presses at many stations. The printing presses besides providing training to orphans and other converts who afterwards found employment at various places, also proved useful and economical for printing vast amounts of missionary literature. The first printing press was started in 1878 at Poona by Rev. Small of the Free Church which provided work for seven famine orphans [2]. Work in this press was received also from distant places like Bombay, situated at a distance of 120 miles.

In 1883, a printing press was started at Ajmer by the United Presbyterian Church, which by 1905 provided

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1. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1906, p.217; see also: E.G.K. Hewat. Op. cit. p.137.
2. See John Torrence. Op. cit. p.43: F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.30-31; F.C.S. Proceedings, 1881, Appendix VIII, p.30 and 1888, p.31.

"a very satisfactory opening for converts" and employed 80 workmen [1]. The importance of this press can be discerned from a ~~doubtful~~ claim made by a missionary that it was "second to none in India" [2].

In 1890, a press was started at Toondee in the Santal Mission. By 1900, it provided employment to twenty people. Printing was done in four distinct languages - English, Hindi, Bengali and Santali. A monthly paper Dharwak and two quarterlies Conference and Medical Missions in India were regularly published at this press. In 1901, the press had printed 1,376,100 pages "exclusive of commercial forms" [3].

A small printing press exclusively for publishing missionary literature was also attached to Kalimpong mission of the Church of Scotland since 1883. The material printed at this press was "Christian books, Christian tracts, picture cards and a Hindi monthly journal" required for the above mission station [4].

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1. See Frank Ashcroft. Op. cit. p.46; J.S. Dennis. centennial survey... p.178; M.R.U.F.C.S. 1905, p.73.
2. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1905, p.73.
3. See J.M. Macphail. Op. cit. p.63, 70; E.K.G. Hewat. Op. cit. p.152.
4. C.S.R.F.M.R. 1883, p.612 and 619.

As the presses were started mainly for providing employment to the converts and teaching them a trade to make them useful, the missionaries do not seem to have paid much attention to feed the machines. As a business undertaking, the running of most presses was at considerable loss [1]. In 1903, steps were taken to make them a profitable venture and run them on commercial lines. With the co-operation of the Y.M.C.A., a "Scottish Mission Industries Company for Printing and Stationery" was formed by the United Free Church at Poona. While the provision of employment to converts was still an important consideration, it was kept in view that the workers of the Company should not be completely dependent on the Mission. They were thenceforth "to be treated according to the work they did and the ability they showed". The company was a Joint Stock venture with a large number of shareholders who received 5% interest on their invested capital. The initial capital of the company was about £10,000 [2]. The surplus profit was to

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1. Nicol Macnicol. Tom Dobson p.21-22.
2. To be precise, the exact initial capital of the company is stated as 50,000 Dollars. 5 dollars are here calculated as equivalent to a Pound, which was the rate of exchange at that period.

remain with the Church. At the same time, Tom Dobson, a printer and composer by profession was sent from Scotland to manage the presses at Poona, Ajmer and Toondee [1].

Carpentry was another important trade taught at many stations. In 1888, a carpentry workshop was started at Alibag of which missionaries felt elated to point out that Brahmin boys had joined it and that the best artisans came from this "class" (sic) [2]. In a boarding school at Jalna, carpentry was taught to a small group of boys for three hours on every alternate day from 1896 onwards. The boys learnt to "turn out plain articles, stools and boxes very creditably" [3]. At Wallajabad, in the Madras Presidency, the Free Church had an industrial school where in the 'nineties, carpentry was taught to boarders because of their lack of interest in the three R's [4]. A training centre for carpentry also existed at the Darjeeling mission of the Church of Scotland where

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1. For information about the Company see: Nicol Macnicol Tom Dobson, First three chapters; L. & W. 1906, p.140; World Christian Atlas, p.46; Encyclopaedia of Missions, p.659.
2. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1888, Appendix VIII, p.22. Brahmins were not a class but caste.
3. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7830, p.176; John Torrence. Op. cit. p.58.
4. Rainy. Our Indian Mission Field, p.56.

students were "taught to make boxes and other useful articles" [1]. In 1906, a wood carving and a carpentry school was started at Kalimpong. Grants and assistance was received from the government for starting a systematic course in that trade. A five year certificate course was introduced whose syllabuses included training in "wood carving, furniture making and repairing and general carpentry [2].

Some minor trades started on an experimental basis might also be specified. In Jalna, between 1896 and 1899, some students were taught tailoring and gardening [3]. Rev. Campbell, a Free Church missionary attached to the Santal station had made in eighteen-nineties some unsuccessful attempts to grow castor oil which in those days is said to have been used also for lighting purposes [4]. The Scottish Universities' Mission at Sikkim tried to start a herbarium at that place in 1895 but with no success [5].

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1. Scottish Universities' Mission Report, 1895, p.6 This workshop was very small since total equipment cost only £5.
2. D.G. Manuel. Op. cit. p.199.
3. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7830, p.176; John Torrence. Op. cit. p.58.
4. J.M. Macphail. Op. cit. p.68.
5. Scottish Universities' Mission Report, 1895, p.7.

Sometimes the missionaries also helped to popularise in Britain the products produced by the converts. The following passage in the Annual Report of Santal Mission in 1887 is noteworthy in this respect:

"About 800 exhibits, illustrative of the economic resources of the district of Chhota Nagpur were sent to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London. These included oils, oilseeds, fibres, gums, resins, dyes, tans, raw medical products, food stuffs, Jungle roots, fruits, herbs and leaves eaten by the people in time of scarcity or famine... One of the fibres thus sent - that of Colotropis gigantea, R.Br. - attracted considerable attention, and we were requested by a firm in Bolton to undertake the cultivation of it on a scale sufficiently large to test its suitability for European market" [1].

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1. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1887, Appendix VIII, p.23. The above fibre, by mixing it with wool produced good cloth. The experiment was tried for a while but had to be given up because the cloth manufactured was not economic.

(v) MISSIONARY WORK AMONG EURASIANS

An aspect of the Scottish missionaries' social work concerned the welfare of the Eurasian and the Anglo-Indian communities[1]. The plight of Anglo-Indians during the period of this study, both in the missionary and lay literature, is described as pitiable. Apart from the missionaries, the British government in India, at least during the period of this study, had considered the well-being of that community as its important obligation and had paid special attention to their education and economic betterment.

Before discussing the work done by the government and the Scottish missionaries for Anglo-Indians, it would be useful, to give a brief picture of the low status to which they were degraded. In 1880, a civil servant pointed out that in the Bengal Presidency alone, out of 8500 Eurasian

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1. The distinction between the terms Eurasian and Anglo-Indian was made in the Census of India, 1911, which said that henceforth, under the orders of the Government of India, the official designation of the Eurasians was to be Anglo-Indians. The government had issued orders in this respect because the Eurasians disliked being so called and many of them had returned themselves as "pure Europeans" in the previous census reports.

See Census of India, 1911, Vol.1, Part I, p.139

children of school-going age, half of them did not receive any education, while the other half received only inadequate instructions. He also mentioned that out of 26,649 Eurasian children of school-going age in all India, only 56% were attending schools [1]. Introducing a bill, aimed at bettering the lot of Eurasians and Anglo-Indians in the Madras Legislative Assembly in 1880, the Honourable J.G. Coleman - a member of the Governor General's Council - lamented their poverty and pointed out that the Eurasians were not prepared "to take to such labour as was open to the poor in European countries" [2]. A committee appointed by the Government of Bengal in 1891, stated that 19% of the members of the Anglo-Indian community "were in utter destitution and living on public or private charity" [3]. In 1900, a missionary wrote that "in the large cities of North India, a part of the Eurasian community, in respect of low ideals, squalid living and immoral conduct is worse than any other section of population" 4. And he added:

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1. India Office Library. J. & P. Records. 1880, vol.17 correspondence 925.
2. Ibid. vol. 28, correspondence no. 1711.
3. See P.P. 1929 vol. 10, Cmd. 3407, p.230.
4. L. & W. 1900, p.158.

Speaking generally, the Eurasians occupy an unenviable position, suffering on the one hand from the vigour of Hindu 'Caste' and on the other hand from the exclusiveness of the British 'Class' and their condition is such as to demand sympathetic interest and help of every Christian [1].

A British lady well-conversant with Indian life speaking of the Anglo-Indians wrote in 1895 that "as a race they seem to possess the faculty of uniting the worse qualities of both sides" [2], and a Parliamentary paper in 1909 stated that in the big cities like Calcutta many Eurasians lived in dirty bastis (areas) and single apartments "often partially subdivided". The same source went on to say:

> Here you may see the greatest mixture of type of race and form that I have ever known anywhere; here you may find conditions of promiscuity and immorality quite unnameable; here you may see children, bright children too, growing up cursed from their birth and practically without a helping hand, predestined to become loafers in the streets or worse [3].

Before discussing the work of the missionaries, brief mention should be made of the government's efforts in this direction. The government had paid special attention to improving the Eurasians' lot from about

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1. L. & W. 1900, p.158
2. F.M. Billington. Woman in India, p.94.
3. P.P. 1909 vol. 63. Cmd. 4635, p.269. See also: Census of India, 1911 p.118 (footnote); Nicol Macnicol. Tom Dobson. p.39.

1860. Lord Canning, the Governor General of India between 1856 and 1862 had regarded it as his responsib: :ility to look after the welfare of Anglo-Indians. He once said during his Governor-generalship:

> The Eurasian class have a special claim on us. The presence of British government has called them into being... and they are a class which while it draws little or no support from its connections with England, is without that deep root in the soil of India from which our native public servants, through their families and relatives, derive advantages [1].

In 1879, Lord Lytton, viceroy of India appointed a Commission for these "lazy, helpless, useless lot... wanting in self-reliance, pluck, honesty and truth" as the Anglo-Indians were then described and whom he also considered a "great political and social danger" [2]. The commission was to review the education of Eurasians' children. After the receipt of the report, a special sum was provided for their education [3]. Referring to the European and Eurasian schools, a government paper of 1880 stated: "Aid is granted to the schools for the poor of all races, but specially to schools for the

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1. Quoted in Cambridge History of the British Empire vol. V, p.341.
2. A. Nundy. "The Eurasian problem in India". Imperial and Asiatic Review, 1900: p.56-57.
3. Ibid.

Europeans and Eurasian poor" [1].

The work of Scottish missionaries among Eurasians is witnessed in the activities of the very first missionary, Dr. Duff. Prof. Latourette makes mention of the interest taken by Duff in improving the miserable lot of Eurasians [2], while Duff's biographer Dr. Smith relates that Duff took interest in the education of Eurasian children, founded a temperance Society for them in 1841 and also an association called Anglo-Indian Christian Union later named the Evangelisation Union [3].

In 1870, an "Anglo-Indian Evangelisation Society" was formed in Scotland with the object of:

> The maintenance of an unsectarian itinerant evangelical mission among widely scattered groups of Europeans and Eurasians in India, otherwise destitute of Gospel ordinances at railway stations, on tea estates, and elsewhere [4].

The major work of Scottish missions which concerned the welfare of the Eurasian children lay in the establishment of St. Andrews Home by the Church of

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1. India Office Library. Judicial and Political Dept. Records. 1880, vol. 12, correspondence no. 572.
2. K.S. Latourette. History... Op. cit. vol. 6, p.117.
3. George Smith. Life of Alexander Duff. vol. I, p.233-34, vol. II, p.439.
4. World Christian Atlas ed. by J.S. Dennis p.45 The income of the society in 1908 was £1,786.

Scotland at Kalimpong in 1900. Its object was "To give a sound education in a cool and healthy climate, under good moral influences to poor European and Eurasian boys and girls in India, who must otherwise grow up neglected" [1]. By 1909, 250 boys and girls were receiving training in this home [2] and by 1914, this figure had increased to 500 [3]. The children in the home came from Bengal, Assam, United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh), Bihar, Chota Nagpur, Orrisa, Madras, Central Provinces, Bombay, Baluchistan, Burma, Ceylon, Punjab, Kashmir, Tibet, Hyderabad, Malay States and Andaman Islands [4].

Besides receiving literary education, the students were also trained in various occupations and trades, such as farming, cattle breeding, poultry rearing, carpentry and masonry and "other trades". The girls were instructed in "suitable industries" which included nursing and nursery governing [5]. The training of the boys was carried out in two distinct departments of Agriculture and Engineering which by 1909 were

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7840 p.313.
2. Ibid.
3. P.P. 1919 vol. 38, p.192.
4. D.G. Manuel. Op. cit. p.249 (Appendix)
5. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1900, p.158.

"affiliated respectively to a government Agricultural and Government Engineering College" [1].

When the "Home" was first started, it was kept under the care of a House-mother "herself a Eurasian of distinguished Scottish ancestry". As the institution developed, batches of students were made, and each batch was kept under the care of a House-mother. By 1909, the "Home" had nine residential hostels, a school with a hall and clock-tower, a farm, a gymnasium, workshops with machinery, a store, a hospital and a "hostel for big lads, all on an estate of 500 acres" [2].

In the bringing up of children, no Indian servants were employed; part of the house-hold work was done by the children themselves while the remaining was done either by the missionaries or Eurasian or Scottish House-mothers [3]. When the "Home" was first started, there was "a Scottish farmer, and a Scottish teacher and a Scottish artizan" [4]. It appears to be the only institute run by the Church of Scotland where all the

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7840, p.313.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. L. & W. 1900, p.158.

teachers besides being European were also "thoroughly qualified" [1].

An important aim of the managers (subsequently discussed), besides training the children, was to get them suitably employed, preferably in European environments. Candidates were prepared for service in North America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and other colonies where a fair proportion of European had settled. By 1909, four had gone to New Zealand as farmers, three to a fruit farm in Virginia, four others had become "motorists" in India, "several" had gone to Rhodesia and East Africa as farmers, twenty three had joined H.M. training ship Southhampton at Hull [2] and some were employed on plantations and Railways in India [3].

The "Board of Management" of the "Home" consisted of missionary representatives, government officials and some important Britons living in India. In 1900, on the Board were represented Sir John Woodburn, the Lt. Governor of Bengal, Mr. J.A. Bardillon, the Chief

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7840, p.314.
2. Ibid.
3. See P.P. 1919, vol. 38 p.192; C.F. Andrews. Renaissance in India, p.286; J.S. Dennis. Op. cit. vol. III, p.113.

Secretary to the government of Bengal and Sir Charles Elliot, a past Lt. Governor of Bengal [1]. In the initial establishment of the "Home", the government of Bengal had provided a bungalow and 200 acres of land free of charge [2]. The funds for running the "Home" were chiefly raised from the Europeans, Eurasians and wealthy Indians [3]. The annual maintenance cost of the "Home" in 1912 was £7,500 [4].

Work among Eurasians was also done at some other places - chiefly in Bombay and Madras. In Bombay, the Church of Scotland, was instrumental in forming a Scottish Orphanage Society whose aim was to

> ...provide for the maintenance and education of the Scottish orphans and for such other children of European descent as the society shall consider to have sufficient claim to the benefit of the institution but not to the exclusion of the children of Scottish parentage... [5].

The orphanage was under the pastoral care of a minister of the Church of Scotland. The orphanage particularly looked after the welfare of the children of Presbyterian

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1. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1900, p.158.
2. Ibid
3. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7840, p.314.
4. P.P. 1914, vol. 62, p.236-37.
5. Handbook of Church of Scotland for India and Ceylon Op. cit. p.56.

soldiers and seamen. The society also imparted technical training at an "Apprentice Home" to the children of Scottish parentage [1].

The Church of Scotland conducted a boarding school for the children of Eurasians in Madras, where in 1898 twenty five Eurasian children were educated, fed and clothed free. The school was supported from mission funds and received a monthly grant of Rs. 20 from the government [2]. There is also an obscure reference in a missionary magazine giving an indication about the work of the Free Church among Eurasians in Asansol and Jharia districts in Bihar [3].

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1912, p.266.

(vi) MEDICAL MISSIONS

The idea of starting medical missions on a systematic basis originated with the suggestion of Dr. Parker, an American medical missionary in China. In 1841, he in co-operation with Dr. Abercrombie, an Edinburgh physician, laid the first foundations of a non-denominational society called "Edinburgh Association for Sending Medical Aid to Foreign Countries". Its object was to assist "Mission stations in all possible ways". In 1843, the Association was renamed as "Edinburgh Medical Mission Society" and it still functions by that name [1]. From 1843 onwards, medicine and surgery formed important means of missionary work and a fair proportion of missionary personnel was employed as medical missionaries in all missions.

Before discussing the work of the missionaries, it would be useful to give a brief picture of the medical situation as it existed in India. The shortage of medical personnel in India was very great. Despite the curious claim in the Free Church of Scotland Report

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1. See John Lowe. Medical missions, p.202; Report of centenary conference of Protestant Missions, London, 1888, p.389.

of 1888 that the "Government of India had instituted a well-organised medical administration for the people" [1], the fact according to Sir William Moore, Surgeon General of Bombay in 1885, and later honorary physician to the Queen Victoria, was "that not more than 5% of the population is reached by present system of medical aid" [2]. He added that "Even in great cities where there are hosp: :itals and dispensaries, more than half of the population die unattended in sickness either by educated doctor or by native quack" [3]. "If this is the case in the cities", he asked, "what must be the condition in 566,000 villages each with a population from 1,000 to 5,000 without even a native doctor" [4]. The Health Officer of Calcutta Dr. Simpson reported that during 1886-91, out of 49,761 persons who died in the city, 31,221 - i.e. three out of five - had no medical attendance whatsoever [5]. And to quote a missionary in 1900:

In the villages, there are great multitudes

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1. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.25.
2. Quoted in J.S. Dennis Op. cit. vol. I, p.191.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid. p.192.

diseased for life, blind, lame, deaf and dumb because in early infancy or childhood the simplest remedies were not procurable [1].

The Indian "physicians" did not compare well with their counterparts in the West. The scientific approach of the western medical men towards ill-health and disease was largely absent in the Indian medical practitioners. Their knowledge was largely acquired from experience. And as regards the people, there were many who believed to cure diseases by superstitions, charms, and prayers rather than by curious chemical compounds. Even the infectious diseases like small pox were often ascribed to the curse of gods and goddesses and their treatment was supposed to lay in propitiating gods and goddesses rather than in administering medicines [2].

As in many other cases, it was the Free Church which sent the first medical missionary to India. In 1851, the first missionary of that Church arrived in Calcutta; in 1856 another arrived in Madras and from then onwards there was an increase in the number of missionaries and hospitals and dispensaries. Large

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1. J.S. Dennis. Op. cit. vol. I, p.192.
2. See Ibid vol. I p.192 and vol. III p.538; E.A. Small. Light and shade in zenana missionary life, p.67-68; John Torrence. Op. cit. p.74.

increase both in the medical missionary personnel and hospitals and dispensaries was also witnessed during the period of this study. In 1885, the United Presbyterian Church which had already started four hospitals at Beawar (1862), Ajmer and Naserabad (1873) and Udaipur (1877), started a fifth hospital at Jodhpur [1]. The Free Church started the following hospitals or dispensaries by the end of the nineteenth century [2]:

Year of Establishment	Place where Started	Type of Medical Centre
1878	Thana (Bombay)	Hospital
1886	Nagpur	Hospital
1888	Bhandara	Hospital
1890	Bamdah	Hospital
1891	Jalna	Dispensary
1894	Kalna (Bengal)	Hospital
1895	Wardha	Hospital
1896	Jalna	Dispensary (second)
1898	Jalna	Hospital

By 1892, the Free Church already had a staff of twenty medical missionaries at its Indian mission stations [3]. In 1903, the United Free Church started a hospital at

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1. Julius Richter. Op. cit. p.348.
2. Table compiled from the following works: Julius Richter. Op. cit. p.349; J. Hodge. Salute to India, p.109; John Torrence. Op. cit. p.59 & 75; F.C.S. Proceedings, 1879, Appendix VIII, p.29.
3. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1892, p.660.

Conjeeveram and by that year that Church had in its Indian missions, 24 hospitals and dispensaries, twenty one medical missionaries and 66 Indian assistants including some qualified medical practitioners. In its various hospitals, it had 232 beds in 1903 and a year before that it had dealt with 160,000 cases in its dispensaries, hospitals and itinerations of medical missionaries [1].

The Church of Scotland had started a dispensary at Sialkot in 1889 [2], a hospital and dispensary at Gujrat (Punjab) in 1895 and also a hospital and dispensary at Jalalpur in 1899 [3]. By 1903, the Church of Scotland, in its Indian missions had a staff of twenty qualified medical practitioners - both European and Indian - and ten nurses who were in charge of eight hospitals and fifteen dispensaries [4].

Hospitals and dispensaries were also started for the exclusive treatment of women and children. A dispensary for women was started by the Free Church

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1. Encyclopaedia of Missions, p.657 and 842.
2. John Youngson. Forty years... Op. cit. p.273.
3. J.S. Dennis. World Christian Atlas of foreign Missions, p.202-07.
4. L. & W. 1904, p.272.

at Pachamba in 1893; the Church of Scotland started a hospital and a dispensary for women at Sialkot in 1894. In 1895, the Free Church started a hospital and two dispensaries for women at Nagpur and during the same year a hospital and dispensary for women and children were also started at Gujrat (Punjab) by the Church of Scotland [1].

A closer scrutiny of the places where the hospitals and dispensaries were started would reveal that most of the medical work was concentrated in the rural areas or among the aboriginal tribes. The Free Church report suggested three main reasons for this. Firstly, the government hospitals were largely centred in the cities and were generally looked after by well-educated medical practioners, while "the people in small villages and jungles have no means of securing the services of skilled medical practitioner" [2]. The medical officers at later places were described as "natives and in the lower grades of service (and) have not much real medical knowledge" [3]. The missions therefore considered the country districts as requiring their first claim. Secondly, it cost more to start a hospital or dispensary in a city than in the country districts. It is not known how much the maintenance of hospitals and dispensaries cost the Scottish missions, but, in 1888, it was vaguely pointed out that an "excellent hospital at

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1. J.S. Dennis (ed.) World Christian Atlas... Op.cit. p. 202-07.
2. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p. 25.
3. Ibid.

Udaipur cost about Rs. 15,000 to build, and its annual upkeep cannot be less than Rs. 3,600", and it was added: "The expense of a similar establishment in the Bombay Presidency could not fail to be from two to three times greater" [1]. Thirdly, the usefulmess of the medical work as a branch of missionary enterprise is so much greater in the country districts ...." [2]

Large numbers of patients were treated in the hospitals, dispensaries and during missionary itinerations. Every year the number of patients treated increased [3]. The two hospitals of the Free Church in Madras treated 21,479 patients and performed 699 operations in 1880 [4]. A missionary attached to the Sialkot mission of the Church of Scotland claimed to have treated 18,000 patients and performed 400 operations in the year 1895 [5], and in addition to this he did his usual itineration and wrote for missionary periodicals. The Kalna mission hospital

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. "The year 1887 has been one of continued prosperity... the number of patients increased to such an extent that on many days we were unable to treat all who came..." F.C.S. Proceedings 1888, Appendix VIII, p. 29.
4. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1881, Appendix VIII, p. 28.
5. John Youngson. Op.cit. p. 273.

of the Free Church treated 36,000 cases in a year (exact date not recorded) which included many surgical operations[1]. The Santal mission of the Free Church in 35 years between 1870 and 1905 treated more than 200,000 patients[2]. Dr. Hutchison, a medical missionary of the Church of Scotland on his itinerations in the district of Chamba was reported to have traversed 20,000 miles on foot in thirty years[3].

The number of medical missionaries employed by the Scottish missions, during some years of this study has been shown on p.562, and also the medical statistics concerning hospitals, dispensaries, patients and treatments, for the year 1900, has been shown on p.563. The total treatments in that year exceeded 490,000 and the surgical operations over 9,000. It should be added however that that year was one when the country witnessed a severe famine and epidemics.

The patients visiting mission hospitals comprised different varnas, castes, classes and religions. As regards varnas, the patients came from all the four varnas in which the Hindu society is traditionally divided. And as regards the castes, in Western India many belonged to Prabhus, Marathas and Mahars. A small number of patients in the Western India missions of the Free Church also comprised of jungle tribes like Warlis and Katholis.[4] As regards the classes, the patients

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1. Alex. Tomory. Story of our Bengal missions, p.55.
2. J. M. Macphail. Story of our Santal missions, p.87.
3. H. F. L. Taylor. In the land of five rivers, p.74.
4. F. C. S. Proceedings, 1879, Appendix VIII, p.29.

ranged "from the rich land owner and cultivator struck down by paralysis to the poor helpless dying beggar" [1]. As regards the religions of the patients, the majority of patients belonged to two major religions of India - Hinduism and Islam.

Many patients were very simple, ignorant and sometimes prejudiced towards western medical practice. On many occasions, the mothers either would not understand or pay inadequate attention to the instructions given about the care of their babies. A lady missionary said in 1891:

> In the case of children we often find that the mothers are so foolish that we cannot depend on them to give the medicine properly and we begin the treatment in the dispensary [2].

The stethoscope of the missionaries created fear among the aboriginal tribes [3]! The innoculation was similarly dreaded and sometimes patients refused to be innoculated. On such occasions, the missionaries had to innoculate

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1. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1887, Appendix VIII, p.22.
2. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1891, p.292.
3. "These simple ones [the Santals] are sometimes greatly alarmed. The stethoscope is regarded with the greatest dread. 'You are not to rip me up with that thing', said one".
   F.C.S. Proceedings, 1886, Appendix VIII, p.21.

themselves first to remove the patients' apprehensions [1].

The patients usually approached the Indian medical practitioners before they went to missionaries. A missionary complained in 1891:

> Too often also they have been to the village barber or eye-doctor or some other equally ignorant person, and he has left his mark on the case in a way which makes all our skill of no avail [2].

The patients often disregarded the treatment of their ailments until these became very severe [3]. Occasionally, if the patients were unable to attend dispensary, they were visited in their homes [4].

The missionaries treated the patients also during their itinerations. Itineration indeed formed an important part of the medical missionary work. A missionary described his work during itineration as follows:

We pitch our tents at a centre and wait for two to

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1. "I myself told them that if there was to be any innoculation, I would stand in the middle of bazaar and be done before them all".
   C.S.H.F.M.R. 1898, p.295.
2. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1891, p.292.
3. Ibid.
4. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1897, Appendix VIII, p.51.

four days. In the morning, we visit the surrounding villages preaching the gospel and intimating that medicines may be had by coming to the tent. In the afternoon from three till dusk, we attend to the patients who come in front of the tent or under a tree a carpet is spread and on it the large medicine boxes are placed and their contents turned out; attracted by our music, the people nearby congregate around us, sometimes in the hundreds. We then attend to the patients and while doing so the catechist preaches to those who are waiting. All this implies a great deal of confusion [1].

Fees were charged if the missionaries treated a rich patient. Sometimes they also received gifts if they treated an important person like a Raja of an Indian State. During the years 1897-1902 when Plague infected large number of people in the Bombay presidency, in the small taluka (administrative unit) of Alibag, the mission doctor received about £180 a year in fees [2]. In 1884, when Dr. Sommerville of the United Presbyterian Church successfully treated the Maharaja of Udaipur, he received a large piece of land and also sufficient money from the Maharaja to build a hospital in that city 3.

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7835, p.204.
2. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7824, p.46. See also: F.C.S. Proceedings 1887, Appendix VIII, p.22.
3. Frank Ashcroft. Story of the Rajputana Mission, p.75.

The diseases from which patients suffered were many and of various kinds. The common diseases of the patients in Madras in 1880 were: "Fevers, Rheumatism, Inflammation of ear, Bronchitis, Dyspepsia, Abscesses, Cutaneous affections, and injuries [of several kinds]" [1]. In the Santal mission, majority of the patients in 1881 suffered from "Malarial and other fevers, Cholera, Dysentery, Diarrhoea, Eyes and Ear cases [diseases], Diseases of lungs, Blood glands, Heart, Skin and Nervous system" [2]. In the same mission and during the same year, the missionaries performed operations for "dislocations, fractures, perforating wounds, amputations, tumours etc." [3]. The prevailing diseases among the patients in Jalna in 1883 were: "Ague [fever of malarial character] Rheumatic affections, Ophthalmitis, Inflammation of the external ear, Respiratory affections, Dysentery, Diarrhoea, diseases of Spleen, skin diseases and poisoned wounds" [4]. In 1892, the common diseases in

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1. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1881, Appendix VIII, p.32.
2. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1882, Appendix VIII, p.28.
3. Ibid.
4. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1884, Appendix VIII, p.36.

Nagpur were "leprosy, cataract, spleen cake and skin diseases" [1], and at Bhandara near Nagpur "Ringworm and Scabbies" [2]. Some of the operations performed at the Bhandara mission station during the same year included: "Withdrawal of 76 ounces of pus from the pleural cavity, removal of breast and tumour, removal of eye, case of severe burn, diseased bone in foot" [3].

At the Santal mission by 1905, there were three eye hospitals at Bamdah, Toondee and Tisri. Eye diseases were treated and operations were performed in these hospitals. In 1901, more than 250 operations for cataract alone were performed at one of the stations [4]. In 1912, Dr. Macphail, the eye-surgeon, who looked after all the three eye hospitals, performed 2346 operations including 730 for cataract [5]. In addition he did his usual itinerating work in the villages and occasionally wrote for the missionary magazines. During his life time he is said to have performed "tens of thousands" of operations of cataract [6].

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1. N.L.S. Mss. 7835, p.114.
2. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7835, p.176.
3. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1893, Appendix VIII, p.46.
4. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1902, p.247.
5. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1912, p.248.
6. Ibid.

In the treatment of eye diseases, native medicines were sometimes experimented. Cocaine, a product of coca (chemical formulae $C_{14}H_{21}No4$) which was grown in the Santal provinces in a large quantity was used as an anaesthetic for the treatment of "eye and other diseases" and its results were described as "wonderful" [1].

Some service was rendered by the missionaries also during the epidemics of Plagues and Cholera. During the six years of 1893-1898, six and half million people had died due to epidemics of Plagues, Cholera, Small pox, Influenza and other diseases in British India alone [2], and between 1896 and 1905 more than 3.3 million people had died due to Plague alone in India [3]. Between 1896 and 1920, 33.6 million people or almost the entire population of Britain had died due to epidemics [4]. During the Plague epidemic in Poona in 1897, Miss Bernard, a medical missionary of the Church of Scotland, visited "Plague and segregation camps regularly" [5]. During the Plagues of 1898 and 1900 in Nagpur, the Free

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1. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1886, Appendix VIII, p.21.
2. P.P. 1901, Cmd. 810: p.56.
3. Census of India, 1921, Vol. I, p.350.
4. Ibid. "The most severe epidemic of Asiatic Cholera in England (1848-49) caused a mortality of 54,000 in the year, a number thought appalling at that time". P.P. 1907, Cmd. 169, p.3.
5. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1898, p.4.

Church mission looked after the welfare of 380 orphans and during the Plague epidemic of 1903-04 in the same city, the government entrusted the charge of relief in certain areas to the Free Church missionaries [1]. During the Plague epidemic of 1907 in Poona which had resulted in two-thirds population emptying the city, the United Free Church started a hospital for men [2].

Some service was also rendered during the Cholera epidemics. In 1882, Udaipur was visited by Cholera which killed hundreds of people. Dr. Shepherd, a missionary of the United Presbyterian Church busily engaged himself in healing the sick and infirm. For him "there was little rest night or day" [3]. During the Cholera epidemic of 1888 in the Santal provinces, Mr. Stevenson, a teacher at that mission station attended to healing the sick in the absence of Dr. Dyer who was then on furlough in Scotland, but he himself fell the victim of disease and died at the young age of thirty-five [4]. During the critical months of 1900 at the

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1. E.G.K. Hewat. Op. cit. p.112; United Free Church of Scotland. Dr. Agnes Henderson of Nagpur, p.36.
2. E.G.K. Hewat. Op. cit. p.57.
3. George Carstairs. Op. cit. p.138.
4. J.M. Macphail. Story... Op. cit. p.36.

outbreak of Cholera in Sikkim, valuable service was rendered by Dr. Macdonald, a missionary of the Church of Scotland. Speaking of his work a report of 1901 stated: "In the course of several months about 10,000 people were vaccinated and a large proportion of the district protected." [1]. Missionaries also rendered some service at the outbreak of small-pox in Sikkim in 1901 and "The government recognised the value of service thus rendered to the State [2] by giving a grant of Rs. 200 [£15] [per month?] to the mission which rather more than met the cost" [3].

The medical work was done not only by the qualified medical practitioners but also by large number of untrained medical missionaries, other untrained mission agents and even by the catechists. The patients were sometimes put in the charge (or mercy!) of half-trained or partially trained mission agents, who, said a missionary "daringly use their common sense and such little knowledge as they possess" [4]. In the Sikkim

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1. Scottish Universities' Mission Report. 1901, p.7.
2. Sikkim was and is an independent State.
3. Scottish Universities' Mission Report, 1901, p.6.
4. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1902, p.247.

mission of the Church of Scotland, the catechists who itinerated the villages for propaganda were also "supplied with a stock of simple remedies for common well-known diseases" [1]. In the Free Church rural missions of Chinsurah, Tribeni and Mahanad in Bengal, unqualified Indian mission agents freely carried out the work of medical administration [2]. A Free Church missionary attached to the Bengal mission said in 1892:

> Seven or eight of my workers know something about medicine and are in the habit of giving medicine to the poor. During the last few months at least fifty patients daily on an average have been treated by them [3].

Similarly, medical evangelism, as the work of Indian agents was called, was also carried out at Kalimpong mission of the Church of Scotland [4] and Jalna mission of the Free Church [5].

Training in medical work was sometimes imparted to Indian assistants of the missionaries in the hospitals and dispensaries managed by the missions. The annual report of 1881 of Madras Mission of the Free Church

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1. L. & W. 1906, p.154; see also: Scottish Universities Mission Report 1898, p.4.
2. Alex Tomory. Story... Op. cit. p.58.
3. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7839, p.32.
4. L. & W. 1908, p.286.
5. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7829, p.133.

stated that twenty-four students of the Madras Christian College were "rendering valuable aid in the dispensaries as compounders" (who give out medicines) [1]. In Jalna, in 1884, students were given training in elementary anatomy [2], and in 1892 in anatomy and physiology [3]. At a dispensary at Pachamba in the Santal mission, students in 1888, were taught in "materia medica, pharmacy and physiology" [4]. In 1892, the Free Church started a training class for providing medical instructions to its agents in Poona [5], and in 1893 a similar class was started by the Church of Scotland at its Kalimpong mission station [6].

The Scottish missions had no colleges of their own where students could qualify in medicines or surgery, but they did encourage some bright converts to qualify in medicines for doing medical mission work. The students were entirely supported by the missions while

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1. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1881, Appendix VIII, p.32.
2. "We procured a human skeleton to teach them [catechists]. When it was brought, all were frightened. Now the twelve students know not only the names of the bones but can point out any bone before them." F.C.S. Proceedings, 1884, Appendix VIII, p.36.
3. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7830, p.72-73; See also John Torrence. Op. cit. p.59.
4. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1888, Appendix VIII, p.55.
5. J.S. Dennis. Centennial survey of foreign missions p.114.
6. L. & W. 1910, p.382.

they studied. The Finance sub-committee of the Western India mission of the Free Church at least had special funds for that purpose. Every student who was supported for medical studies had to sign a contract that he would serve as a mission doctor for five years after qualifying. If sometimes a student failed during his studies, the mission continued to support him but in that case the contract period was extended. If the student failed to keep up the contract, as it did happen at least once, he was to return the expenditure incurred on him [1]. The Scottish Churches also helped in the establishment of a medical institution started on non-denominational basis. Dr. Colin Valentine, a medical missionary of the United Presbyterian Church was a founder member of Agra School of Medicine where he also taught for about a period of twenty years from 1880 onwards [2].

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7820, p.20, 126, 191-93.
2. John Robson. Op. cit. p.102.

The medical work of the Scottish missions was considerably larger than some other important British Protestant missionary Societies. In 1912, it was stated by a Scots missionary that "The missionary society that has the largest number of stations in India, where medical work is done is the United Free Church"[1]. "But", he added, "if the several Anglican Societies are taken together, - the Church of England - holds the first place"[2]. On the other hand, "the group of Presbyterian medical missions constitutes by far the largest denominational unit in the field", added further the same missionary[3]. The first part of the above statement indeed can also be substantiated by comparing the following figures of the treatments of the more important Protestant British missionary societies, in 1911[4]:

Society	Qualified Medical Practitioners	Trained Nurses	Total Treatments
United Free Church	30	15	513,552
Church of Scotland	3	2	60,111
Church Missionary Society	28	-	224,498
C. of E. Zenana missionary society	8	75	282,413
London Missionary Society	10	-	134,217
Society for the Propagation of Gospel	15	1	121,305
Baptist Missionary Society	7	-	101,439
Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society	18	22	78,025

However, of the above, if surgical treatments alone were considered, the Church Missionary Society surpassed with 20,486 treatments as against 9897 of the United Free Church[5].

The medical work of the missions sometimes found a "rival" in the

1. Yearbook of the Missions in India, 1912, p.364
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid. p.668-69
5. Ibid.

medical work of the private philanthropists. In 1886, Lady Dufferin, the wife of the then Viceroy of India founded a "National Association for supplying Medical Aid to the Women of India". The Association had three distinct goals: training of competent women doctors, nurses and midwives; the erection of hospitals for women, and the private nursing of the sick women in the zenanas. "But in the pursuit of these objects, she forbade in the most emphatic terms, the carrying on of any religious propaganda whatsoever, and most of all any Christian propaganda"[1].

Finally, mention must be made about missionary propagation in their hospitals and dispensaries. The missionaries were sometimes reminded that while treating the patients they should not overlook the fact of their being missionaries. "The great temptation of medical missions' work", said the Free Church report of 1888, "is unconsciously to put the medical before the mission work, and the committee must consider very carefully how they can check this very natural tendency"[2]. The report also emphasised that missionaries should generally be appointed "in villages and among the aboriginal tribes" for work among them presented "many more opportunities for evangelistic effort"[3].

The dispensary in the words of a Free Church missionary was a "grand instrument for propagating gospel"[4]. Another said that hospitals were "necessary adjuncts to evangelistic missions"[5]. The Free Church report said that the "main theme" for the medical missionary must be always to lead conversation with his patients to a spiritual topic[6]. The Rev. Adam Andrew, a Free Church missionary at Chingleput, was of the opinion that evangelistic work should have the most prominent place. "Rather than subordinate the evangelistic work to the medical, it were better to have no dispensary or hospital"[7]. The Laymen Foreign Missions' Enquiry Committee pointed

1. See Richter. Op.cit. p.350-51. 2. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.26. 3. Ibid.
4. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1882, Appendix VIII, p.34. 5. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1902, p.247.
6. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.25. 7. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.175.

out that the administration of medicines

> ... offered a remarkably effective method of evangelisation. The receptive attitude of patients, the leisure of illness, the fixed association in their minds made the hospital, the clinic, the dispensary so many opportunities to press for conversions [1].

And to cite a lady missionary [2]:

> It is not so difficult to convince a woman coming out of our hospitals, that God loves her, after she has proved for herself the love and patience of the lady doctor, who in her skill and wisdom is to the native little less than a demi god.

It was often compulsory for the patients to hear the missionary's preachings. The patients were persuaded "to the very end that sinful men may see and accept a Saviour from sin ..." [3]. Efforts were made in all missionary medical work "to spread abroad a knowledge of truth among the patients by addresses in the dispensaries, personal conversations in the consulting room, and house to house visitations" [4].

Preaching the gospel in the dispensaries and hospitals was an obligatory function of each medical

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1. Laymen's ... Op. cit. p.70-71.
2. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1898, p.2.
3. John Lowe. Medical missions p.110.
4. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1881, Appendix VIII, p.32.

missionary and if he did not do it himself, he was taken to task. In the Free Church dispensary at Thana where the catechist and not the missionary doctor (who was an Indian) gave religious addresses to the patients, the Free Church report admonished the doctor and further commented [1]:

> The medical missionary in our opinion ought always to give the Gospel address, and in all the successful medical missions we have seen this is invariably done. When the catechist gives the address, people are apt to think that the Gospel is, after all, a secondary thing ...

Preaching to the patients sometimes continued for a very long time, and often as long as a patient was able to acquire his prescriptions. A missionary, Dr. John Hutchinson, describing the mode of preaching work in his dispensary said [2]:

> They wait patiently for the work to begin, while one of our Christian men talks to them in a homely way, reminding them that there is a worse disease than that of the body, and more difficult to cure, and telling them of Him, who is the great Physician of the souls. When the hour for commencing work arrives, the medical missionary gives a short address on some Scripture theme; it may be a parable or a miracle, or some one or other of the wonderful incidents of Saviour's earthly life - for no subject can be so telling as this.

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1. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.85. Incidentally the quotation also, by implication, suggests that healing was a secondary thing for the missionary.
2. C.S.M.F.M.R. 1891, p.291.

Another missionary stated that though his dispensary opened at 8 a.m., the patients assembled outside it from 6 a.m. onwards, and no sooner, the dispensary started working, preaching of the patients began and continued until they were finally discharged [1]. On some occasions, the missionaries and their Indian agents so much "surround: :ed" the patients that the patients did not like to stay in the missionary hospitals [2].

Along with the preachings, tracts in large number were also distributed in missionary hospitals and dispensaries [3]. Even the medical stationery of the missionaries carried their publicity matter. In the Santal mission, for instance, the medical ticket given to every patient, which he was expected to present on every occasion while acquiring medicines from the mission dispensaries, contained on the one side the personal particulars about the patients but on the other side it contained, in Hindi, the often repeated slogan of the missionaries viz. "God so loved the world that He sent

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1. "Nor are the opportunities wanting to speak a word in season while attending to their bodily aches and pains; and the catechist too while helping in the dressing of sores is also passing home the truth in a friendly way which offends none".
   C.S.H.F.M.R. 1891, p.292. See also: F.C.S. Proceedings, Appendix VIII, 1878, p.25 and 1879, p.29; John Torrence. Op. cit. p.76; J.M. Macphail. Op. cit. p.78; G. Pittendrigh. Op. cit. p.120.
2. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1893, Appendix VIII, p.35.
3. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1885, Appendix VIII, p.28.

His only begotten son ..." [1].

Itinerating the villages with their medical chests was an important aspect of the medical missionary work. "If the morning is devoted to the dispensary", said an itinerant medical missionary, "the evening is devoted to village preaching" [2]. The medical work of the missionaries made it easy to preach while on itineration. In many hospitals and dispensaries, patients came from the far off villages, and once a patient visited the missionary hospital or dispensary, it was easy for the missionary or the medical evangelist, as some catechists were called, to have access to these villages and the people, which otherwise it was sometimes hard to obtain. Commenting on the itinerating medical work a missionary remarked: "From the medical point of view itinerating medical work is unsatisfactory, but from a missionary point of view, and this is the one we have to remember chiefly, I consider it very important" [3]. Large publicity material was carried during these itinerat:

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7843, p.39. The slip is available in the Mss. material and bears the above page number.
2. J.M. Macphail. Op. cit. p.47.
3. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1888, Appendix VIII, p.43.

:ions [1].

The missionary work among lepers (discussed subsequently) was conducted for the same reasons as the general medical work. The chief object of the Mission to Lepers, in the words of its founder, Mr. Bailey, was "to preach Christ to the lepers" and its "great aim" was "to minister to the spiritual rather than the material necessities of these sufferers"[2]. A Free Church clergyman who paid a visit to Indian missions, in 1902, said that along with ameliorating lepers physically, missionaries should cure their "deeper leprosy of sin". He added that lepers' condition make them peculiarly sensitive "to the merciful hope of the Gospel" [3].

The missionary work of medical administration and conducting leper asylums was largely successful in result: :ing conversions. A Free Church missionary, Miss Crawford, said in 1890 that every year "there have been conversions and baptisms as a fruit of the medical work" [4].

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1. For references on missionary medical work in general see: National Christian Council. Survey of medical missions in India. passim.: F.C.S. Proceedings, Appendix VIII. 1881, p.28, M.R.U.F.C.S. 1902. p.247; N.L.S. Mss. No. 7830, p.93 and 7835, p.160, 166, 179 and 7843, p.311; S.K. Datta. Op. cit. p.207; George Carstairs. Op. cit. p.127 and 246; A. Macleash. Op. cit. p.71; Scottish Universities' Mission Report, 1896, p.4.
2. Report of the III Decennial missionary conference, 1892, p.101-2.
3. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1902, p.247.
4. Quoted in E.K.G. Hewat. Op. cit. p.111.

The congregation of 104 communicants at the Royapuram mission station of the Free Church in the Madras Presidency was described, in 1886, as the outcome of medical missions[1]. Among the lepers, the missionaries were still more successful. Mr. Bailey told a missionary conference, in 1892, that "In these institutions the inmates who all came as heathens are now all Christians"[2]. Another missionary belonging to the Church of Scotland speaking about lepers similarly said in 1894 that he had baptised two more inmates in Chamba asylum[3], while in 1896, a Free Church missionary made a similar statement about the inmates living in Bhandara leper asylum[4]. Also, at the Pui asylum of the Free Church in Bombay Presidency, out of 73 inmates in 1911, all the women and children and all but one man were converted[5].

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1. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1886, Appendix VIII, p.25
2. Report of the III Decennial Missionary Conference, p.102.
3. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1894, p.435.
4. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7836, p.200.
5. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1911, p.357.

(vii) MISSIONARY WORK AMONG LEPERS

India had a large number of lepers during the period of this study. The Leprosy Commission of 1891 had reported the existence of 104,697 lepers in the 287 million population of India [1]. But as an English economist has pointed out that many lepers lived at home

> ... sharing the house with healthy relatives, eating from the common food dish, sleeping in the same bed with wife or child, using the village water supply, rubbing shoulders with neighbours in daily intercourse [2],

the possibility is that a large number of lepers were perhaps unaccounted for by the report. According to the above economist, there were, in 1920, between half a million to a million lepers in India [3]. The Leprosy Commission report of 1891 discussed the causes of Leprosy at a great length and pointed out lack of proper sanitation, bad dietary habits and unhygienic water as important

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1. p.41. The population figure given in the above report is 208 million which is a printed error.
2. Vera Anstey. Economic Development of India, p.77-78. The authoress is a Reader in Commerce in the London School of Economics and has lived for many years in India.
3. Vera Anstey. Op. cit. p.77-78.

causes of Leprosy [1].

Before 1874, missionaries occasionally worked among the lepers, but it was from that year that a more systematic work among the lepers was started when a "Mission to Lepers" was founded by Mr. Wellsley C. Bailey who up to that year had worked as a missionary for the Church of Scotland in Ambala, Punjab. It was while working as a missionary in Punjab that his attention was drawn for missionary work among lepers. During his furlough in 1874, he discussed his work among lepers with an Irish lady in Dublin who showed deep sympathy

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1. See Chapter VI in the report.
   The following two quotations, which were true at some places, show the standards of the common people, particularly villagers, about personal hygiene and sanitation:
   (i) "In one and the same tank, for many a town, clothes are washed and people bathe themselves, while also here is the supply of water for cooking and for drinking."
   (ii) "The cattle consists of cows and buffaloes, occasionally of goats, donkeys and pigs. All live under the same roof and lie upon ground beside their master and his family... The dung pit is not far from the well-water supply, where the washing of clothes, of animals, and of men is carried on from day-to-day; and the women provide their households from this source with water for cooking purposes and drinking".
   It may be added however that perhaps in many cases no other water was available for the people.
   Source. J.S. Dennis vol. I. op. cit. p.219.

and took a large interest in his ideas. With the funds provided by that lady and her friends, Mr. Bailey was able to establish on a small scale the "Mission to Lepers" with its headquarters at Edinburgh [1].

Many Scottish missionaries working in India took an interest in the work among lepers during the period of this study. The first leper asylum had been started by Mr. Bailey himself at Chamba in 1875 which in 1894 had 22 inmates. By 1890, two more were started at Poona and Bhandara, the former being supported by the municipality. In 1895, a leper asylum was started at Wardha which was supported from the funds of "Mission to Lepers", and before 1902 a leper asylum was also started at Udaipur [2]. By 1911, three more leper asylums were started by the Free Church two of which were at Pui and Poladpur in Bombay presidency [3].

As regards the material welfare of the lepers in the asylums, each leper was given a sum of Rs. 3 (4 shillings) per month as personal expenses, a "suit of

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1. See Mission to Lepers. Gateways of hope. p.10-14.
2. See Report of the III Decennial Missionary Conference, Bombay, 1892-93, p.101; W.C. Bailey. Lepers of our Indian Empire, p.39. J.S. Dennis. Centennial Survey... Op. cit. p.224; M.R.U.F.C.S. 1902, p.247.
3. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1909, p.262 and 1911, p.62.

clothes in the summer", and a blanket in winter. Each leper was also allotted separate bedstead and cooking utensils [1].

Speaking of the quantity of the food given to lepers, a missionary in the charge of Bhandara leper asylum of the Free Church said in 1896 that the lepers received the food "according to the scale employed in the Central Provinces' jails"! [2], and according to him, it was "a convenient arrangement". Since the constitution of the "Mission to Lepers" had stressed for providing "spiritual instructions" along with "temporal relief" [3], the lepers were visited by catechists and other agents of the mission who held services every evening and special services on Sundays [4].

On some occasions the inmates "accustomed to free life of wondering license" slipped away from the asylums but were afterwards "pursuaded to remain in the asylum and obey its rules" [5].

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1. W.C. Bailey. Lepers ... Op. cit. p.8.
2. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7836, p.192.
3. Mission to Lepers. Gateways of hope, p.75.
4. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1895, p.242-43.
5. Nicol Macnicol. Tom Dobson ... Op. cit. p.56.

CHAPTER V

ORGANISATION AND CONSOLIDATION

(i) Missionary Organisation in Scotland

The statement in the Encyclopaedia of Missions (1904) that,

> there is today no more thoroughly organised enterprise in the world than the work of foreign missions, and not a year passes but some detail is perfected in the effort to bring not merely every Church, but every member, and every attendant, into touch with the work that links America and Europe to every part of the world,

was almost beyond any doubt[1]. The statement was particularly true for Scotland where the foreign missions witnessed a remarkable growth. Speaking generally of the Protestant missions for the period 1815-1914, Prof. Latourette writes, that "In proportion to the population of the country and its numerical strength, the Protestantism of Scotland had a larger share in the world wide extension of the Christian faith and exerted more influence upon the Protestantism of other lands than did the Protestantism of any other country[2]". As regards income of foreign missions, per capita contributions were higher in Scotland than in any other country of the world, at least in 1890 and 1891[3].

For this study, the missionary organisation of the Scottish Churches may be viewed from two standpoints: organisation in Scotland and that in India. The organisation in Scotland will be the first concern of this study. At the apex of the organisational structure in Scotland was the General

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1. Encyclopaedia of Missions, p.481
2. See author's Christianity in the revolutionary age, Vol. II, p.424
3. See p. 493

Assembly of the Churches [1]. The supreme authority for decisions in case of disputes rested with the Moderator of the General Assembly. But though in principle this was so, the Moderators generally delegated their powers to the officers of the Foreign Missions Committee in matters relating to foreign missions [2].

Next to the Moderator, the important body within the organisation of the Churches from this study's standpoint was the Foreign Missions Committee (called Foreign Missions Board in the United Presbyterian Church). The Foreign Missions Committee consisted of retired missionaries, mission supporters - particularly financial donors - active mission workers and some members appointed by the General Assembly of the Church. In the United Free Church of Scotland, the period of membership was four years. In 1913, there were 67 members of the Foreign Missions Committee

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1. Please see the chart in appendix, III.
2. There is only one instance in all missionary correspondence when the widow of a missionary appealed to the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Free Church for intervention when the secretary of the Foreign Missions Committee refused to pay passage money and certain other allowances to her.
   Vide N.L.S. Mss. No. 7826, p.151.

of that Church including some women [1].

The Foreign Missions Committee performed several functions. It decided about the new stations, about appointing missionaries, and confirmed the more important Indian staff appointed by the missionaries in India. The applications of teachers, medical graduates, artisans, licentiates in theology and others for appointments as missionaries were considered by the Foreign Missions Committee which also decided about the salaries and service conditions of the missionaries and about appointing deputies for the supervision of mission work in India. The Foreign Missions Committee distributed funds which were contributed as congregational collections, donations, legacies etc. for the foreign missions, paying "due regard to the needs and claims of various mission fields" [2].

In its relations with various parishes, it was to supply "the congregations of the Church with full information regarding the various missions and their claims upon the church's liberality". It was also to arrange lectures by

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1. See M.R.U.F.C.S. 1913, p.169 and 243.
2. United Free Church of Scotland. Practice and procedure in the United Free Church of Scotland, (1905), p.167.

missionaries when they were on furlough and sometimes by those retired British servants in India who were sympathetic to the missionary cause and who were willing and able to deliver lectures. In general, the Foreign Missions Committee regulated "all matters affecting the missions with the view of maintaining them in a state of efficiency"[1].

As the work increased, smaller committees responsible for conducting the work relating to different mission stations came to be formed. Thus in the Free Church there were the sub-committees for the Bethel and Santal Missions[2], and in the Church of Scotland for at least Kalimpong, Madras, and Poona[3].

The Foreign Missions Committee had at least three important office-holders: the convener, the secretary and the treasurer. The convener occupied the highest position in the organisational set-up, and took a deep interest in the mission work[4]. He was to

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1. Ibid.
2. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7830, p.18
3. See Minutes and Reports of the Foreign Missions Committee of the Church of Scotland, 1908 to 1912
4. The conveners during the first and last year of this study were as follows:

Name of Church	Year	Name of the Convener
Church of Scotland	1878	Rev. Robert Muir
Church of Scotland	1914	Rev. J. N. Ogilvie
Free Church of Scotland	1878	Rev. Thomas Main
United Presbyterian Church of Scotland	1878	J. Grierson Scott
United Free Church of Scotland	1914	Dr. Alexander Miller

preside and conduct the meetings of the Foreign Missions Committee and to see that the deliberations were properly carried out and recorded[1]. He was also to submit an annual report of the foreign mission work before the General Assembly of the Church[2]. As generally he was a person of high standing, it was also expected of him to find out important financial contributors and other supporters of foreign missions[3]. Conveners also conducted a large correspondence with the missionaries working in India[4].

The Convener of the Foreign Missions Committee of the Church of Scotland received a salary of £650 until 1895, when he suggested a reduction of £50 because of the "inadequate income" of the Foreign Missions Committee and the consequent "hardship that must fall upon many"[5]. In 1897, the position was made "to a certain extent honorary" and in 1907 when the Convener retired, the Foreign Missions Committee suggested that the position should be made completely honorary which was approved by the General Assembly in 1908[6].

The next important position in the missionary hierarchy was that of the secretary, which was also a salaried post. In 1895, the salary of the secretary-cum-treasurer in the Church of Scotland

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1. See Reports on the schemes of the Church of Scotland, 1908, p.206
2. See The Principal Acts of the Church of Scotland, 1910, p.56; 1911, p.50
3. Rep. on the schemes of C. of S., 1908, p.206
4. See N.L.S. Mss. No. 7836, p.11, 75, 209, 221; No. 7841, p.160; No. 7842, p.212.
5. Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1895, p.67
6. Ibid. 1908, p.206-10

was £225 and he received an allowance of £150 for a Clerk[1]. As compared to it, the proposed salary of an "experienced" clerk (Office Assistant) to be appointed in that year was £25[2]. As an honorary "Clerk" was appointed in that year to assist the secretary-cum-treasurer, the latter suggested a reduction of £75 in his salary[3]. The proposed salary of the secretary of the United Free Church, in 1909, was £500[4].

In the Church of Scotland, the position of the secretary and treasurer was combined, although actually the functions of the treasurer were performed by "Clerk". The secretary-cum-treasurer could be a layman or a minister[5]. But this position was generally held by a senior and capable minister who also often possessed practical experience of mission

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1. Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1895, p.67
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. U.F.C.S. Proceedings, 1909, Appendix V, p.15
5. Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1908, p.206

work[1]. To some extent the success of the missionary enterprise depended on his attributes and abilities. To read large masses of correspondence from the missionaries and to assess their impressions of the people, their customs, cultures and many other things which they dealt with in their letters required great patience, sympathy and also great tact and skill on the part of the secretaries.

Perhaps the most important function of the secretary was to correspond with the missionaries. He had sometimes to deal with the obstinate missionaries not properly carrying out the regulations of the Foreign Missions Committee[2], he had to exercise tactful restraint over those missionaries who often asked for large sums of money for conducting various projects without realising the limitations of the foreign

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1. The secretaries of Scottish missions committees in the first and last year of this study were as follows:

Name of the Church	Year	Name of the secretary
Church of Scotland	1878	Rev. George Wilson
Church of Scotland	1914	Rev. W. M. McLauchlan
Free Church of Scotland	1878	Mr. John Logan
United Presbyterian Church of Scotland	1878	Rev. H. M. McGill
United Free Church of Scotland	1914	Rev. Frank Ashcroft

2. See N.L.S. Mss. No. 7833, p.50-57

mission funds [1]; he had to settle disputes when they arose between missionaries or between the missionaries and Indian staff [2]; he was to encourage the shy and the reticent missionary to send accounts of his impressions and reflections and other material which might be of interest to the mission supporters in Scotland.[3] In short, the secretary was to guide and direct the missionary work in such a way that it brought the optimum returns for the missions.

An important function of the secretary was to select and recruit personnel for the missions which was formally approved by the Foreign Missions Committee. This in particular was a difficult task since supply was always shorter than demand. The other functions of the secretary were (i) to prepare agenda and keep records of the Foreign Missions Committee meetings, (ii) to present to the Foreign Missions Committee a periodic report about the work of missions, and (iii) sometimes to supervise the general work of organisation.[4]

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1. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1880, p.225; N.L.S. Mss. files 7847 - 7849.
2. N.L.S. Mss. 7820, p.247.
3. U.F.C.S. Proceedings, 1903, Appendix V, p. 96
4. Reports on the schemes of the C. of S., 1908, p. 206-7

From 1910 onwards, when the mission work had increased considerably, the United Free Church had two secretaries instead of one[1]. Also, both the Churches during the last few years of this study had an organising secretary whose functions were[2]: to visit congregations "with the view of quickening interest and securing more efficient organisation"; to arrange visits of missionaries to presbyteries and congregations; to advise on "matters relating to increase or diminution of income"; to arrange for the wider circulation of the foreign mission publications; and to promote "Mission study circles, mission institutes and summer schools", Sunday schools, Guilds, and other societies for the young.

The position of the treasurer, though of obvious importance, is not very much mentioned in the missionary records. In the Church of Scotland, the "clerk" was in effect the treasurer. The duties of the "clerk" were to report and review the financial position at the meetings of the Foreign Missions Committee, to receive all remittances, make payments, keep all accounts and disburse the apportions to various Mission Councils after these had been sanctioned by the Foreign Missions Committee. He was expected to prepare a list of contributions made every month, which were required for publishing in missionary periodicals[3].

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1. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1910, Appendix V, p.103
2. See U.F.C.S. Proceedings, 1909, Appendix V, p.15-16; Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1908, p.208 and 1914, p.102
3. Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1908, p.207

Separate committees existed for propagating missionary work among women. In the Church of Scotland, the women's committee was composed of a President, two or more secretaries, a treasurer and three other members appointed by the General Assembly who were to "act as their advisers in financial and other affairs of the Association" [1]. In the United Free Church, the committee for looking after the missionary work among women had a membership of 51 in 1905, ten of which were appointed by the General Assembly and the Foreign Missions Committee (5 each) [2].

In the Church of Scotland, although the women's committee was largely independent in money matters, yet its important policy matters concerning finances and organisation had to be ratified by the Foreign Missions Committee. The Chairman of the Foreign Missions Committee in that Church was also an ex-officio chairman of the women's committee. Also the annual report of the women's

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1. Regulations of Church of Scotland Women's Association for foreign missions p. 1 (appended to N.L.S. Mss. No. 7637).
2. United Free Church of Scotland. Practice...Op.cit. p.175-6.

association was to be "considered" by the Foreign Missions Committee before it was sent for discussion by the General Assembly [1]. Similar limitations also existed on the powers of the women's committee of the United Free Church of Scotland [2].

As the work of the women's associations increased, sub-committees were appointed for various missions. Thus by 1908, the women's association of the Church of Scotland had sub-committees for Calcutta, Darjeeling and Kurseong, Kalimpong, Punjab, Madras and Poona missions [3]. Sub-committees also existed for various purposes such as organisation [4].

There were also a large number of small ancillary organisations to help the foreign missions committees. These organisations were composed of special groups such as students, young men and women, and children. A University Mission Association representing all Scottish Universities was formed by the Church of Scotland in 1883.

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1. Regulations of the Church of Scotland ... Op.cit., p.5.
2. See United Free Church of Scotland. Practice and proceedure in the United Free Church of Scotland, p.176.
3. Minutes and Report of the Women's Association of the Foreign Missions of Church of Scotland, 1908, p.7-9
4. Ibid. p.5.

This society provided the entire expenditure of a large mission station at Sikkim and its neighbouring region of Duars. It also partially supported a teacher training institute at Darjeeling [1]. The committee of the University Mission had twenty four members, selected three from each of the four Scottish Universities and twelve appointed by the Foreign Missions Committee of the Church of Scotland [2]. Similar but less active missionary associations among university students existed in the Free Church also, who partially supported the Santal mission of that Church. The missionary association of the Free Church attached to the University of Glasgow, at least in 1899, required each of its members to pay a shilling annually for the missionary movement [3].

The youth associations played an important role in helping the Foreign Missions Committees in all Churches. The Church of Scotland started a 'Youngmen's Guild' in

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1. E.G.K. Hewat. Op.cit. p.163.
2. Scottish Universities' Mission Report, 1898, p.4 and 1900, p.2
3. Report of the Foreign Mission Association of the University of Glasgow, 1899, p.18.

1881 whose object was to unite [1]:

> ... all societies, Bible classes and other associated bodies connected with the Church of Scotland which have for their object to serve the Lord Jesus Christ by promoting the spiritual and intellectual life of Youngmen and by encouraging them to undertake work of Christian usefulness.

The first secretary of the "Guild", Rev. J.A. Graham went to Kalimpong as a missionary in 1839. Upto 1887, the "Guild" partially supported the mission station of Kalimpong but from 1889 onwards that mission station was entirely supported by the Young men's Guild. By 1905, the "Guild" had 630 branches in Scotland with a membership of 28,000 [2]. The several youth societies run under the auspices of the United Free Church of Scotland had a membership of 89,623 in 1912 [3].

The object of the Church of Scotland Women's "Guild" which was established in 1887 was to [4]:

> ... unite together all women who are engaged in the service of Christ in connection with the Church, or desire to give help to any practical Christian work in the parish as well as all who are receiving Christian teaching and looking forward to Christian service.

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1. Church of Scotland Year book, 1897 p.68.
2. E.C.K. Hewat. Op.cit. p.163-64.
3. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1914, p.251.
4. Church of Scotland Year book, 1898, p.72.

Though the object of the women's "Guild" was promotion of any "Christian" cause, it seems to have emphasised the missionary aspect of the work. In 1898, the "Guild" had 412 branches with a membership of 29,233 [1]. The "Guild" held conferences for discussing the work of missions every year. The sixth annual conference was held in Edinburgh in 1897 which was attended by 500 delegates "representing Guilds from Shetland to Solway and even across the border". An Indian lady representative from Kalimpong was also present on this occasion. A report of the conference stated: "The promoters of the conference, fired by the enthusiasm of Foreign Missions' Advance, place 'Foreign Missions' claims in the forefront. This was the chief subject of the first diet of the conference" [2]. A subordinate organisation of the "Guild" was the "Fellow-workers' Union for Foreign Missions" whose object was to "support Female Missions to the Heathens and the Jews" [3].

The important female society of the Free Church was

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1. Ibid.
2. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1897, p.124-25.
3. Church of Scotland Year book, 1898, p.73.

the "Ladies' Society for the Advancement of Female Education in India and South Africa" which was started in 1878. Its constitution said:

> The society, although having a distinct organisation, is recognised by the Foreign Missions Committee as an integral part of the missions - the female side thereof being specially assigned to its administration and support[1].

The area covered and the membership of both the men's and the women's guilds increased rapidly during the period of this study, as will be seen in the following figures relating to the Church of Scotland[2]:

Youngmen

Year	Parishes represented	Branches	Membership
1882	78	83	2,787
1885	221	276	9,626
1888	406	491	16,249
1890	429	493	19,413
1913	614	n.a.	n.a.

1. Grant's Church Almanac, 1879, p.96
2. See the Reports on the schemes of the C. of S., 1890, p.725, 1900, p.603, 1914, p.576 and 602

Women

1888	n.a.	32	2,087
1892	n.a.	140	10,202
1896	n.a.	380	26,401
1900	n.a.	529	36,646
1913	n.a.	797	57,131

The membership of several youth societies in the United Free Church in 1912 was 89,623[1], and this was despite the smaller membership of that Church as will be seen on p. 455.

The "Guilds" of women and young men run by the Church of Scotland also published a monthly magazine called "Guild Life and Work" which discussed the activities of the two "Guilds" in Scotland and the Indian missions supported by the "Guilds". Its circulation varied between 120,000 to 126,000 in the years 1904-14[2].

Special attempts were made also among children to interest them in missionary activities. Articles meant for children only were published in missionary magazines regularly in which children were enjoined to make "special efforts to help on the Lord's good work" and save what a missionary called "benighted and perished inhabitants"[3]. Schools were encouraged to arrange lectures by missionaries on furlough and on important religious occasions like Easter and Christmas special collections were made among pupils[4].

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1. M.R.U.F.C., 1914, p.251
2. Reports on the schemes of the C. of S., 1914, p.614
3. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7833, p.182 and passim: U.P.C. Proceedings, 1891, p.73
4. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7828, p.80 and 215.

The Free Church had an association called the Missionary Prayer Union which was started in 1893. By 1913, the Prayer Union had a membership of more than 10,000. Although the main aim of this body was to pray for the success of the missionaries and particularly those belonging to the Free Church (later the United Free Church), it also had several other activities such as disseminating missionary information through a weekly news-sheet and organising meetings to promote the missionary cause [1].

The women's association of the Church of Scotland had a similar Prayer Union which was started in 1885. It had a membership of 800 in 1896 [2].

The basic unit for the active field work to promote the missionary cause was the parish congregation. Every parish minister was expected [3];

> ... to see that the members of the congregations are fully informed through circulation of the Missionary Record and otherwise of the work of the Church and of its claims upon them.

In fulfilling the above obligation, the minister was

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1. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1913, p.131.
2. Church of Scotland Year book, 1897, p.101.
3. United Free Church of Scotland. Practice...Op.cit. p.8.

helped by the "Deacons' Court" which was a body of important office-holders in the parish Church. The charge of financial matters lay in the hands of "Deacons' Court" which in turn was responsible to the treasurer of the General Assembly[1]. Smaller committees also existed within the organisation of the parish church which sometimes promoted missionary causes[2].

To co-ordinate the activities of several congregations within a presbytery (specified district), each presbytery had a "corresponding member" or an "administrative assistant". His main functions were to keep contacts with the Foreign Missions Committee and to keep informed the congregations of the foreign missions. His other functions included[3]:

> To report on the contributions of each congregation every quarter, and to call the attention of the Presbytery to any "importance of intelligence".
>
> To report to the "Presbytery in Conference", generally once a year, matters connected with congregational organisation and the means taken, or that should be taken, to spread information and deepen interest.
>
> To acquaint himself with the work so as to give Addresses to the congregations within his bound at the Ordinary and Special Services, Bible Classes and Schools.
>
> To make necessary arrangements when a missionary is commissioned to visit the congregations.
>
> To meet periodically the Treasurer and Collectors of each congregation.

Large publicity was done to disseminate information on missionary activity. Missionary lectures from the pulpit and the platform were frequent. Often between half a dozen and a dozen missionaries of Scottish Churches were on furlough, who after a period of rest of two months were obliged to travel

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1. United Free Church of Scotland. Practice ... Op.cit. p.17
2. See N.L.S. Mss. No. 7848, p.4.
3. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1895, Appendix VIII, p.12; 1912, Appendix II, p.10; Reports on the schemes of the C. of S., 1909, p.192-3

in Scotland to propound the missionary cause. Indian pastors were also sometimes invited to tour Scotland and encourage the people to take more interest in mission work[1]. To make the lectures of the missionaries and Indian pastors more attractive, and to see that large numbers of people attended, much publicity was done in advance and the lectures were invariably accompanied with lantern slides[2].

The missionaries, while describing the work "of which they have most knowledge and experience", were also to "represent the claims of the whole foreign mission work" upon the hearts of the people[3]. The ministers of the congregations were supposed to remain present during the missionaries' addresses[4]. In 1903, 470 lectures were delivered in the United Free Church alone, and the topics on India included[5]:

Topic	No. of lectures
Where the Ganges flows	25
In the land of the Rajputs	72
The Marathas for Christ	35
Christ in the heart of India	42
On the Coromandel Coast	34

A minute analysis of the topics would show that mission work in all areas of the country except Santal Parganas was covered in them. And a report of the United Free Church said that between

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7832, p.230; F.C.S. Proceedings, 1894, Appendix VIII, p.6
2. M.R. F.C.S. 1913, p.560
3. U.F.C.S. Proceedings, 1901, Appendix V, p.12
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid. 1904 p.17

1901 and 1905, "the whole Church, with the exception of fifteen or sixteen congregations scattered all over the country" and some presbyteries, has heard one or other of the missionary brethren from abroad[1]. In 1909, 365 congregations in 17 presbyteries were visited by the 25 missionaries of the same Church, and, in addition, "as many week night meetings [were] addressed by the same missionaries"[2].

In the Church of Scotland, in 1908, missionaries on furlough visited "close on 300 parishes and Churches, addressing congregations, Sunday Schools, and other agencies. Lantern lectures have been given in 92 places - 44 by missionaries and 48 by ministers or other home lecturers"[3].

Study circles and Sunday Schools were other means of providing missionary information to the laity. The retired missionaries particularly took an active part in addressing the Sunday Schools and Study Circles[4]. The Church of Scotland had 180 and 225 Study Circles in 1913 and 1914 respectively, and the United Free Church had 250 in 1909[5]. Sometimes "Mission Weeks" were organised[6], while at other times some important ministers

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1. Ibid. 1905, p.15
2. Ibid. 1910, p.13
3. Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1909, p.87
4. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1878, Appendix VIII, p.211
5. Reports on the schemes of the C. of S., 1914, p.22; U.F.C.S. Proceedings, Appendix V, 1910, p.14
6. Reports of the Committees of the U.F.C., 1889, p.245; 1895, p.72; Report on the schemes of the C. of S., p.1912, p.626

were relieved of their normal duties for a period of a few weeks or months with the sole purpose of championing the missionary cause. To help the parish ministers and others deliver lectures on missions, booklets and tracts like Hints to the Mission Preacher, Hints to the parish minister and A Mission Week: How to get Good of it were distributed among them by the Foreign Missions Committee [1].

When any important Church sympathiser went to India either for pleasure or for work, he was usually asked to visit mission stations. These visits were afterwards publicised in missionary magazines and sometimes when the visitors returned to Scotland, they lectured on mission topics [2].

Published literature played an important part in disseminating information on mission work. All the Scottish Churches published not only monthly magazines but also separate supplements of interest to women, young people, and children. The missionary magazines were lavishly illustrated and sold very cheaply. In 1892, the sale of the Church of Scotland Home and Foreign Missionary

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1. Church of Scotland Year book. 1897, p.66.
2. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7848, p.170.

Record was more than 100,000 copies [1], while the News of the Women's Association published by the Women's Association of the Church of Scotland had a circulation of 259,846 copies in 1905 and 262,278 copies in 1906 [2]. In addition to the vast periodical literature, a large number of tracts on various aspects of mission work and also some books on mission activities were written by the missionaries and published by the Church during the period of this study.

To widen the publicity relating to foreign missions, a Free Church missionary, Rev. Adam Andrew, in 1900 suggested the following points to the secretary of the Foreign Missions of that Church:

(i) Missionary "conventions" should be promoted throughout the Church.

(ii) Missionary associations should be formed in the parishes where they did not exist.

(iii) The ministers themselves should preach "regularly" about the foreign missions.

(iv) The ministers should "take up" the subject of missions at their meetings occasionally.

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1. Church of Scotland Year book, 1897, p.67.
2. Minutes and Report of Women's Association of Foreign Missions of Church of Scotland, 1908, p.6.

(v) "A gallery of missionaries' photographs and pictures might be formed in connection with the congregation". He also suggested reading of missionary letters in the congregations, arranging addresses of missionaries of different denominations, making special efforts to invite the people to such meetings and establishing a library on missionary literature in every congregation[1].

Some evidence exists to show that records for financial transactions between the Foreign Missions Committee and the parish congregations were required to be kept properly. Every parish in the United Free Church of Scotland, according to the rules framed in 1905, was to keep separate records for funds received for a particular mission station or for general mission funds. These funds were to be transmitted to the treasurer of the Foreign Missions Committee at least once every quarter. Also, it was to be stated distinctly, while transmitting these funds, if they were to be utilised for a particular mission station or for any particular scheme concerning foreign missions[2].

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7848, p.1-4
2. United Free Church of Scotland. Practice ... Op.cit. p.8; F.C.S. Proceedings, 1895, Appendix VIII, p.12

(11) ORGANISATION OF MISSION WORK IN INDIA

The organisation of missionary work in India was based on geographical divisions, which was a step necessary because of the vast size of the country. The central body which looked after all "practical" work of the mission in the Free Church was called the "Mission Council", and until 1883, four Mission Councils of the Free Church existed at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Nagpur, the chief cities of Eastern, Western, Southern and Central India respectively. In 1883, the Santal mission which was hitherto under the direction of Calcutta Mission Council, was made independent, and from 1901 when the United Presbyterian Church merged with the Free Church, a separate mission council for Rajputana was also formed. The Free Church had no work in the North. Each geographical unit of organisation was independent in the sense that it had directly to deal with the Foreign Missions Committee in Scotland rather than approaching it through any special body in India. The Church of Scotland had a similar body at Calcutta, Kalimpong, Bombay, Madras and Sialkot, which was called "Corresponding Board".[1]

The more important functions of the Mission Council may be summarised as under:

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1. See U.F.C.S. Proceedings, Appendix V, 1903, p.27, 1909, p.129; Handbook of the Church of Scotland for India and Ceylon, 1899 (chapter on "Corresponding Boards").

It allocated subventions to various stations and sub-stations through the Finance Committee, reported periodically their working to the Foreign Missions Committee, "determined" stations where mission agents were to be employed, appointed ad-hoc Committees for investigating any special problems and exercised "moral control" over the missionaries [1].

Each Mission Council submitted an annual report and an approximate budget to the Foreign Missions Committee [2].

The members of the Mission Council consisted of (i) elected ordained and unordained missionaries (ii) ordained Indian agents and (iii) some European residents of the area who were to be appointed with the approval of the Foreign Missions Committee. In the Church of Scotland in addition to the above Chaplains were also eligible for membership of the Mission Councils [3]. The strength of the Mission Councils varied at different mission stations. Thus, in the Free Church, while the Santal Mission Council had only three members in 1892, the Madras mission council in the same year had as many as twelve [4].

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1. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.98-100.
2. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1893, Appendix VIII, p.111-113.
3. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1893, Appendix VIII, p.111-112, N.L.S. Mss. No. 7836, p.36, 85.
4. See N.L.S. Mss. No. 7843 passim for Santal Mission and No. 7847, p.20 for the Madras Mission.

Every Mission Council had three designated posts: Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer. The Chairman of the Mission Council could be an outsider - a tendency more prevalent in the Church of Scotland [1]. The powers of the Chairman varied in the Free Church and the Church of Scotland. While in the Free Church the Chairman was only primus inter pares when matters had to be decided, in the Church of Scotland on such occasions, the Chairman had "a deliberative as well as a casting vote" [2]. Thus while the former had no opportunity of influencing the decisions when the members were equally divided, the latter did have it. A disadvantage of the Chairman having two votes in the Church of Scotland in case of a tie, was that he could influence the decisions which were likely to be challenged. The right to appeal against the decisions of the Mission Councils did exist but in the Free Church, in theory, this could not be exercised by the Indian mission agents even in cases affecting them personally [3].

Mission Councils maintained the Minutes of the meetings.

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1. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1895, p.194; F.C.S. Proceedings, 1903, Appendix V, p. 99
2. Handbook of the Church of Scotland for India ... Op.cit. p. 72
3. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1893, Appendix VIII, p.111

Amendments moved during deliberations, whether carried or not, were incorporated in the Minutes which were communicated to the Foreign Missions Committee. The Madras Mission of the Free Church in the 'eighties met every month [1] while the Western India Mission Council of the same Church in the first decade of the twentieth century met every quarter [2].

In the relations between the Mission Councils and the Foreign Missions Secretariat, the personality of the office-bearers played an important part. Strong-willed missionaries paid only lip-service or very little attention to the Foreign Missions Committee's bye-laws and rulings. Standing orders and "dos" and "don'ts" did exist, but in practice missionaries like Duff, Anderson and Miller have been described as acting on their own initiative "untrammelled by local committees or rules laid down in Edinburgh" [3]. It is said of Dr. Hastie, Principal of the General Assembly Institution, Calcutta, in 1878-83, that in his relations

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7845, p.15.
2. N.L.S. Mss. 7820, p.43 and passim.
3. E.G.K. Hewat. Op.cit. p.83, 84.

with the Convener and secretary of the Foreign Missions Committee, he was "inclined not to take them too seriously", firstly because they "were not very strong men" and secondly because they were less able than himself [1]. Dr. Hastie also appeared to be monarch of all he surveyed. He dismissed one of his colleagues in the college without first obtaining the consent of the Foreign Missions Committee [2]. In 1890 though the mission leadership of the Free Church in Scotland was almost entirely against, the educational institutions in India were yet retained because the influential missionaries like Rev. W.M. Alexander, Dr. William Miller and Dr. Dugald Mackichan desired their continuance [3].

The work of the Mission Councils was periodically examined by the deputies sent from Scotland [4]. Such deputations consisting generally of one or two persons visited the mission stations about once in two years. After surveying the work of the missions, they submitted a brief

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1. Donald Macmillan. Life of Professor Hastie, p.77.
2. Ibid.78
3. See F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.130-38.
4. N.L.S. Mss. 7824, p.47; No. 7831, p.93; M.R.U.F.C.S. 1902, p.245.

report for the consideration of the Foreign Missions Committee.

"Every missionary and missionary agent" was required to send a letter to the secretary of the Foreign Missions Committee at least once a year "to be communicated to the Church, through the usual channel, to stimulate the knowledge, prayer and self sacrifice of the members of the Church"[1]. Missionaries in charge of the central station were "expected to send to home a quarterly letter"[2]. Local secretaries were to correspond with the Foreign Missions Committee" as frequently as the business of the mission requires"[3].

About the relations between the home committees and the missionaries in India, it was stated in connection with the Protestant missions, that while the American and Canadian Societies enjoyed "practical autonomy" in the administration of their affairs on the mission field, the home committees of the "continental" societies kept the maximum power in their hands. The British societies, it was added, "follow the midway between these two extremes" and "distribute pretty evenly the administrative power between the home committees and the missionary bodies on the field"[4]. As regards the Scottish missions, it will be occasionally seen

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1. See F.C.S. Proceedings, Appendix VIII, 1886, p.67 and Appendix V, 1903, p.96
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Yearbook of Missions in India, 1912, p.169-70.

later that while the Mission Councils in India were given considerable authority to manage their affairs as they chose, sometimes restraints appear to have been imposed with regard to finances.

As regards the practical working of the Mission Councils in India, while the deliberations among them were generally smooth, they were sometimes marred by lack of co-operation. Definite evidence exists of the disputes and of different opposing groups in the Western India Mission Council of the Free Church. The opposing groups supported their members whether they believed in their colleagues' point of view or not. A missionary complaining in this respect wrote to the secretary of the Foreign Missions Committee of the Free Church in 1906 as follows:

> ...most of the College men vote with him in all debates (I won't venture to give reason, but it is generally well-known). The result is that if Mackichan is against us, we are not likely to have a majority. This I think is a most fatal mistake in our Council rules. Few of the College men have any great knowledge of our mofussil [rural] work and Mackichan himself hasn't been here since I came to Jalna [i.e. more than 15 years] and so has a very imperfect knowledge of our work, while several members have never been here at all:- yet they think they are competent to discuss and vote on all our business while no college business is ever discussed in our presence[1].

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7832, p.2-3.

Dr. Mackichan, the Principal of Wilson College and the secretary of the Mission Council, in return complained that the members of the Council not only revealed a sense of rivalry in the meetings of the Mission Council, but on some occasions even leaked to non-Christians the confidential matters discussed in the meetings. He strongly objected to this, and pointed out that while differences of opinion existed also in the Church Missionary Society and the American Missionary Societies, they never said anything to the non-Christians. He commented: "It is a pity that our missionaries should furnish an exception to this discreet procedure"[1]. The rivalry between two groups was such that when a missionary of one group resigned to become the Principal of a government College in Ahmedabad, Dr. Mackichan expressed his feelings as under:

> Thus has come the deliverance for which many of us have been long praying and our hearts are full of gratitude to God for allowing this to be accomplished without the necessity of any intervention on our part...[2].

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7825, p.204-5. In the above incident a missionary had told a non-Christian member of the Bombay Legislative Assembly that while the government was prepared to offer a grant of Rs.30,000 for the construction of a hospital in Poona, the missionaries inter se were not agreeable whether the hospital should be started or not. The said member had then raised a question in the Assembly whether the government was aware of differences among the Free Church missionaries about the proposed hospital.
2. N.L.S. Mss. No.7825, p.135.

Complaints, whether true or not, were sometimes heard that the meetings of the Mission Councils were not held according to the standing orders, that no proper records were kept, that rules about quorum were not strictly adhered to, etc[1].

Instances of clashes also exist in other Mission Councils of the Free Church. In the Nagpur mission a missionary teacher, J.C. Clubb, because of his misconduct in the meetings of the Mission Council and with his colleagues over his personal financial disputes (his salary etc.) was first warned and then dismissed from the mission[2]. Expressing relief on his dismissal, the secretary of Nagpur Mission Council remarked: "Clubb is now out of the institution, and we are heartily glad of it"[3]. In the Madras mission of the Free Church, disputes arose because of the supposedly uneconomic management. The secretary of the Madras Mission Council, exercised authority over the educational institutions of that Presidency which was resented by the missionary stationed at Chingleput, who claimed independence on the grounds of economy and was supported by the Free Church

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1. See correspondence in N.L.S. Mss. No. 7825 and 7826.
2. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7833, p.52-53.
3. Ibid. p.55.

report of 1888, but the secretary of Madras mission disagreed and the matter was eventually referrred to the Foreign Missions Committee[1].

Another important body was the Finance Committee. The Finance Committee was a sub-committee of the Mission Council in charge of financial matters. In the Free Church its members were appointed by the Mission Council but the appointments were subject to the approval of the Foreign Missions Committee. In 1893, the Finance Committee of the Western India mission of the Free Church consisted of (i) the treasurer of the Mission Council, (ii) the Principal of Wilson College, Bombay, who was an ex-officio member, (iii) a missionary looking after the evangelical work, and (iv) a missionary guiding the work of female missionaires[2].

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1. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.172.
2. See F.C.S. Proceedings 1893, Appendix VII, p.111; F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.97-98; N.L.S. Mss.7825, p.43 and 7832, p.160.

The finance committee was to sanction or refuse the money demanded for a particular item of work; it discussed the ways and means for allocating subventions allotted by the Foreign Missions Committee in most suitable manner. It received the financial statements for consideration from various mission stations and sub-stations. It occasionally suggested to the Foreign Missions Committee the means of improving the financial situation in India. It approached laymen interested in the work of the Missionswhose financial abilities might be of use in the management of the finances. It was to deposit and invest funds received from the Foreign Missions Committee, and other sums of money in safe places and where maximum interest could be obtained. It gave hints to the District Committees for raising the money and suggested ways to attempt at self-sufficiency. The finance committee also put forward before the Foreign Missions Committee the case for extra-ordinary grants for the mission stations and sub-stations and saw that money provided to mission stations was wellspent [1].

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1. See F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.97-101; N.L.S. Mss. 7637, p.30-38.

Though the finance committees wielded considerable powers in money matters, they showed restraints in the actual exercise of these powers. Sometimes even trivial matters were referred to the Foreign Missions Committee for approval, while on other occasions matters which needed quick judgement and the exercise of discretionary authority were similarly sent to the Foreign Missions Committee for sanction. For example, in 1891, the finance committee of Nagpur Mission did not sanction a sum of £70 to a missionary for buying a tent which was required for his itineration, but instead sent a recommendation to the Foreign Missions Committee and awaited its sanction [1]. Again, in 1894, the finance committee of the Bombay mission station of the Free Church had to refer to the Foreign Missions Committee a proposal for buying a plot which was to be sold very early at a cheap rate. On this occasion, before the reply was received, the "real bargain" was sold to another buyer. The money involved in this transaction was only £300, less than the annual salary of a missionary [2].

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7835, p.183.
2. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7821, p.156-59.

Brief mention must also be made of the Presbyteries or the ecclesiastical divisions. The Church of Scotland had five Presbyteries by 1898 comprising the following divisions:

(i) Bengal, Burma and Assam,

(ii) Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Sikkim,

(iii) Madras and Mysore,

(iv) Bombay and Rajputana, and

(v) the North Indian provinces of Chamba, Jammu and Punjab.

The members of the Presbyteries were appointed from the ordained missionaries, both European and Indian, some important British residents, and the Chaplains to the Forces and other Scotsmen living in India. The functions of the Presbyteries were to ordain the European and the Indian candidates for ministerial work, create and oversight the congregations and their office-bearers, review religious matters concerning Indian Christians and the mission work periodically, frame rules and exercise discipline in religious matters "according to the laws of the Church" and formulate the syllabuses of various theological courses[1]. In 1904, when several

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1. See Church of Scotland Handbook for India and Ceylon, Op.cit. p. 64-65; United Free Church of Scotland. Practice and procedure ... Op.cit. p. 167; N.L.S. Mss. No. 7489, p. 29; F.C.S. Report, 1888, p. 97.

Presbyterian churches joined together to form "Presbyterian Church of India", the separate existence of the presbyteries of the two churches came to an end.

Mention should be made of the Colleges and those High Schools which directly acted as "feeders" to them. The management of these Institutions was the direct responsibility of the Foreign Missions Committee and the Mission Councils generally had no authority over their affairs [1]. The management of each College and the School directly under it was vested in the body called "senatus". It consisted of the Principal of the College and all other European missionaries teaching in the College and the High School attached to it. An exception was the Madras Christian College which also had a "Board of Governors" in Britain comprising the representatives of several denominations supporting it. In the Free Church, in 1893, three members formed a quorum in the Institution (as the College and the School combined were named) except at Nagpur where the

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1. In the formative years of Hislop College (started in 1883) and the Murray College (started in 1889) the management rested in the hands of the Mission Councils but once the colleges were stabilised, the authority of the Mission Council was withdrawn, and they were made directly responsible to the Foreign Missions Committee.

number of European staff attached to Institution was only two [1].

Except for the Madras Christian College which was not typical, there is very little evidence to inform us about the exact functions of the Senates. The Senates consisted of the College and the School Principals and European members of the Institutions' staff who discussed the curriculum of study, discipline and conduct, appointment and removal of teachers and other important matters concerning the Institutions. The Principals of the Colleges were the Chairmen, and one of the Professors was appointed a secretary who called the meetings, circulated the agenda and forwarded the Minutes to the Foreign Missions Committee. The Senates were also authorised to discuss the financial matters of the Institutions [2].

The management of the Madras Christian College was shared by the "senatus" and the "College Council". The senatus consisted of Principal and the European members of the staff. Like other Institutions it managed the internal

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1. See N.L.S. Mss. 7835, p.11; 7836, p.10; 7845, p.14.
2. See F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.100. U.F.C.S. Proceedings, Appendix V, 1903, p.100 and 1909, p.131

matters of the college and suggested about matters of discipline and efficient administration. The "college council" consisted of members of senatus ex-officio, one representative each of the missions contributing to college finances, and other lay-men interested in the educational mission work and the development of the college. The members belonging to the third category, required the approval of the Foreign Missions Committee before their appointment. The "college council" generally concerned itself with financial matters, extending the activities of the college and approaching interested bodies like government and the commercial community to seek their support for the college's development.[1]

Mention should be made of the "Local Presbyteries" or the "Local Churches". When the work of a congregation had been developed to an extent that it was felt desirable to free it gradually from the direction of the Mission Council, a "Local Church" was formed. The South India United Church, of which the Scottish missions were a part, defined a "Local Church" as follows:[2]

> A local Church is a company of believers regularly organised and assembling steadily for public worship. Its officers are a Pastor set apart by ordination for preaching the Gospel and administering the sacraments, and Elders or Deacons chosen by the Church, who with Pastor constitute the Session or Church Committee. To the local Church belongs the authority to manage its own affairs either by the whole body of members, or through its Session or Church Committee. It examines and admits persons to the

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1. See F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.100; N.L.S. Mss. 7845, p.14.
2. Quoted in the Report of the World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh, 1910, Vol.II, p.310-11.

> communion of the Church; grants and receives letters of transfer and dismissal; exercises discipline; provides for the preaching of the Word and for administration of the Sacraments when the Church is without a Pastor; has the care of the Sunday Schools and of all evangelistic work carried by the Church; and appoints delegates to the Church Council. So long as a Church has official connection with a Mission, the Mission has the right to appoint a representative on the Session or Church Committee.

In the initial formation of the "Local Churches" some members of the Mission Council were represented and acted as "assessors" and the "Local Churches" received grants from the Mission Council to supplement their funds. But once the Churches became self supporting[1], the authority of the Mission Council was withdrawn[2]. Independent "Local Churches", however, maintained relations with the Mission Councils and could communicate with the Foreign Missions Committee through the Mission Councils, which were obliged to send their communications to the Foreign Missions Committee (if necessary with comments) and respect their inherent powers[3]. The number of such "Local Churches" has been shown on p. 568. But it must be noted that not all these were self-supporting. Self-supporting Churches were few, which have been discussed separately in the next section.

So far the work of Councils and Committees and the "Local Churches", but for the more efficient organisation of the work,

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1. The term "self-support" has been defined on p. 430
2. F.C.S. Proceedings, Appendix V, 1903, p. 100 and 1909, p. 130.
3. Ibid.

every missionary had to carry out some other functions. Every missionary during most part of his first (sometimes also second) year had to learn the regional language. It is observed during the earlier period of this study that while the evangelical and medical missionaries learned the regional language sufficiently to carry on their work, the educational missionaries generally did not. For example, in 1888, of all the members of the "senatus" of Wilson college, Bombay, only Dr. Mackichan (the Principal) was able to converse in the vernacular.[1] For some, the learning of a language was perhaps a real difficulty. A member of the above "senatus" admitted that despite his "honestly trying to learn and study" the regional language for twenty-two months, it had been "only a waste of time, strength and money"[2]. Another missionary said that the Pundits who taught the missionaries, were not (always) teachers, and did not understand the "difficulties of the new comer". "The student has to drag out of his teacher the information he requires"[3].

Later however strict rules were framed in this respect. In the Free Church, by 1893, until a missionary passed his second examination in the vernacular, the language "bonus" of £50 a year was not paid to him. Also he could not get a seat in the Mission Council until he passed examinations. Failure to pass the vernacular

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1. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p. 180.
2. N.L.S. Mss. 7820, p. 43.
3. Yearbook of Missions in India, 1912, p. 443.

examinations within the specified time could indeed result in "dispensing with the services of a missionary". Mission Councils were advised by the Foreign Missions Committee, "to see that the first year of a new missionary's residence is devoted entirely to acquiring the language and where possible, that his residence shall be fixed in a country district where he shall have constant opportunities of using the vernacular". No missionary was expected to "engage in English work during the first year of his residence without the express sanction from the Foreign Missions Committee"[1]. The Free Church report of 1888, whose criticism had resulted in the framing of the above rules, had also said that "Many missions refuse to allow their missionaries to marry, and do not give them their full salary till they have made satisfactory progress in the vernacular"[2].

According to the regulations framed by the Church of Scotland in 1900, during the first two years only "partial" work was required to be done by the missionaries, all other

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1. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1893, Appendix VIII, p. 10-12.
2. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p. 22.

time being spent on language study. "Failure to pass (the examinations) at the end of two years shall be held to terminate the engagement, without the necessity of further notice"[1].

The Free Church rules of 1893 prescribed two sets of examinations: the first was "to test ability to read, write, and converse in the vernacular". Every missionary was to present himself for the first examination within a year of his arrival in the country. If he failed, he was to present himself within the next six months. The second was to "include a higher standard of the subjects required in the first examination" and was also to test, "ability to preach and deliver addresses in vernacular". Every missionary was to present himself for the second examination within a year after the passing of the first examination.[2]

In the Nagpur mission of the Free Church, the

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1. Report on the schemes of the Church of Scotland, 1900, p. 181.
2. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1893, Appendix VIII, p. 10-12.

syllabuses of the course were as under [1]:

1st Examination

Part 1: written examination

(i) Questions on grammar from Navalkar's grammar.

(ii) Translation into English of passages from Third Reading Book (Government or Christian Education Vernaculer Society) and John's Gospel.

(iii) Translation into Marathi of easy sentences.

Part 11 oral:

(i) Simple conversation.

(ii) Reading and translations from books mentioned in Part 1 (ii).

2nd Examination

Part 1: written

(i) Questions on grammar from Navalkar's grammar, part 1 and 111.

(ii) Translation into English of passages from proverbs, Acts, Romans and 5th Marathi Reading Book.

(iii) Translation into Marathi of simple passage.

(iv) Reading Marathi letters at first sight and replying to it in Balabodhi. (simple sentences)

Part 11: oral:

(i) Reading and translation from prescribed books.

(ii) Conversation on any ordinary topic and acting as interpreter between a native and the missionary.

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1. N.L.S. Mss. 7835, p.144-45.

(iii) Reading simple passages at first sight.

(iv) That candidates shall prepare one hundred lines of poetry from the Fifth Reading Book and shall be examined on it as to its meaning.

In the Nagpur mission one of the examiners of the missionaries was the professor of Sanskrit at Hislop college. In the Santal mission also, the examination consisted of two parts to be completed in two years. Up to 1895, in the above mission, missionaries of other denominations were appointed as examiners since the Free Church mission had not enough and competent missionaries of its Church to conduct examinations[1].

The organisational work of the missions covered also the villages. But in the Free Church, up to 1888, hardly any attention was paid towards the villages. The Free Church report of 1888 commented that the Free Church had concentrated on cities as no other Church had done, and it pointed out[2]:

> that in Calcutta we had eight European missionaries one of whom gave a portion of his time to Moffusil work, and no European giving their whole time; at Madras, eight ordained Europeans were stationed in Madras and one in the country district; at Bombay, we found five European missionaries in the city, and none doing country work; at Nagpur, we found four European missionaries, and none doing country work.

The report further added that "if at any time a mission happened to be somewhat weak, it was the village and district work that usually suffered"[3]. However, this was later corrected - at least partly - as will be seen in

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1. N.L.S. Mss. 7849, p. 103.
2. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p. 5.
3. Ibid.

the following table[1]:

Place	Year	Missionaries in city	In districts	Place	Year	Missionaries in city	In districts
Calcutta	1894	5	2	Bombay*	1894	5	0
	1899	5	2		1899	6	1
	1904	6	3		1904	7	1
	1909	6	3		1909	8	1
	1913	4	3		1913	9	1
Madras	1894	7	2	Nagpur	1894	4	2
	1899	10	3		1899	3	2
	1904	12	4		1904	3	3
	1909	10	5		1909	3	3
	1913	10	5		1913	4	4

* In Bombay presidency there were 3 missionaries at Poona and 3 to 5 at Jalna, all engaged in village work.

It must be added, however, that the missionaries shown in the cities were the staff members in the colleges, and about half of them were lay teachers[2].

The majority of the Church of Scotland missionaries were employed in the rural areas, in its Punjab and Eastern Himalayas missions. (See p.571). The work of the United Presbyterian Church in Rajputana covered villages and small cities, the largest field (Jaipur) having a population of 160,167 in 1901[3].

As the work of the missions increased in the villages, a catechist was generally appointed to look after the mission work. The functions of the village catechist have been discussed in the next section[4]. Among the catechists were sometimes included those who themselves did not profess Christianity but preached it as a job[5]. In a district comprising a number of villages, a head catechist was appointed to supervise the work of village catechists[6].

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1. See Free Church Proceedings for the years next to above.
2. Ibid. 3. Census of India, 1901, (Part II), p. 16.
4. See p. 371
5. See Frank Ashcroft, op. cit., p. 57: John Robson, op. cit., p. 68.
6. A. Tomory, op. cit., p. 50.

The supervision of head catechists was generally done by the missionary himself and occasionally by an important Indian pastor [1]. The missionary or the important Indian pastors also held occasional meetings with the head catechists and more important agents such as qualified Indian medical practitioners, to review the mission work generally.

The organisation of the female missionaries was as follows: At each mission station, where there were fair number of women missionaries, the female organisational work was carried out by a council which was presided over by a lady superintendent. The superintendent was assisted by one or more of her colleagues in the performance of her work. She was also guided by the male missionaries working at that station. Her functions and powers were similar to the Chairman of the Mission Council. In financial matters, the lady superintendent was authorised to spend the money allotted by the women's associations in Scotland as she deemed desirable, although in projects involving considerable expenditure she often sought the guidance of

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1. N.L.S. Mss. 7832, p.16 and 7839, p.11.

male missionaries [1]. The work of Indian female mission agents was similar to those of the catechists, though they did not conduct Church services and generally also did not teach since very few of them were literate. Also the work of the female missionaries was similar to their male colleagues except that they hardly ever made long evangelical tours as their male counterparts.

Finally mention may be made about the records kept by the missionaries and their Indian agents. The secretary of the Mission Council was to keep the Minutes of every meeting and also send a copy to the secretary of the Foreign Missions Committee. The secretary of the finance committee was to submit periodically the statement of income raised in India and expenditure incurred to the Foreign Missions Committee [2]. Sometimes the evangelical missionaries also kept records of various activities conducted by them. The Jalna mission of the Free Church, for example, kept, in 1895, the list of orphans and the monthly expenditure

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1. N.L.S. Mss. 7637, p.3-4. An exception was the Church of Scotland Mission at Poona which was exclusively managed by lady missionaries since no male missionaries of that Church was working at that mission station.
2. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7835, p.62-63, 170.

incurred on the orphanage [1]. The Poona, Nagpur and the Bengal missions of the Free Church kept occasionally Church attendant rolls, and the register of the members of the congregation [2]. Sometimes information about various activities conducted by the native church was also recorded [3]. The medical missionaries sometimes maintained the lists of patients, diseases treated and the statistics of operations performed [4].

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1. N.L.S. Mss. 7829, p.292-93, Mss. 7830, p.280-81, Mss. 7831, p.147.
2. N.L.S. Mss. 7826, p.174-81, Mss. 7829, p.131-2, Mss. 7841, p.72.
3. N.L.S. Mss. No.7826, p.174-81.
4. N.L.S. Mss. No.7829, p.53-58.

(iii) MISSIONARY HELPERS

In their entire work of organisation and Church development, the missionaries received substantial help, on the one hand from their Indian workers, - both voluntary and paid - and on the other from a large number of British government servants. The ratio of missionaries to Indian workers, by about the turn of the century was about one to ten. For example, the four missionaries (two of each sex) stationed at Jalna had 34 males and 12 female agents for the mission work in 1901[1]. At the Darjeeling station of the Church of Scotland, seventy three Indian workers, both male and females, helped five missionaries stationed there in 1903[2]. In one of the mission stations of the United Free Church in Rajputana 39 Indian workers helped the five missionaries in 1903[3]. Out of 3069 communicants, belonging to the United Free Church in 1903, 1143 were agents of the mission[4].

By 1911, the ratio of one European missionary to Indian workers was about one to seven as will be seen in the following table[5]:

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7832, p.202. The number of Indian agents increased to 51 in 1903 vide. Encyclopaedia of Missions, p.342.
2. Encyclopaedia of Missions, p.205
3. Ibid. p.341
4. Ibid. p.842
5. See U.F.C.S. Proceedings, 1912, statistics appended at the end of Appendix II, and p.95 in Appendix IIA; Report on the Schemes of the C. of S., 1912, p.191 and 237; Yearbook of missions in India, 1912, p.653.

Church	European missionaries	Ordained Indian workers	Unordained Indian workers	Total Indian workers
C. of S.	33	12	235	247
C. of S. women's assen.	49	-	201	201
U.F.C.S.	70	18	1091	1109
U.F.C.S. women's assen.	70	-	7	7
Total	222	30	1534	1564

The above was also more or less the ratio of foreign missionaries to Indian workers in the Protestant missions. Thus, in 1911, in the Protestant Churches in India, out of 20,685 "Christian workers", 2151 were non-Indians, and 18,734 Indians[1]. But "while among the foreigners 46% are males and 54% females", "among Indians, the females number only 31%"[2].

The number of Indian Christian workers had increased nearly ten-fold between 1881 and 1911, numbering 1924 in 1881 in all Protestant missions[3].

A large part of the field work and labour of bringing the prospective converts to the Church was done by the Indian workers of the missions. A United Free Church missionary said in 1903: "We fully recognise that the greatest part of this work

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1. Yearbook of Missions in India, 1912, p.129
2. Ibid., p.135
3. Sherring. History of Protestant missions in India, p.446

of district evangelisation must be done, not by foreigners, but by the members of Indian Christian Church" [1], while a missionary of the Church of Scotland stated in 1913: "Be it understood that these results have been attained by Indian Christians themselves; they have done the work and they deserve the credit" [2]. In both references the term "Indian Christian" applies more to mission agents than to other Christians belonging to the two Churches. The mission agents performed many jobs and were variously graded. An important post among the agents of lower echelon was that of the catechist.

The catechist performed manifold functions. He was to tour the village, teach religion in the village schools, hold discussions with non-Christian villagers and attempt to prove the uniqueness of Christianity, provide instruction to catechumen of whatever knowledge he possessed, and sometimes minister to the village congregation [3].

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1. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1903, p.342.
2. L. & W. 1913, p.189.
3. See F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.84-85; F.C.S. Proceedings, 1883, Appendix VIII, p.32; N.L.S. Mss. No. 7847, p.177; L. & W. 1905, p.58; C.S.H.F.M.R. 1883, p.712.

Some of the catechists were very active workers. A catechist in the Darjeeling mission, who later became a pastor and missionary, is said to have brought "nearly" two thousand people to Christianity [1]. In the Punjab mission of the Church of Scotland also, it was the information of a catechist which ultimately resulted in the mass conversion of more than 10,000 Chuhras [2]. A missionary maintained that on the education and training of the catechists their energies should be spent most [3], while a medical missionary said that "It was the Indian helpers who really interpret Christ to patients" [4].

Many catechists were specially prepared for the job. The large number of orphanages and boarding schools maintained by the missionaries were the nerve centres for their training [5]. Some were also sent to inter-denominational training classes where catechists of

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1. L. & W. 1914, p.249 "On the testimony of Mr. Milne, Jagat was, the means, direct or indirect, of bringing nearly two thousand men, women and children out of darkness into light".
2. R.W. Weir. Op. cit. p.90.
3. Ibid. p.96.
4. National Christian Council. Survey of medical missions in India. p.33, 52. See also: L. & W. 1903, p.255 and 1912, p.190; Scottish Universities' Mission Report, 1892, p.7; C.S.H.F.M.R. 1898, p.33.
5. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1902, p.249.

several missions were trained together [1]. The curriculum of their training consisted of subjects like "Practical theology, Biblical theology, and Exposition of Scriptures" [2]. Large emphasis was also given to apologetics where they were taught the art of proving the uniqueness of Christianity [3]. The training imparted to catechists made them sometimes more intense than the missionaries in the propagation of their faith. A missionary stated: "The gospel preached by an Indian evangelist brought up in a Christian orphanage is apt to be more 'western' [sic] and less sympathetic to Hindu ideals than that of missionary himself" [4].

In holding discussions, which formed an important aspect of the catechist work during itinerations of villages, market places, Hindu temples and fairs, he was assisted by the missionary. When the catechist was unable to meet the arguments of his opponents, the missionary supplied him with the necessary material [5].

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1. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.40.
2. F.CS. Report, 1888, p.40 and 54.
3. See Frank Ashcroft. Op. cit. p.33: F.C.S. Proceedings, 1879, Appendix VIII, p.34; M.R.U.F.C.S. 1908, p.402; Scottish Universities' Mission Report, 1895, p.4.
4. George Carstairs. Shepherd of Udaipur, p.224.
5. Frank Ashcroft. Op. cit., p.45.

While some of the catechists were sincere and hard working, several others were inefficient. The Rev. McCulloch, a missionary at Kalna mission station of the Free Church, complained, in 1891, that the "laziness of the agents" was "too much for human patience" and added:

> The worst man of the lot - a most respectable but absolutely good for nothing creature - I have paid off. He had twenty two years of what he called service. I have paid off another man at Kalna - a sixteen years' service wallah[1] and a third at Chinsurah whom the mission had suffered for nineteen years. It cost Rs. 750 [about £56] to get rid of the trio - better spent money than their salaries had been, though I did grudge it"[2].

A second missionary at the Kamptee station of the Free Church said: "our chief fellow worker out there has again turned out to be an immoral, ungrateful, family deserting, pirating (?) [Missionary's question mark] hypocrite"[3], while a third missionary described his chief catechist as of "roving character" who went from "mission to mission settling at none"[4].

The number of catechists employed by the Scottish missions increased from over 83 in 1882 to nearly 400 by 1914 (see p.564). The catechists generally increased in proportion to the converts gained. Thus, we see the large increase of catechists in the

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1. The word wallah has no fixed meaning but is sometimes added in conversation as a term of mild abuse.
2. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7839, p.25
3. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7843, p.240
4. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7835, p.174

Punjab and the Eastern Himalayas missions of the Church of Scotland, and in the Jalna and the Santal missions of the Free Church, where the proportion of the converts was also large (see p.569).

The female missionaries employed a large number of Indian women. The figures of the total staff employed by the female missionaries have been shown on p.565 . The Indian female staff, as will be seen, increased more than twice in the Church of Scotland between 1885 and 1913, and more than 50% in the Free Church between 1894 and 1913.

Like the catechists, an important category of workers among Indian women were "Bible women", who worked generally "among the poorer classes, gathering a number of women together in the courtyard or verandah of a Chawl and telling them of Jesus"[1]. Miss Ellis claimed that these "women in Bombay are exercising a great influence"[2]. But most of the "Bible women", pointed out the Laymen's Missionary Enquiry Committee, were too old and ignorant ladies whose function was to cram Bible stories and Christian hymns and narrate these before equally ignorant and innocent women.[3] Some of them visited private houses, hospitals, village wells and other public places to influence the members of their sex[4].

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1. C.W. Crawford. Women's work in Maratha country, p.34
2. Ellis. Our eastern sisters, p.48
3. See Report of the Laymen's Missionary Enquiry Committee, I, p.272
4. Ellis. Op.cit. p.48; Frank Ashcroft. Op.cit. p.101

The number of Bible women during some years of this study has been shown on p.566.

The Indian pastors formed the second group of the missionary's helpers. As the Christian community grew, the missionaries gave almost their entire time to organisation and supervision and had little time for ministering and shepherding the flock. The Indian parson sometimes replaced the missionary in discharging many duties of pastoral work, ministering to the congregation and making efforts to increase its number, administering communion, baptising and performing marriage and funeral rites, and also sometimes teaching religion in schools and colleges[1]. In 1880, the General Assembly's Institution, Calcutta, had three Indian pastors out of sixteen members of staff[2].

The figures of the ordained Indian ministers, who increased from about 14 in 1881 to 34 in 1913, have been shown on p.567. An analysis of the figures is necessary. A significant number of Indian ministers during the early years of this study in the Free Church was due to some of the notable converts gained by Duff, Wilson, and Anderson. In between we find some decrease in the number of the ordained ministers despite the considerable increase of members in that Church[3]. The probable reasons being the large increase almost only among the lowest castes and the aborigines,

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1. See F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.108; F.C.S. Proceedings, 1885, Appendix VIII, P.24; C.S.H.F.M.R. 1886, p.522.
2. Donald Macmillan. Life of Professor Hastie, p.66 (The word used for religious instructors in the Institution is "catechists", but it seems it has been loosely used for "pastors").
3. See p. 569

and the deaths of some ordained ministers. Somewhat increase in the number of ordained ministers in the later years in the Free Church mission might perhaps be attributed to the efforts of the missionaries in creating the type of persons they required.

In the Church of Scotland and the United Presbyterian Church, increase in the number of ordained ministers is comparatively more marked. However, in the Church of Scotland, the increase was greater in the Eastern Himalayas than in the Punjab where one might have expected it, because of the largest number of converts there. At least three factors seem to account for this imbalance: firstly, the number of missionaries stationed in the Eastern Himalayas, as will be seen on p.571, was larger than in Punjab and had perhaps more time to devote for preparing and training ministers; secondly, the increase in the number of converts received in the Eastern Himalayas was more steady and spread over a longer period, while in Punjab, reverse was the case[1]; thirdly, in the Eastern Himalayas mission a small portion of the converts also came from among Nepalese, Sikkimese, and Bhutanese who did not come from the lowest rung of the society as was the case with Chuhras of Punjab. As a matter of fact, it might also be pointed out that the financial support from among the Chuhras was much less than from the converts of the Eastern Himalayas (see p.574); apparently, the mission converts in Punjab were also more poorer, or perhaps their ideas in connection with the self-support of the Church, until then, were not as much developed as those of the converts of the Eastern

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1. Ibid.

Himalayas mission.

The question of the ordained Indian ministers deserves some more discussion, since one of the three constituents for building up of the Indian Church viz. "self direction" depended almost entirely upon them, and also the other two constituents viz. "self-propagation" and "self-support" were closely related to their efforts. A comparison of the Scottish societies with some other important British missionary societies, in 1911, would show that the ratio of the ordained Indian ministers vis-a-vis the Christian community, was the best in the United Free Church, but not so good in the Church of Scotland, as will be seen in the following table[1]:

Society	Ordained Indian Ministers	Total Christian Community	Ratio of one ordained minister to Christian Community
Baptist Miss. Soc.	39	29647	760 approx.
Church Miss. Soc.	226	185816	822
Church of Scotland	12	15946	1328
London Miss. Soc.	43	116575	2711
Society for Prop. Gospel	136	116000	853
United Free Church	18	10789	599

It might also be noted that the increase in the number of the ordained Indian ministers in the Scottish missions, during the period of this study, did not keep pace with the general increase in the Protestant missionary societies. Thus, while between 1881 and 1911, the number of ordained Indian ministers in all the Protestant missions in India increased from 495 to 1665[2], i.e. $\frac{17}{5}$ times, the same increase in the Scottish missions was nearly twice (see p.567). On the other hand, the average ratio of one minister to 970 members in the

1. Yearbook of the missions in India, 1912, p.652-3
2. Ibid., p.175

Protestant missions in India, in 1911[1], was maintained in the Scottish missions combined. This was because the average ratio of an ordained minister to Christian community was better in the Scottish missions during the earlier period of this study. Thus, in 1881, while the average ratio of an ordained minister to Christian community was about one to 815 in the Protestant missions, in the Scottish missions it was about one to 260[2].

Among the Protestant missions, American and Canadian missions had the largest number of ordained Indian ministers as compared to the "foreign force", as will be seen in the following table for 1911[3]:

Societies	Foreign missionaries	Ordained Indian ministers
American & Canadian	557	945
British	615	560
Continental	222	77

Why did the American and Canadian Societies have more ordained Indian ministers? Part of the answer lies in the fact that the Americans, as will be seen on p.434, created independent Churches even in their infancy, and, consequently, perhaps did not demand as many qualifications from their pastors as the British societies. Also, the American Societies enjoyed "practical autonomy in the administration of their affairs in the mission field" which was

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1. Yearbook of missions in India, 1912, p.175
2. In 1881, Indian Protestant community numbered 417, 372 and Indian ordained ministers, 495. Ibid. p.178; for Scottish missions, compare p.564 and 571.
3. Yearbook of the missions in India, 1912, p.649.

not the case with other societies[1].

Making a comparison of the Protestant missions with the Catholics, it is seen that the Catholic missions had nearly twice as many Indian ordained ministers as the foreign missionaries, in 1911; 1700 against 963[2]; while in the Protestant missions there were only one-eighth more Indian than the foreign clergymen[3]. On the other hand, it is observed that the ratio of the Indian clergymen as compared to the Christian community was better in the Protestant Church. Thus, whereas there was one Indian clergyman for every 970 members in the Indian Protestant Churches, in the Catholic Church there was one for 1327[4].

A significant feature which proved a contributory cause to the growth of Indian ministry, from about 1910 onwards, was the feeling of nationalism[5]. At the World Missionary Conference, 1910, Edinburgh, "the First Shot in the campaign against missionary imperialism" in Church affairs was fired by V. S. Azariah[6], who became First Anglican bishop in India in 1912[7]. From then onwards, the Indian Church resented more and more the assertion of authority of the foreign missions. In 1912, the National Missionary Conference passed a resolution that[8]:

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1. Ibid. p.169-70
2. Ibid. p.175
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. See Latourette. Christianity in a revolutionary age, Vol. V; p.316
6. H.R. Weber. Asia and the ecumenical movement, p.118 (1966)
7. B. Lucas. Op.cit. p.117
8. International Missionary Council. Village education in India, p.5

> This conference would emphasise the principle that the work carried out by foreign missionary societies should be gradually transferred, as opportunities occur, to the Indian Church, and that suitable plans and modifications of existing organisations should be adopted, wherever necessary, so that this principle may be carried out by missionary bodies.

Thereafter, the National Missionary Conference reviewed every year the progress made in this respect, and, said a report of the International Missionary Council, in 1920: "there is evidence that wherever a liberal policy of devolution has been carried out the relations between Indian and European have become more cordial"[1]. The same report further remarked that "In view of the intense national and racial feeling existing in India today, we believe it is a matter of paramount importance that directive and administrative work should now be placed in the hands of Indians, even where it is feared that there may be considerable loss in immediate efficiency"[2]. The vacating of the field by the German missionaries during the war, or their internment by the British government in India also partly increased the number of the ordained Indian ministers[3]. Also, the cutting off of the funds from Germany compelled the followers of German missions to assume the entire self support of its pastors and catechists[4]. But, still it was pointed out,

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1. Ibid. p.6
2. Ibid.
3. About internment see P.P. 1919: Vol. 38: cmd. 256, p.10
4. Latourette. Christianity ... Op.cit. Vol. V, p.321

in 1920, that "the Church in Uganda is more advanced in self government than almost any section of the Church in India"[1].

As regards the characteristics of the ordained Indian ministers, they appeared to be well-educated and often seemed quite clever. Before being ordained, they had to go through a systematic course of study, whose syllabuses have been shown on p.488. If they are to be judged from their communications sent to the Foreign Missions Committee, they show remarkable shrewdness and command over language. But while they were skilful and clever, they do not always appear to be hard working. Some of them needed conveyances and servants for their personal service. Also, their attachment to money sometimes seemed to be intense. On several occasions, they demanded increase in salaries and sometimes to achieve this sent petitions through their congregations.

A missionary, criticising an Indian pastor who demanded a salary increase, remarked[2]:

> The tone of the letter is not good; there is no reference to the welfare of the congregation, to the desirableness of its going on to self-support, or to anything save his own services and demands.

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1. International Missionary Council. Village education in India, p.5. Among the African emergent Churches, the success in "self-government" was perhaps unique in Uganda. In fact, on 20th Feb. 1902, the convener of the Church of Scotland Foreign Missions Committee had sent, to the missionaries of that Church in India, the text of the speech of Bishop Tucker of Uganda, which showed "The remarkable success of Uganda mission through developing in the native Christian principles of self-extension, self support and self-government". That Church asked its missionaries in India to comment upon (i) "what has been done in your mission field in the direction indicated"; (ii) "what more can now be attempted with a reasonable prospect of success". Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1902, p.74.
2. N.L.S. Mss., 7828, p.141 (Small to Smith about David Malhar).

A comparison of the salaries of an agricultural labourer (which was then generally taken as a standard unit for comparison) in Scotland with an average Scottish minister, and, that of an Indian minister with an Indian agricultrual labourer, showed that the Indian minister was better off than his Scottish counterpart in the Free Church, in 1888. The Free Church report pointed out that in Scotland, a minister's stipend, including manse, varies from about five times the amount of an agricultural labourer to twenty or twenty-two times, as you take the country minister or the best paid town minister"[1]. About India, it said, that while the wages of an agricultural labourer in Madras Presidency in 1888 were Rs.4-12-0 a month, the missionary pastor in the Free Church was paid a salary of Rs. 90-10-120 a month, i.e. 19 to 25 times more than the farmer. Commenting upon this, the Free Church report said, that an Indian minister was "paid proportionately to his countryman's earnings at the rate of our most highly paid city minister"[2], and added, that in such a case "all thought of self-support is impossible"[3].

Apart from catechists, "Bible women", pastors and "missionaries", all of whom generally received a salary, a number of converts formed a third group of missionary's helpers who propagated Christianity

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1. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.109-10
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

of their own accord. Some of them showed a considerable zeal in bringing more followers to their new faith. In the Sikkim mission of the Church of Scotland, some of the Kyumis or the "elders" worked as unsalaried agents for the "development of Church organisation"[1]. Some converts publicised the fact of their conversion in newspapers[2], while others formed groups and itinerated villages and streets "singing, praying, preaching and selling Christian literature"[3]. Some converts suggested the missionaries to start missions in the new areas where the converts had settled[4], while some others whose business required them to go to different places considered it an act of grace to spread the new faith wherever they went[5]. Also, it was said, about some Nepali women in the Darjeeling mission, that they "visited the women patients in the Municipal Hospital regularly, and a Guild Work party has been started by the women of their own accord"[6]

The Free Church had a number of salaried or unsalaried "elders and deacons" and "office bearers and managers" for the general work of the mission. The number of these during some years was as

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1. A missionary said about a Kyumi: "He visits the sick, consoles the bereaved and preaches the Gospel in his own simple loving way. He is a lamp ever burning and shining". Scottish Universities' Mission Report, 1894, p.4. See also Ibid., 1892, p.7; E.G.K. Hewat. Op.cit. p.120.
2. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1879, Appendix VIII, p.37.
3. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1878, p.73.
4. See C.S.H.F.M.R. 1891, p.87 and 1900, p.64; N.L.S. Mss. No. 7835, p.31-33.
5. L. & W. 1909, p.65.
6. Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1914, p.148

follows:[1]

Mission Group	1890	1895	1900	1910	1914
Calcutta	12	3	5	3	4
Santal Parganas	0	0	0	20	15
Bombay	6	5	8	6	9
Poona	4	6	11	10	12
Jalna	0	12	9	32	41
Madras	12	9	29	48	41
Nagpur	12	10	20	33	36
Rajputana	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	74	99
Total	46+	55+	82+	226	257

Government officials formed a very important group of missions' supporters who rendered a large help to the missions. But they also included some critics of the government's policy towards the missionaries. Before discussing the practical help rendered by the government officials to the missionaries, their expressions of sympathy towards missionary cause must first be described. The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Northbrook, Governor General of India (1872-76), and Chairman of the second meeting on "Mission field of the World", at the World Missionary Conference, London, 1888, said that the "missionaries in India have always derived the most active aid and assistance from some of the ablest and most distinguished men in the service of the East India Company, and of the Crown in India, both civilian and military". He also listed a number of those officials who supported the missionary work, but many belonged to the period preceding this study[2].

1. See F.C.S. Proceedings for the same years (statistics appended to annual reports).
2. Report on the centenary Conference of the Protestant missions of the World. London, 1888. Vol. I, p.190-91.

Sir Charles Elliot, son of a vicar, and Lieutenant Governor of Bengal between 1890 and 1895, said, that like the missionaries, government officers also believed in the "evangelisation of India" but they were unable to take up that work[1]. He was also of the opinion:[2]

> ... that if there were no Christian missionaries in India, we would have to import them and reminded his hearers of a Punjab Lieutenant Governor who on the annexation of that territory immediately applied to the Church Missionary Society for men to evangelise it.

Sir Andrew Fraser, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal from 1903 to 1908, was of the opinion that the neutral policy of the government "does not imply indifference on the part of the government" in religious matters, and that "neutrality does not prevent the government in India helping educational work (of the missions) even when it is accompanied by religious instruction"[3]. His sympathies towards missionaries however became more clear when he said that the mission work "lies near to our heart, but which we as officials of the government are barred from doing"[4].

Sir Charles Aitchison, a Scot, and Lieutenant Governor of Punjab, 1882-7, and Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, 1895-8, looked forward to a day when an Indian apostle or an Indian St. Paul would "kindle all the fuel" to evangelise India[5].

Lord Reay, a Scot, the governor of Bombay from 1885 to 1890, while introducing the Scottish missionaries to the Prince of Wales in Bombay in 1889, overdid his

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1. John Morrison, Scottish Churches' work abroad, p.93
2. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1892, p.586. The reference about the Punjab Lieutenant Governor is to Lord Lawrence, governor at that place in 1856.
3. Quoted in L. & W. 1906, p.155. For his similar other statements see M.R.U.F.C.S. 1907, p.112-3; N.L.S. Mss. No. 7840, p.235. Also cf. Statement of Lord Ellenborough, p.389
4. L. & W. 1906, p.155. Incidentally it might be mentioned that Sir Fraser was the son of a missionary (D.N.B.).
5. George Smith. Conversion of India, p.187; F.C.S. Proceedings, 1897, Appendix VIII, p.19. (Sir Mackenzie was a son of a Minister: See above Free Church source).

praise to state that missionaries were "doing for India more than all those civilians, soldiers, judges and governors whom your Highness has met" [1]. At the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, in 1910, he declared that the "most pleasant reminiscences" of his governorship in India were "the relations with the missionary societies of all nations and of all kinds" [2]. Sir W.M. Young, Lieutenant governor of Punjab from 1897 to 1902, was of the view that India had been subordinated to the British Empire so that the secret of the Gospel message may be revealed to her [3], while Sir Alfred Lyall, governor of the United Provinces in 1882-7, referring to Hinduism is said to have prophesied that "The end of simple paganism is not far distant in India" [4]. An officer of the Indian Civil Service, who did not intend his name to be published, after attending a missionary conference of the United Presbyterian Church at Naserabad in Rajputana, in 1899, wrote a long letter of 2389 words to the editor of the United Presbyterian Magazine in which

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1. Quoted in Niyogi Committee Report, vol. I, p.40; D. Williamson. Op. cit. p.73.
2. Report of the World Missionary Conference, vol. 7, p.154.
3. Missionary Review of the World, 1912, p.265.
4. Quoted in John Morrison. New ideas in India, p. 9. (Lyall was a son of a minister. D.W.B.)

he described at length the conference proceedings, expressed his sympathy with the missionary work, and stated that "notwithstanding discouragement and apparent slow progress in the present, the experiences of the past encourage for the future [development] ..." [1]. Mr. Gourlay, the private secretary of Lord Carmichael, Governor of Bengal, while describing the poor plight of Indians before the Foreign Missions Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland in 1914, suggested that India's social and economic redemption lay only in the adoption of Christianity [2].

Sometimes the important officers expressed their unconscious prejudice against non-Christians [3], while on other occasions not only they themselves showed sympathy towards missionaries, but also rejoiced that their relatives had taken an active interest in the missionary work [4].

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1. See M.R.U.P.C., 1899, p.24-27.
2. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1914, p.255.
3. For instance, Lord Dufferin, Viceroy of India, said in 1888 that vesting power in Indians would be "to hand over India to an irresponsible and un-Christian oligarchy ..."
   C.S.H.F.M.R., 1889, p.3.
4. A government officer said in 1894 that it was at the request of his brother-in-law that the Church of Scotland had started a mission station at Sialkot, and added: "Again it is recorded at my father's tablet in our Church at home that he was the 'friend of all missionaries'".
   C.S.H.F.M.R. 1895, p.194.

Many were the ways in which the government officials helped the missionaries. Sir H. J. S. Cotton, Chief Secretary to the government of Bengal wrote in 1885[1]:

> The government is open to reproach for using its power unduly to advance Christianity when it supports bishops, arch-deacons and a considerable staff of Anglican and Presbyterian Chaplains out of revenues almost wholly raised from Hindoos and Mohammedans. It cannot be denied also that converts enjoy a somewhat excessive share of official patronage and that the Senates of the Universities which are composed of Fellows appointed exclusively by government, are filled with Protestant missionaries and clergy.

It was in the field of education where the missionaries received the substantial help from the government. The Education Despatch of 1854 had for the first time provided grants to the missionary institutions stating that "every honest educational agency, whether religious or not, should be encouraged to the utmost"[2].

The Rev. Dr. Ewing, Vice Chancellor of Punjab University, in 1911, said about the High Schools and Colleges that the government grants[3],

> have made it possible for those responsible for their maintenance to provide, in a degree otherwise unattainable, for the efficiency of the purely educational machinery without which the fundamental purpose for which they were established and are maintained must have largely failed of realisation.

But the educational grants to the mission institutions had been questioned by some Britons. In 1857-58, Lord Ellenborough, President of the Board of Control had criticised/ ——————————

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1. H.J.S. Cotton. New India or India in transition, p.153-54
2. Quoted in Cambridge History of the British Empire, Vol. V, p.118.
3. Yearbook of missions in India, 1912, p. 278

giving grants to missionary institutions. He said, inter alia [1]:

> I must express my doubt whether to aid by government funds the imparting even of purely secular education in a missionary school is consistent with the promises so often made to the people, and till now so unscrupulously kept of perfect neutrality in matters of religion ... we thus indirectly support where we profess to repudiate and practically abandon the neutrality to which we have at all times pledged ourselves to adhere.

He further opined that it was due to the government grants that "the missionary is enabled to keep the school at all, which he only designs for other, and those proselytising purposes" [2].

And on a later occasion, in 1928, another Briton wrote to ask [3]:

> Why should Hindus and Muslims, who together form the vast majority of the population of India and also provide with her revenues, give these revenues in support of a Christian College where Christian religious instructions are compulsory. If in England, say the Woking mosque proposed to start a Muslim school where the teaching of Mohammedanism was compulsory, would the British government give it a grant in aid?

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1. Report of the Director of Public Instructions, Bombay, 1857-58, p.10-11; Quoted in S. Nurullah and J.P. Naik. Op. cit. p.241.
2. Ibid.
3. R.S. Wilson. Op. cit. p.142-43.

In many remote, particularly the areas inhabited by aboriginal tribes, the work of elementary education was entirely vested in the hands of the missionaries. Almost in all such schools the entire cost, including the salaries of the teachers, was borne by the government [1]. As already evidenced, (supra p.192) these were largely used as evangelistic agencies. Dr. Robinson, an Anglican missionary historian, wrote in 1915 [2]:

> In the provinces of Chota Nagpur [an aboriginal tribe area] which is chiefly inhabited by races that have not embraced Hinduism, the government has offered to place the whole school system of the province under the direction of the three missionary societies which are at work there ... the Society for the Propagation of Gospel, the Roman Catholic Mission, and the German Gossner Mission ... Here and in many other parts of India an unlimited opportunity is offered to the representatives of Christian missionary societies to exercise a decisive influence upon the whole moral and religious future of its people.

Again, in some parts of the country government-managed schools were transferred to missionary societies, and on such occasions missionaries felt elated to

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1. See Macdonald. Story of the Santals. p.54; F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.9; F.C.S. Proceedings, 1882, Appendix VIII, p.27; C.S.M.F.M.R. 1889, p.161; Encyclopaedia of Missions, p.300.
2. C.H. Robinson. Op. cit. p.128.

remark that "Christian School books were substituted for the secular ones hitherto in use ..."[1]. The active association of government officials with the functions and new projects connected with missionary educational institutions gave the missionary institutions a special prominence and popularity[2].

In the medical field also, the help of government officials' was significant. The missionaries received large grants for the construction of the hospitals and dispensaries in several parts of India, and also sometimes the recurring cost of these institutions[3]. The "Mission to Lepers" (founded by a Scots missionary) also received "liberal" help from the government for maintaining leper asylums[4].

In giving grants to missionary hospitals, at least one official was more than generous. In 1904, Sir Andrew

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1. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1886, Appendix VIII, p. 40. See also John Robson. Op.cit. p. 65.
2. See C.S.H.F.M.R. 1892, p. 659; L. & W. 1910, p. 59; M.R.U.F.C.S. 1913, p. 77; Murray College Magazine, (Jubilee Number): 1939, p. 6; Hewat. Op.cit. p. 48.
3. See Alex Tomory. Story ... Op.cit. p. 55; N.L.S. Mss. No. 7825, p. 175; M.R.U.F.C.S. 1904, p. 415 and 1906, p. 235.
4. Census of India, 1911, p. 356.

Fraser, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, gave a grant of Rs. 20,500 for the medical work of the Free Church mission at Kalna without the missionaries' even asking for as much[1]. The medical missionary at that station himself expressed surprise at this offer and wrote to the secretary of the Foreign Missions in his flabbergasted reaction: "I felt quite awed by the wonderful offer, and simply replied thanking him ... It makes me feel very deeply amazed, and unable to say anything"[2]. It might be added, however, that before offering this grant, Sir Andrew had once visited the mission hospital and asked the missionary if Rs. 500 would be sufficient for his requirements, to which the missionary had replied that that amount would be of "very considerable help"[3].

Several Government officials helped the missionaries

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7840, p. 162. See also p. 139.
2. IBID. p. 150-51.
3. IBID. p. 138.

in providing jobs for the converts [1]. Railways were an important Department of the government where many converts received employment. Dr. Saise (?), manager of East India Railway in Giridih, Bihar, not only employed some Santal converts of the Free Church mission, but also "fitted up a building as a Church" and allowed the missionaries to call meetings of the converts in his home [2]. A missionary, Angus Macphail, when in 1883 desired to resign from the missionary work but wished to do some other work in India, wrote to the secretary of the Foreign Missions Committee of the Free Church to use his influence with Sir Charles Aitchison, Lieutenant Governor of Punjab to get him some suitable job [3].

Some government officials suggested suitable sites to the missionaries where they could gather large number of converts with little effort. Dr. W.W. Hunter, Chief editor of the Imperial Gazeteer of India, suggested to the missionaries to concentrate their work on lower

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1. L.&W. 1915, p.57 and 345-46.
2. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7843, p.76-77.
3. See N.L.S. Mss. No. 7833, p.132 "Your influence with C. Aitchison would, I am certain, be of some avail, if you wd. be willing to use it for me".

castes and aboriginal tribes if they wished a large numerical success [1]. The Chamba mission of the Church of Scotland had been started at the instructions of Mrs. Prinsep, wife of the Settlement Commissioner in that State in 1863 [2]. Similarly, in the starting of Bhandara mission, the Free Church was helped by European government officials [3].

Sometimes the British "Residents" introduced the missionaries to the kings, princes and other dignitaries of the Indian States, who were later approached by the missionaries for starting the mission stations at times on the pretext of starting secular institutions [4]. Sometimes, the government officials even helped the missionaries against the desires of the princely states. For instance, the Raja of Sikkim did not permit missionary activity in his territory until 1887, but in 1888 when he clashed with Tibet and sought the British government's tutelage, the British officials

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1. See Report of the Third Decennial Missionary Conference, 1892-93. Bombay, p.28; C.S.H.F.M.R. 1892, p.562.
2. See E.G.K. Hewat. Op. cit. p.117; L.&W. 1908, p.178.
3. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7833, p.183.
4. "The work will go on in Jamoo and the poor will be heirs of salvation long before the Maharaja on his throne is sensible that any movement is taking place". C.S.H.F.M.R. 1890, p.587-88. See also M.R.U.P.C. 1897, p.159; Report of the World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh, 1911, vol. 7, p.31.

in the charge of State's administration soon allowed free missionary activity [1].

Several government officials used to preside and take part in the missionary conferences and meetings. The Second Decennial Missionary Conference held in Calcutta, in 1882-3, was presided over by Sir Henry Ramsay, District Commissioner of Kumaon [2], while a "public missionary meeting" held after the conclusion of the above conference was presided over by Hon. Rivers Thompson, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal [3]. Also a government official taught Christianity in missionary schools [4], while another presided over the meetings addressed by the missionaries during their rural evangelistic tours [5].

Some government officials gave leases of lands for various missionary purposes at a nominal rent or

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1. See R.W. Weir. Op. cit. p.103.
2. Report of the ... op. cit. p. XIII.
3. Ibid. p.XIV.
4. F.C.S. Proceedings, Appendix VIII, 1882, p.36. "During the monsoon the Collector of the District taught the Pilgrim's Progress to our more advanced students, and sometime some others came".
5. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7828, p.9.

cost [1], while others allowed the use of government bungalows to the missionaries when the officers were on long leave [2]. A Deputy Commissioner in Rajputana allowed the use of government tents for the annual fair of mission converts, while the municipal commissioner and the Public Works Department provided special facilities to the missionaries for the same [3].

Offering official patronage to the missionary work by remaining present during the baptism ceremony of the converts [4], eulogising the lowest class of converts and comparing their character with the highest District officials [5], associating themselves to raise the funds for special missionary projects [6], constructing new wells for the converts of the missions [7], allowing

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1. See C.W. Crawford. Op. cit. p.74; G. Pittendrigh. Op. cit. p.81; E.G.K. Hewat. Op. cit. p.94; N.L.S. Mss. No. 7827, p.171; 7830, p.154; 7831, p.55.
2. "Mr. and Mrs. Douglas intend to leave for Bhandara on Friday the 12th and will occupy the Deputy Commissioner's house till their own is ready for occupation".
   N.L.S. Mss. No. 7833, p.201; See also N.L.S. Mss. No. 7822, p.76.
3. "We had street lamps galore from the municipality, zinc water-barrels from the Public Works Department and most other things we could lay our hands on".
   M.R.U.F.C.S. 1911, p.100.
4. See C.S.M.F.M.R. 1880, p.79; L. & W. 1914, p.158.
5. L. & W. 1913, p.156.
6. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1910, p.22.
7. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7832, p.21.

the use of government owned premises ostensibly for holding Services for Christian staff but really for providing missionary access to non-Christian staff [1], offering services of government staff to the missionaries for taking photographs of the mission Churches [2], getting important new government projects inaugurated through Bishops instead of Indian pundits [3], enthusiastically advocating the missionary work during their retirement [4], were some of the means by which important and not-so-important British officials in India rendered their help to the missionary enterprise.

Several missionaries have agreed and sometimes expressed gratitudes for the large help of the government officials. A missionary maintained that "Indirect help has been largely given by many"officials [5]. Rev. J.M. Macphail of the Free Church wrote that "we should be grateful for the help our missions have received from

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1. John Robson. Op. cit. p.82.
2. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7828, p.114.
3. L. & W. 1912, p.254.
4. See Anon. Are foreign missionaries doing any good? p.46; M.R.U.F.C.S. 1910, p.350, 351.
5. F. Barclay. Op. cit. p.81.

Christian officials and merchants and others abroad ..." [1]. According to Professor Latourette many government officials in their individual capacity helped the missionary enterprise [2]. The World Missionary Conference meeting in Edinburgh, in 1910, stated as follows about the religious attitude of the British government in India:

> Considering that the ultimate control is in the hands of a country which is professedly Christian and the actual administration is in the hands of men of the same faith, the principle of religious neutrality may seem to be throwing away of advantage to which the faith of the ruling race is entitled .... [3].

Also, a missionary rejoiced to say, in 1909, that such a "closer co-operation between the Church and the State could hardly exist in a Christian land on terms fair and honourable to both" [4].

While generally the government officials came forward of their own accord to help the missionaries,

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1. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1913, p.393.
2. See K.S. Latourette. Christianity ... Op. cit. vol. III, p.415; See also Latourette's article on "Christian Missions" in the Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, vol. 9-10, p.543.
3. Report of the World Missionary Conference, vol. 7, p.24.
4. L. & W. 1910, p.189.

sometimes the missionaries by their tactics induced them to take interest in the mission work. A clever means was to persuade the officials to be an "elder" of the Church. And once an official became an "elder", he was almost obliged to help the missionary cause [1]. Another missionary strategy seems to hunt out the new officials. The newly arrived officials were generally of helpful inclinations. The missionaries seem to have taken proper advantage of the officials' leanings [2]. It is significant to note that a large number of retired government officials actively associated themselves with the first World Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh in 1910. Some of the officers who attended the above conference revealed their zeal by remarking that during their working life, in India,

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1. See M.R.U.F.C.S. 1907, p.112.
2. "The minister of one of our Churches in India says of a young officer who in his first year of service has become an elder in the Church: (he would not wish to have attention called to him more directly)..." L. & W. 1909, p.11.
   Similarly, the Accountant General of the Madras Presidency, in the words of a United Free Church missionary in 1905, was "an acquisition". N.L.S. Mss. No. 7849, p.166.

they were Christian first and administrators after: :wards [1].

Some of the missionary work was also carried out by Scottish Chaplains. As stated earlier, since 1813 parliament had provided for the establishment of Chaplaincies among Scotsmen and Scottish soldiers in India. In 1813, three Chaplaincies had been established in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, which had increased to 7 in 1859 and 13 in 1880 [2]. By 1913, many large cities like Allahabad, Banglore, Bombay, Cawnpore, Calcutta, Karachi, Lahore, Madras, Meerut, Poona, Quetta, Rawalpindi, Simla and Secunderabad had a Chaplain each [3]. In the establishment of Chaplaincies, the Church of Scotland had reckoned an "opportunity ... favourable to the progress of Christianity in the East" [4], and accordingly the Chaplains did not confine their duties in merely performing baptismal, marriage, and funeral rites among Scotsmen in India, but also extended their activities to preach their faith among indigenous

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1. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1910, p.350, 351.
2. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1881, p.579.
3. L. & W. 1913, p.40.
4. Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae (published by the Church of Scotland), vol. 7, p.568.

inhabitants. A lady missionary maintained that many "were not content with a narrow interpretation of a Chaplain's duties, but they ardently desired to make Christianity known to all whom they came in contact" [1]. A Scottish chaplain, who ministered to Scots workmen in the jute mills in Calcutta referred to the effect of his ministry on the Indian workmen as follows [2]:

> ... the work in the jute mills on the Hughli [river] is in the first instance addressed to 500 or 600 Scottish mechanics; but each one of them is closely watched, day by day, by 1,000 Indian workers whom he supervises, and thus the ministry to 500,000 Indians.

Also in places like Jalna where mission stations had been started as a result of the interest shown by the soldiers, the later were perhaps influenced by their contacts with Chaplains.

Many British merchants, estate managers and others who regarded it their duty to promote the cause of Christianity were another category of workers who proved of ample assistance to the missionaries [3].

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1. K.N. Brockway. Op. cit. p.37.
2. L. & W. 1913, p.41.
3. The financial assistance provided by British merchants has been discussed separately in the chapter on "Missionary organisation and finance".

The owners of tea plantations in Darjeeling, Kalimpong, and Sylhet in eastern India freely allowed the mission catechists to work among the Indian coolie labour, and sometimes paid their salaries as well[1]. They also helped the educational work of the missions by providing finance and lending premises for starting schools. In 1905, an estate manager near Sylhet gave the Free Church a plot of 10 acres of land for the construction of an agricultural-cum-industrial centre[2], while the description of another Scotsman who helped the missionaries of the Santal mission has been given as follows:

> A friend from Campbeltown, Mr. Malville MacFadyen is in the charge of the (Mica) factory and he not only entertained us royally but gave us every facility for doing evangelistic work among thousands of people, Santals and others employed in the mines, factories and offices[3].

The British residents helped the missionaries also in some other way. They influenced their domestic servants and also allowed the missionaries to influence

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1. See Reports on the Schemes of the C. of S., 1908, p.124
2. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7844, p.228-29
3. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7843, p.310

them to adopt Christianity. In a country where human labour was cheap even the ordinary Briton who lived a simple life in his home had some servants in India. In Calcutta a separate school, called Allan Vernacular School, was started for educating and influencing the sons and daughters of domestic servants by an "elder" of the Church of Scotland in 1871 [1].

Several English dailies, which were owned by Britons during the period of this study, seem to have publicised and encouraged missionary activity on several occasions. The correspondence in the National Library of Scotland shows that a missionary Rev. Adam Andrew of the Free Church often wrote in Madras Mail, while The Times of India, the paper most widely read in Western India (published from Bombay), offered a mild reproach to the Free Church when its proselytising efforts seem to have receded in 1888 [2].

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1. See C.S.H.F.M.R. 1881, p.337; F.C.S. Proceedings, 1883, Appendix VIII, p.42; C.S.H.F.M.R. 1891, p.264.
2. See Anon. Facts and fancies ... Op. cit. p.17-18; About The Times of India editorial see The Times dt. 7.5.1888, p.7, Col. 5.

(iv) CONSOLIDATION of MISSION WORK IN INDIA

The growth of the Church specially among the ignorant and the illiterate brought for the missionaries the problems of proper guidance and supervision. The increase in the number of the converts gained, by the Scottish missions, during the period of this study, was indeed very large. While in the period of nearly fifty years preceding this study the people converted numbered 3359[1], by the beginning of 1914, they swelled to 32,141, as will be seen on p. 569 Before discussing the consolidating work of the missionaries, a critical evaluation of the above figures and their comparison with other Protestant missions would be worthwhile. The figures shown on p. 569 require some explanations. As the annual reports of the Free Church up to 1900 did not give the figures of the total Christian community, these figures have been obtained by totalling the number of "baptised adherents" and "communicants" - a method followed in the Church of Scotland annual reports. After 1900, the United Free Church reports do give the figures of "total Christian Community". The shortfall, in the figures, when it is substantial, has been accounted for in the mission reports. Thus, the fall in Jalna between 1889 and 1894

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1. See p. 23

has been attributed to the carelessness of the Indian minister who was in the sole charge of that mission. When he died, in 1892, and the European missionary prepared a new baptisimal register, the Christian community actually numbered 841[1]. The figures for 1894 do not include the number of "baptized adherents" (not shown in the annual report), and hence the number being much less than 841.

The decrease in the Church of Scotland figures in Madras, in 1913, was attributed to the following reasons: (i) "partly to the fact that several Christian families left the district during the year, and partly to the fact that, in view of the extra pressure laid upon the missionary in connection with language study and other matters referred above, he was unable to devote so much time to village work as he would have wished"[2]; (ii) a missionary died in 1912 and another in 1913; the Church of Scotland being unable to get any missionary, transferred the entire work in Sholinghur district of its Arkonam mission to the Presbyterian Church of New South Wales[3].

Certain observations must be made on the large increase in the Scottish missions. Firstly, the increase was much larger in the Church of Scotland than in the Free Church; more than

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1. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1892, Appendix VIII, p. 49.
2. Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1912, p. 107 (A new missionary was appointed in Arkonam mission in 1912, when a missionary after 30 years' service had retired).
3. Reports on the schemes of the C. of S., 1913, p. 12.

twenty times in the former but only more than thrice in the latter, between 1881 and 1913. Secondly, the rate of increase was larger in the later period of this study. Thirdly, and to repeat it, the work was largely successful among the lowest castes of Jalna and Madras in the Free Church, aboriginal tribes of Eastern Himalayas and Santal Parganas in the Church of Scotland and the Free Church respectively, and among the centres of mass movements in Punjab. Fourthly, the larger increase in Rajputana was not as much due to the low castes and tribes as due to the maintenance of orphanages. The orphanages maintained by the United Free Church in Rajputana had 1608 boys in 1903 and 937 girls in 1904[1], and according to Richter, in the orphanages, "The children are generally baptised on their admittance"[2]. Fifthly, the growing and a strong feeling of nationalism - mainly a consequence of the partition of Bengal in 1905, Russo-Japanese war of 1904 and the Swadeshi movement - does not seem to have affected the overall increase of Protestant Christianity during the later period of this study as will be seen in the following comparative figures[3]:

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1. Hewat. Op.cit. p. 137.
2. Richter. Op.cit. p.410; About orphans, the annual report of the United Free Church, 1907, said: "Nearly all have been baptized and many have become members of the Hindi or the Marathi Church". U.F.C.S. Proceedings, 1908, Appendix V, p. 9.
3. See Richter. Op.cit. p. 408 for figures up to 1901 and Yearbook of Missions in India, 1912, p. 178 for figures for 1911. For last column see Census of India, 1911, p. 132.

Year	No. of Indian Protestants	% Increase	% Increase in Christianity
1881	417372	-	
1891	559661	34 Approx.	33.9
1901	854867	53 Approx.	30.8
1911	1617617	90 Approx.	34.2

But at the same time, the Census of India, 1911, stated that "the rising national spirit in India manifests itself in hostility to the missionaries with determined efforts to impede their progress"[1]. Later, however, this rapid increase was largely checked when the Protestant Christianity increased only to 1,900,000 i.e. about 18% in the decade, 1911-21[2]. Sixthly, a socio-religious movement like Arya Samaj until the period of this study does not seem to have made any effective dent in preventing the movement towards Christianity among the lower castes, notwithstanding the statement to the contrary in the Census of India, 1911, (p. 139). Although one does come across the references of Arya Samaj's opposition to missionary work in Punjab where it was the strongest, yet in that very province the Protestant missions witnessed an increase of 176% (next only to Assam and East Bengal) between 1901 and 1911, from 71,864 to 198,106[3].

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1. Census of India, 1911, vol.1, pt.1, p. 139.
2. Latourette. Christianity ... op.cit. Vol. V, p. 313. According to 1921 census, Christianity increased by 22.6% in 1911-21. See P.P. 1923; Vol. 18: Cmd. 2004, p. 2.
3. Yearbook of Missions in India, 1912, p. 671. (Figures presumably include Kashmir as they are not shown separately).

The growth of Protestant Christianity in Punjab was also checked later, and in 1924 Indian Protestants in that province (including Kashmir) numbered, 220,236.[1]

It is quite conceivable, that the large and the small increase in conversions might not have much, or indeed anything, to do with other forces affecting the country. During the period of this study particularly, conversions were largely due to "mass movements". In fact, it was estimated in 1931 that between 75% to 95% of the Protestant conversions in several provinces and 80% in all-India were due to "mass movements"[2]. Richter wondered "how these movements come to a standstill almost as suddenly as they begin"[3], and Dr. Pickett who made a considerably detailed study of the "mass movements" on behalf of the International Missionary Council, in 1931, did not provide very satisfactory answers to the above question. According to him the "Mass movements may cease to move or may move with extreme slowness after the desire to be recognised as Christians is satisfied". He suggested that once the converts were recognised as Christians their "urge to climb" often does not proceed[4], and this apparently

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1. International Missionary Council. World Missionary Atlas (1926 ed.) p. 105.
3. Richter. Op.cit. p. 416.
2. J.W. Pickett. Christian mass movements in India, p. 314-5.
4. Ibid. p. 336-7.

caused, according to him, cessation or slowness of the "mass movements". He also suggested breaking of relations with their earlier compatriots by the converts in "mass movements" as another cause for the above phenomenon[1]. It is significant to note that Pickett did not consider national movements and other forces affecting the country being responsible for the lesser increase in Protestant Christianity in the two decades between 1911 and 1931. Indeed, he considered 1933 (the publication date of his book), when political agitations had become an important part of the Indian life, as the ripe time for increasing the activity of the "mass movements"[2]. He said: "The opportunity presented by mass movements were probably never before so large as they are now"[3]. He mentioned the "increasing strength" of the Indian Churches, increasing co-operation and approach towards unity among the missionary societies, and the responsible attitude on the Indian Christians towards political questions as some of the causes of his

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid. p.343 Pickett however does not provide an answer to two other important questions. Firstly, why did the "mass movements" attract some castes but not others on the same social and economic level, despite other things (including missionary work) being more or less on the same footing and pattern; secondly, he does not consider changes in the pattern of mass movements during the period of this study and thereafter.
3. Ibid.

belief.[1]

How did the increase in the number of converts in the Scottish Churches compare with the general increase in the Protestant Churches in India? A comparison would show that the former did better than the other Protestant missions during the period of this study. Thus, while between 1881 and 1911, the Protestant converts in India increased from 417,372 to 1,617,617[2] (about four times), the Scottish Churches (taken together), between 1881 and 1909, increased from 3359[3] to 24,853[4] (i.e. over seven times).

A comparison of the Scottish mission converts in India and other parts of the world would also be interesting. A comparison of the missions of the United Free Church (whose missions were more widely spread) shows that by 1914, its total converts in Africa and Jamaica numbered five times more to the total of India and China.[5] However, the comparison of Indian missions of that Church with those of China, and a mission in Aden would be more significant. That Church was in fact more "successful"

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1. Ibid. p. 343-4.
2. Yearbook of missions in India, 1912, p. 178-79.
3. See p. 23
4. See p. 569
5. U.F.C.S. Proceedings, 1914, Appendix II (tabulated statistics attached: no page number given)

in China than in India. Thus, while after about seventy years' of effort (1843 onwards) and with a total missionary staff of 212 (including missionaries' wives) in 1914, Christian community of the United Free Church numbered 12,545 in India, in that year in China, in 39 years of effort (1st missions was started in 1875) and with a missionary staff of 62 (including missionaries' wives), the Christian Community of that Church numbered 16,815[1]. As against this, the results in Aden (where the work was among Mohammedans) were very poor. Although the mission work had been started in 1886, and in 1914 there was a missionary staff of five, the Christian community in that year is shown as nil[2].

Coming back to the consolidating work of the Scottish missions in India, it must be emphasised that the consolidating work required persistent efforts and great patience. In 1882, a Free Church missionary at Jalna, where the mission had been started in 1855, complained

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid. The annual report for 1909 shows a Christian community of 5, and so also the annual report of 1910.

that the converts were "not far advanced in truth" and "not far removed from heathendom" [1], and ten years later the same missionary once again wrote that as compared to their non-Christian neighbours, the converts were "lazy, ungrateful, thriftless, discontented people expecting the mission to do everything for them and ready to revolt against all authority" [2]. In the Santal mission, after thirty nine years of ceaseless effort, the Free Church up to 1908 could not find a single person who could be ordained as a minister [3]. The situation was practically the same at many other mission stations [4].

While the position with regard to the converts was far from satisfactory, it would not be true to say that missionaries did not make efforts to improve them. In fact, it is quite plain that the missionaries not only made efforts to improve the converts' lot, but realised that ultimately it would be the responsibility of the converts to look after the Church's work in India, and therefore they

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7829, p.282.
2. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7830, p.87-88.
3. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1908, p.100.
4. See C.S.M.F.M.R. 1879, p.499; 1890, p.571; 1897, p.38; F.C.S. Monthly, 1897, p.287; H.F.L. Taylor. Op.cit. p.87

desired to build up a sound organisational machinery and prepare the Indian leadership for the inevitable task[1].

The missionaries sought to achieve their object of strengthening the converts' faith through their various activities. It was of primary importance that the convert's attachment with the new faith should be strong, and to accomplish this, the missionaries brought together on several occasions the isolated and widely scattered converts. Periodical and annual gatherings of the mission converts was an important feature of missionary organisation in this respect. On such occasions, the people came from distant places and lived together for some days. As the people came from far-off places and different environments, such gatherings gave them a sense of unity, encouragement, and a feeling that they were not few and far-between as they sometimes thought themselves to be. These gatherings, according to a Free Church missionary of Madras,

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1. See M.R.U.F.C.S. 1908, p.100; Report on the Schemes of the C. of S., 1879, p. 111; Report of the centenary conference ... London, 1888, II, p. 362-3

achieved three purposes. Firstly, they helped to raise the "tone" of "native workers and make them more devoted than ever". Secondly, these gatherings acted as a tonic for many of those "stationed in lonely places" and who had "become cold in their spiritual life". Thirdly, "Such meetings encourage(d) them more than words can" [1].

Interesting programmes were arranged during such gatherings. Communal kitchens were put up, dinners were served, a variety of sports and entertainments arranged and prizes distributed. Other activities included: a display of large variety of publicity material, discourses and discussions on several topics such as social well-being of the converts, temperance activities, problems like debt which were faced by most converts, economic problems like industry and farming, organisational problems like "development of native church", ethical questions like "duty of husband and wife", "duty of parents and children", "duty of sisters and brothers", "Development of spiritual life", "acquisition and use of money", "masters and servants", and

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No.7849, p.74-75 See also: D.G. Manuel. Op.cit. p.203; F.C.S. Proceedings, 1897, Appendix VIII, p.27; R.W. Weir. Op.cit. p.97; N.L.S. Mss. 7832, p.88.

religious questions like "the Holy Spirit", "fellow workers with Christ" and so forth[1]. Religious services formed a part of the gatherings and the evening services at times continued until the early morning[2]! Help with railway fares was given to those who came from longer distances and cooked food was served at a fixed cost. Those who wished to cook their meals separately, wood was provided to them at half the cost[3].

In addition to periodical gatherings, conferences were held in big cities, and "to show that Christians are a strong and important body", these were preceded by "processions with banners and music". The processions usually met at the place of the conferences, which discussed the problems similar to those of the periodical gatherings[4]. At some place missionaries also conducted annual evangelistic campaigns when people were preached and the

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1. See N.L.S. Mss. 7830, p.137 and 7836, p.86; E.G.K. Mowat. Op.cit. p.121; George Carstairs. Op.cit. p.245; Scottish Universities' Mission Report, 1892, p.9; C.S.H.F.M.R. 1889, p.57 and 1895, p.99; L. and W. 1912, p.93 and 284 and 1913, p.153; M.R.U.F.C.S. 1902, p.106. Report on the schemes of U. of S., 1908, p.119.
2. N.L.S. Mss. No.7831, p.94.
3. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1911, p.100. It is not clear why separate arrangements for cooking were made. Possible explanations are, firstly, that since the food was cooked by Banya and Bhatyara castes, Christians of first generation coming from other castes might have been prejudiced for eating the food prepared by other castes; secondly, separate arrangements for cooking food were made just because food cooked on the occasion did not meet some members' taste.
4. N.L.S. Mss. 7840, p.190-92.

Gospels were sold. Some of the converts also participated in these campaigns [1].

Taking the converts and particularly the children out for picnics formed another aspect of consolidation. These picnics were generally social and recreational, but during leisure hours hymns were sung and prayers were made [2].

Publicity about the converts and mission activities formed an important aspect of strengthening the Church. A larger number of bulletins and periodicals were published at many mission stations which chronicled such events ~~like~~ as new members added in the Church; new projects viz. a school, a hospital, a dispensary, a new mission station etc. started by the Church; births, baptisms, marriages and deaths of communicants; activities of abstinence societies, co-operative societies, and such other information which excited their interest about the new brotherhood or the "Christian Caste" as many termed it [3]. In 1893, the missionaries of the Church of Scotland meeting in Bombay resolved to start

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1. A. Macleash. Frontier people of India, p.51.
2. George Carstairs. Op.cit. p.125-26; Scottish Universities' Mission Report, 1895, p.18.
3. See C.S.H.F.M.R. 1880, p.591; K.S. Latourette. Expansion... Op.cit. vol.VI p.205. Reports on the schemes of the C. of S., 1879, p.11 and 1890, p.77

a quarterly magazine entitled "St. Andrew" in which the missionaries of various stations were to describe their trials and tribulations and their gains and achievements so as to profit from one-another's experience [1].

An important feature of consolidating the Indian Church was the formation of new villages entirely inhabited by the mission converts. Forming of new villages generally did not cost much, and once they were formed, they offered manifold advantages. The land could usually be easily obtained on very liberal terms from the government because of missionaries' powerful influence.[2] The construction of the houses was generally of mud which was often locally available in plenty and also the labour was cheap. The only expensive items were providing the people with wells, Churches, and sometimes means of livelihood. As regards the advantages they offered, firstly, the new villages brought the scattered converts together at one place and gave them some sense of unity. At some places the converts were scattered in ones and twos before they were grouped together. In the twenty seven villages of Jalna mission, in 1908, for

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1. Handbook of Church of Scotland for India and Ceylon, 1899, p.23.
2. See N.L.S. MSs. 7827, p.71, 7830, p.154, 7831, p.55; Hevat. On.cit. p. 94; C.W. Crawford. On.cit. p. 74; G. Pittendrigh. On.cit. p.51

instance, the number of converts in each village varied between one to ten [1]. Secondly, it made it easy for the missionary to supervise and minister them. Thirdly, there was less risk of their slipping back to the old faith, as a missionary remarked in 1884: "the Christians are too weak individually to stand alone in the midst of the heathen" [2]. Fourthly, such villages made easy for a pariah or a Church convert, often the victims of social boycott, to mix freely in the small gathering of their new fellowship [3]. Fifthly, the comparative prosperous conditions in the new settlements, because of the money spent by the missionaries, attracted the attention of their non-Christian neighbours who were sometimes induced to join the missionary's faith [4].

The "Christian villages" were formed at many stations. "Bethel" was perhaps the first such village which was formed in 1869, three miles from the city of Jalna. In 1881, the Free Church formed a village at a place called Jamdeena in

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1. N.L.S. Mss. 7832, p.201.
2. N.L.S. Mss. 7841, p.271.
3. J.M. Macphail. Story ... Op.cit. p.69.
4. Ibid. p.55; F.C.S. Proceedings, 1882, Appendix VIII, p.27.

its Santal mission where four families were settled. Three out of the four families received in the first year, farm-land, oxen, and sufficient money to support themselves until the first crop was reaped; the fourth family received only a pair of oxen. Money paid was in the form of loan and bore 4½% interest [1], but the loans taken were never paid back [2]. In 1886, another new village of Baritandi was formed by Rev. William Stevenson in the Santal Mission on the same basis [3].

In Madras presidency, the Free Church formed three new villages. In 1891, Rev. Adam Andrew formed the village settlement of Andreyapuram (meaning "city of Andrew") at a distance of six miles from the city of Chingleput, which contained sixty people in its first year [4]. In 1893, another village called Melrosepuram, named after a mission supporter Mrs. Melrose, was formed on 72 acres of land. It settled 53 catechumen, contained a Church and a School where agricultural and industrial

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1. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1882, Appendix VIII, p.27; N.L.S. Mss. No. 7841, p.54.
2. J.M. Macphail. Story ... Op.cit. p.69.
3. N.L.S. Mss. 7844, p.68.
4. G. Pittendrigh. Op.cit. p.81; E.G.K. Hewat. Op.cit. p.94; F.C.S. Monthly, 1893, p.37.

training was also imparted. The land was received fromthe government on which no tax was to be charged for first five years from 1893-98; from sixth year to 11th year only 2d an acre, and from 12th year onwards a shilling per acre tax was to be charged annually. In addition to the land, the government also gave away several trees whose wood and leaves were utilised by the missionaries for constructing the roofs of the houses [1]. In 1896, the village settlement of "Overtoumpeta" (meaning the city of Overtoun) was formed in Chingleput district. The settlement was named after Lord Overtoun who had financed the entire project [2].

The United Presbyterian Church formed a village settlement of Ashapura (meaning the "city of Hope") near Piploda in Rajputana after the famines of 1899. A large number of orphans were settled at this place (vide supra p. 271). Land was received at a very cheap rate on a lease of twenty years from the Maharaja and the lease was further renewed after the expiry of that period [3].

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1. G. Pittendrigh. Op.cit. p.81; E.C.K. Hewat. Op.cit. p.94; N.L.S. Mss. 7847, p.9.
2. G. Pittendrigh. Op.cit. p.81; E.C.K. Hewat. Op.cit. p.94.
3. See M.R.U.F.C.S. 1911, p.543.

The most important village settlement was that of Youngsonabad formed by the Church of Scotland in 1899. Dr. John Youngson, a missionary of that Church at Sialkot, pursuaded the government authorities in 1899 to employ the mission converts at a construction scheme on the river Chenab in Punjab. The scheme was to continue for several years and thereafter a new town was to come into being. On Youngson's recommendation, the government employed 800 mission converts who formed a new settlement of Youngsonabad (meaning the "Settlement of Youngson"). Though the houses and other amenities such as schools, post-office, and a small garden were provided by the government, yet the initiative had come from the missionaries [1].

An important aspect of mission consolidation was the maintenance of Church discipline. Most of the converts of the first generation did not take baptism seriously; they had therefore to be disciplined, admonished and on very rare occasions temporarily ex-communicated [2]. A major break in Church discipline was in respect of soliciting

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1. See East and West, January, 1905; C.S.H.F.M.R. 1901, p.111; L. & W. 1906, p.275; E.G.K. Hewat. Op.cit. p.119.
2. Unlike some African and West Indian countries like Northern Rhodesia and Jamaica where people were whipped and flogged by missionaries for blackmailing, stealing, drunkenness, adultery etc., there does not seem any evidence of any strict punishment to defaulters of Church discipline in India. See: Robert Rotberg. Christian Missions in

Cont'd.

marriages with non-Christians [1]. In the first instance, the convert was generally warned and allowed to keep his membership of the Church, but if there were many instances, one or two families were temporarily ex-communicated [2]. On some occasions, the missionaries remarried those converts who had sought marriages with non-Christians according to Christian rites. The missionaries also discouraged the practice of bigamy which is said to have prevailed among the Lepchas and the Santals [3].

Another problem which needed disciplining was the tendency of many converts to mix their old ways of worship with the new. It was (and to some extent still is) a practice among some rural Christians to go to a Hindu temple on Saturday and in the Church on Sunday. Among the Christians of the first generation, it was not uncommon to worship Hindu gods and goddeses in times of distress [4].

Northern Rhodesia, 1881-1924. (D. Phil. Thesis, Oxford Univ., 1962) p.287; Mary Reckord. Missionary activity in Jamaica before emancipation, p.206 (foot note) (Ph.D. Thesis, London Univ., 1964).

1. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1896, Appendix, VIII p.45 and 1897, p.44; N.L.S. Mss. No. 7830, p.172, 175 and 7841, p.59.
2. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1885, p.305; N.L.S. Mss. No.7830, p.175.
3. See C.S.H.F.M.R. 1885, p.58; Scottish Universities' Mission Report, 1888, p.4.
4. In 1921, a Census officer speaking about fishermen of Bombay said: "It is well-known that these Christian kolis [fishermen] combine the worship of idols with the worship of Christian Trinity. Figures of Hindu godlings being kept behind the altar and covered with cloth when a priest comes to celebrate mass". Census of India, 1921, p.11.

Again, in some aboriginal tribes, the aborigines after becoming Christians offered sacrifices to the 'God of the Christians' (sic) instead of the spirits as they had hitherto done[1]. The number of converts "excluded" or "suspended" and those "restored", in the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church upto 1900, has been shown on p. 570.

Settling the disputes and quarrels of the converts formed one more aspect of the work of Church consolidation. In this respect, the panchayats or the "General Assembly of villagers", which were already a well-established social institution in India, proved useful to the missionaires. The Chiefs in these assemblies were (and are) elected by the people themselves and once elected, they conducted all business concerning the welfare of the village. The judgement of these traditional peoples' courts in the case of disputes was generally not questioned. The missionaries changed the form of panchayat to suit their convenience. After the "elders" (as the missionaries called the heads of the panchayats) were elected, the missionaries generally ordained them to give them some ceremonial significance[2]. The

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1. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1882, Appendix VIII, p.27.
2. N.L.S. Mss. 7832, p.218.

missionaries themselves also took part in the meetings of the panchayats and contributed greatly in the discussions relating to the Church and its development.

The 'Elders' rendered considerable help to the missionaries in their organisational work. A Free Church missionary said in 1901: 'These elders will render valuable assistance to the European missionary in maintaining discipline in their respective congregations'[1]. The help which the missionaries expected from their Indian 'elders' was perhpas the same which was expected from an 'elder' in Scotland, who was to watch over the spiritual welfare of the people, to admonish, to visit the sick, to assist in the examination of persons seeking admission to the Lord's table etc.[2].

The panchayats discussed problems of persistent drinking, quarrels between husband and wife, financial disputes of the congregation, unapproved betrothals and marriages, prevalence of customs inconsistent with the Christian beliefs, etc. The decision was reached by majority, but since the missionary

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1. Ibid.
2. See United Free Church of Scotland. Practice ... Op.cit. p.9;

who also participated in the panchayat activities was wiser and cleverer than the rest, he had the obvious advantage of influencing decisions [1]. On some occasions problematical questions arose which put the missionary into a quandary. Once the wife of an Indian pastor along with an entire village congregation attended a Hindu religious ceremony. The missionary referred the matter to his senior colleague who suggested that all should be "sessioned" (perhaps hauled before the "session" of "elders"). But the wife of the pastor was dreaded by all including the complainant missionary himself. While agreeing with the suggestion of his senior colleague, the complainant missionary commented laconically: "but who will bell the cat" [2]? On other occasions there were interesting infringements of discipline. For instance, when the mission had been first started among the Santals, the male members of the tribe refused to drink from the same communion cup if the women were allowed to drink before them [3]. There was at least one instance when hardship was

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1. See L. & W. 1915, p.61; C.S.H.F.M.R. 1895, p.311; 1898, p.33, 1900, p.131-2; M.R.U.F.C.S. 1901, p.512; W.S. Hunt. India's outcastes, p.101; J.S. Dennis, Op.cit. vol.III, p.313; F.C.S. Proceedings, 1897, Appendix VIII, p.45.
2. N.L.S. Mss. No.7839, p.45.
3. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7844, p.67.

applied to make the converts pay the rents of Church land on which they had been living for years. This happened at Jalna where the converts who had lived on Church lands for more than fifteen years, when asked to pay the nominal rent in 1894, refused to do so. The missionary therefore had to "exact" rents from them [1]. Functioning under the auspices of the Sialkot mission of the Church of Scotland were "a peacemaking committee for settling the quarrels, a Street Preaching Committee and a Stirring up Committee for visiting village congregations" [2].

The meetings of the panchayat were held every week, a month, or sometimes every quarter - the interval varying according to the importance of the mission station. In Kalimpong mission of the Church of Scotland two panchayat meetings were held at an interval of a week and a month respectivily. The first meeting which was presided over by the important mission agents discussed the less important matters, while the monthly meeting of the panchayat which

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7830, p.103.
2. L. & W. 1908, p.233.

was presided over by the missionary discussed the more important matters [1]. In Jammu, where the mission had been started by the Church of Scotland in 1895, the panchayat meetings in the early twenties were held every quarter[2].

Preparing leaders on whom Church responsibility could rest in the course of time was a hard but very essential task for the missions. It was, indeed, fundamental to the entire work of organisation and consolidation.

Little definite evidence exists to enable us to assess exactly the measures that the missionaries took to create the leadership they required. Two types of leadership were necessary: leadership for the laity and leadership for the clergy - the latter being discussed in the next section. Leadership for the laity consisted in making attempts to produce a core of good, sincere, ethical and intelligent men and women whose ideals the other members of the congregations would follow. This was attempted through High Schools, Colleges, Sunday Schools, Prayer Unions, Y.M.C.A., Christian Endeavour Societies, and similar other agencies intended to raise the social, moral and intellectual standards of the people. Educational institutions particularly proved very useful in this respect.

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1. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1895, p. 312; Handbook of the Church of Scotland for India and Ceylon, 1899, p. 52.
2. A. Macleash. Op. cit., p. 50.

In 1888, Rev. T. Smith, a Free Church missionary, speaking about the rôle of educational institutions in the supply of important mission workers said before the World Missionary Conference, in London, that "not only our own Churches have been supplied from the Calcutta Institution, but we have sent dozens to our American brethren and to others all through the country"[1], while John Youngson, a Church of Scotland missionary, said, in 1895, that "it is from the School that those converts have come who are at this moment our most successful missionaries to their fellow countrymen[2]. An American missionary educationist, whose statement was applicable to Scottish missions as well, said in 1907 that educational institutions were maintained,

> ... for the purpose of training the intellect and developing the whole character and all the powers of, at least the rising generations of Christians, so that they may become fit to hold a high position and exert a powerful influence on their surroundings[3].

Also, a report of the International Missionary Council, which included a Scots missionary, J.H. Maclean, considered the schools as useful for "the training of a community which will be powerful enough to produce its own leaders and advance under their direction"[4].

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1. Report of the Centenary Conference ... London, 1888, II, pp. 362-3.
2. John Youngson, op. cit., p. 198.
3. Henry Huizinga, op. cit., p. 95.
4. International Missionary Council. Village education in India, p. 12.

Although the missions provided large amounts of money for developing the Indian Church, they intended that finances should ultimately come from Indian sources. The practice of giving for religious causes was not new to Indians however poor or wretched they might be[1]. But many converts, it appears, were more interested in taking than in giving[2]. The missionaries sought to curb such tendencies and inculcate in them the spirit of giving.

Before discussing the Scottish missions' work for developing Church finances in India, it will be useful to define the term "self support". From the discussions at the Decennial Missionary Conferences in India, it appears that several missions considered those congregations as self-supporting which provided only the salary of their pastors[3]. An Indian convert of the Church of Scotland mission said at the third Decennial Missionary Conference, in Bombay, in 1892-3, "that a self-supporting congregation is understood to mean, a congregation which found the money required for the support of its pastor"[4]. But, he added, "It were better to include in the conception, the capability of finding within itself, a pastor, and one would add missionaries to be supported"[5].

A part, perhaps significant during the period of this study, of the finances in fact came from the salaries of mission servants. A missionary, discussing the question of financial self-support, pointed out

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1. See Report of the II Decennial Missionary Conference, 1882, p. 269, and III Decennial Missionary Conference, 1892, p. 161.
2. S.K. Datta, op. cit., p. 195; F.C.S. Monthly, 1893, p. 38; C.S.H.F.M.R. 1893, p. 38; S. Sathianadhan, op. cit., p. 16.
3. See Report of the II Decennial ... Op. cit. p. 271, 274, and 278.
4. Report of the III Decennial ... Op. cit., p. 125. 5. Ibid.

at the Second Decennial Missionary Conference in 1882, that "if a large part of the members of a Church are mission employees, the independent basis of that Church is uncertain and somewhat abnormal"[1], and a survey of 1937 remarked that "More than half of the missions point to the very large degree of dependence upon the gifts to the Church of the salaries of Indian assistants in evangelistic work, schools and hospitals, who in turn are dependent upon the mission funds for their livelihood ... one mission group reports that 90 per cent of the local Church contributions come from mission employees"[2].

The Scottish missions took several measures for developing self-support among their converts, but as has been explained on p.514, their ~~average~~ per capita contributions did not increase during the period of this study. The congregational contributions from the Indian members of the Scottish Churches have been shown on p.574. A Church of Scotland missionary, in Darjeeling, said in 1879: "The native Christians are regularly exhorted to contribute according to their means for the support of the mission. Some contribute liberally, giving a tenth part of their income steadily month by month and year by year; others give moderately, while some give nothing"[3]. And a Free Church missionary wrote in 1882[4]:

> We are careful to keep permanently before the people, the Christian principle of giving to the cause of Christ, as being binding upon all ... They seem to think that the few pice [farthings] that they can give can make little difference to those who supply the mission funds. They cannot understand that it is a great privilege to contribute even so little to the cause of Christ.

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1. Report of the II Decennial ... Op. cit., p. 266
2. J.M. Davis, Economic basis of the Church, p. 125.
3. Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1879, p. 159.
4. N.L.S. MSS. 7841, p. 10. See also F.C.S. Proceedings, 1886, Appendix VIII, p. 68.

Also, a Free Church report of 1883 stated inter alia: "that as far as possible these pastors be supported by the contributions of the people whom they minister". The report further added that "the salary guaranteed in each particular case should be regulated by the amount of support which the congregation may be able to contribute" [1]. The Free Church, at least, appeared to be very keen to see that Indian Churches should become self-supporting at the earliest.

An important principle regarding the payment of salaries to Indian pastors in the Free Church was that the salaries of the pastors should supplement the contributions raised from the congregations rather than support them fully. The Free Church report of 1888 had suggested that part of salaries of the pastors should be raised from their congregations [2]. On several occasions that Church reduced the salary of its pastors and asked them to raise the amount reduced from the congregations [3].

To raise the money on some systematic basis, the assistance of the "Deacons' Courts" and the "Council of

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1. Quoted in F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.106.
2. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.76.
3. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7824, p.16.

Elders", formed among the converts, was obtained [1]. Sometimes fixed monthly sums were also raised which were in addition to the amount received from the communicants during Sunday Services [2]. It is also observed that comparatively more contributions were raised as time passed [3]. By 1905, the contributions in the Jalna Mission had been organised to an extent that the funds raised were enough to support two head catechists who respectively looked after the work of two congregations into which that mission station was bisected [4]. In the village of Youngsonabad, formed in 1899, the pastor by 1906 was wholly supported by the congregation [5]. The members of the Church also sometimes contributed on special occasions when asked. The communicants of Jalna mission of the Free Church in 1901 contributed their mite to the fund started for helping the families of those missionaries who were

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No.7831, p.219; L. & W. 1908, p.233.
2. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7829, p.169.
3. For instance the Free Church's income of £509 from Indian converts of the Mission in 1878-79 had risen to £2,112 in 1887-88.
   Vide. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1888, Appendix viii, p.11.
4. N.L.S. Mss. No.7832, p.3-4 No evidence exists about the qualifications and salaries of the two workers.
5. L. & W. 1906, p.275.

killed during Boxer rebellion in China in the previous year[1], and in 1907, the same mission raised a sum of £2 for "Churches and manses for our evicted Highland congregations and ministers"[2].

The Church of Scotland, during later years of this study, appointed a sub-committee for "native self support" whose main function was to keep contacts with the missionaries and to advice them on the measures for increasing the self support among whom they worked. Sometimes the Committee made a severe criticism if, without reasons, no adequate increase in the self-support was observed[3].

The Church of Scotland had only one and the United Free Church had eleven self supporting Churches by 1911[4]. Of the total 6308 organised Protestant Churches of all societies in the same year only 1452 were self supporting[5]. A curious feature of the self supporting Protestant Churches was that the American and the Canadian missionary societies had a very large number of them as against the British and the International missionary societies as will be seen in the following table for 1911[6].

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1. N.L.S. Mss. 7831, p.2; See also: Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland, 1908, p. 90, 1914, p. 104 and 148; U.F.C.S. proceedings, 1910, Appendix V, p. 43.
2. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7832, p. 45.
3. Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the C. of S., 1909, p. 41.
4. Yearbook of the Missions in India, 1912, p. 649.
5. Ibid. p. 178-80.
6. Ibid. p. 653 "Until middle of 1930's Indian Churches were supplying a little over one-third of their upkeep". Latourette Christianity ... Vol. V op.cit. p. 320.

Societies	Self Supporting Churches	Aided Churches
American	1067	1684
British	181	1717
International	32	845

Why did the American societies have more self-supporting Churches? Partly because the American Board of Missions had paid attention to this problem as far back as 1854-55 when the missionary societies were still regarded as a kind of Ma-baap (literally mother and father doing every thing for their children) by the Indian converts[1]. In 1854-55, Drs. Rufus Anderson and Augustus Thompson of the American Board had visited India and Ceylon with the special aim of studying the organisation of the emergent Churches. Thereafter, American Societies preferred to aid "the infant Church by council and advice" and generally threw them "upon their own responsibilities" knowing fully well that they "will sometimes make mistakes as they did in the first century"[2]. Perhaps, partly, it was also because the American societies gave their subordinates "complete autonomy in the administration of their affairs on the mission fields"[3]. On the

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1. Richter, op.cit. p. 428.
2. Richter, op.cit. p. 428-9.
3. Yearbook of Missions in India, 1912, p. 169.

other hand, among the British Societies, Henry Venn, secretary of the Church Missionary Society was of the opinion that the "unwieldy" machinery of the Church "ought not ... to be laid on the weak shoulders of the native Churches" until they fulfilled two important obligations: "(i) that the native Church should learn to collect the funds for its own ecclesiastical needs, the salary of its pastor and its teachers, the cost and maintenance of its Church schools, minister's house, school house, etc., - and (ii) the administration of these funds by trustworthy persons"[1].

For strengthening the Indian Church, unity among the Protestant missions divided among scores of sects and sub-sects, ranging from semi-Catholic order of "Cowley fathers" to "Strict Baptist" was very essential. The number of Protestant missionary societies during the period of this study had more than doubled, from 54 in 1881 to 136 in 1911, including 19 indigenous societies[2]. Included among these were 41 each British and American, 12 Continental and 8 Australian[3]. These represented twelve countries and spoke eight tongues[4].

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1. Richter. Op.cit. 429. (For a good study and the theories of various schools of thought as to when responsibility should be conferred on the emergent Churches see: Peter Beyerhaus and Henry Lefever. The responsible Church and the foreign mission (London, 1964).

2. Yearbook of Missions in India, 1912, p. 167. 3. Ibid. p. 168.

4. Ibid.

Disputes among denominations and denominational distinctions still prevailed during the period of this study, which had its harmful effect on the missionary organisation and on the entire Indian Church particularly during the early period of this study. In 1882, a Free Church missionary in Poona complained that not only "cowley fathers" were "most active", but in addition to two Scottish missions there were also the missions of Baptists, Church missionary Society, London Missionary Society, and Society for the Propagation of Gospel, all encroaching upon each other's work[1]. In 1891, a Scotsman expressing his views on missionary work in India grieved that:

> ... in East India twenty different Churches and sects are labouring at the conversion of the Hindus, each endeavouring to encroach upon the rest, destroy their settlements and win over their proselytes[2].

Also a British missionary wrote in 1915:

> We have Indian Churches which seem almost to go out of their way to emphasise that they are English, Scotch, Irish, American, German, and Dutch Churches. We have Indian Wesleyans and Indian Lutherans before the Indian Church has produced either a Wesley or a Luther, or has indeed even felt the need of them. We have the fossilled remains of conflicting creeds and

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7826, p. 111.
2. Scots Magazine, 1890, p. 413.

> ecclesiastical controversies which ought long ago either to have been buried or put into Museums, but which instead are used as sign-boards to make known to every Hindu who passes by that the Christian Church is a foreign institution having absolutely no connection with India [1].

To the Indian Christians, as stated elsewhere also, so many Protestant denominations were an enigma [2]. Besides, there appeared a strong urge among some denominations to ignore the codes of conduct voluntarily agreed. An Indian convert, a professor in the Presidency College, Madras, complained:

> Nothing is so very painful as the complaints which one hears so often that one Mission has ruined the work of other ... Over and over have I heard missionaries complaining bitterly (that) such and such mission has usurped our field and has deprived us of all our converts [3].

Once a "field" was occupied, the missionaries generally did not like others to intrude in what they considered as their area of influence. In 1896, Dr. Youngson, stationed in the Punjab mission of the Church of Scotland, complained to the Archbishop of Lahore about the "act of

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1. Bernard Lucas. Op.cit. p.116.
2. In 1891, there were 537 Protestant denominations and societies who had missionary work spread all over the world. See Encyclopaedia of Missions, p.711 (1891 edition).
3. S. Satthianaidhan. Missionary work in India, p.18. The statement is somewhat exaggerated; the complaints were not "so often" as alleged.

aggression" by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in establishing their mission at Jammu where the "field" had already been occupied by the Scots missionaries a year back. He also urged the London office of the Society to close their mission at Jammu, but the latter countercharged to the effect that the Church of Scotland had usurped their territory. Writing a letter in the missionary journal of the Church of Scotland about this controversy[1], Dr. Youngson remarked :

> I hope wiser counsels will prevail, and that Jammu will be saved from the spectacle of conflict between the Churches. What do the Poor natives know about Presbyterian and High Episcopalian principles? From the fact of their being two Churches, they may suppose that there are two Lords, two Gospels, disagreement and confusion ....

Similarly, in the Madras Presidency charges and countercharges of "aggression"were laid against each other by the Lutherian and the Free Church missions in 1893[2].

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1. C.S.M.F.M.R. 1895, p.267

2. N.L.S. Mss. 7846, p.46-52; See also N.L.S. Mss. 7609, p.27; C.S.M.F.M.R. 1886, p.498

Opposition between Catholics and Protestants was even more fierce than between the Protestant denominations. In the second and third quarter of the nineteenth century, the zeal to increase one's own followers between the two Churches was such that apart from mere skirmishes, their were also sometimes threats and counter-threats of physical violence [1]. Clashes between the two Churches were witnessed in many fields including education. Often the missionaries of the two Churches would try to rebaptise already baptised converts believing that the baptism administered by the other was not genuine. In 1893, in Chingleput, a Free Church missionary converted a large number of pariahs who were according to him "nominal Roman Catholics, who were living as their heathen neighbours and quite indistinguishable from them" [2].

An important reason leading to the contest between the two Churches was the possession of un-occupied fields. Each Church tried to outrun the other in this respect. While attempting to occupy Sikkim mission field, in 1890, a

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1. K.S. Latourette. Expansion ... Op.cit. vol.6, p.83.
2. N.L.S. Mss. No.7846, p.74 It is curious to read further in the missionary's statement that the "nominal Catholics" were "answering intelligently the questions on the fundamentals of our truth ...". The real reason, for adopting Presbyterianism by them, to put it in the words of the same missionary and from the same statement, perhaps, was "that the pariahs of Walajabad as of other parts are suffering greatly from insufficient food ...and disasters".

missionary of the Church of Scotland hastened to add in his report to the secretary of the Foreign Missions Committee, that he expected "the Jesuits will send in some of their body into Sikkim. That I understand is their intention. Let us be up and doing, and plant the Gospel while the way is now plain before us" [1].

The Scottish missionaries had also laid the charges against the Catholics that they were trying to woo the Presbyterian converts by offering bribes and other pecuniary benefits and which was having an adverse effect on the work of Presbyterian missions. A missionary in Punjab complained in 1890:

> For a time last year we were in much fear of injury being done to the new converts by an invasion of Romanists, who came in great force, and began to spend money very lavishly and very foolishly; but success did not attend their misguided efforts, and they have, in the meantime at least, retired from our field [Sialkot] [2].

Another missionary of the Church of Scotland stationed in Sikkim complained in 1905 that the Roman Catholic mission at Pedong (13 miles from Sikkim), "in accordance with the parasitic policy now pursued by Church of Rome, has given shelter to one or two unsatisfactories, and is more or less

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1. Scottish Universities' Mission Report, 1890, p.2; See also Scots Magazine, 1890, p.413.
2. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1890, p.606.

a cause of annoyance"[1]. And a third missionary of the same Church complained about the Jesuits in 1905:

> We cannot hope to contend with them for their liberal gifts are the great bait, and if these were to cease, their influence would cease also. They give clothing and food and coppers to the children in the villages, and they never ask for collections[2].

The Catholic missionaries also fished in the troubled waters when disputes arose between Presbyterian missionaries and the converts made by them. The Catholic missionaries are alleged to have widened the schism on such occasions and offered several inducements to Presbyterian converts to attract them towards Catholicism. The Catholics also did not mind, if the convert did not give up his caste which was generally insisted in the Protestant missions[3]. Relations sometimes became so bad that the Sikkim mission of the Church of Scotland deemed it necessary to offer training to its catechists in Catholic apologetics. "It grieves me to say" remarked the missionary of the above station, "that by the attacks of the Romanists, we have found it necessary to adopt in every class, as one of our daily subjects, the examination of Romanism"[4].

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1. Scottish Universities' Mission Report, 1901, p.4.
2. L. & W., 1905, p.107.
3. Report of the Centenary Conference of the Protestant Missions London, 1888, p.86.
4. Scottish Universities' Missions Report, 1897, p.37.

Complaints of the Roman Catholics agsinst Scottish missions might also be mentioned. In 1882, the Vicar General of Bengal Roman Catholic Portugese Mission complained to the secretary of the Foreign Missions Committee of the Free Church that his "disobedient spiritual subjects have been going on from Church to Church, from Mission to Mission to see if any one helped them in their spirit of rebellion to their pastors" [1], and added:

> To my great surprise, I find that the Rev. K.S. Macdonald of the mission of the Free Church of Scotland in Calcutta has been encouraging the malcontents in their spirit of rebellion and is trying to take them away from their pastors and missions [2].

He appealed to the secretary of the Free Church to see that the missionaries of his Church did not "avail themselves of quarrels between peoples and pastors of other Churches ..." [3]. He also added that as a result of Dr. Macdonald's interference, the Portugese Church had to make some "concessions" to the people which that "Mission had good reason not to make". "If Mr. Macdonald persists in disturbing the people and encouraging them", he added further,

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7838, p.43 A quarrel had arisen between a Catholic congregation and its minister, which Macdonald seems to have taken advantage of.
2. Ibid. p.30.
3. Ibid. p.33.

"they may come with new demands. And the mission may find itself forced to grant them"[1].

However, attempts were made to bring some sort of unity to the Protestant denominations at least, and these attempts were more noticeable from the beginning of this century. At the Decennial Conference of 1902, in Madras, a Board of Arbitration was set up to settle the outstanding disputes and others which might arise. The Board had an executive committee consisting of the missionaries of several societies. It was to adjudicate only "on a case referred to it by the official representatives of both the missions involved in any dispute". But, "it might however, if it deemed well, seek to bring about a reconciliation when appealed to by one party in a dispute when the other party declines arbitration"[2]. Other important principles laid down were [3]:

(i) In a new territory, "the mission best prepared with money and workers for effective occupation should be given the first opportunity".

(ii) That Societies operating in areas not fully occupied be invited to arrange between themselves as to a demarcation of their spheres, and to report to their executive committee; and that in areas already occupied by one or more missionary society no other society should enter except by agreement with the society or societies in occupation. Provided, however, that if it is proved to the satisfaction of the Board of Arbitration that the area is not being effectively

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1. N.L.S. Mss. 7838, p. 28.
2. Yearbook of Missions in India, 1912, pp. 196-97.
3. Ibid. See also Report of the World Missionary Conference, 1910, Vol. VIII, pp. 153-54.

occupied and worked, the society or societies in partial occupation may be called upon to show cause before the Board why this area should not be sub-divided and allotted by the Board.

(iii) That the Board "should take steps to obtain detailed information regarding unoccupied fields of labour, and thus be in a position to put before the Churches of Europe and America statements concerning those needs of India which can only be met by their aid. [1]

The Board of Arbitration was said to have "proved itself to be of wholesome value on several occasions"[2]. For example, the Weinbrennerians (Church of God) wished to occupy the state of Jashpur in Chota Nagpur, "lying to the west of Biru; Gossner missionaries, however, affirmed that they had a prior claim to it, as this State was within their own sphere of influence and the Court of Arbitration supported their claim" [3].

Also if at a place more than one Society's

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1. Perhaps this clause and the last line of the earlier clause had some bearing on the following statement in the Annual Report of the United Free Church Missions, 1909, when it requested its supporters to provide money for additional missionary staff: "... our Church has taken upon herself the evangelisation of certain well defined fields. A considerable part of these we have not yet entered. In some cases, other Societies are ready to occupy portions of our districts. Our Church must either give up some of its assigned areas or take steps to make effective the occupation of what has been entrusted to us". U.F.C.S. Proceedings, 1910, Appendix V. p. 137.
2. Richter, op. cit.. p. 229.
3. Ibid.

stations existed and one desired to withdraw, the practice generally was to give the work of over-sight of the converts belonging to the withdrawing mission to the one which remained [1].

Some other measures aiming at unity among the Protestant Churches could be discussed from two distinct standpoints: measures aiming at denominational unity and the measures aiming at sectarian unity.

As regards the denominational unity, the missionaries' aim was to bring first unity among several Presbyterian missions. In India, twelve Presbyterian Churches coming from all over the world, including England, conducted their activities separately until 1904, when seven important Churches merged into an all-India body called the "Presbyterian Church of India". Attempts at Presbyterian alliance had started as early as 1877 when the first conference of the Presbyterian missions had met at Allahabad in India. Thereafter, it became a practice of each Presbyterian mission to invite delegates of sister missions at the periodical conferences of their respective churches. Thus, two

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1. R.W. Weir. Op.cit. p.91-92.

delegates of the Free Church attended the conference of the Welsh Presbyterians in Assam in 1894. Also between 1877 and 1903, several joint conferences of Presbyterian missions were held where proposals for forming a "Presbyterian Church of India" were discussed which culminated in the formation of such a body in 1904 [1]. Henceforth, the followers of seven Presbyterian Churches were to call themselves as "Presbyterians" rather than the members of the United Free Church of Scotland, American Presbyterian Mission, etc. Attempts at union with other Churches having very little difference in rituals and doctrines were also made. In 1908, the "Presbyterian Church of India" joined with the Dutch Reformed Church in South India to form "The General Assembly of South India United Church" [2].

Attempts at the unity of all Protestant denominations were also made. As early as 1810, Carey had suggested the holding of a conference of all Protestant denominations of the world at Cape of Good Hope though it had never come into being [3]. In India, conferences of Protestant missions on

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7839, p.27 and 141; M.R.U.F.C.S. 1906, p.107; E.G.K. Hewat. Op.cit. p.77 and 139.
2. See N. Goodal. History of the London Missionary Society, p.92; E.G.K. Hewat. Op.cit. p.100.
3. K.S. Latourette. History of the expansion of Christianity, vol. VI, p.106.

regional basis were held in 1855, 1857, 1858 and 1862 though they were not very-well organised [1]. In 1872, Dr. John Murdoch of the United Presbyterian Church suggested the holding of Decennial Missionary Conferences of all Protestant Churches in India and in that year the first Decennial Conference was held at Allahabad and became a regular feature of Protestant missions from that date onwards [2]. Co-operation was also witnessed in other fields. Sometimes the missionaries invited the Indian pastors of other denominations to have joint consultations with the Indian agents of their missions for the development of mission work [3]. On other occasions there were gatherings of groups with identical interests such as students of different denominations [4].

A very important organisation formed in 1905, as a result of missionary co-operation of all Protestant Churches was the "National Missionary Society of India". The aim of the society was to evangelise "unoccupied fields in India and adjacent countries". The secretary of this important

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1. Julius Richter. Op.cit. p.214.
2. H. Morris. Life of John Murdoch, p.194-95.
3. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7832, p.19.
4. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1914, p.76.

body supported entirely by Indian funds was a Scottish missionary at the time of its formation[1]. For propagating Christianity, the Society had "travelling agents" who visited different parts of the country. Over 400 branches were organised by 1914 for conducting regular missionary meetings and "to conserve and foster the newly awakened sense of responsibility"[2]. By 1911, it was issuing six journals - one in English and five in vernacular, which had a combined circulation of 7,000. It collected by 1911, Rs. 40,000 from among "by-no-means well-to-do" Christians, and employed 26 agents "of whom twelve are of College education, including two medical men". It had converted "nearly" 1000 people by that time[3], and used the same methods as missionaries in contacting the people, viz. village itinerations, preaching at jatras (fairs), and conducting schools and dispensaries[4]. Until that date the Society was denominational in the sense that the fields were divided among the followers of various denominations. Thus Punjab was a field for Anglicans, United Provinces for Presbyterians, and so on[5]. The governing body of the Society was a council with about 100 members. It had its headquarters in Madras and various provincial committees also helped the council in carrying out its work[6]. In 1912, this body was rechristened as the "National Missionary Council" and in 1922 as the "National Christian Council" by which name it is still known. It is considered also to-day as the most important mouthpiece of Protestant Christianity in India.

During the last few years of this study, a feeling of

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1. See M.R.U.F.C.S. 1906, p. 175: J.Z. Hodge, Salute of India, p. 83.
2. Yearbook of missions in India, 1912, p. 429-32
3. Ibid. 4. Ibid. 5. Ibid. 6. Ibid.

of nationality also partly contributed towards unity among the Protestant denominations. The conviction grew among a number of Indian Christian leaders that "if India was to be won to the Christian faith, a united witness was imperative", and this conviction led to the further belief that "India should not be bound by divisions of Western origin"[1].

No attempt at unity of any sort between the Protestants and the Catholic missions appears to have been made during the period of this study, but some evidence suggests that the attitude of the Protestant missions, which was very critical during the earlier period of this study, became more tolerant during the later period. Thus, while at the World Missionary Conference of 1888, London, severe criticism of Jesuits and other Catholic missionaries was noticed[2], the question of Jesuitism was not at all discussed in the World Missionary Conference of 1910, Edinburgh. Again, while the question of "Jesuit Advance" was discussed at the third Decennial Missionary Conference, at Bombay, in 1892-93,[3] and the Jesuits were described by a Free Church missionary, who was also the Chairman of the Conference on that subject, as "casuists" and "Jesuitism as a system of slavery to conscience, will, and reason, the foe of private right and judgement"[4], this attitude underwent change

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1. Latourette. Christianity ... op. cit., Vol. V, p. 324: Report of ... III Decennial op. cit.. p. 122: See also Census of India, 1911, p. 139.
2. Report of the World Missionary Conference, London, 1888, Vol. I, pp. 73-90.
3. Report of the III Decennial Missionary Conference, 1892-93, p. 226-57.
4. Report of the III Decennial Missionary Conference, Bombay, 1892-3, p.227.

during the later period, so much so that a Protestant work like the Yearbook of Missions in India, 1912, contained a Catholic contribution discussing the Mission work of that Church from the Catholic viewpoint[1]. Also, the absence of any offensive remarks against Catholics in a scholarly journal like the International Review of Missions (first published in 1912) would indicate the more tolerant attitude among the responsible Protestant leadership towards Catholics.

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1. See the article of Fr. Hull in the above work on p. 153.

(iv) STAFF RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING

The efficiency of the human material employed by the missions was very essential for the success of their enterprise. Much of the success or failure depended on missionaries' assets or liabilities, and since the missions' aim was to achieve success, the problem of recruiting efficient staff was of crucial importance. This was more so because their field of choice was often limited.

The mission staff was of two types: European and Indian. The European personnel of the missions might be divided into four categories: ordained, unordained (male), medical and female missionaries. Most male missionaries were ordained and were useful for all but medical work, though sometimes they performed medical work as well. Many male missionaries who went out from Scotland as unordained missionaries were later ordained by the presbyteries in India. As the rules required that only ordained missionaries could administer baptism, sometimes lay missionaries, whether fit or not, were ordained to enable them to perform this important function. Lay missionaries usually busied themselves with education, industrial training, organisation, keeping accounts, publishing literature, etc., while the ordained missionaries did most preaching and itinerating and looked also to some of the above activities. The medical and the

1. But the "missionaries thus ordained shall not be eligible for a charge in the Home Church without special sanction of the General Assembly". U.F.C.S. Proceedings. 1900, Appendix V, p.96

female missionaries respectively looked after the medical administration and the work among women.

The number of male European missionaries during some years of this study have been shown on p.571. The number of female European missionaries for some of these years was as follows[1]:

CHURCH	1886	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910	1914
F.C.S.	n.a.	n.a.	49	44	55	67	74
C. of S.	11	16	23	32	47	44	40
U.P.C.	9	7	14	16			
Total	20+	23+	86	92	102	111	114

The figures of both the male and female European missionaries generally show a steady increase throughout the period. A small decrease in Calcutta in 1913 in the Church of Scotland was perhaps due to the merger of that Church and the Free Church. However, a factor which needs stressing again, was that in the Free Church, before 1890, emphasis was largely on cities, while thereafter at least some emphasis was laid on the village work as well.

The large growth in the missionary staff during the period of this study was partly attributed to the conditions of life "as regards personal safety, railway, postal and telegraphic means of communication"[2].

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1. For the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church, see Appendices to the "Proceedings" of the General Assembly for the above years and for the Church of Scotland, see Reports on the schemes of the C. of S. for the above years.
2. Richter. Op.cit. p. 221.

It was also added that the conditions "even in the remotest mountain villages, are comparatively so favourable for Europeans - even for single ladies - and British rule has on the whole created such remarkable tempting opportunities for missionary work, that it would be hard to find any land possessing so great an attraction for missionary societies"[1], which had sprung up "like so many mushrooms"[2]. The construction of the Suez canal in 1869, which reduced, between Europe and India, a distance of over 5,000 miles and the sea journey from months to 15 days might have also perhaps resulted in an increase in the number of missionaries. In 1911, India had 5,200 Protestant missionaries which was "by far the largest number of foreign missionaries at work in any non-Christian country"[3]. China followed with a "foreign force" of 4,299[4].

There was a marked tendency to stagnation in the recruitment of unordained missionaries as time passed. One of the reasons put forward for this was that "The Home boards still (up to 1920 at least) place emphasis on extensive rather than intensive work, on the evangelist rather than on the educator"[5].

Of the three Churches, the Free Church (later United Free Church) was more successful in raising the missionary staff (and also money). In 1914, while the United Free Church had 228 male and 151 female

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Year book of Missions in India, 1912, p.172.
4. Ibid.
5. International Missionary Council. Village education in India, p.87.

missionaries, the Church of Scotland had only 61 male and 55 females,[1] and this was despite the larger membership of the Church of Scotland throughout the period of this study, as will be seen in the following figures[2]:

CHURCH	1879	1899	1909
C. of S.	518,146	648,476	706,653
F.C.	246,250	293,684	--
U.P.C.	172,150	195,498	--
U.F.C.	--	--	506,573

Why did the Free Church have more missionaries than the Church of Scotland? It is difficult to find precise answers to the question. An obvious reason was that the Free Church had larger financial resources. Why that Church was more successful in raising larger funds has been partly discussed on p.[illegible]. The income of the Church of Scotland missions, besides, as would be seen on p.573, was stagnant or generally showed an insignificant increase in the period, 1894-1913.

It also appears that the Free Church emphasised more on the foreign missions. That Church always claimed itself as a "Missionary Church" and even described its Colleges in India as "Wilson Missionary College", "Duff Missionary College" and so on. It is also worth noting, that, while, during the period of this study, three of its missionaries were

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1. See Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1914, p.981 and the statistics appended to the U.F.C.S. Proceedings, 1914, Appendix II (no p. number given).
2. Encyclopaedia Britannica, (1911 ed.) Vol. 24, p.467.

elected to the position of Moderator of the General Assembly (Dr. Miller in 1896, James Stewart (Africa) in 1899 and Robert Laws (Africa) in 1908; Later, in 1917, Dr. Makichan (India) was also elected a Moderator), no missionary in the Church of Scotland was elected to that position, during the period of this study. The "disruption" of 1843, had also some bearing in this respect. The "disruption" had "paralysed" the Church of Scotland, when all the missionaries had adhered to the Free Church (see chapter II); and the Church of Scotland did not recover itself until "the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church had gained a position of supremacy in this sphere as regards both liberality and expansion"[1].

The smaller number of missionaries in the Church of Scotland was perhaps also partly due to its recruiting chaplains and ministers for the Scottish regiments and the Churches maintained in India. By 1898, it had to recruit 23 ministers of other Churches to fill up the posts of chaplains in India[2], whose salaries were paid by the Government of India.

Shortage of male European staff was a recurring feature of most missionary societies. There were several occasions when men and not money was the problem for the missions. During the early years of this study, the problem was so pressing in the Church of

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1. J. R. Fleming. A history of the Church of Scotland, 1843-1929, Vol. 2, p.170.
2. Handbook of the Church of Scotland for India and Ceylon, 1899, p.42.

Scotland, that, in 1878, the General Assembly of that Church renewed "the authority given last year to the (Foreign Mission) Committee, to make, in such cases, as they may see fit, a direct official call on ministers or licentiates who may be judged suitable for missionary work"[1]. In fact, partly because of the shortage of staff, it had to close down its mission in Bombay, in 1891,[2] and reduce its mission work in Madras Presidency in 1894[3]. Also such statements as "This (mission station) is also in very great need of an ordained missionary; no one having yet volunteered for this long standing vacancy"[4], or, "The committee is ready we learn to make an appointment, but no one is forthcoming"[5] were not uncommon. In 1911, the Foreign Missions Committee of the United Free Church asked its General Assembly that it needed the following additional staff for making an "effective force" in its various mission stations in India and Africa:[6]:

20 European male missionaries; ordained and unordained
12 European female missionaries
200 "native" evangelists, catechists etc.
5 European medical missionaries (males)
3 European medical missionaries (females)
10 Qualified "native" medical assistants
15 "native" dispensers and dressers

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1. The Principal Acts of the C. of S., 1878, p.77. See also C.S.H.F.M.R. 1879, p.27 and 97.
2. Hewat. Op.cit. p.49-50
3. Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1895, p.68-69
4. L. & W. 1912, p.319. See also The Layman's Book of the General Assembly of the C. of S., 1912, p.34
5. L. & W. 1914, p.189. See also Report on the Schemes of the C. of S., 1914, p.103.
6. U.F.C.S. Proceedings, 1911, Appendix II, p.7

Advertisements repeated in missionary periodicals for several months sometimes did not bring forth any response. For example, two posts for missionaries in Bombay advertised in 1912 and 1913 in the Missionary Record of the United Free Church seem to have brought forth response only in November 1913, since advertisements were no longer repeated. Also, in 1889, when M/s James Finlay, well-known Scottish merchant in India, offered money, a bungalow and several other facilities for stationing a missionary-cum-chaplain to work among Indian and Scottish labour in the tea estates of Sylhet, the Free Church could not find any suitable person for several months to fill the post[1].

The Scottish Churches had several funds which provided scholarships to candidates for the study of foreign missions, but it was reported in 1895 that despite "regular" advertisements, there was little competition for scholarships. Between 1880 and 1889, while six students had been granted scholarships for study, only one had chosen to be a missionary. Consequently, a fund of this type, raised after the death of the Rev. John Wilson in 1877 and named after him, was handed over to the principal of Wilson College, Bombay, for that college's development[2].

As regards women missionaries, partial evidence, during the later period of this study, suggests that while the position concerning

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1. See N.L.S. Mss. No. 7844 p.1-4, 75.
2. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7821, p.141.

staff was satisfactory in the United Free Church, it was not so in the Church of Scotland. Indeed, the annual report of the Women's Association of the United Free Church for 1904 stated that "three of the trained students who left the Institute last year could not be appointed to the foreign field for want of the needed resources"[1]. On the other hand, in 1908, the Women's Association of the Church of Scotland recorded at a meeting in Edinburgh: "The vacancies in all the branches at Poona were discussed. It was agreed to make every effort to get them filled"[2].

The missionaries' terms of service and emoluments were several times revised during the period of this study. In 1878, the salaries of the missionaries in the Church of Scotland were as follows[3]:

(i) Twenty five years were to be considered as the complete period of missionary service.

(ii) The ordained missionaries, College teachers and Medical missionaries were to receive the following salaries and allowances:

a.	Passage money	£50 for the missionary £25 for the missionary's wife £15 incidental expenses
b.	1st two years	£350 per annum
	Next five years	£400 per annum

1. U.F.C.S. Proceedings, 1905, Appendix VB, p.9
2. Minutes and Report of the Women's Association of the Foreign Missions Committee of the C. of S., 16th June, 1908, p.7
3. Report on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland, 1878, p.174-7

Next Seven years	£450 per annum
Next Seven years	£500 per annum
Next Four years	£600 per annum

c. Annual allowances payable for living in big cities

Bombay	£60
Calcutta	£60
Madras	£50

d. Itineration allowances to mofussil missionaries only £30

e. A rent free house

f. An allowance for learning the vernacular language during first two years only (exact amount not mentioned)

(iii) Salaries were to be paid in sterling.

Salaries of European School teachers and other lay workers were £50 less during the first 21 years, and £100 during the next four.

In the Church of Scotland, conditions regarding furlough, pension and insurance, in 1878, were as follows:[1]

Three years furlough was allowed during the period of twenty five years' service, which was to be taken only twice. Furlough taken during the first seven years was not counted as part

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1. Report on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland, 1878, p.174-77

of the service. During the first furlough, the salary was to be £275 per annum and during the next, £325. The salaries of lay European workers and School teachers during furlough were somewhat less. During the furlough in Europe, the missionary was to be "at the disposal of the Committee".

Every missionary was to insure himself for at least £500, and for another £500 for which the Committee was to pay the premium. The premium charged on the first £500 was deducted from the salary of the missionary, and paid by the Committee itself.

After the service of twenty five years, a retiring allowance of £150 per annum was allowed, but if a missionary retired after twelve years of service, it depended upon the Foreign Missions Committee to decide the rate of annual allowances payable to him. If a missionary died in the service of the Committee, or had completed twenty five years of service and then died, his widow was entitled to an annuity of £40 per annum and the Committee might also provide suitable allowances for the children of the missionary under eighteen years of age if "bereft of both parents"[1].

Considerable devaluation of the Rupee in 1893 affected the salaries of the missionaries in the Church of Scotland. The missionaries were paid salaries in sterling, and it was pointed out,

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1. Ibid.

in 1895, that before the fall in the value of the rupee "a missionary with a salary of say £480 would have received, when the rupee was on par value of 2s., Rs. 4,800; now when the rupee is of the value of 1s. 1d., he will receive for his £480, Rs. 8860". The statement added: "In some respects, no doubt, the purchasing value of the rupee has been considerably lessened, but in others only slightly so". The Foreign Missions Committee suggested a reduction of one-sixth in the salary of missionaries[1].

In 1900, new regulations were laid down for the missionaries' emoluments and terms of service. The full period of missionary service was increased from 25 to 30 years, and their salaries were also regraded and paid in rupees as follows[2]:

1st two years	Rs. 3,500 per annum
Next five years	Rs. 4,000 per annum
Next seven years	Rs. 4,500 per annum
Next nine years	Rs. 5,500 per annum
Next seven years	Rs. 6,000 per annum

The new rates of salaries, while they made considerable saving for the Foreign Mission Committee, were, when compared to their salaries of 1878 when the rupee was equal to 1s. 8.7d., still smaller for the missionaries, but were equal to the sterling salaries, when first introduced, when the rupee valued 2s. If a missionary's wife

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1. Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1895, p.68-69
2. Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1900, p.179-85

was in Scotland, salary up to one-third could be paid to her in sterling at the rate of 2s. a rupee[1]. Other allowances in columns d, e, and f on p. remained the same, except that in column d instead of £30, Rs. 300 were paid to all missionaries either as a "carriage or itineration allowance"[2].

The salaries of unordained missionaries were less by Rs. 500 in the first fourteen years and by Rs. 1,000 during next sixteen[3]. The following rules were laid down as regards the retiring and similar other allowances for missionaries, in 1900[4]:

> £200 after thirty years' service
> £100 after sixteen years' service
> If a missionary had to resign on health grounds, the committee might provide him some allowances if it deemed necessary.
> If a missionary died during service or retirement, his widow was to receive the salary or pension up to six months and thereafter an annuity of £50 if the missionary had completed 30 years' service, otherwise £40. The Committee, if it deemed necessary, might also provide allowances for the children under eighteen years of age.

A large part of the missionary's time during first two years was spent in learning the vernacular for which an allowance was paid. Failure to pass vernacular examinations was to result in the termination of the missionary's service[5].

Furlough was increased from three to five years and was ordinarily to be taken as follows[6]:

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid. I did not come across any incident when the services of a missionary were actually terminated on this account.
6. Ibid.

1st: at the end of seven and half years' service, one and a half years' furlough
2nd: at the end of fourteen and half years' service, one and a half years' furlough
3rd: at the end of twenty two years' service, two years' furlough.

Normal salary was payable during furlough and the exchange rate being that prevailing at the time, but not less than 1s. 4d. a rupee. During furlough, the missionary after two months of rest was at the Foreign Missions Committee's disposal for any other work in Scotland. Sick leave could also be had on medical grounds, but if it exceeded more than a year, "the committee shall determine whether it is advisable to send the missionary back"[1].

In the Free Church, the missionary's period of service was ordinarily supposed to last for life, except in case of unordained missionaries, who according to the rules of 1903, were appointed initially for five years only[2]. The salaries of missionaries in 1878 were as follows[3]:

(i) Ordained missionaries £384 per annum and unordained missionaries £348 per annum.
(ii) A house, or an allowance of £96 and £48 to married and unmarried missionaries respectively, at Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Poona, and, a house or a "suitable amount" to missionaries stationed at other places.

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1. Ibid.
2. U.F.C.S. Proceedings, 1903, Appendix V, p.93. (In Livingstonia mission in Africa all appointments, in 1886 at least, were for five years only. See U.F.C.S. Practice...op.cit. p.261)
3. See F.C.S. Proceedings, 1878, Appendix VIII, p.88-93

(iii) A sum of £36 and £48 to be paid to every unmarried and married missionary respectively in Indian currency (at a fixed rate of Rs. 360 and Rs. 480) where "local funds were available" (presumably from local income)

(iv) Children allowance of £10 to £25 for every child between five to eighteen years of age

(v) A principal missionary at Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Nagpur and Poona was paid an allowance ranging between £30 to £84[1].

(vi) An allowance paid to the Principals of the Colleges.

In 1885, salaries of newly appointed unordained medical missionaries were reduced by £48, from £348 to £300. Also new appointees for College and School posts were to receive salaries in Indian currency at the rate of Rs. 330 per month plus a house[2]. In 1891, salaries were again revised as follows[3]:

(i) Medical missionaries, who received lesser salaries, were brought on par with the ordained missionaries

(ii) Salaries of unmarried missionaries were reduced from £348 to £300, and also of the married missionaries from £384 to £336 except those at Bombay, Poona, Calcutta and Madras (who constituted more than 60% of missionary staff, see p.455(i))

(iii) House rent allowance was paid in Indian currency: Rs. 100 per month for each married missionary in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Poona and Rs. 50 to every one else

(iv) Special allowances for principal missionaries (not Principals of Colleges) were abolished

In 1893, another change was made which required that until a missionary passed his vernacular examinations, he was to receive £50 less from the above amount[4].

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1. No figures for principal's missionary allowance are given in the above source; the figures are shown in F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.103.
2. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1898, Appendix VIII, p.88-93
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

As a result of the devaluation of the rupee and because of various gradations in the salaries of the missionaries, new rules were considered necessary. It was pointed out in 1898, that of the thirty missionaries then serving directly under the Church in India, 13 were appointed before 1886, 9 between 1886 and 1891, and 8 up to 1897 - all of whom received different scales of salaries. Also, the teachers in the Madras Christian College (not included in the above figures) had a different scale, since the College in financial matters was governed by a Committee of several Protestant missions. As regards the fall in exchange, it was pointed out that when payments were introduced in sterling in 1878, the rupee stood at 1s. 8½d., while at one time (December 1894), it stood as low as 1s. 2 15/16d.[1].

The Free Church appointed a Committee in 1895 for bringing about uniformity in the salaries of missionaries and also to take advantage of the fall in exchange rate as we shall see soon. The Committee which investigated this question was of the opinion that there was no evidence to suggest that in the near future the value of the rupee will rise in terms of sterling. On the other hand, the Committee observed, there was little evidence "that the purchasing power of rupee has been very materially affected by the fall in its sterling value", "and the highest estimate of any falling off does not exceed 12½%"[2] Acting on the above premises, the committee suggested that some reduction

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1. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1898, Appendix VIII, p.88-93
2. Ibid.

in the sterling salaries of the missionaries could be made "without in any way reducing the comfort which our missionaries were intended to enjoy"[1]. The Committee further added that "An examination of the salary scales of various missionary bodies and Churches in the United Kingdom and the United States shows that our existing scale is the highest"[2]. The Committee suggested that part of the salary be paid in rupees and part in sterling. "The half paid in rupees at 1s. 4d. would really be paid in sterling, the other half in silver. Appreciation and depreciation would counterbalance each other; any advantage arising by fall in exchange would be equally divided"[3]. The new scales laid down in 1898 were as follows[4]:

Till second vernacular examination is passed Rs. 2400 + £40

Thereafter:

	Unmarried	Married
First five years	Rs. 3000 + £40	Rs. 3000 + £80
Second five years	Rs. 3000 + £80	Rs. 3000 + £100
Third five years	Rs. 3000 + £100	Rs. 3000 + £120
Remaining period	Rs. 3000 + £120	Rs. 3000 + £140

In addition to these basic scales, the married missionaries in the four cities of Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Poona received an annual allowance of Rs. 600, and the children allowances were also maintained as before[5]. House rent was increased from Rs. 100 to Rs. 120 per

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid. (These salaries were opposed by some missionaries in Bengal see C.M.S. Mss. G/3/9, p.161)
5. Ibid.

month for all married missionaries and Rs. 50 for all unmarried missionaries. The Principal of the Nagpur College received an annual allowance of Rs. 600 and that of Bombay and Calcutta, Rs.900[1]. It was further provided that if the rate of exchange fluctuated considerably, the Committee would reconsider the salaries but would observe that in any case, a newly appointed unmarried and a married missionary did not receive a basic salary of over £320 and £340 respectively. The Committee observed that "in point of liberality these proposals will compare favourably with the existing scales of other missions"[2], and further added that the new scheme "for half the staff concerned would involve little, if any change; but in the case of other half, it would make a reduction in the meantime with some advantages later on"[3]. A salient feature of the new scheme, it would be seen, was a graded salary instead of a fixed scale which had hitherto prevailed. The above salary scale prevailed in the Free Church at least until 1909[4].

The proposed salary structure in the Free Church, when referred to the missionaries in India, was opposed by the latter - at least by Bombay and Bengal Mission Councils. The Bengal Mission Council was of the opinion[5]:

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. See U.F.C.S. Proceedings, 1909, Appendix V, p.123-24.
5. N.L.S. Mss. 7839, p.182

> that the cost of living in Calcutta and district, so far as labour and purely local products are concerned, has increased very considerably during the last 20 years, and that, contrary to the statement in the Sub-Committee's Report, the gain from fall in exchange has nearly all gone to meet this rise, Income Tax and import duties swallowing up the remainder; that during the past two years, famine and more recently plague have contributed to further increase this cost, and that prices in India once raised by such disturbing causes do not readily return to their former level.

That Mission Council also pointed out that "The cost of living in India involves large outlay for European commodities, and, consequently, a large part of a missionary's regular expenses is directly subject to exchange fluctuations"[1].

The Mission Council further observed that "the grading begins at too low a point", and, "That the proportion of salary fixed in silver, viz., Rs. 3,000 is too large". The Council also stated that the silver proportion of salary was not subject to gradation[2]; the result being that in the lowest grade 5/7 of the missionary's salary is fixed in silver (£200 out of £280 with exchange at 1/4d. in the case of a married missionary), while in the highest grade the silver portion is something over ½. In the opinion of the Council it would be fairer all round to observe one proportion throughout.

Apparently, the missionaries desired the silver proportion less than 5/7 of their salary throughout their service period.

The Bengal Mission Council was also of the opinion, that the proposed salaries would secure for the Foreign Missions Committee

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1. Ibid. p.183
2. Ibid.

"all possible gain from low exchange and protect it from all possible loss through high exchange, while making it inevitable that the missionaries must lose whenever exchange rises above or falls below 1/4d."[1]. This was turn, because anticipating the possible rise in the value of rupee and the consequent "increase in the cost of carrying on the work", the Committee had safeguarded itself by recommending that "Provision might be made for revising the scale if the rupee should rise, or a proviso might be introduced to the effect that the total salary in rupees and sterling should never exceed the sterling value of the combined sums with the rupee at 1s. 4d."[2]. (In 1898, the rupee stood at about 1s. 4d.).

To support their claim of having no modifications in the existing scales and mode of payment, the Mission Council also attached extracts from the "Indian Expenditure Commission of 1897", which said, inter alia, "that the purchasing power of the rupee had gone down by 75% since 1868" and that "the price of food had increased 75 to 100 per cent"[3]. (It is not quoted since when).

As already stated above, the Church however adopted the recommendations of the salary revision committee.

Before discussing the furlough and other conditions in the Free Church, some observations on the above salary structure must be made. Firstly, it would be seen, the salary scales were higher

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1. Ibid.
2. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1898, Appendix VIII, p.91
3. N.L.S. Mss. 7839, p.184-5

during the earlier period of this study than in the later; secondly, while the Church of Scotland missionaries were paid better than their Free Church counterparts during the earlier period, later it was vice versa; thirdly, there was no provision for increased salaries for married missionaries in the Church of Scotland.

The various other allowances paid to the Free Church missionaries included an allowance for maintaining a conveyance, employing a pundit for vernacular study, and an allowance for itineration in case of rural missionaries[1]. The missionaries working in the educational institutions also earned an income, which, according to a Free Church missionary amounted to between Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,500 per annum during about 1890[2].

The rules regarding furlough, pension, retiring allowances, widows'fund etc. were as follows in the Free Church. Until 1902, the rule was to allow a furlough of 18 months after every completed service of seven years; but from 1902 onwards while each missionary had to serve seven and half years after his first appointment before being eligible for this furlough, thereafter he enjoyed a year's furlough for every completed period of five years' service[3]. The Mss. material in the National Library indicates that most missionaries during summer went away on holidays at some hill station[4].

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1. See F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.105; N.L.S. Mss. 7833, p.71 and 7849, p.131
2. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.103
3. U.F.C.S. Proceedings, 1903, Appendix V, p.94; F.C.S. Practice ... op.cit. (1886 ed.) p.263
4. In conversation with the Rev. Maston of Madras mission, I came to understand that this has become conventional among the missionaries in India.

Not much information is available about the retiring allowances to the missionaries in the Free Church. The Free Church report of 1888 said that it could not make any "suggestions about allowances for Aged and Infirm Missionaries, but they venture to suggest that the Committee will have to face this question seriously ere long. The funds at their disposal are inadequate to meet the calls which may soon be made upon them"[1]. At the same time, when a Free Church missionary in Poona thought of retiring, he expected to receive an annual pension of £150 to £200 from the Church[2].

Since 1886, every missionary in the Free Church had also to join "widows' and orphans' fund", whereby he paid an entry fee of £10 and "at each term of whitsunday" a sum of £7. This payment secured, in 1886, "a widow's annuity of at least £42 per annum, and a sum of £15 to £22 10s. per annum to each child under eighteen years of age"[3]. By 1909, regulations were also laid down for invalid missionaries which provided an allowance of £150 a year for those who had served the Committee for twenty years, and also for those who had been permanently disabled at any time[4].

A comparison between the salaries of Scottish missionaries and their Dutch, French and German counterparts would be interesting[5];

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1. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.105
2. N.L.S. Mss. 7827, p.151
3. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1886, Appendix VIII, p.66; see also 1909, Appendix, V, p.124
4. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1909, Appendix V, p.139
5. Compiled from George Smith. Conversion of India, p.200.

Year	Employing Missions	No. of missionaries employed	Annual Income
1890	Dutch Protestants	147	£24,232
	French Protestants	41	£12,753
	German Protestants	485	£122,808
	Scottish Presbyterians	218	£176,039

Using simple arithmetic, it would be observed that whereas the Netherlands, France and Germany respectively collected on an average about £165, £310 and £250 yearly for each missionary sent on foreign service, Scotland's collection for the same purpose and in the same period was about £810. Apparently their salaries were much smaller than their Scottish counterparts. Indeed, the Free Church report, 1888, observed that the missionaries of that Church received somewhat larger salaries "than any other Church or society, with the exception of the Church of Scotland missionaries"[1]. Similar statement was also made by the Free Church Committee which investigated the missionary salaries of that Church in 1897[2].

As regards the salaries of the Ministers in Scotland, the Committee on Small Livings of the Church of Scotland suggested, in 1879, that "In view of the scarcity of the Ministers" and in order to increase its number, the Church, besides taking other

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1. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.103.
2. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1896, Appendix VIII, p.88-93

measures, should pay an ordained Minister a stipend of not less than £200 a year[1]. Also, in 1914, the moderate limit aimed at was a stipend for an ordained minister was £200 and a manse, but the Committee on Small Livings said that in that year there were still 130 Ministers, 74 of whom received stipends between £190 and £200, and 56 between £180 and £190[2].

The salaries of ministers in the Free Church, with few exceptions, in 1890, varied between £100 to £160 and were supplemented up to £40 in the highlands[3]. In 1914, the minimum stipend for the Minister "in full charge", in the United Free Church was £160, and in 1915, the General Assembly of the United Free Church resolved that by creating a Central Fund, it will try "to secure for all ministers of the Church in full charge an adequate minimum stipend" which shall be "£200 and a manse (or sum equivalent), inclusive of ministerial income from all sources"[4].

In the United Presbyterian Church, in 1881, stipends of 145 out of 227 Ministers were raised to £200, while those of others ranged between £160 to £195[5].

Complete details of the salaries of female missionaries are not available but in the United Free Church, their salaries,

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1. Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1879, p.622; see also, 1889, p.168 and 1890, p.559
2. Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1914, p.490
3. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1890, Appendix I, p.10-18
4. Reports of the General Assembly of the United Free Church, 1915, p.47
5. Proceedings of the Synod of the U.P.C., 1879-1881, p.764

in 1909, were as follows[1]:

While studying for the first vernacular examination	£110
After passing first vernacular examination	£120
After passing second vernacular examination	£130
During second term of office[2]	£140
During third term of office	£150

The women missionaries also received £40 outfit money, passage expenses, a rent free house, expenses for maintaining a conveyance "where necessary", and an allowance for employing a pundit for vernacular study. But for health reasons, if a female missionary resigned after a year from the mission, she was to pay the whole cost of her passage and outfit, if after two years, ¾ of the cost, if after three years, ½ of the cost, and if after four years, ¼ of the cost. Marriage was "held to involve voluntary resignation"[3].

The female missionaries were allowed a furlough of eighteen months for every completed five and half years' service[4].

Apart from seemingly adequate salaries and service conditions, some other measures were also adopted for recruiting staff. One measure was to remind the people of spiritual consequences if they did not offer themselves for missionary work. A Free Church missionary, who had served the Church for nearly fifty years as a missionary in India, while calling upon the people to offer themselves for missionary vocation wrote: "The question is not whether the heathen will be saved if they do not hear the Gospel, but whether

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1. U.F.C.S. Proceedings, 1909, Appendix V, p.140-41
2. The second and third term of service refers to some fixed period, as in the case of male missionaries (see p.459)
3. U.F.C.S. Proceedings, 1909, Appendix V, p.140-41
4. Ibid.

you will be saved if you do not send them Gospel"[1]. Another measure, perhaps, was to portray the picture showing that the mission work was not really difficult. But this was misleading as is evident from the following quotation from Dr. Nowat's letter;[2]

> I had thought and I believe I did so with many others that India was 'wailing for the Gospel' and that the missionary had only to go in and possess the land. I had recently heard it stated on a Glasgow platform by one at the head of a large missionary society that thousands were asking salvation and hundreds obtained it through the instrumentality of the Society which he represented. In much work as I have seen, this has not yet been verified. I believe the work to be <u>at least</u> as hard as any to be found in our home slums'

Also a Church of Scotland missionary said in 1888:[3]

> In my native ... [I used] to see ... books representing the missionary as a man clad in tall chimney-pot hat, a long tailed coat and other garments supposed to be befitting a man of reverend position with a Bible in his hands or under his arm, and the hearers were represented as drinking in the Word with an open mouth and eyes. That such thirst for the Word of life is felt by some portions of some races is no doubt the case; but as a general rule, the picture of eagerness on the part of the heathen is as false as the absurd exhibition of the missionary tempting Providence by standing in the blaze of tropical sun in such a garb.

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1. J. M. Mitchell. <u>Foreign Missions of the Protestant Churches</u>, p.76.
2. N. L. S. Mss. 7829, p.263-64; see also N. L. S. Mss. 7830, p.144.
3. Scottish Universities' Mission Report, 1888, p.19.

As regards Indian personnel, quantitatively there was no dearth of it, although suitable personnel was often lacking. The Indian staff required was large and of wide variety. The missionaries needed pastors, medical practitioners, teachers, missionaries (Indian), catechists, colporteurs, Bible women, zenana teachers and so on. At some places the missionaries also required several categories of people for the same type of work. Thus the Western India mission of the Free Church had to create in 1889 the positions of apothecary and "hospital assistant" besides the position of medical practitioner which already existed[1].

The highly paid among the Indian workers were the "missionaries" and "pastors". The Indian missionaries were paid about one-fourth of the European missionary's salary,

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1. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.25

while the pastors were paid about one-sixth of the European missionary's salary [1]. Their salaries ranged from £6 to £10 a month. The qualified medical practitioners who came next in the mission hierarchy were paid a salary of about £5 a month in 1890 [2]. The amount spent on the salaries of the High schools and College teachers, who were also paid good wages, was partially met from the grants received from the government. The other mission workers such as a primary school teacher, a village evangelist, a colporteur, and a Bible woman were all paid low and sometimes trivial salaries. A primary teacher was usually paid between 15 shillings and a pound a month though at some places he was paid as low as two shillings and eight pence [3]. A missionary complaining about low salaries paid to Indian agents once wrote to the Foreign Missions Committee that "Many of them have only had Rs.3 (4 shillings) per month and have been expected to keep themselves, wife and family on this" [4]. The average salary

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1. Ibid., p.86.
2. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.86.
3. See N.L.S. Mss. No.7826, p.115, 7841, p.3, 7847, p.32, 7848, p.177; C.S.H.F.M.R. 1892, p.438; M.R.U.F.C.S. 1912, p.490; E.G.K. Hewat. Op.cit. p.149.
4. N.L.S. Mss. No.7830, p.11.

of each mission worker in the mission station where the above missionary worked in 1895 and also in 1906 was only six shillings a month [1]. There were some exceptional examples where the village evangelist was paid up to 30 shillings a month [2]. The Bible women and other women workers were paid about half the salary of their male counterparts.

It was very difficult to lay down fixed rules about the salaries, increments and promotions for the lower paid staff because many did not possess any basic qualifications. Some efforts were however made at some mission stations to lay down certain rules in this connection. In 1893, Calcutta mission of the Free Church laid down the following rules for their lower paid evangelical agents:

(i) Agents who had studied four years at a primary and three years at a Middle School were entitled to the payment of £1 to 25 shillings a month.

(ii) Those agents who received less than 25 shillings a month could present themselves for an examination once a

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1. Ibid. and N.L.S. Mss. No. 7832, p.206.
2. N.L.S. Mss. 7820, p.237.

year and in the event of the success, their salaries were upgraded to that amount.

(iii) Those agents receiving a fixed salary of more than 25 shillings but less than 32 shillings a month and had two years service to their credit on that grade could appear for an examination once a year, passing of which led to a graded salary reaching to a maximum of 32 shillings. There were similar rules for agents receiving a salary of more than thirty two shillings a month. The common norms in all promotions were (a) the length of service and (b) passing of an examination at every stage of further promotion. The maximum remuneration of the highest paid employee covered under the above rules was £3.10.0d [1].

Prescribed books and curriculum were specified for each examination. At each further stage of promotion the examination was harder. Every agent was supposed to have insured "his life for the benefit of his wife and family" (of what amount is not clear) before he could sit for an examination. Similarly every agent was also expected to be debt-free [2]. Speaking of various grades of agents

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No.7839, p.114-115.
2. N.L.S. Mss. No.7839, p.114-115.

in Nagpur a Free Church missionary said in 1893:

> We have it in view to institute four grades of assistants each grade to be entered after the minimum number of years [service], and passing another and higher examination, entitling of course to higher pay [1].

It was generally left to the Mission Councils to frame the rules about pension and retirement funds of Indian staff. No statutory rules seem to exist about pensions and retirement funds but every case was considered on its merits. That Indian staff was discriminated against in this respect was noted atleast once. An Indian pastor who retired after thirty five years of service with the Free Church was paid only three years' pension [2] on his retirement though his services were sincerely appreciated [3]. The question of pensions and retirement funds for the Indian staff was investigated by the Free Church delegation in 1888, but it did not give any decision on the point except suggesting that a fund for providing some allowances to the aged and infirm mission workers and their children and orphans be started [4]. There is an obscure reference to

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7833, p.223.
2. The amount of monthly pension was Rs.22/- (£1.12.0d). It is not known what monthly salary he drew.
3. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7831, p.117-20.
4. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.110-112

the formation of such a fund in Madras in 1893, but no further details are available [1].

Could the lowest paid catechist or colporteur reach the highest paid position of the missionary? This question was also considered by the Free Church delegation of 1888 which discovered that until then, except in one case, no catechist had reached even to the position of a pastor which was mid-way between the catechist and the missionary; but the delegation observed that "Native Pastors" should be "sought for among the ranks of the Catechists" and added further that "This would give a ladder whereby the deserving catechist could climb through the pastorate to the rank of Missionary Superintendent ..." [2].

Certain principles for selecting the European missionaries might be discussed. In theory, an important principle was that "not every man or woman, who, however willing, can advantageously work in foreign lands" and therefore "some means for selecting those who are best qualified" did exist in most missions [3]. Other principles laid down in the Church of Scotland were: the membership of that Church [4], formal

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7846, p.77.
2. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.106.
3. Encyclopaedia of Missions, p.559.
4. This condition appears to be applicable only to the missionaries but not to the Chaplains.

education (most of the unordained missionaries were either graduates or had some skilled professional knowledge), and preferably experience of Sunday School teaching or some other "Christian work". The Free Church rules also required that before the missionaries were appointed, "full inquiries regarding their character and qualifications and also their fitness for a foreign climate should be made" [1]. All the churches required the candidates to submit the names of three referees including a name of his Parish Minister [2].

Vacancies in the mission stations were generally filled by two ways: by advertising the positions in the missionary journals and by looking out the candidates in the theological colleges who would be ready for the mission work. On rare occasions people themselves also volunteered for mission service. The tendency to appoint candidates directly from the theological colleges was more prevalent in the Free Church than in the Church of Scotland. The latter often advertised the posts which was, however, also the case

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1. United Free Church of Scotland. Practice and procedure... Op.cit. p.167.
2. See N.L.S. Mss. No. 7829, p.249-50 and 7848, p.131-132; Regulations of the Church of Scotland attached to N.L.S. Mss. 7637; Rules and Forms of Procedure of the United Presbyterian Church, (1895), p.129.

with the United Free Church during the last few years of the period of this study.

Before the missionaries were sent to India, they used to receive some training in Scotland about missionary activities. Dr. Duff is said to have laboured hard "for the better training of the missionaries" [1]. A Free Church committee which investigated the question of training in 1911, was suggested by the missionaries on the field that besides Bible which should form the handbook of each missionary candidate, other subjects of his study should include: "History of missions", "Science of missions", "religions of the world", "Social science". "These are some of the subjects which were regarded as part of the necessary preparation of every missionary in order that he may go to his work with outlook and with understanding" [2]. Generally, the study of missions formed the part of the course of the Divinity students and also the teachers in Divinity Colleges were supposed to "take some steps to impress upon the minds of Divinity students the importance of foreign mission work" [3].

Both the Free Church and the Church of Scotland had a

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1. K.S. Latourette. History ... Op.cit. vol. VI, p.117.
2. M.R.U.F.C.S., 1911, p.152.
3. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7848, p.4.

college in Edinburgh for the training of women missionaries. The Church of Scotland had St. Ninian's college, started in 1887, for the training of deaconesses and the missionaries. The training course at the above institute lasted for two years and the curriculum included:(i) Scriptures and knowledge of Christian doctrine, (ii) Church History, (iii) principles and methods of home mission work and (iv) history and the methods of mission to the heathens [1]. At the Free Church college in Edinburgh, the curriculum, which also lasted for two years, consisted of (i) the Bible including Christian doctrine (ii) the history of missions and missionary methods, (iii) Christianity and non-Christian religions, (iv) Education, (v) sociology. The students of the college conducted "practical missionary and educational work among children, girls and women" [2].

The Missions had several institutions for the religious training of Indian workers. Sunday schools were an important institution where basic principles and doctrines of Christianity were taught. The schools also provided an

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1. Church of Scotland Yearbook, 1897, p.28.
2. Scottish Church and University Almanac, 1915, p.155.

opportunity to judge the interest and intellect of the Christia students for ministerial or other Church work. Those found suitable were given further theological and other Church training.

Three types of theological institutions existed for imparting religious instruction and training on some systematic lines. The first type of institution was the weekly or the semi-weekly class, where the more enthusiastic of the Sunday School students and some mission agents received further instructions in the leading tenets of Christianity, apologetics about non-Christian religions and ministerial work. Such classes existed almost at every station and were generally conducted by the resident missionary himself. These classes were considered important for the ordinary mission agents like the catechists, colporteurs, and other mission workers. Dr. Mowat, a Free Church missionary at Jalna wrote to the Foreign Missions' secretary in 1902: "Believe me this question of training agents is most urgent at present. For unless we have [trained] agents, all our work is in vain and we cannot hope to reap where we have sown" [1]. Classes were also conducted by lady

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7851, p.145. See also Reports on the schemes of the C. of S., 1879, p.111, 1890, p.75; Reports of the Committees of the U.P.C., 1895, p.144; U.F.C.S. Proceedings, 1905, Appendix V, p.35

missionaries to train Bible-women and other female mission agents [1].

The second type of institutions were those where somewhat extensive but largely intensive training in the subjects outlined above was given. No basic qualifications were required for admission in these institutes. Generally more important mission agents with some definite interest in mission work were trained in such institutes. By 1900, the Free Church and the Church of Scotland, had the following such institutions [2]:

Place of Institution	Church to which it belonged	Year of establishment
Calcutta	Free Church	1860
Chingleput	Free Church	1879
Daska	Church of Scotland	1886
Kalimpong	Church of Scotland	1870
Madras	Church of Scotland	1870
Pachamba	Free Church	1869
Toondee	Free Church	1869

At times the students in such institutes combined both earning and learning. They studied part of the evening at the institutes and supervised the work of catechists, colporteurs and other mission agents during the day [3].

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7832, p.6.
2. Compiled from J.S. Dennis. Centennial survey of Christian Missions p.77-78.
   The United Presbyterian Church had also one such training institute in Rajputana but its location is not known. See John Robson. Op.cit. p.45.
3. C.S.H.F.M.R.1886, p.419 and 589.

The most serious students, who were extremely rare, were prepared for the third type of training. It was usually under-graduate and sometimes post-graduate training for the ministry, and devised on the same pattern as in Britain. The Scottish missions did not have any Institute imparting such training during the early period of this study and students were therefore sent to the Protestant non-denominational college at Serampore (started by Baptists), the American Presbyterian Mission college at Saharanpur or any other important Protestant theological college [1]. During the later period of this study, the Scottish Churches themselves started such institutes for higher theological training. At the Free Church institute in Bombay, the theological course lasted for three years in 1901. The admission was open to those who had minimum qualifications of matriculation (roughly equivalent to the Scottish Certificate of Education "ordinary level" or G.C.E. 'O' level in England). The subjects taught in 1901 were as under [2]:

1st Year: Paper 1. Biblical study: Old and New Testaments.

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1. See United Presbyterian Magazine: 1899, p.99.
2. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7823, p.147.

Paper 11. Apologetics.
(i) Arguments for the Being of God.
(ii) Studies in the life of Christ.
(iii) The chief end of Revelation.

Paper 111. Devotional.

Paper 1V. Essay

2nd Year: Paper 1. Biblical study:
(i) The prophets of 8th century B.C.
(ii) The Epistles to the Romans.

Paper 11. Doctrinal Book (Lindsay's Divinity of Christ.

Paper 111. Church history of first eight centuries.

Paper 1V. Comparative religion: Mohammedenism.

Paper V. Devotional (Bunyan's Grace Abounding)

Paper V1. Essay on a doctrinal theme.

3rd Year: Paper 1. Biblical study (Psalms, Maclaren's Vol. 1 and Reith's Gospel of John)

Paper 11. Dogma (Dale's Christian Doctrine)

Paper 111. Church History (Lindsay's Reformation)

Paper 1V. Pastoral Theology on Church and sacrament.

Paper V. Comparative religion (Goreh's Rational Refutation)(this book was on Hinduism).

Paper V1. Practical sermon.

The curriculum of study for the ministry in the Madras mission of the Free Church in 1892, extended over a period of two and half years. In addition to literary study, the students

in Madras were also to teach the scriptures to school children for two hours daily. The first two students, who were graduates, were admitted for training in 1892, and were supported by the Church and paid Rs.40 (£3) a month each. It was laid down by the Mission Council that when they finished their studies, they were to be appointed in the graded post of Rs. 90-10-150 (£6-10 X 15 - £11-5 approx.) per month[1].

A similar course was also run by the Calcutta mission of the Free Church. The duration of the course was three years and the admission was open to those who had passed at least F.A. (First in Arts)[2]. The Free Church had several "Whyte" bursaries of £15 a year for three years for the divinity students in India[3].

The Church of Scotland started a theological institute at Sialkot in 1909[4]. The course at this institute extended over a period of four years and the curriculum included inter alia: Greek, New Testament Theology, Biblical Introduction and Church History[5]. In 1914, three students passed the course and were licensed[6].

Candidates for ministry were also prepared in the Church of Scotland's Eastern Himalaya's mission. The curriculum of the Indian

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7847, p.132
2. F.C.S. Report, 1868, p.54. The syllabuses of the above course for each year are also given in the above source.
3. Practice in the Free Church of Scotland (1886) p.264
4. E.C.K. Hewat, Op.cit. p.122
5. L. & W. 1910, p.348
6. Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1914, p.138

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1. M.L.S. Mss. No. 7847, p.132
2. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.54. The syllabuses of the above course for each year are also given in the above source.
3. Practice in the Free Church of Scotland (1886) p.264
4. E.C.K. Newat, Op.cit. p.122
5. L. & W. 1910, p.348
6. Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1914, p.138

candidates "for licence and ordination" at the above centre, in 1895, was as follows[1]:

(i) Old Testament History and New Testament History, especially the life of Christ
(ii) Old Testament and New Testament Introduction
(iii) The particular study of two Old Testament Books (one Prophetical and one Historical) and of two New Testament Books (a Gospel and an Epistle)
(iv) Systematic Theology
(v) A period of Church History
(vi) Local native religious systems

The last paper in the above curriculum is worth noting. As some religious practices of Lepchas and some other tribes of Eastern Himalayas differed with the religious practices of "popular" Hinduism, special emphasis appears to have been laid on studying local variations.

The available figures during some years of this study for the "students for Ministry or Christian Agency", have been shown on p.572. The figures appear somewhat confusing. The very small figures (perhaps up to 2)[2] are apparently of the candidates taking an advanced theological course, while other figures refer to the candidates in the first and second type of institution.

Sometimes candidates for Ministry were sent to Scotland, and on other occasions, some pastors were sent to Scotland for studying the organisation of Church work there (this is true still today).

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1. Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1895, p.136
2. The figures of ordained Indian ministers (p. ~~——~~) do not show an increase of more than two ordained ministers in any particular year in any mission group.

(ii) INCOME

In no other enterprise, according to the Laymen's Missionary Enquiry Committee Report, have Christians revealed so much interest in "giving" as in the work of foreign missions[1]. So great has been the interest of the average Christian in the missionary cause that on occasionally the money subscribed for the foreign missions exceeded the demands made. In 1869-70 when the United Presbyterian Church appealed for limited funds for looking after the famine orphans in Rajputana, more money was received than demanded.[2] In 1874, when the Free Church wished to start a mission at Livingstonia, the £10,000 required to launch the scheme were "oversubscribed", mainly by Glasgow merchants[3]. Similarly, in 1905, the funds required for the construction of a hospital at Jalna were over-subscribed[4].

The sincerity of the interest of the people in the missionary cause is shown by the fact that almost every

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1. Laymen's Missionary Enquiry Committee Report, I, p. ix
2. John Robson. Op.cit. p. 42
3. R. Oliver. Missionary factor in East Africa, p.35-36
4. M.L.S. Mss. 7832, p. 290-321

new year saw an increase in the amounts contributed. When the mission stations were first started, the Church received only £7,778 in six years between 1824 and 1830[1]; but within a period of nearly fifty years the financial support had increased more than fifty times the annual average of that amount, as will be seen in the following table[2]:

Year	Church	Annual Income	Remarks
1878	Church of Scotland	£14,553:5:9	
	Free Church of Scotland	£45,165:6:3	
	United Presbyterian Church	£28,800:0:0	Average of three years 1877-79.

At least in 1890 and 1891, per capita contributions for the foreign missions raised by the Protestant Missions in Scotland were higher than in any other country of the world, including England[3]. Also, the Scottish Protestant missions' income, at least during the above two years, surpassed that of Protestant missions in Germany, and also the combined income of the Protestant missions of the Scandinavian countries of Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland, and was nearly equal to the total income of the Protestant missions of all the above countries in 1890 and larger in 1891, as will be seen in the following table[4]:

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1. R. W. Weir. Op.cit. p.190
2. Compiled from F.C.S. Proceedings, 1879, Appendix, VIII, p.6; R.W. Weir. Op.cit. p.192; Proceedings of the United Presbyterian Synod 1877-79, p.727;
3. See George Smith. Conversion of India, p.200
4. Ibid.

Country	1890 £	1891 £
Scotland	176,039	193,257
Germany	122,808	129,542
Denmark	5,863	6,472
Finland	3,903	3,800
Norway	25,505	27,674
Sweden	20,718	22,795

Making a comparison with England, we find that per capita contributions in the English and Scottish Protestant missions differed comparatively little, as seen in the following table[1]:

SCOTLAND

Year	Income £	Population (1891)	per capita contributions
1890	176,039	4,025,647	10.5d. approx.
1891	193,257	Idem.	11.6d. approx.

ENGLAND & WALES

1890	1,020,417½[2]	29,002,525	8.3d. approx.
1891	1,228,211[2]	Idem.	9.11d. approx.

On the other hand, if we took into consideration only non-Catholic population in the country for computing per capita contributions, Scottish per capita contributions will be somewhat larger still, since while the number of Catholics in Scotland in 1891 was 352,749[3] i.e. 8.7% of the population, in England and Wales, it was 7%[4].

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1. Ibid.; Census of England, 1961, p.13 and Census of Scotland, 1961, p.17. The last column has been computed by me.
2. The income shown is only for England, but it is presumed it includes Wales also, as no separate income for Wales is shown.
3. The Catholic Directory for Clergy and Laity in Scotland, 1892, p.189.
4. The Catholics in England and Wales, in 1891, numbered about 2 million. Whitaker's Almanac, 1892, p.237

The missions' income in Scotland during some years of this study has been shown on p.573. The figures, as will be seen, show a large increase, from £87,412 in 1885 to £210,989 in 1913[1]. The significant fall in income, in 1913, in the Church of Scotland was attributed to a very small amount of legacies received in that year as compared to "abnormal" amount in legacies received in some previous years[2].

Of the three Churches, the Free Church (later United Free Church) had the largest revenue and also per capita income.

The average "giving" per member in the three Churches for all Church purposes for some years was as follows[3]:

Church	1881	1891	1900
	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d
C. of S.	n.a.	2 8 4	2 7 9
F.C.S.	2 7 7	2 1 3	1 19 5
U.F.C.	2 2 0	0 14 5	0 15 1

A comparison of membership on p.455 and the foreign missions' revenue in Scotland on p.573 would give us the approximate average contributions per member for foreign missions. Computations would show that the contributions for foreign missions formed a very small

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1. Of the Protestant missionary societies, American Episcopal Methodist Missionary Society had the largest annual income (£400,000) in 1911, while the C.M.S. followed with £338,284. Yearbook of missions in India, 1912, p.168
2. Reports on the schemes of the C. of S., 1914, p.113
3. U.F.C.S. Proceedings, 1905, Appendix 29, p.14

part of the giving for all Church purposes. Thus, in the Church of Scotland, the contributions per member for foreign missions in 1881 were only 6.3d. in 1879 and 1s. 5d. in 1909, while in the Free Church (or United Free Church), the corresponding contributions were 2s. 5d. and 5s. 10d. respectively[1].

Commenting upon the reasons of the success of the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church in collecting much larger revenue than the Church of Scotland, for foreign missions, the secretary of the latter remarked, in 1896[2]:

> The secret of the success of these Churches can almost be stated in a word. It is organisation within the congregation ... Out of more than 1,000 Free Church Congregations, more than 800 have a missionary association. In the United Presbyterian Church practically every congregation has an association.

Parish congregations provided most of the domestic revenue for foreign missions. The local parish congregation was the nucleus of all organisational activity for the collection of funds. The parish minister was supposed to promote evangelical effort, to diffuse information on missionary activity and to inculcate the ideas among the youth about missions as a career. By such means and his personal contacts, he was to create the habit of "giving" among the people for the missions[3]. Other things being equal, the better a minister

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1. These are approximate contributions since while the membership figures are for the years 1879 and 1909, contributions' figures are for the years 1881 and 1911 respectively.
2. C.S.H.F.M.R., 1896, p.68.
3. United Free Church of Scotland. Practice ... Op.cit. p.8.

organised the work in the parish, the more he succeeded in raising the funds. The Free Church had 645 congregations with missionary associations in 1878 and the remainder took an annual collection at the Church door"[1].

The figures of congregational collections for foreign missions, during some later years of this study were as follows, in the Free Church (or United Free Church)[2]:

Year	No. of congregations[a]	By collectors for foreign missions	By church door collections	By other methods[b]	No. of collectors	Membership	Congregational givings
1892	1091	750	298	n.a.	6,300	293,367	£17,238
1902	1667	1260	290	30	14,000	500,000	£36,144
1912	1551	1220	275	26	13,500	506,000	£37,996

The organisation for raising the funds within the parish was based on certain definite lines. The guiding spirit for collecting funds was the "Corresponding Member" (vide p.337) of the Presbytery. His functions in relation to the treasurers and collectors of congregations were summarised as follows:[3]

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1. Grant's Church Almanac, 1879, p.124
2. U.F.C.S. Proceedings, 1913, Appendix II, p.116
a. The figures of columns 3, 4 and 5 do not tally with column 2. The marginal gap is unaccounted for.
b. Included "Mission boxes", "Envelopes", sales of work, bazaars, etc.
3. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1895, Appendix VIII, p.12.

To arrange periodically the meeting of the Treasurer and the collectors in order to confer/them on their work, and "especially to thank them in the name of the Foreign Missions Committee".

To inquire if their be a collector for each district who shall be different, if possible, from the collector of any other Church Fund.

To inquire into the number of the subscribers and see if each family is entered in the Treasurer's and the collector's books.

To inquire if the number of the Quarterly Paper supplied be sufficient to allow of every family receiving one every time a collection is made.

Where there is no Association, or where it requires reorganisation, to arrange for a conference with the Deacons' Court.

To discuss the ways in which the Mission work can be, from time to time, brought before the congregation on Sundays or week days, before the Bible Classes and Sabbath Schools "with a view to additional information and increased interest".

To correspond with the treasurers and collectors of the congregations.

While the congregations interested themselves in the work of collection, the headquarters at Edinburgh devised new schemes, suggested new ideas and generally supervised the work of collection. In the Church of Scotland, a Committee, the "Home organisation of the Missions" existed "for deepening the interest in the foreign missions among the congregations at home, and for gaining more liberal support for the cause". This Committee consulted, and sometimes guided, the Presbyteries, Ministers, and Kirk-Sessions for better organisation of the foreign mission funds[1]. Also, at the annual sessions, the General

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1. The Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1909, p.41; 1911, p.39-40.

Assembly of the Church used to emphasise that it was "extremely desirable that all Presbyteries should have at least one Service each year in every parish within their bounds in support of the various schemes of the Church". In the Church of Scotland, in 1909, 28th November and, in 1910, 27th November were fixed respectively as the day of "special intercession on behalf of all missions"[1].

If the Presbyteries and the Parishes did not carry out the work according to the instructions given, the Synods were empowered by the General Assembly to take "account annually of the diligence of their respective Presbyteries in this matter, and to enter the same in their Synod Records, and to take such action thereon as they may think necessary"[2].

The Church authorities also promoted the spirit of competition among the larger congregations of the cities and towns. The congregations were generally recommended to finance a particular project or any other item of mission work. Sometimes the congregations voluntarily came forward to support some definite missionary work. St. George and New Forth congregations had earlier (before the period of this study) agreed to supply the finances needed for bringing up three converts made by the Rev. John Anderson in Madras[3]. The subscribers of St. Mark parish in Dundee supported a training school for the catechists of the Church of Scotland at Daska in Punjab[4]. The congregation of St. Cuthbert, Edinburgh, provided the partial finances required for the work of Universities' Mission in Kalimpong and Duars in the years

1. Ibid., 1909, p.28 & 42; and 1910, p.58; see also 1878, p.77
2. Ibid. 1911, p.39
3. Robert Hunter, Op.cit. p.159
4. H.F.S. Taylor. In the land of five rivers, p.94-5

1887 to 1890 [1]. The congregation of Anderston Free Church of Glasgow provided for the salary of a head catechist at Jalna [2], while the Sabbath School of Oakshaw West provided money for the support of a Santal teacher and his family [3]. The Bible class of Rutherglen raised the money for starting a lace school at Conjeeveram in Madras mission [4], while the parish congregations of Dingwall, Pultney town and a Glasgow lady (Mrs. Pettigrew) together supported the orphanage at Jalna [5]. Two parish congregations of Glasgow, one of them St. Enoch, supported a mission school at Jalna [6], while the Sunday School of another parish congregation (name unknown) supported a catechist at the above place [7].

The missions had also a large number of individual supporters. A retired Scotsman in Paris contributed £200 for several years for Central India missions of the Free Church [8].

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1. Scottish Universities' Mission Report, 1902, p.2 (In the early years of this mission, the funds raised from the students did not suffice its expenses).
2. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7830, p.272.
3. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1912, p.164.
4. E.G.K. Hewat. Op.cit. p.97.
5. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7830, p.176-77.
6. Ibid.
7. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7832, p.72.
8. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7829, p.240-45.

Mr. and Mrs. Loudon of Hamilton provided the salary of a medical missionary for several years [1]; a Glaswegian, Dr. Mitchell and a lady respectively paid the salary of a catechist while they were alive [2]; while many communicants of various congregations undertook to support orphans [3]. Some people gave money in memory of their departed relatives [4], while others after reading the missionary accounts were so moved as to collect voluntarily large amount of money [5].

Approaches, through the important members of the Foreign Missions Committee, were also made to rich persons in the community for the support of the foreign missions. Sir William Henderson of Aberdeen not only donated £4,000 to the Free Church, but also encouraged his daughter to go as a medical missionary in India [6]. One Dr. Morton of Leyden Hall Street, London, was another great individual supporter of Presbyterian missions all over the world. He

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1. C.W. Crawford. Women's work in Marathe country, p.73.
2. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.40; N.L.S. Mss. No. 7831, p.287.
3. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7830, p.311 and supra (Chapter IV, Section III)
4. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1912, p.400.
5. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7841, p.234.
6. See P. Barclay. Op.cit. p.51; E.G.K. Hewat. Op.cit. p.111.

provided money to the Free Church for the establishment of medical mission hospitals at Jalna and Conjeeveram, and also paid regular contributions for the foreign missions' activities [1]. Lord Overtoun, a business magnate was another great supporter of the Free Church missions and frequently figures in that mission's records. When he died in 1908, a missionary commented: "Lord Overtoun's death must be making a great difference to many causes and we can't reasonably expect to remain altogether unaffected" [2]. Similarly Mrs. Melrose, after whom a Christian village was also named by the Free Church, contributed £80 every year to the mission funds until she died in 1902 [3]. Two sisters Misses Mure provided in 1895 £2,000 for furnishing a hospital built by the Free Church, and Messrs. David and James Paton provided respectively sums of £4,000 and £2,000 to United Presbyterian Mission in 1880 [4].

While the money received through congregations and

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1. See J. Torrence. Op.cit. p.76; N.L.S. Mss. No. 7830, p.24 and 7844, p.156.
2. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7840, p.278.
3. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7848, p.240.
4. Proceedings of United Presbyterian Mission Synod, 1881, p.408; C.W. Crawford. Op.cit. p.74.

individual supporters was large, it was supplemented by several other associations, societies and groups. The several organisations such as Women's Associations for Foreign Missions, youngmen's guilds, students' missionary societies, all helped to raise the money for foreign missions. Close contacts existed between the Churches and the schools, and school pupils were encouraged to contribute money for foreign missions' activities. Christmas, New Year and other religious days were made special occasions for the collection of funds from the students[1].

Making appeals in missionary journals for the support of a particular item of expenditure was yet another means for raising money from Scottish contributors. Appeals were made by Scottish as well as Indian missionaries for supplying equipment for a farm or a printing press, books for a library, money for the education of orphans, extension of schools and colleges, for donating unused "cotton and flannelettes", pyjamas and nightdresses, skirts, jackets, dolls, scrapbooks, Bible pictures, scissors, knitting needles, fancy wood boxes, and other "furnishing and comforts"?[2]

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7828, p.80 and 215.
2. See C.S.H.F.M.R. 1878; p.476, 1890, p.613; 1893, p.113, 1899, p.109; M.R.U.F.C.S. 1905, p.362 and 509, 1909, p.156-57; N.L.S. Mss. No. 7823, p.220-22; Church of Scotland, Report of Women's Association for Foreign Missions, 1908, p.48.

These appeals usually had a very good response [1]. Appeals were sometimes made for things which could be easily obtained by the missionaries in India for a trifling amount. This was done because, according to a missionary, "people are often willing to give such special things and generally remember to take an interest in the mission after giving them" [2].

The assistance received by the missionaries was acknowledged in the missionary journals, as a missionary said, "it pays to acknowledge it" [3]. It is, however, somewhat strange to observe that sometimes the subscribers complained when their gifts and financial assistance was not acknowledged. In 1883, Grange congregation, Edinburgh, complained to the Foreign Missions Committee of the Free Church that while the gifts of other congregations had been acknowledged by the missionaries of the Santal mission, no mention of their support was made [4]. Also if sufficient

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1. See Ambroli Free Church. Poor fund statement of Accounts, 1899, p.1; G. Pittendrigh. Op.cit. p.98; Mission to Lepers. Gateways of hope, p.67; Scottish Universities' Mission Report, 1892, p.9.
2. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7839, p.123.
3. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7839, p.76.
4. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7841, p.192.

information about the work of Indian agents supported by Scottish congregations was not published in the missionary magazines, the congregations occasionally complained. On one occasion when such a complaint was received by the Foreign Missions Committee of the Free Church, it asked the pertinent missionary to furnish a report of the Indian agents at least twice a year[1].

Inviting important Indian Christians in Scotland to address the people from the pulpit and the platform was another feature of raising the funds for the missions. The invited Indian Christians often painted a rosy future for the missions and paid glowing tributes to the missionary effort. That a large amount was collected on such occasions is witnessed in a list of donors appended to a small booklet entitled Report of farewell meeting held in Renfield Church, Glasgow, with Rev. Narayan Seshadri[2].

Some amount was also raised by conducting bazars and similar other exhibitions[3]. Both the Protestant and Catholic Churches also collected money by lotteries and

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1. See N.L.S. 7841, p.191-2, 277 and 7848, p.1-4.
2. p.29-31. A sum of £2411.12s. 2d. was collected on this visit. See also: Samuel Sathianadhan. Sketches of Indian Christians. p.24-25.
3. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1878, Appendix VIII, p.25; N.L.S. Mss. No. 7830, p.153.

other "questionable means" as a missionary called it [1].

Special appeals for support were launched during the famines or other emergencies when large non-recurring amounts were required. For example, the United Presbyterian Church launched an appeal for £5,000 from its supporters after the famines of 1877-78, which was subscribed within the scheduled period of two years [2]. Between 1902 and 1912, the Free Church collected about £3,000 every year for the support of famine orphans [3].

Some help was also received through inter-denominational missions, both national and international, which were generally interested for promoting a particular cause. Thus the "National Bible Socity of Scotland" and the "British and Foreign Bible Society" not only provided Bibles in several languages free or at a very cheap rate, but also paid salaries of colporteurs and Bible women employed for selling Bibles [4]. The Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society gave financial support for the medical mission work; the Mission to Lepers

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1. Report of the Centenary Conference of the Protestant missions, London, 1888, p.76.
2. Proceedings, United Presbyterian Synod, 1877-79, p.743.
3. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1912, p.12.
4. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7830, p.178 and 7845, p.93-94.

provided fully or partially the expenditure incurred in running the Leper asylums. A Scottish Society called the "Mission to Santals" gave every month, in 1910, thirty pieces of silver (florins) to the Free Church mission for the welfare of the above tribe[1]. The St. George (Edinburgh) branch of the Laymen's Missionary Movement - an international and inter-denominational Protestant organization - contributed £200 to the foreign mission funds of the United Free Church in 1909[2].

The Scottish missions' income in India, during some years of this study, has been shown on p. 574. The income generally increased throughout the period. The decrease in the income from fees in the Free Church, in 1904, and a very small increase thereafter, is unaccounted for in the missionary reports. A comparison of 1899 and 1904 figures show a reduction of about £1200 in that Church's Calcutta group of missions and nearly £4,000 in the fees from the Madras Christian College and the High School attached to it. The decrease might perhaps be due to incomplete

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1. World Atlas of Christian Missions, p. 45. The society's income in 1910 was £36.
2. M.R.U.F.C.S., 1911, p. 6: See also Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the C. of S., 1913, p. 44.

returns, or perhaps also due to a change in policy of showing figures. The decrease in income from the grants in 1904 in the Free Church is also unaccounted for, but the comparison with 1899 figures reveals a marked decline in the grants received in the Madras Christian College, Wilson College, Bombay, and the Nagpur group of missions. The decrease in the Church of Scotland income, in 1909, from fees is due to incomplete returns, since the figures do not show the fees of Calcutta and outlying stations, and the decrease in grants in the same year is also due to incomplete returns[1]. The decrease in the Indian Churches' contributions in the Free Church, in 1899, has been discussed later.

The first important source of revenue in India was the fees received in the High Schools and the Colleges. In 1883, student fees at the General Assembly's Institution at Calcutta amounted to about 42 per cent (Rs. 22,000 out of 53,000) of the College's expenditure[2]. In the Free Church college at Calcutta, in 1888 more than 65 per cent of the college expenditure, except the salaries of the European missionary teachers, were received in student fees[3], and in the same college by

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1. See Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1910, pp. 183-4.
2. C.S.H.F.M.R., 1883, p. 615.
3. F.C.S. Report, 1888, p. 58.

1894 except the salaries of five missionaries which were provided by the Foreign Missions Committee, all other expenditure of the college including the salaries of Indian members of academic staff, administrative staff, "scholarships, and prizes, upkeep of libraries and laboratories, repairs and taxes" and other contingent items came through the amount raised in India and largely through fees [1]. This was also true of the High schools. The fees raised and the grants received in the Wilson High School in Bombay in 1914 and a High school at Alibag in 1898 respectively sufficed for almost their entire expenditure except the salaries of the European missionary teachers [2]. The rate of fees charged from the students in the colleges varied between £3 to £5 annually.

Fees were received also from various other sources. The lady missionaries during the period of this study often charged fees from the Indian women whom they taught in their houses. Between December, 1878 and March, 1880,

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1. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1895, Appendix VIII, p.15.
2. See N.L.S. Mss. No. 7822, p.136, M.R.U.F.C.S. 1914, p.329.

female missionaries of the Church of Scotland alone collected £80 in fees [1]. The fees received from school students in the boarding houses [2] and the gifts and other perquisites received by the medical missionaries [3] formed two more sources of missionary revenue from the fees.

Grants received from the government constituted second largest source of missionary revenue in India. Grants were received for schools, colleges and their extension, hospitals and dispensaries, orphanages, industrial training centres and the like. The principles governing the receipt of educational grants varied in different Presidencies. The Educational Despatch of 1854 had provided for the "specific purpose grants" by which Presidency governments were recommended to give grants for increase in the salaries, scholarships, construction of buildings and similar other matters. In 1865, the system of payment of grants by results which had been started in England in 1861 was introduced in India. Up to 1881-82 different systems of grants were in vogue in different provinces. There was

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1. C.S.M.F.M.M. 1880, p.224; see also F.C.S. Proceedings 1878, Appendix VIII, p.22; G. Pittendrigh. Op.cit. p.115.
2. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1878, Appendix VIII, p.23.
3. Frank Ashcroft, Op.cit. p.75 and 85; M.R.U.F.C.S. 1912, p.123.

for example the "Salary grant system" according to which a proportion of the salaries of teachers were paid in grants; again there were grants which were paid as a fixed amount for a number of years without much consideration of other factors. There were also "attendance" grants calculated according to the strength of students in an institution, and so on [1]. The Education Commission of 1882 had suggested some modifications in the system of grants. For example it suggested abandonment of the principle of "payment by results" in the High Schools and Colleges but not in the primary schools. The various types of grants which were continued thereafter may be summarised as under:

(i) Salary grants system, (ii) Fixed grants system by which fixed grants were paid to different type of institutions annually or every quinquennium, (iii) Grants paid according to "the needs and means of schools", (iv) Grants according to "attendance and results" (v) Grants adjusted according to the net expenditure of the institutions [2]. A principle governing grants was also the "wants of locality". If at

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1. S. Nurullah and J.P. Naik, Op.cit. p.268. See also: C.S.H.F.M.R. 1886, p.521.
2. S. Nurullah and J.P. Naik. Op.cit. p.268-69.

a particular place only one school was necessary but two existed, the grant was given only to one.

The grants received for running educational institutions were considerable. The most important reason for the rapid development of missionary schools in India, after 1858, according to the Anglican missionary historian Dr. Stephen Neill, was the government's "bearing about two-thirds of the cost" [1]. A Free Church missionary stationed at the Santal mission station who paid very low salaries to his teachers (2/8d a month) said that the teachers' salaries were wholly recovered from the government grants [2]. In 1908, when a school was to be built by the Church of Scotland in Kurseong, the mission expected 50% expenses to be received as a grant [3]. Similarly, when the new building for Wilson College was built in Bombay in 1882, the government contributed a pound for a pound [4]. To the Colleges, special grants were given for starting new faculties. In 1907, Wilson college received a grant of Rs.50,000 for starting a new faculty [5]. Finally, it may be recalled that during the Eighteen eighties in the

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1. See Author's History of Christian Missions, p.357 (this was not true of all places in India).
2. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1912, p.490; See also N.L.S. Mss. No.7841, p.168-69.
3. Minutes and Report of Women's Association of Foreign Missions of the Church of Scotland, dt. 16th June, 1908, p.5.
4. John Torrence. Op.cit. p.30.
5. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7825, p.47.

Madras Presidency, grants paid to some schools not only sufficed for their expenditure but also left some surplus [1].

Grants were also received for starting hospitals and for conducting orphanages. In 1892, when the Church of Scotland built a hospital in Poona, the government gave it a grant of £1,600 out of a total cost of £3,800 [2]. Similarly a grant was received by the Free Church when it built a hospital in Madras in 1914 [3]. The orphanage at Jalna received annually a grant of £9 from 1895 onwards [4] and the orphanage at Poona was also supported by the government [5].

Some support was received from Indian congregations both in cash and kind [6]. In big cities, receipts were generally in cash; but in small places, and particularly among the aboriginal tribes, offerings in kind were more common. The offerings at such places included: Sheep, goats,

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1. Vide supra p.143.
2. C.S.H.F.C.R. 1892, p.636 (The grant was Rs.21,244 out of total cost of Rs.52,000).
3. E.G.K. Hewat. Op.cit. p.97 see also: J.M. Macphail. Story... Op.cit. p.55.
4. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7830, p.373.
5. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7826, p.69.
6. In 1926 this amounted to £50,000 Vide Dugald Mackichan. Op.cit. p.131.

fowls, pigs, chickens, eggs, vegetables, etc.[1].

As regards per member contributions of the Scottish converts, a comparison of p.564 and p.574 would show, that the average contributions per member in the Free Church remained more or less stationary and increased somewhat significantly in 1913. The decrease in the contributions of that Church, in 1899, could perhaps be accounted due to famines and epidemics which severely affected the country in that year. In the Church of Scotland, average contributions per member decreased considerably, perhaps owing to that Church's very large increase among the people from the lowest rung of the society, and also spread over a shorter period.

The average contributions per member of the Scottish missions also did not compare well with the average contributions per member of the Protestant missions' converts.

Thus, while, between 1881 and 1911, Indian Protestant Christian community grew from 417,372 to 1,617,617, the members' contributions increased from Rs.228,430 to Rs.1,734,338[2]; in other words, while the community grew nearly four times, the contributions increased nearly eight times, and per member contributions twice, which was not the case in the Scottish missions.

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1. See F.C.S. Proceedings, 1882, Appendix VIII, p.42; M.R.U.F.C.S. 1902, p.246; N.L.S. Mss. No. 7848, p.106, 7849, p.30,59.
2. Yearbook of missions in India, 1912, p.178-79.

An analysis of the income from its Indian and African congregations in the Church of Scotland shows that for the years 1912, 1913 and 1914, per member contributions of Africans in Nyasaland (now Malawi) were nearly thrice to those of Indians[1].

Many non-Christian Indians also financially supported the missions. The students, both past and present, responded generously when a call for the support of their alma-mater was received. On various occasions the Madras Christian College, the Wilson College and the Hislop College were supported by the past students as well as by other wealthy Indians and the kings of Indian States[2]. Several kings also contributed sums for the construction of mission hospitals. The Raja of Chamba shared not only one-third of the cost of the mission hospital built in his State, but also provided free electricity and water supply[3]. In 1909, Maharaja of Jodhpur donated a large amount for the construction of mission hospital there[4]. In 1913, two-thirds of the amount of £10,000 spent to construct a hospital in Poona was raised in India in which "generous help" was received from many Indians[5].

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1. See Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1915, p.117
2. See John Torrance. Op.cit. p.30; E.G.K. Hewat. Op.cit. p.48; N.L.S. Mss. No. 7820, p.196; M.R.U.F.C.S. 1903, p.158; C.S.H.F.M.R. 1885, p.57; F.C.S. Proceedings Appendix VIII, 1883, p.43, 1885, p.311, 1886, p.23, 1887, p.14 and 1897, p.111.
3. A. Macleash. Frontier people of India, p.72.
4. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1909, p.118.
5. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1913, p.393.

In the same year for the hospitals built in Jodhpur (second hospital) and Udaipur, Indian philanthropy was considerable [1]. Substantial help was also received from Indians for constructing hospitals at Kalimpong [2] and in the independent State of Bhutan on the Tibetan border [3].

Indian assistance was also witnessed in some other directions. Some amount was collected by the residents of Nagpur for the wife of Dr. Mislop when he died an early death in that city [4]. The Raja of Chamba, cited above, erected a Church in his territory for the mission [5]. Some Indians contributed an amount of money when the Church of Scotland started an industrial centre in Kalimpong [6], and when it started a "Home" for Anglo-Indian boys and girls at the same place [7]. The Maharaja of Kashmir provided a site for the construction of a house for a missionary in 1891 [8].

The British commercial community constituted a major supporter of missionary work in India. Bankers and financiers, all enthusiastically supported the work of the missions. The

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1. Ibid.
2. D.G. Manuel. Op.cit. p.72.
3. L. & W. 1914, p.285.
4. See article on Mislop in D.N.B.
5. C.S.M.F.M.R. 1898, p.257; A. Maclaash. Op.cit. p.71.
6. D.G. Manuel. Op.cit. p.197.
7. N.L.S. Mss. 7840, p.314.
8. R.W. Weir. Foreign Missions of the Church of Scotland, p.93.

support came not only in the provision of cash but also in various other ways. Famous English and Scottish Companies in the Indian business world such as James Finlay & Company, Mackinon Mackenzie and Company, Birny's figure prominently in missionary literature during the period of this study [1]. The Scottish plantation owners in Kalimpong and Duars in the Himalayas not only recruited large number of mission converts as plantation labour but also provided the salary of a missionary, two catechists and gave several other facilities like free housing when a missionary-cum-chaplain was appointed by the Free Church in the North Assam Tea Company's estate in Chitgong [2]. Many government officers provided jobs to the converts sent by the missions [3].

Much of the petty expenditure incurred on mission work in India was raised from the Britons who attended the "English Services" in the Churches on Sundays [4].

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1. See N.L.S. Mss. No.7840, p.124 and 7841, p.63; J.M. Macphail, Op.cit. p.84.
2. See J.M. Macphail. Op.cit. p.84; D.G.Manuel. Op.cit. p.84.
3. Vide N.L.S. MSS. 7843, p.76, 7832, p. 132; L. & W. 1915, p.77
4. N.L.S. Mss. No.7825, p.94 and 7838, p.1. Following amount was received by the Free Church between 1883-84 to 1887-88:

1883-84	£4,275	1886-87	£4,655
1884-85	£3,774	1887-88	£3,353
1885-86	£3,961		

Vide F.C.S. Proceedings, 1888, Appendix viii, p.11.

A small source of missionary revenue was the interest derived from the landed property and the deposited funds both in Scotland and India. The Churches' had large properties in India and the funds received by the Mission Councils from the Foreign Missions Committee were also deposited [1]. By 1905, endowments and invested funds of the Madras Christian College alone brought an amount of £500 a year for the United Free Church [2]. During the same year, the Bengal mission of the Free Church earned an interest of £75 [3]. Similarly the small mission of Jalna of the same Church earned an interest of £48 a year in 1890 [4].

Lastly, mention may be made of the contributions paid by the missionaries from their salaries to strengthen the financial resources of their Churches. The large amounts of money contributed by Dr. William Miller have already been mentioned, but besides Dr. Miller several other missionaries also contributed to the missions' funds. Rev. Wilkie Brown of Alibag mission of the Free Church appears several times in the Mss. material, preserved in the National

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1. For details of various properties of the Free Church in 1890 see F.C.S. Report, 1888, p.113-129.
2. William Miller. Madras Christian College; a short account of its history and influence, p.16.
3. N.L.S. Mss. No.7840, p.124.
4. N.L.S. Mss. No.7829, p.277.

Library of Scotland, as contributing different sums for missions [1]. Dr. Alexander Mowat of Jalna not only contributed a sum of Rs.1500 (£113) for the economic development of the converts of Jalna, but he also desired that his philanthropy should not be made public [2]. On one more occasion, he offered to contribute 30% of his salary if an additional missionary was appointed at Jalna [3]. The widow of another missionary gave a sum of £400 for developing an orphanage where her husband had worked for a long time [4]. In 1902, when the Foreign Missions Committee of the United Free Church suggested to missionaries the possibility of a deficit of £15,000 in its annual budget, the Mission Council of Madras resolved that the missionaries should contribute their mite to reduce the foreseen deficit [5]. The Madras missionaries of the United Free Church also contributed a sum of £160 and £116-3-4 in the years 1903 and 1904 towards a fund started by the Foreign Missions Committee to strengthen its finances [6]. Also during the famines of 1878 in Rajputana and of Madras in 1900, missionaries contributed an amount of

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1. See for instance N.L.S. Mss. No. 7823, p.242-43.
2. N.L.S. Mss. 7830, p.93.
3. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7823, p.227.
4. M.R.U.F.C.S. 1914, p.549.
5. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7848, p.169.
6. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7849, p.22 and 146.

money from their pockets to mitigate the people's sufferings [1].

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7848, p.34 and E.G.K. Hewat. Op.cit. p.34 Rev. James Shepherd, a missionary who had worked in Rajputana between 1872 and 1920, left in his will £10,000 for men's and women's foreign missions and a further sum for the missionary work among Bhils.

(iii) EXPENDITURE

Balancing the expenditure with the income was an essential concern of the mission authorities. In allocating funds to several bodies, it was seen that they were wisely used. The missionaries' requirements for funds for several projects and experiments had often to be adjusted in a manner that the Foreign Missions Committee was not involved in any deficit. The Secretaries of the missions' committees, who were also sometimes treasurers of their committees, occasionally appear to be misers in allocating funds, but this was necessary since all the demands had to be tailored to the supply. Some of the important aspects concerned with spending are the following.

Formulating the annual budget formed an important part of every mission station. Every mission station was expected to send an annual budget giving details of the important items of expenditure. A typical budget, forwarded by Jalna-Bethel mission of the Free Church, in 1909, lists the following [1]:

	Rs.
Evangelistic grants	6,000
Indian village evangelisation grant	1,500
Repairs	350
Drugs	300

1. M.L.S. Mss. No.7832, p.166.

Medical Assistants	525
Orphans	1,800

Necessary additional grant

For 6 evangelist teachers	1,000
For hospital assistants	450
For new agents' houses	3,000
Rents	120
Repair grants	300

In addition to above a sum of Rs.12,000 to Rs.15,000 was asked for the construction of a bungalow for the newly arrived missionary, which though a non-recurring, was yet an important item of expenditure since many new bungalows were constructed by the Churches during the period of this study. Construction of buildings for schools, industrial enterprises, agents' houses, orphanages and the like frequently appears as an expensive item of the budgets. The most expensive item viz. the salaries and allowances of the missionaries was left out from the budgets since the Foreign Missions Committee already possessed the details of them. Often a small amount was kept aside and deposited in the bank for emergencies and sudden liabilities.

Besides preparing and submitting the budget, every mission station was also expected to submit annually an abstract of the expenditure incurred.[1]

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1. M.L.S. Mss. No. 7829, p.256 and 7839, p.41.

Care was taken to see that unsanctioned expenditure was not generally incurred by the Mission Councils. The Foreign Missions Committee protested if a Mission Council sometimes took a loan and spent more money than that was allotted to it. The Nagpur Mission Council of the Free Church which was involved in one such incident when it approached the Foreign Missions Committee for additional grants to pay off the loan, was replied inter alia: "... the committee not knowing of the buildings referred to, and not having ordered or sanctioned the erection of buildings in Khusaval decline the request"[1]. (The committee, however, paid the money when the entire situation was explained to it).

The expenditure of the Scottish missions in India, from their home revenue, has been shown on p.575 for some years of this study. Some of the curiosities in the figures for the Church of Scotland need accounting. The decrease in the figures for 1894 can be attributed partly to the closure of that Church's mission in Bombay in 1891[2], and partly also to the reduction of missionaries from four in 1889 to two in 1894 in Madras Presidency[3]. Also, the decrease

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7836, p.169
2. Hewat. Op.cit. p.49-50.
3. See Reports on the Schemes of the C. of S., 1890, p.151-52 and 1895, p.149-50.

in 1909 can perhaps be accounted to the merging of the Free Church and the Church of Scotland missions in Calcutta and Poona[1] (and later in Madras), and the consequent economy in expenditure.

A comparison of the Churches' income in Scotland (p.573) and their expenditure on Indian missions (p.575), would show that while the Church of Scotland spent a considerable portion of its home revenue on its Indian missions, both the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church, at least up to 1900, spent only a fraction of theirs. Also, a comparison of the Free Church expenditure on its Indian missions from its home revenue, (p.575) and the income of its Indian missions (p.574) would show that at least up to 1895, the latter was larger than former; in other words, of the total expenses incurred on its Indian missions, the Free Church derived more than half from its Indian revenue.

The more expensive items of the mission expenditure deserve some elaboration. The most expensive item of expenditure was the salaries of missionaries. Next to missionaries' salaries, the expensive item was the salaries of Indian workers of the missions who were employed in very large numbers.

Maintenance of High schools and the Colleges was the next important item of missions' expenditure. The Free Church report stated that "the largest proportion of men

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1. Hewat. Op.cit. p.77

and money from our Church goes in support of colleges and high schools" [1]. Of the large amount spent on the educational institutions, the Colleges in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras took the lion's share, although there were also Colleges like the one at Nagpur which cost the Free Church, in 1889, as little as £400 [2].

Construction and improvement, maintenance and repair of the missions' property constituted other capital items of expenditure. Construction of new houses for the missionaries and the mission agents appears almost a recurring item in the budgets of the Mission Councils. Similarly, demands for repairs frequently appear in the missionary records. In the Free Church, from 1889, the Nagpur mission at least was given a regular "Repair grant" [3]. It is not known whether the Foreign Missions Committee demanded it or not, but there appears to be a tendency among the missionaries to give very minute details while submitting the approximate expenses of the construction of the new houses. Minute details like type of wood, iron and steel to be used, the type of bricks and cement to be used, the colouring on

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1. F.C.S. Report 1888, p.10.
2. N.L.S. Mss. 7835, p.63 (This is an approximate expenditure).
3. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7835, p.66-67.

the walls, etc. were also given[1].

The amount spent on the welfare of the converts was considerable. Also, sums advanced as loans and rents on missionary lands were sometimes not recovered and were written off[2]. The attitude of the converts in this respect is worth studying. Many were "mainly attracted to the missionaries for the social or mundane reasons"[3]. And it was noted: "If the help they expect be not rendered, they are soon dissatisfied and turn away; what help they do actually receive, they consider as the natural reward for their profession of Christianity, and proffer no thanks whatever for it"[4].

Many other activitis of the missionaries were, however, conducted very cheaply. The conducting of boarding houses, primary schools, medical centres and sometimes the construction of the houses for Indian agents was all done very cheaply. For example in the boarding school at the Santal mission in 1885 the average expenses for maintaining a girl student was 7d. per day, and the amount included the clothes provided to the girls and the salary of a matron[5]. At Sylhet in 1903, the food and accommodation for an orphan

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No.7830, p.166-67
2. See Mewat. Op.cit. p.65; J.M. Macphail. Story ... Op.cit. p.68-69; N.L.S. Mss. 7830, p.103.
3. Richter. Op.cit. p.416;
4. Ibid. p.417
5. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7842, p.102.

cost only 2d. per day [1]. At Amraoti, in 1889, a primary school with 82 boys was run at a monthly expenditure of £7 which included the salaries of teachers, administrative expenses and other contingencies [2].

Though the amount spent on construction of several mission properties was large, yet the cost per unit except the houses for missionaries, High School and College buildings, hospitals and sometimes Churches, was small. The building of a Church in the Sialkot mission of the Church of Scotland cost only £20 in 1892 [3], while in Bhusaval, in 1894, the cost of construction of " a girls school, a boys school, a catechist house and one or two small buildings all in one compound" cost only about £75 [4]. Also the lease of land was very cheap. In the Santal mission a lease of an acre of land in 1880 cost between 1/6d to 4 Shillings [5].

Also the expenses on the maintenance of hospitals and dispensaries were often small. A missionary said in 1905

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1. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7844, p.213.
2. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7835, p.102. Out of £7 half the amount was received as a government grant, while the other half was raised through "local subscriptions and other resources".
3. C.S.H.F.M.R. 1892, p.351.
4. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7836, p.59 See also: N.L.S. Mss. No. 7846, p.87(7)
5. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7841, p.223-4.

that

> The whole expenditure on the hospital and dispensary (in Santal Parganas) including the salaries of native staff, drugs for 6,000 patients, food for hundreds of in-patients, with fuel, washing, lighting, cleaning and repair of instruments comes to about £100 a year [1].

Another missionary of the Santal mission said during the same year: "We have sometimes dispensed medicines for over 600 patients a day and calculated that the whole amount expended did not amount to a couple of Shillings" [2]. In 1906, a missionary in Bengal said that the treatment of 824 patients cost him £2 only [3]. The same was also true for the medical missions in South and West India. In 1882, the Madras mission dispensary of the Free Church spent only £45 for treating 16,413 patients [4], while in 1912 in Ajmer, in the Western India, the treatment of each out-patient cost the mission only a half-penny [5].

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1. J.M. Macphail. Story ... Op.cit. p.80.
2. Ibid. p.47.
3. N.L.S. Mss. No. 7840, p.186.
4. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1883, Appendix VIII, p.34.
5. E.G.K. Hewat. Op.cit. p.140.

Finally, an attempt is made to find out, for some years, the cost per baptism. Both the Churches unfortunately do not give systematic statistics for the persons baptised during different years before 1900. However, these statistics, and the expenditure from the home revenue, is available for the Church of Scotland after 1900. During some years, the number of people baptised in the Church of Scotland was as follows[1]:

Year	Expenditure from home revenue	No. of baptisms	Approximate cost per baptism
1904	£29,430	1035[a]	£28
1909	£27,464	1599[b]	£17
1913	£28,454	1891	£15

The big reduction in the cost per convert between 1904 and 1909, was, as we shall soon see, due to a larger number of converts received in mass movement in Punjab. Of the above, the adult baptisms were however comparatively smaller, as will be seen in the following table[2]:

Year	Total baptisms	Adults	Children
1904	1035	386	649
1909	1599	674	925
1913	1891	770	1121

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1. For figures of expenditure, see p.575; for number of baptisms, see Reports on the schemes of the C. of S., 1905, p.227-8, 1910, p.183-4 and 1914, p.199-200;
a. Includes 8 baptised by Women's Association
b. Includes 13 baptised by Women's Association
2. Reports on the schemes of the C. of S., 1905, p.227-8, 1910, p.183-4, 1914, p.199-200; where status of a person is not shown, baptisms have been treated as of adults.

Thus, if we ignore children, the cost per adult baptism would be £76 as against £28 in 1904, £41 as against £17 in 1909 and £37 as against £15 in 1913. Again, if we ignore the adult female baptisms, the cost per male adult baptism would be still higher. Thus in 1904, 1909 and 1913, out of 386, 674 and 770 adult baptisms, there were male baptisms of 209, 317 and 306 respectively. Computing the cost, we find, the approximate cost per male adult convert in 1904, 1909 and 1913 as £141, £87 and £93 as against the approximate average cost of £28, £17 and £15 respectively.

Again, if we compare the converts received in mass movements, as in Punjab, with the converts received through other agencies of conversions as in Madras, for example, the cost per convert received in mass movements was much lower than that received through other missionary agencies, as will be seen in the following table[1]:

PUNJAB

Year	Expenditure	Total baptisms	Approximate cost per convert
1904	£10,290	619	£17
1909	£12,183	1046	£11.10s.
1913	£14,228	1284	£11

1. For persons baptised see Reports on the schemes of the C. of S., 1905, p.227-28, 1910, p.183-4 and 1914, p.199-200 and for expenditure, 1905, p.233, 321; 1910, p.190, 280 and 1914, p.204, 293.

MADRAS

1904	£4,687	50	£94.
1909	£4,538	47	£97
1913	£3,436	42	£82

Again at the places, such as Calcutta, where the missionary agency of conversion was generally education, the cost per adult baptism in 1904 (detailed figures of other years being not available) was as much as £1320 and per male adult baptism perhaps thrice as much[1].

Summarising the various aspects of cost per baptism discussed above, we get the following general picture for the Church of Scotland in the years 1904 to 1913:

	£
Average cost per baptism	15 to 28 Approx.
Average cost per adult baptism	37 to 76
Average cost per male adult baptism	87 to 141
Cost per baptism in mass movement area	11 to 17
Average cost per baptism of an assumed educated male in 1904	1320

The average cost per baptism was apparently higher in the Free Church since the expenditure on the salaries of European missionaries alone (see figures p.457, 458 and 466 (a) would have surpassed the total outlay of the Church of Scotland on its Indian missions, while the number of baptisms in that Church were comparatively fewer (see p.569).

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1. There were 4 adult baptisms (2 of each sex) and two baptisms by female missionaries which have been treated as adult baptisms. The total expenditure was £7919. See Report on the schemes of the C. of S., 1905, p.227-8, 233 and 321.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing survey of Scottish missionary enterprise in India offers us some opportunities to evaluate its worth. But before doing so and discussing its contribution in specific fields, it would be desirable to make certain general observations on the work of the Protestant missions. The study revealed that there was further scope for exploring various aspects of Protestant missions' work. The educational work of the Scottish missions alone from their remote beginning to the period of this study could form the staple of another dissertation. Again, while several studies of the social, economic and medical work of American Protestant societies have been done[1], the similar work of British societies, particularly during the period of this study and thereafter, is hardly investigated. The organisation and consolidation of the Indian Protestant Church and the variations in different Protestant societies and among Catholics is another aspect of missionary work worth detailed investigation. The work of female missionaries has as yet received scant attention from historians, although as we observed, their numbers, at the end of the period of this study, had surpassed their male colleagues.

The study showed that the increase in Protestant Christianity

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1. The Indexes to Doctoral Dissertations for the last ten years show a number of studies on American missionary societies' work in India done in American universities.

in India during the period of this study was very little, if at all, affected by other forces such as growing nationalism, and the work of several non-Christian socio-religious societies formed in reaction or retaliation to missionary activities[1]. The proportionate increase in the Scottish missions was larger than the other Protestant missions in general - over seven times in the former between 1881 and 1909 as against nearly four times in the overall work of the Protestant (including Scottish) missions between 1881 and 1911[2]. On the other hand, proportionate increase among Catholics was smaller than the Protestants, nearly twice in the former as against nearly four times in the latter between 1881 and 1911[3].

The Indian Church was largely the handmaid of missionaries during the period of this study. Although the number of the ordained Indian ministers increased from 495 in 1881 to 1665 in 1911[4], the number of "Christian workers" from 1924 in 1881[5] to 38458 in 1911[6] ("more or less supported by mission funds"), and the "organised Churches" from 3860 in 1881 to 6308 in 1911[7], yet it was stated in 1911 that "in many

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1. See p. 407 ff.
2. For figures see pp. 569 and 408 respectively.
3. Catholics increased from 963,058 in 1881 to 1,904,006 in 1911 (See Census of India, 1881, Vol. II, p. 20 and Yearbook of Missions in India, 1912, p. 157); for Protestant figures, see p. 408.
5. Sherring, op. cit., p. 446.
4. Yearbook of missions in India, 1912, p. 175.
6. Ibid. p. 174
7. Ibid. p. 178

places" the control of foreign missionaries is still necessary and that the Indian Church "is gradually, if not speedily, coming to its own"[1]. In fact, it was only during the closing years of this study that the Indian Church began to assert itself, partly as a result of national feelings[2]. Financially, the Indian Church almost entirely depended on foreign missionaries. The total contributions of the Indian Protestant Church in 1911 amounted to about £120,000[3], which was less than one-third the income of the Church Missionary Society alone[4], and about two-thirds of the foreign missions' income of the Scottish Churches in Scotland[5].

The nature of the work done by all Protestant missionary societies was similar although their emphasis on some particular aspects of work varied. The educational, social and medical work of the missions was not distinct in the sense that they were doing for the country what the government and several indigenous societies were also trying to achieve. The general tendency, in practically all missions, was to conduct what was known in missionary circles as "cheap missions" and what William Paton, General Secretary of the National Christian Council of India (1922-27) and later secretary of the International Missionary Council, and several other missionaries and Indian Christians considered as "piling up numbers without regard to quality"[6]. More than 80 per cent of Protestant converts, as we noted earlier[7] were received in "mass

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1. Yearbook of missions in India, 1912, p. 203
2. See p. 380.
3. Yearbook of missions in India, 1912, p. 212.
4. Ibid. p. 168.
5. See p. 573
6. William Paton, Social Ideals in India, p. 47.
7. See p. 409.

movements". Scottish societies differed from other Protestant missions in that they laid more emphasis on higher education as a missionary agency.

As regards the educational work of the Scottish missions, they educated .03 per cent of the primary school boys in 1881 and this percentage increased very little in later years[1]. The two Scottish missions (Church of Scotland and the Free Church) were educating about 2.3 per cent of secondary school boys in 1900[2]. However, they educated a fair percentage of the secondary school boys in all Protestant mission schools[3]. In 1885, the two Scottish missions named above educated about 3 per cent of girls under instruction in British India but apparently less than that in subsequent years[4].

The more significant contribution of the Scottish missions was in the field of higher education where they were educating over 10 per cent of the Arts students in the Colleges in all India[5]. A number of Scottish missionaries occupied prominent positions in various bodies of the Indian universities and the Madras Christian College of the Free Church was the foremost missionary institution, reputed in the whole Presidency.

The missionaries, including Scottish, naturally emphasised the education of Christians with the result that the proportion of Indian Christians in the educational institutions was higher compared to their

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1. See p. 550
2. See pp. 104 and 111.
3. See p. 111.
4. See p. 555
5. See p. 557

proportion in the population as will be seen in the following table concerning Indian Christians[1]:

	1881-2	1916-7
	%	%
Percentage of population	.45	1.4 (approx.)
In primary schools for boys	1.6	n.a.
In primary schools for girls	12	6
In secondary schools for boys	2.15	3.4
In secondary schools for girls	46	20
Males in Arts Colleges	3.07	2.8
Females in Arts Colleges	n.a.	27

The literacy rate of the Indian Christians was also higher as compared to other creeds - even among the aboriginal tribes. The Census of 1901 thus showed that while among the Christian Santals, the literates numbered 22.6 per cent, among the Hindus, they numbered .3 per cent[2]. This was also more or less true of Lepchas and some other tribes among whom the missionaries worked[3].

Among the Protestant missionary societies, the rôle of higher education as a missionary agency was considerably doubted during the period of this study. Several of the missionary societies who had hastened to follow Duff in starting High Schools and Colleges as a means to the ultimate conversion of the students reconsidered this aspect of their missionary work and some such important societies as British Baptists closed down their Colleges[4]. Again, while the Scottish missions continued their

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1. Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882, p. ix (appendices) and Report of the Progress on education in India 1912-17 (P.P. 1919, Vol. 38, Cmd. 257), tables showing the race and creed of pupils. The percentages have been computed by me from the statistics.

2. Census of India, 1901, Vol. I, p. 168. 3. Ibid.

4. See Richter, op. cit., p. 313 ff. (The appendix V would also show that Baptists did not conduct even a single College).

work of the higher education, mainly due to Dr. Miller's insistence, the cherished missionary hopes of the latter as regards higher education did not materialise. As the report of the Christian Higher Education in India pointed out, in 1931: "A change in the soil of Hinduism, such as Dr. Duff and Dr. Miller aimed at bringing about by their praeparatio evangelica, has indeed been produced, but it has not quite brought with it the consequences that they anticipated"[1].

Perhaps Miller and the missionaries of his type were too optimistic of the rôle of higher education as a missionary agency; perhaps also they underestimated the potential social and religious influences which bind a non-Christian Indian, particularly a Hindu, with his kith and kin and creed. Be that as it may, higher education as a missionary agency scarcely succeeded.

It is worth pointing out that in the field of private education the bulk of the schools during the period of this study, and the majority of the Colleges during the later period of this study, came to be controlled by the indigenous societies. The report of the Education Commission of 1882 in its analysis of each province showed that a large majority of the privately-managed schools were managed by the indigenous societies although privately managed Colleges were still largely under the missionary control[2]. But by the end of 1917, of the 111,523 privately managed educational institutions with 4,402,883 pupils (61.1 per cent of total) in them[3],

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1. See Report of the Christian Higher Education in India, p. 43.
2. Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882, Chapter VIII.
3. P.P. 1919: Vol. 38: Cmd. 256, p. 51.

missionaries (both Catholics and Protestants) were educating only 533,954 pupils in their 10,461 institutions[1]. Also in the field of Arts Colleges, while the missionaries were educating 11,572 students in their 42 Colleges[2], other societies (almost all indigenous) were educating 23,855 students in their 49 Arts Colleges[3]. However, missionaries still exercised considerable control over female education and in 1911-12 Protestant missions alone were educating about 19 per cent of all girls under instruction[4].

The social work of the missionaries helped many of the poor and needy, the low castes and the outcastes, the orphans and many others. Their starting of orphanages and boarding schools resulted in a reasonably systematic up-bringing of many neglected children. The training of orphans in industrial works and crafts secured remunerative employment for some hundreds in the Scottish missions and thousands in the Protestant missions; their agricultural settlements fulfilled the same purpose.

As compared to other Protestant missions, the number of boarders and industrial trainees was relatively smaller in the Scottish missions. Thus in 1911, the Scottish missions had 1161 boarders and 382 trainees out of 39759 boarders and 9125 industrial trainees in all Protestant missions[5]. By contrast Basel Evangelical Mission trained about 40 per cent of all apprentices in Protestant missions[6].

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1. P.P. 1919: Vol. 38: Cmd. 257, p. 78. 2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. p. 126 (figures obtained by deducting the figures of missionary Colleges from all privately-managed ones)
4. See p. 132.
5. Yearbook of missions in India, 1912, p. 662-5 (tables) 6. Ibid.

In a way, the industrial trades and crafts taught in the Protestant missions were a fore-runner of the government efforts in the same direction. Although a number of government institutes for training crafts and trades existed, it was only under Lord Curzon (1899-1905) that "The first serious attempt to organise industrial education" (mainly apprentice schemes in trades and crafts) was made[1]. On the other hand, at the third Decennial Missionary Conference, Bombay, 1892-3, a number of societies had described and discussed their industrial undertakings[2]. But since the missionary industrial projects mainly aimed at providing a means of livelihood to the converts, they do not seem to have made a serious attempt to make them a commercial venture[3].

An interesting feature of the agricultural works started by missionary societies, as pointed out by a report of the International Missionary Council, was that the parents were not very enthusiastic about sending their children for training there. As the report said[4]:

> He has no desire to have his son taught agriculture, partly because he thinks he knows far more about that than the teacher, but still more because his ambition is that his boy should become a teacher or aclerk. If he finds that such a rise in the scale is improbable, his enthusiasm for education vanishes.

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1. P.P. 1919: Vol. 38: Cmd. 256, p. 153.
2. See Report ... op. cit. pp. 478-510.
3. See p. 275: see also the critical remarks of a Madras government Education Department official regarding missionary industrial enterprises, P.P. 1914: Vol. 62: Cmd. 7485, p. 180.
4. International Missionary Council. Village Education in India. p. 20.

The co-operative credit societies started by missionaries saved many farmers from the tyranny of the money-lenders and perhaps to some extent also cultivated among the converts the habits of saving and frugality. The missionary co-operative societies were a part of the movement rapidly expanding in the country. The Government of India had passed a Co-operative Credit Society Act in 1904 and thereafter co-operative societies under government auspices had increased from 283 in 1905 to 5321 in 1910-11[1]. However, missionary co-operative societies had two distinctive features. Firstly, while the societies run under government auspices enforced punctuality in payment "by double or treble interest on default of regular payment"[2], such punishment was never seen in the co-operative societies run by the Scottish missions at least. Secondly, while the co-operative societies under government auspices charged up to 18¾ per cent interest (which was still said to be smaller than what the money-lender charged)[3], Scottish missions seem to have charged a maximum interest of 6¼ per cent[4].

The missionary work during famines was noteworthy. The medals and the honours earned by a number of Scots missionaries for their work during famines[5], reveal their laudable efforts or organisation in this respect. The contributions of Glaswegians particularly during the famines of 1896-1900 were equally significant[6]. The "Christian Villages" formed by Scots missionaries occasionally contributed to the reclaiming of waste

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1. P.P. 1912-3: Session Vol. 103, p. 124.
2. P.P. 1903: Cmd. 1747, p. 30.
3. P.P. 1909: Vol. 62: Cmd. 156, p. 45.
4. See p. 241. 5. See p. 263. 6. See p. 260.

lands such as at Younsonabad in Punjab[1].

As a missionary agency, the social and economic work of the missionaries was very successful. The "mass movements" from which Protestant Christianity gained most in India were mainly socio-economic. The motives of the converts in these movements as Richter pointed out, "are principally of a social kind"[2].

While the missionaries were engaged in the social work, the social activities of Indian societies were not lagging behind. Particularly during the period of this study their work had considerably increased as will be seen even in a missionary work like J.N. Farquhar's Modern religious movements in India (New York, 1915). It is hard to say how many and how much the indigenous societies were influenced by missionary activities. Some like the Brahmo Samaj whose leaders had come in more intimate contact with missionaries were apparently influenced by the latter; others like the Prarthana Samaj and the Servants of India Society founded respectively by Ranade and Gokhale were apparently the creations of total western influences and rationalism; still others like the Arya Samaj, at least at the time of its foundation, was hardly, if at all, influenced by missionary work.

The medical work of the Protestant missions had increased greatly during the period of this study, although by the close of this study, it still reached only a minute portion of population. The number of medical

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1. See p. 422 and R.C. Majumdar, Advanced history of India, (1963 ed.), p. 873. The above village settlement was built in a government project aimed at reclaiming waste land.
2. Richter, op. cit., pp. 416-7.

missionaries had increased from 28 in 1882[1] to 335 (including 213 women) in 1911[2]. Among the Protestant missions, the Scottish societies took the lead in the medical mission work[3], and in 1911 they treated 587,676 patients out of 3,046,697 treated in all Protestant medical institutions[4]. In 1910, in British India total patients treated in the "State, Public, Local fund and Private Aided Hospitals" numbered 28,487,120 and over four millions in unaided private hospitals[5]; these statistics apparently referred to the patients treated according to western medical system (the above number was about 10 per cent of the population). But a government report stated, in 1914, that "the mass of the people still prefer to patronise the Kaviraj and other practitioners trained according to indigenous methods"[6].

It would be noted that the Protestant missions medical work in 1911, though it had expanded greatly, covered only 10 per cent of the patients treated by western medical methods, and reached about one per cent of population. A number of these treatments were in fact carried out by catechists and other mission workers described as "medical evangelists"[7]. However, a significant feature of the missionaries' medical work was their existence mainly in the villages and among aboriginal tribes where medical

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1. Richter, op. cit., p. 347.
2. Yearbook of missions in India, 1912, p. 364. 3. See p. 308.
4. Yearbook of missions in India, 1912, pp. 686-7.
5. Statistical Abstracts relating to British India, 1900-1 to 1910-11 (P.P. 1912-13, Session Vol. 103), pp. 238-9.
6. Correspondence regarding the Indian medical service and medical profession in India. P.P. 1914: Cmd. 7547, p. 6.
7. See p. 304 ff.

aid was less procurable. The medical missionaries' knowledge of their profession was undoubtedly much superior to the Kavirajs.

The "Mission to Lepers" (founded by a Scots missionary) maintained the largest leper asylums, largely financed by the government[1]. Many lepers in India lived in their homes as other family members. In 1911, out of 5116 lepers (which formed 4.7 per cent of leper population) living in the leper asylums, 3537 lived in the leper asylums maintained by the "Mission to Lepers"[2].

As a missionary agency, the medical work and the running of leper asylums by the missionaries was very successful[3].

During the period of this study, consolidating rather than expanding the fields formed the main feature of the work of the Scottish missions in India. The new mission stations started during the period of this study numbered about half those started in the preceding fifty years[4]. The help received by missionaries from their Indian workers (mostly paid) was substantial. The ratio of one Scottish missionary to Indian workers was between seven to ten[5]. But the increase in the number of ordained Indian pastors in the Scottish missions did not keep pace with other Protestant missions during the period of this study[6].

The missionary attempts for the training of catechists and other mission agents, for creating a nucleus for a self-reliant Indian Church and

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1. Census of India, 1911, pp. 355-6.
2. Ibid.
3. See pp. 314-5.
4. See Appendix 6.
5. See pp. 369-70.
6. See p. 378.

producing leadership on whom the future of the Church could rest, their attempts to unite their variegated followers coming from different environments into a single brotherhood, their unity formulae for bringing together not only the followers of the Presbyterian missions but of all Protestant denominations, though largely unsuccessful during the period of this study, had their ultimate results. To-day a very large part of the leadership, finance, and organisation of Church work in India comes from within, and as regards the unity of different denominations and sects, to-day there are in India only two well-knitted Protestant Churches viz. the United Church of North India and the Church of South India embracing most Protestant denominations. Indeed the two Protestant Churches in India are an example to the West that despite doctrinal disputes, conflicting creeds, ecclesiastical controversies and differences in rituals and ceremonies, Protestant Churches can unite[1].

As regards finances, the Scottish Churches' income for foreign missions in Scotland more than doubled during the period of this study and increased from about £90,000 in 1885 to nearly £211,000 in 1913[2]. Their income for foreign missions was higher than many other larger European countries, including Germany; indeed the per capita contributions of

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1. Prof. William Barclay of Glasgow University said: "In 1947 there came into being the Church of South India. In it Anglicans, Methodists, Presbyterians, Dutch Reformed Church, Lutherans came together to form one Church - and this has always been held up as an example of unity". Scottish Daily Express. Dt. 25 December, 1965, p. 10, Col. 6.

2. See p. 573

3. See p. 494.

Scottish Presbyterians for foreign missions (when divided by whole population) were higher than any other country of the world including England at least in 1890 and 1891[1]. However the contributions for foreign missions formed only a very small part of giving for all Church purposes in Scotland[2].

In India, the contributions by the Scottish missions' adherents were very small and did not increase in proportion to the membership[3]. Also, the increase in the contributions of the Scottish Churches' adherents in India did not keep pace with the increase in the other Protestant Churches[4]. On the other hand, the income earned by the Scottish missions in India from all sources formed a significant portion of their income and expenditure for foreign missions[5]. The most important source of income in India was the educational fees and government grants. How important were the latter for the missionary enterprise is seen in the statement of the Rev. Dr. Ewing, Vice Chancellor of Punjab University[6]. In 1916-17, out of the total maintenance expenditure of Rs. 13,800,457 of the Protestant and Catholic missions on their educational work in India, only Rs. 3,827,390 were contributed from mission funds[7].

Lack of substantial evidence makes it impossible to find out the

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1. See p. 493.
2. See pp. 495-6.
3. See p. 514
4. See p. 514.
5. Compare p. 573 and 575.
6. See p. 389.
7. P.P. 1919: Vol. 38: Cmd. 257, p. 78 (the total shown is Rs. 1,380,045 which is a printed error)

exact cost per convert during different years in the Scottish missions, but the cost per baptism and per adult baptism in the Church of Scotland in the years between 1904 and 1913 varied from £15 to £28 and £37 to £76 respectively[1].

Salaries and allowances of the missionaries formed the most important part of the Scottish missions' expenditure in India. The missionaries received more than double the salary of the ministers in Scotland during the early period of this study. Although the missionaries' salaries were reduced later, they were still substantially larger than those of the ministers in Scotland[2]. At least up to 1890, Scottish missionaries' salaries were higher than those of any other Protestant missionary society working in India[3].

In concluding remarks it might be stated, that except in the field of Arts Colleges, the educational, social, economic and medical work of the Scottish missions was very small when compared to the country and its population - indeed a small drop in a large bucket. But at the same time, certain distinctive features of the missionary work and the individual contributions of several missionaries were noteworthy. Still more important perhaps was the fact that the missionary work among the neglected elements of the society served as a catalyst activating a number of indigenous societies to work among those sections of the society which they had long neglected.

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1. For more details see pp. 529-31.
2. For exact scales see p. 459 ff.
3. See p. 473.

TABLES

NOTES FOR TABLES

1. Sources in most tables, viz. "Proceedings" and the"Reports on the schemes of the C. of S." contain the annual reports of the foreign missions of the said Churches(for the Free Church, see Appendix VIII before 1900, Appendix V between 1901 and 1910 and Appendix II thereafter.
2. Unless otherwise stated, statistics is taken from the tabulated appendices attached at the end of the annual reports.
3. Statistics of the "South Arabia" mission (shown with the Indian missions in the annual reports) of the Free Church or the United Free Church has been ignored.
4. The United Presbyterian Church, which merged with the Free Church in 1900 to formthe United Free Church, has been treated separately in these tables for the sake of convenience.
5. All statistics refers to India unless otherwise stated.
6. The Annual Reports of the missions give separate statistics for some smaller stations during some years, which have been grouped in these tables. Thus the figures for Indapur has been added in the mission group of Jalna, Ar'mnam in Madras and so on.

TABLE 1

Figures showing the number of European missionaries of Scottish Missions in India, up to 1877.

Church	Mission Group	1847	1857	1867	1877
Free Church	Bombay	2	3	3	4
	Calcutta	3	8	6	5
	Madras	3	4	7	6
	Nagpur	2	3	2	4
	Poona	1	2	2	1
TOTAL		11	20	20	20
Church of Scotland	Bombay	n.a.	n.a.	2	2
	Calcutta	n.a.	n.a.	2	3
	Darjeeling	n.a.	n.a.	2	3
	Gaya	n.a.	n.a.	2	0
	Madras	n.a.	n.a.	1	2
	Punjab	n.a.	n.a.	2	4
TOTAL		-	-	11	14
United Presbyterian Church	Rajputana	-	-	10	16
GRAND TOTAL		11+	20+	41	50

SOURCES: "Proceedings" of the Free Church: Statistics given in or appended to the texts of the annual reports for the above years;
Reports on the schemes of the C. of S. for the above years;
Frank Ashcroft, op. cit. p.135 (for figures for the U.P.C.)
(Where figures are not given, these have been computed by counting names of missionaries on the field)

TABLE 2

Length of Scottish missionaries' service in India in 1880.

Church	Total Missionaries	Less than Ten Years	More than Ten Years	More than Twenty years	More than Forty Years
Free Church	27	13	3	10	1
Church of Scotland	17	10	7	0	0
United Presbyterian Church	14	7	5	2	0

SOURCE: B.H. Badley (ed.): Indian Missions Directory (1881 ed.) p. 249.

TABLE 31

Educational Statistics of the Free Church and the Church of Scotland in 1877.

Church	Mission Group	Schools	Pupils (both sexes)
PRIMARY SCHOOLS			
Free Church	Bombay	10	345
	Calcutta	49	1,630
	Jalna	10	252
	Madras	11	1,223
	Nagpur	3	158
	Poona	5	505
Church of Scotland	Bombay	n.a.	n.a.
	Calcutta	1+.	105
	Darjeeling	n.a.	629
	Madras	2	195
	Punjab	2	143
TOTAL		93+	5,185
SECONDARY SCHOOLS			
Free Church	Bombay	2	316
	Calcutta	8	1,537
	Jalna	5	140
	Madras	8	1,895
	Nagpur	5	469
	Poona	3	648
Church of Scotland	Bombay	1	n.a.
	Calcutta	1	780
	Madras	1	480
	Punjab	4	732
TOTAL		38	6,997
COLLEGES			
Free Church	Bombay		87
	Calcutta		126
	Madras		174
Church of Scotland	Calcutta		128
TOTAL			515

1. F.C.S. Proceedings, 1877, Appendix VIII; p. 63-71.

Reports on the schemes of the Church of Scotland, 1877.(Calcutta had more than one school).

TABLE 4

Figures showing the number of boys in primary schools of Scottish Missions and also in British India.

Church	Mission Group	1877	1881	1885	1889	1894	1899	1904	1909	1913
Free Church	Bombay	130	576	190	327	196	282			
	Calcutta	1,203	901	911	1,139	958+	551+	Separate figures		
	Jalna	247	219	83	280	190	304	for primary schools		
	Madras	180	349	252	616	n.a.	388+	not available		
	Nagpur	94	134	278	238	518	777	thereafter.		
	Poona	270	249	468	47	n.a.	220			
	Santal Parganes	-	118	663	847	886	1,311			
	TOTAL	2,124	2,546	2,845	3,494	2,750+	3,833+			
Church of Scotland	Bombay	n.a.	38	26	-	Closed in 1891		-	-	-
	Calcutta	n.a.	140	n.a.	8	10	20	74	90	230
	Eastern Himalayas		426	938	1,120	1,981	2,330	2,722	3,156	3,403
	Madras	n.a.	270	67	126	35	101	428	174	236
	Punjab	n.a.	2	364	1,012	633	1,217	1,147	1,226	735
	TOTAL		876	1,395+	2,266	2,659	3,668	4,371	4,646	4,847[a]
United Presbyterian Church	Rajputana	n.a.	2,500[b] (1880)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.			
	TOTAL Scottish Missions		5,922							
	TOTAL (British India, in Millions)		2,061 (1881-2)	2,381 (1886-7)	2,680 (1891-2)	3.028 (1896-7)	3.070 (1901-2)	3.631 (1906-7)	4.523 (1911-12)	

SOURCES: Statistics appended to the U.P.C., F.C., and U.F.C. "Proceedings" and to the "Reports on the schemes of the C. of S., for the years, next to above, i.e. 1878, 1882, ... 1914.
(ii) p.p. 1919: vol. 38: Cmd. 257, p.146

NOTES: a. Includes 243 at Poona
b. Approximate number (source - Frank Ashcroft op. cit. p. 91)

TABLE 5

Number of boys in the Secondary Schools conducted by Scottish Missions

Church	Mission Group	1877	1881	1885	1889	1894	1899	1904	1909	1913
F.C.	Bombay	296	420	520	884	1129	782	SEPARATE FIGURES		
	Calcutta	1428	1260	1402	1266	1195	1406	FOR FREE CHURCH		
	Jalna	70	60	169	38	n.a.	137	SECONDARY SCHOOLS		
	Madras	1819	2357	3256	2790	3064	2729	NOT AVAILABLE		
	Nagpur	417	511	571	568	1389	1500	FROM 1901 ONWARDS.		
	Poona	440	205	325	12	215	n.a.			
	Santal Parganas	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	24	76	73			
	Total	4470	4813	6243	5582	7068+	6627+			
C. of S.	Bombay	n.a.	339	252	201	---	Closed in 1891	---		
	Calcutta	n.a.	757	527	508	342	459	518	810	980
	Eastern Himalayas	n.a.	-	13	13	19	39	33	n.a.	219
	Madras	n.a.	1246	1259	1200	1598	1012	1076	1144	1220
	Punjab	n.a.	1373	1371	1061	2278	1288	1899	2129	3174
	Total		3715	3422	2983	4237	2798	3526	4083+	5698 (a)
U.P.C.	Rajputana	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	GRAND TOTAL		8528+	9665+	8565	11305+	9425+			

Total (British India) See p.

Notes: (a) Includes 105 at Poona

Sources: Statistics appended to the U.P.C., F.C., and F.C. "Proceedings" and to the "Reports on the schemes of the C. of S., for the years next to above, i.e. 1882, 1886 ... 1914.

TABLE 6

Statistics of the pupils in the High Schools which acted as "feeders" to the Colleges.

Church	School	1878	1882	1886	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910	1914
Church of Scotland	Calcutta	900	769	544	598	428	602	n.a.	1070	980
	Madras	n.a.	540	398	583	620	620	707	--- Merged with United Free Church School ---	
	Sialkot	275	500	521	n.a.	720	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Free Church of Scotland	Bombay	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	390	325	n.a.	400+	460	467
	Calcutta	1028	701	n.a.	590	524	507	n.a.	--- Merged with Church of Scotland School ---	
	Madras	875	925	n.a.	885	n.a.	970	986	835	955
	Nagpur	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	482	951

SOURCES: Statistics given in the U.P.C., F.C., and U.F.C. "Proceedings" and to the "Reports on the schemes of the C. of S., for the ~~years next to above, i.e. 1889~~ above years. (Figures taken from the text of the reports).

TABLE 7

Figures showing the candidates submitted and passed in the Matriculation (High School) Examinations.

Year	Place	Church	Submitted	Passed
1878	Sialkot	C.of S.	5	5
	Calcutta	C.of S.	90	27
	Madras	C.of S.	n.a.	22
1881	Bombay	F.C.	20	13
	Madras	F.C.	n.a.	62
	Nagpur	F.C.	n.a.	12
	Calcutta	C.of S.	n.a.	22
1885	Calcutta	C.of S.	38	8
	Sialkot	C.of S.	n.a.	3
1889	Calcutta	F.C.	63	7
	Nagpur	F.C.	28	8
	Madras	F.C.	n.a.	53
1894	Calcutta	C.of S.	32	13
	Calcutta	F.C.	25	13
	Jaipur	U.P.C.	3	2
	Nagpur	F.C.	30	23
1899	Calcutta	C.of S.	48	22
	Calcutta	F.C.	22	12
	Nagpur	F.C.	n.a.	27
1904	Calcutta	C.of S.	64	38
	Calcutta	F.C.	19	5
1909	Calcutta	C.of S.	79	54

Sources: Figures taken from the text of the annual reports of the missions for the years next to above i.e. 1879, 1882, and 1910.

TABLE 8

INDIAN TEACHERS
EMPLOYED BY THE SCOTTISH MISSIONS

(Figures in bracket show the number of Christians)

Church	1881	1885	1889	1894	1899	1904	1909	1913
F.C.	415 (187)	572 (180)	634 (230)	581 (349)	731 (439)	712	684	736
C. of S.	219 (59)	227 (69)	252 (101)	333 (155)	344 (206)	363 (203)	391 (214)	468 (249)
U.P.C.	n.a.	140	n.a.	207	Merged with the Free Church			

SOURCES: Statistics appended to the U.P.C., F.C., and U.F.C. 'Proceedings' and to the 'Reports on the schemes of the C. of S., for the years next to above i.e. 1882, 1886 .... 1914.

NOTE: The Free Church figures upto 1899 include the teachers in the schools managed by "Women's Association" of that Church.

TABLE 9

Statistics of the girls in the Scottish Missions' Schools (Both Primary and Secondary)

Church	Mission Group	1885	1889	1894	1899	1904	1909	1914
Church of Scotland Women's Association	Calcutta	896	851	753	798	931	753	823
	Eastern Himalayas	0	28	56	79	190	255	278
	Madras	585	552	734	768	1096	1183	1158
	Poona	634	795	850	430+	855	917	700
	Punjab	180	313	517	530 [d]	540	631	715+
(Female schools conducted by C. of S. male missionaries)		612	313	594	579	582	629	n.a.
TOTAL		2907	2852	3504	3184+	4194	4368	3674+
Free Church of Scotland Women's Association*	Bombay	Included	295	423	461	521	720	914
	Calcutta	in	846	893	975	1426	1183	952
	Jalna	Schools	78	66	78	71	307	308
	Madras	conducted	2263	1932	1689	2103	2082	2481
	Nagpur	by male	232	298	503	390	675	707
	Poona	missionar-	n.a.	297	322	504	677	629
	Santal Parganas	ies.	105	186	161	308	329	261
	Rajputana	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	972	1302	1236
(Female schools conducted by male missionaries)		4023	1123 [a]	680 [b]	[c]	separate figures not available		
TOTAL		4023	4942	4775	4189	6295+	7275+	7488+
GRAND TOTAL		6930+	7794+	8299+	7373	10,489+	11,643+	11,162+
TOTAL (British India [e])		227,736 (1886-87)	339,031 (1891-92)	402,158 (1896-97)	444,470 (1901-02)	645,028 (1906-07)	952,923 (1911-12)	

* Figures of girls or women in Boarding Schools, Zenanas and a normal school in Madras (unless combined with other figures) are not included in the above statistics.

SOURCES: (i) Statistics appended to the [illegible], F.C., and U.F.C. "Proceedings" and to the "Reports on the schemes of the C. of S.," for the years next to above, i.e. 1886, ... 1915.

(ii) P.P. 1919: Vol. 38: Cmd. 257, p. 170.

NOTES: a. The figures shown are actually 4942, but they include the figures of pupils educated by female missionaries.

b. The figures shown are actually 4775, but these include figures of schools conducted by female missionaries.

c. No. shown is 3386 and is said to include pupils in the schools run both by male and female missionaries, but actually numbers in the schools conducted by female missionaries exceed the above number which alone I have included.

d. Figures of earlier year.

e. Figures show total number of girls under instruction, including those in College Normal Schools etc. Most of them were, however, in primary and secondary schools

TABLE 556

Figures showing the zenana pupils instructed and houses visited (in parenthesis) by Church of Scotland female missionaries.

Mission	1885	1889	1894	1899	1904	1909	1913
Calcutta	68(52)	51(n.a.)	48(39)	39(30)	90(79)	52(43)	18(12)
Eastern Himalayas	0	48(41)	96(69)	40(31)	86(59)	40(30)	38(30)
Madras	104(95)	124(114)	101(87)	102(94)	132(114)	107(100)	145(138)
Poona	200(74)	n.a.(100)	n.a.(54)	n.a.(45)	8(5)	n.a.	n.a.
Punjab	0	3 + (9)	70(57)	76(47[a])	45[b](88)	244(158)	197 + (172+)
Total	372(221)	226 + (264+)	315 + (306)	257 + (247)	361(345)	443(331)	398(352)

Notes: (a) Figures of earlier year.

(b) There appears to be a printing mistake, since the number of houses visited could not be normally larger than the number of pupils.

Sources: Statistics appended to the "Reports on the schemes of the C. of S[n]., for the years next to above, i.e. 1886 ... 1914.

TABLE II

Statistics showing the number of students in the Scottish Missions' Colleges between 1878 and 1914.

Church	College	1878	1882	1886	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910	1914
Church of Scotland	Calcutta	300	544	325	390	604	653	631	818	1,026
	Madras	College classes started in 1887			86	154	92	129	Merged with Madras Christian College	
	Sailkot	Started in 1889				n.a.	36	n.a.	43	103
Free Church of Scotland	Bombay	n.a.	90	160	220	420	292	470	594	791
	Calcutta	114	145	266	192	297	462	366	Merged with C.of S. College	
	Madras	242	295	605	621	841	626	803	835	676
	Nagpur	Started in 1883		23	60	n.a.	n.a.	99	175	327
TOTAL		656+	1,074	1,379	1,569	2,316+	2,161+	2,498+	2,469	2,923
TOTAL (All India Arts Colleges)				8,060 (1886-7)	12,424 (1891-2)	13,933 (1896-7)	17,148 (1901-2)	18,001 (1906-7)	23,196 (1911-12)	

SOURCES: (i) Reports on the schemes of the Church of Scotland for the above years (ii) F.C.S. or U.F.C.S. Proceedings for the above years (Figures taken from the text of annual reports) (iii) P.P. 1919:Vol. 38:Cmd. 257, p.125

TABLE 12

Number of students submitted (in brackets) and passed in First in Arts (later Inter Arts) Examination.

Church	Location of College	1880-81	1884-5	1888-9	1893-4	1898-9	1903-4	1908-9	1913-14
Church of Scotland	Calcutta	44	18(45)	62	52(134)	55(105)	66(181)	n.a.	n.a.
	Madras	First students prepared in 1889			41	12	n.a.	15	Merged with U.F.C.S.
	Sialkot	Started 1883	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Free Church	Bombay	15(51)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	63	67[a]	n.a.	n.a.
	Calcutta	19	27(61)	16(61)	22(42)	33(74)	32(71)	Merged with C. of S.	
	Madras	61	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	83(200)	88(175)
	Nagpur	0	3	8(12)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	30	n.a.
TOTAL (All India)				2,305 (1891-92)	2,811 (1896-97)	3,111 (1901-02)	2,879 (1906-07)		4,758 (1911-12)
% of passing (All India)		n.a.	n.a.	39	41	42	40		50

SOURCES: (i) Reports on the schemes of the C. of S. for the years 1882, 1886, 1890, 1895, 1900, 1905, 1910 and 1915 (ii) Free Church and the United Free Church Proceedings for the above years (Figures obtained from text of annual reports) (iii) P.P. 1919:Vol. 38, Cmd. 257, p. 109.

NOTE: a. Includes 3 students for Inter Science.

TABLE 13

Statistics showing the number of students submitted and passed in B.A. and B.Sc., examinations (Figures in brackets show the number submitted).

Church	Location of College	1876-7	1880-1	1884-5	1888-9	1893-4	1898-9	1903-4	1908-9	1913-14
Church of Scotland	Calcutta	-	21	38(56)	26	63(152)	42(135)	50(181)	49[a](99)	
Free Church	Bombay	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	62	78[b]	66[c]	107[e]
	Calcutta	n.a.	3	35	25(88)	31(78)	43(71)	22(159)	Then merged with C. of S.	
	Madras	13	38	51	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	83(154)
	Nagpur	Started 1883			6(8)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	12[d]	n.a.
TOTAL PASSED (All India)						1,342	1,377	1,592	1,970	3,280 (1912-1913)

SOURCES: (i) Reports on the Committees of the C. of S., 1878,1882,1886,1890, 1895,1900,1905,1910,1915
(ii) F.C.S. and U.F.C.S. Proceedings, for the above years
(iii) P.P. 1919:Vol. 38:Cmd. 257, p.111-12

NOTES: The C. of S. Colleges at Madras and Sialkot were II grade Colleges and did not prepare students for the B.A. Degree during the period of this study.

a. Includes 7 students for B.Sc.
b. " 3 " " "
c. " 5 " " "
d. " 5 " " "
e. " 11 " " "

TABLE 14

M.A. RESULTS

OF THE STUDENTS OF THE SCOTTISH MISSION COLLEGES

Year	Location	Church	Submitted	Passed	Total Passed (All India)
1880-81	Bombay	Free Church	8	3	
	Calcutta	-do-	n.s.	2	
	Calcutta	Church of Scotland	n.s.	2	
1888-1889	Calcutta	-do-	10	3	
1893-1894	Calcutta	-do-	13	10	105
	Calcutta	Free Church	8	4	
1898-1899	Calcutta	Church of Scotland	18	4	145
1903-1904	Calcutta	-do-	27	6	130
	Calcutta	Free Church	7	3	
1908-1909	Bombay	Free Church	n.s.	12	268
1913-1914	Bombay	Free Church	n.s.	8	
	Madras	-do-	n.s.	17	

SOURCES: Statistics given in the text of the F.C. and U.F.C. "Proceedings" and to "Reports on the schemes of the C. of S., for the years next to and above, i.e. 1882, 1886 ... 1915 (ii) p.p. 1919; Vol. 38, Cmd. 257, p.111-12.

TABLE 15

BOOKS AND TRACTS SOLD AND DISTRIBUTED BY

THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND Missions.

Year	Sold	Distributed	Total	Value
1881	11,790	14,108	25,898	Rs. 1201
1885	13,984	4,600	18,584	Rs. 1,051
1889	22,179+	59,036+	81,215+	Rs. 1514+
1894	17,705	31,344	49,049	Rs. 2460 approx.
1899	52,023	41,305	93,328*	Rs. 2,102
1904	18,949	64,042	82,991	£ 123 (Rs.1968)
1909	17,228+	51,115+	68,343	£110 (Rs.1760)

Source: Statistics appended to the "Reports on the schemes of the C.of S.", for the years, next to above i.e. 1882, 1886.....1910.

* Total shown is 85128 which is a printed error.

TABLE 16

STATISTICS OF THE MEDICAL MISSIONARIES EMPLOYED BY THE SCOTTISH MISSIONS IN INDIA

Church	1881	1885	1889	1894	1899	1904	1909	1913
F.C.	2	1	3	2	1	12	12	12
F.C. Women's Assoc.	0	0	2	2	n.a.	9	12	16
C. of S.	1	1	1	2	3	9[a]	8[b]	5[b]
U.P.C.	n.a.	n.a.	5 (1890)	6	7	4	4	4
Total	3+	2+	11	12	11+	34	36	37

NOTES: a: including female medical missionaries and nurses

b: including female medical missionaries

SOURCES: Statistics appended to the U.P.C., F.C. and U.F.C. 'Proceedings' and to 'Reports on the schemes of the C. of S., for the years next to above i.e. 1882, 1886 ... 1914.

TABLE 17

Statistics of treatments in the Scottish Missions' Hospitals and Dispensaries in 1900.

H = Hospital D = Dispensary

Place	Designation	New dispensary patients	Hospital in-patients	Outside patients	Total Individual patients	Total Treatments	Surgical cases
Ajmer	H. & D.	19,981	117		20,095	69,845	1,059
-do-	Women's H. & D.	4,100	86	935	5,121	13,777	323
Beawar	D.	NO STATISTICS AVAILABLE					
Bhandara	H. & D.	6,664	611	-	7,275	13,717	-
Chamba	D.	4,460	-	1,000	5,460	9,000	220
Chinsurah	Four D.s and camp.	11,171	-	-	11,171	-	-
Gujrat	Women's H. & D.	2,973	35	-	3,008	5,990	32
Jalalpur	H. & D.	9,438	51	-	9,489	26,255	339
Jalna	H. & D.	-	-	-	-	14,433	-
Jodhpur	H. & D.	7,294	109	381	7,784	41,511	1,477
Kalimpong	H. & D. and district work	8,692	150	11,298	20,140	26,077	-
Kalna	H. & D.	31,231	54	283	31,568	56,222	299
Madras	H. & 3 D.s	7,324	410	-	7,734	23,122	228
Nagpur	D.	-	-	-	-	12,000	-
Nagpur	Women's H., two D.s and camp	5,218	460	1,642	7,320	16,694	-
Nasirabad	H. & D.	9,110	209	-	9,319	26,561	803
Pachamba	D.for Women	5,373	376	-	5,749	-	2,369
Poona	H. & 2 D.s.	2,917	405	-	3,322	10,099	52
Sialkot	H. & D.	7,786	249	-	8,035	14,000	528
Sialkot	Women's H. & D.	2,518	15	211	2,744	6,641	53
Thana	D.	8,225	-	-	8,225	30,178	560
Toondee	D.	3,571	-	-	-	3,571	-
Udaipur	H. & D.	14,667	342	-	15,009	55,183	1,498
Walajabad	H. & 2 D.s.	4,585	-	-	4,585	12,305	369
Wardha	H. & 2 D.s.	3,108	15	-	3,123	12,903	-

SOURCE: J.S. Dennis. Centennial Survey of foreign Missions, pp. 202-7.

TABLE 18

Figures showing the number of catechists employed by Scottish missions in India

CHURCH	MISSION	1881	1885	1889	1894	1899	1904	1909	1913
F.C.	Bombay	3	6	5	6	12	8	12	6
	Calcutta	2	5	3	15	15	18	21	25
	Jalna	13	23	28	24	14	20	46	24
	Madras	6	12	18	42	52	24	30	28
	Nagpur	10	6	6	17	19	41	30	30
	Poona	3	2	-	3	7	14	11	19
	Santal Parganas	12	11	19	28	21	37	40	44
	Total	49	65	79	135	140	162	190	176
C. of S.	Bombay	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
	Calcutta	9	4	3	6	11	9	8	10
	Eastern Himalayas	9	15	24	34	28	36	48	48
	Madras	7	6	3	8	8	12	8	9
	Punjab	7	12	15	57	30+	66	71	71
	Total	34	38	46	105	77+	125[a]	136[b]	140[c]
U.P.C.	Rajputana	n.a.	38	36 (1891)	34	40	44	43	53
	GRAND TOTAL	83+	141	161	274	257+	331	369	369

Notes: (a) Includes 2 at Poona.
(b) Includes 1 at Poona.
(c) Includes 2 at Poona.

Sources: Statistics appended to the U.P.C., F.C., and U.P.C. "Proceedings" and to the "Reports on the schemes of the C. of S. for the years next to above i.e. 1882, 1886 ... 1914. The U.P.C.S. reports after 1901 list the catechists in two separate columns of "Evangelists and colporteurs" and "other paid agents" - the latter apparently includes the lower paid Church workers (excluding teachers, ordained ministers, licentiates, and office bearers, whose figures are shown separately in the reports) and have been included among catechists.

TABLE 19

Indian Personnel employed by the Women's Missions.

Church	Mission Group	1885 [a]	1889 [b]	1894	1899	1904	1909	1913
Church of Scotland	Calcutta	40	40	39	39	44	42	40
	Eastern Himalayas	-	2	5	8	17	16	19
	Madras	33	36	55	54	89	70	60
	Poona	24	44	60	44	60	60	64
	Punjab	12	11	34	45+	57	73	58
	TOTAL*	109(75)	133(98)	193(146)	190(167)	267(210)	261(217)	241(200)
Free Church [c]	TOTAL	n.a.	n.a.	212	228	285	338	359
United Presbyterian Church [c]	TOTAL	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	136	88	83
	GRAND TOTAL			405+	418+	688	687	683

* Figures in brackets - included in the total - show the number of Christians.

SOURCES: Reports on the Schemes of the C. of S., and "Proceedings" of the Free Church or United Free Church for the years next to the above, i.e. 1886 ... 1914 (figures taken from Women's Missions annual reports).

NOTES:
a. Included some European and Eurasians employed in India (not missionaries).
b. Includes 24 male workers.
c. Figures for Free Church show only the number of "Christian agents".
C. Figures show only Christian workers.

TABLE 20

STATISTICS OF "BIBLE WOMEN" EMPLOYED BY SCOTTISH MISSIONS

Church	Mission Group	1894	1899	1904	1909	1913
C.of S.	Calcutta	-	-	6	5	4
	Eastern Himalayas	-	-	1	-	-
	Madras	13	15	16	14	11
	Poona	-	-	2	1	2
	Punjab	5	12	6	10	9
		18	27	31	30	26
F.C.	Bombay	3	2	n.a.	6	5
	Calcutta	-	1	n.a.	11	12
	Jalna	11	7	n.a.	10	7
	Madras	8	6	n.a.	26	29
	Nagpur	9	8	n.a.	7	11
	Poona	5	-	n.a.	5	4
	Santal Parganas	-	-	n.a.	2	n.a.
		34	24		67	68+
U.P.C.	Rajputana	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	23	21
Grand Total		52+	51+		120	115+

Sources: Statistics appended to the U.P.C., F.C. AND U.F.C. "Proceedings" and to the "Reports on the schemes of the C.of S., for the years next to above i.e. 1895...1914 (Figures obtained from women's Missions annual reports)

TABLE 21

Figures showing the number of Indian ordained ministers of Scottish Missions

Church	Mission Group	1881	1885	1889	1894	1899	1904	1909	1913
F.C.	Bombay	1	2	3	2	0	2	0	1
	Calcutta	5	5	3	3	1	1	0	1
	Jalna	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
	Madras	1	1	2	4	5	5	6	6
	Nagpur	1	2	2	3	3	1	4	2
	Poona	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Total	9	12	12	13	10	10	11	14(a)
C. of S.	Bombay	0	0	0	----	Mission closed in 1891		----	
	Calcutta	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1
	Eastern Himalayas	0	0	0	0	2	7	5	8
	Madras	3	2	2	1	1	0	2	2
	Punjab	1	1	4	4	4	4	2	5
		5	3	7	6	8	11	9	16
U.P.C.	Rajputana	n.a.	n.a.	2 (1890)	3	2	5	5	4
	GRAND TOTAL	14+(?)	15+(?)	21	22	20	26	25	34

(a) Includes one in Santal Parganas.

SOURCES: Statistics appended to the U.P.C., F.C., and U.F.C. "Proceedings" and to the "Reports on the schemes of the C. of S. for the years next to above, i.e. 1882, 1886, .. 1914.

TABLE 2.2

Figures showing the number of "organised" or "separate" Churches of Scottish Missions

CHURCH	MISSION	1881	1885	1894	1899	1904	1909	1913
Free Church	Bombay	3	2	1	1	2	2	2
	Calcutta	4	4	4	4	4	4	3
	Jalna	3	2	6	1	1	2	2
	Madras	2	3	3	5	6	6	7
	Nagpur	5	6	4	4	6	5	5
	Poona	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Santal Parganas	1	2	3	3	5	3	5
	TOTAL	19	20	22	19	25	23	25
Church of Scotland	Bombay	1	1	-	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	Calcutta	3	3	2	3	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	Eastern Himalayas	7	11	29	31	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	Madras	3	2	6	6	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	Punjab	3+	4	15[a]	23	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	TOTAL	17+	21	52	63	-	-	-
U.P.C.	Rajputana	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	11	12	13
	GRAND TOTAL	36+	41+	74+	82+			

Notes: (a) Includes 6 "special centres" instead of "separate Churches".

Sources: Statistics appended to the U.P.C., F.C., and U.F.C. "Proceedings" and to the "Reports on the schemes of C. of S.", for the years next to above, i.e. 1882, 1886 ... 1914.

TABLE 23

Statistics of the total Christian Community adhering to the Scottish Missions

CHURCH	MISSION GROUP	1881	1885	1889	1894	1899	1904	1909	1913
Church of Scotland	Bombay	47	44	35	---	Mission closed in 1891		---	
	Calcutta	171	151	185	177	262	252	465	668
	Eastern Himalayas	246	722	1192	2157	2596	3760	5042	6332
	Madras	304	375	343	506	808	1066	932	590
	Punjab	169	225	2117	3545	5222	5190	7024	11843
	Total	937	1517	3872	6385	8888	10402[a]	13607[b]	19596[c]
Free Church	Bombay	166	161	163	162	232	n.a.	499	432
	Calcutta	427	413	486	331	423	n.a.	351	484
	Jalna	774	1023	1648	402+	1136	n.a.	1696	2447
	Madras	508	553	1699	1136	1731	n.a.	3133	3281
	Nagpur	448	341	321	494	479+	n.a.	794	878
	Poona	205	323	298	354	165+	n.a.	341	334
	Santal Parganas	212	311	715	797	1264	n.a.	1660	1854
	Total	2740	3125	4330	3676+	5430		8474	9710
United Presbyterian Church	Rajputana	n.a.	441	n.a.	551	677	n.a.	2772	2835
	GRAND TOTAL	3677+	5083	8202+	10612+	14995		24853	32141

Notes: (a) Including 134 at Poona.
(b) Including 144 at Poona.
(c) Including 163 at Poona.

Sources: Statistics appended to the U.P.C., F.C., and U.F.C. "Proceedings" and to "Reports on the schemes of the C. of S.", for the years next to above i.e. 1882, 1886 ... 1914.

TABLE 24

STATISTICS OF THE CONVERTS 'EXCLUDED' OR 'SUSPENDED', AND 'RESTORED' (IN PARENTHESIS) IN THE FREE CHURCH AND THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

Church	Mission Group	1877	1881	1885	1889	1894	1899
Free Church	Bombay	2	5	1	3	1	0
	Jalna	6	8	2	0	3	5
	Madras	1	0	1	0	3	6
	Nagpur	4	1	n.a.	9	2	1
	Poona	3	6	4	3	5	0
	Santal Parganas	0	1	n.a.	1	2	8
	Total	16	21(6)	8(9)	16(2)	16(6)	20(12)
U.P.C.	Rajputana	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	11	13

SOURCES: F.C.S. Proceedings, and Reports of the Committees of the U.P.C. for 1878, 1882, 1886, 1890, 1895 and 1900.

TABLE 25

Statistics of the ordained and unordained male missionaries from Scotland

Church	Mission Group	1877	1881	1885	1889	1894	1899	1904	1909	1913
F.C.	Bombay	4	5	4	6	5	7	6	7	7
	Calcutta	3	5	5	6	7	7	7	7	7
	Jalna	-	1	-	-	2	2	3	3	5
	Madras	8	7	7	10	9	13	12	10	10
	Nagpur	3	5	4	5	6	5	6	6	8
	Poona	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	3	3
	Santal Parganas	-	1	1	2	3	3	5	5	5
	TOTAL	20	29(3)	32(9)	37(7)	41(7)	43(5)	50(9)	50(9)	54(9)
C. of S.	Bombay		1	0	1	Mission closed in 1891			-	-
	Calcutta		3	4	3	5	5	5	6	3
	Eastern Himalayas		3	2	4	5	5	7	7	8
	Madras		2	1	2	1	2	2	2	2
	Punjab		2	4	3	5	6	6	6	7
	TOTAL		18(7)	15(4)	16(3)	17(1)	20(2)	23(2)*	30(8)*	26(5)*
U.P.C.	Rajputana	16	n.a.	16(1)	14(2) (1890)	14	12	20(2)	19(1)	19(1)
	GRAND TOTAL			63(14)	67(12)	72(8)	75(7)	93(13)	99(18)	99(15)

* Includes one missionary at Poona unaccounted for in the figures.

SOURCES: Statistics appended to the U.P.C., F.C., and U.F.C. "Proceedings" and to the "Reports on the schemes of the C. of S. for the years next to above, i.e. 1878, 1882 ... 1914.

NOTES: (i) Figures in brackets, which are included in the totals, show the number of unordained European missionaries.

(ii) Figures of medical missionaries are not included except after 1901 in the United Free Church, when they have been combined with the ordained missionaries.

TABLE 26

Students for "Ministry or Christian Agency" or "Theology"

Church	Mission Group	1877	1881	'85	'89	'94	1899	1904	1909	1913
Free Church	Bombay	3	4	2	2	-	-	-	-	-
	Calcutta	3	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-
	Jalna	8	2	1	28	-	-	-	-	1
	Madras	-	-	2	1	3	-	-	-	-
	Nagpur	2	3	2	-	17	-	1	-	1
	Poona	2	-	4	2	-	-	-	-	-
	Total	18	9	13	35ø	20	-	1	-	2
United Presbyterian Church	Rajputana	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	-	-	9
Church of Scotland	Bombay		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Calcutta		2	-	1	1	1	3	-	-
	Eastern Himalayas		-	-	-	-	35	-	-	-
	Madras		-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
	Punjab		3	-	42	52	5	3	12	1
	Total		5	-	43	53	42	6	12	3*
	Grand Total		14+(?)	13+(?)	78+(?)	73+(?)	42+(?)	7	12	14

ø Total shown is 5 which is a printed error.
* Includes one at Poona

Sources: Statistics appended to the U.P.C., F.C., and U.F.C. "Proceedings" and to the "Reports on the schemes of the C. of S.", for the years, next to above i.e. 1878, 1882 ... 1914.

TABLE 27

Income raised in Scotland for foreign Missions

CHURCH	1881	1885	1889	1894	1899	1904	1909	1913
Free Church[a]	£29,587	£33,294	£57,797	£62,469	£68,759	£116,803	£151,336	£167,918
Church of Scotland	£13,965	£12,885	£17,937	£24,586	£27,672	£28,660	£37,783	£29,797
Church of Scotland Women's Association	n.a.	£4,392[b]	£6,032	£8,298	£10,969	£10,509	£12,976	£13,274
United Presbyterian Church	n.a.	£39,673	n.a.	£41,870	£44,450	---(Merged with Free Church)---		
GRAND TOTAL		£90,244		£137,223	£151,850	£155,972	£202,095	£210,989

Notes: (a) Includes income of Women's Association.
(b) Income from all sources, including raised abroad. (Where income figures have included balance of earlier year, I have ignored that balance).

Sources: Statistics appended to the U.P.C., F.C., and U.F.C. "Proceedings" and to the "Reports on the schemes of the C. of S.", for the years next to above i.e. 1882, 1886 ... 1914 (Figures of income appear either at the beginning or the end of the text of Annual Reports, not in tabulated appendices).

TABLE 28

Income raised in India by the Free Church and the Church of Scotland.

Church	Source	1881	1885	1889	1894	1899	1904	1909	1913
Free Church	Grants	£5,010	£7,047	£8,159	£9,765	£9,596	£6,130	£7,189	£9,927
	School & College fees	£6,640	£12,484	£13,817	£16,821	£16,425	£11,667+	£13,621	£16,895
	Medical fees	0	£ 154	£ 160	£ 730	£ 108	£ 545	£1,201	£2,343
	Indian church contributions	£ 250	£ 284	£ 343	£ 835	£ 665	£ 981	£1,044	£1,541
	Miscellaneous	£3,705	£2,950	£4,093	£2,064	£3,004	£2,736	£3,193	£2,666
Free Church Women's Association		Included	Included	Included	Included	Included	n.a.	n.a.	£10,868
TOTAL		£15,605	£22,919	£26,572	£30,215	£29,778	£22,059+	£26,248+	£44,240
Church of Scotland	Grants	Rs. 22,940	Rs. 25,371	Rs. 26,067	Separate	Rs. 35,542	£ 2,810	£2,523+	n.a.
	Fees	Rs. 47,292	38,031	56,693		64,427	£ 5,271	£2,550+	n.a.
	Europeans' contributions	Rs. 5,558	3,993	8,583	Totals	10,633	£ 530	£ 682	n.a.
	Indian church contributions	Rs. 920	1,083	2,153	not	2,243	£ 266	£ 374	n.a.
	"Others"	Rs. 4,999	7,829	12,300	available	12,530	£ 656	£ 836	n.a.
TOTAL		Rs. 81,709	76,307	105,796	137,858 [a]	125,375	£9,533	£6,965+	
Church of Scotland Women's Association		n.a.	n.a.	£1,962	n.a.	£4,740	£5,439	£5,773	£5,129
GRAND TOTAL							£37,031+	£38,986+	

SOURCES: Statistics appended to the [illegible]., F.C., and U.F.C. "Proceedings" and to the "Reports on the schemes of the C. of S.," for the years next to above i.e. 1882, 1886 ... 1914

NOTES: (i) In giving figures sums of less than 10s. are ignored, and more than that amount often treated as a £, so also in Indian money.

(ii) In Free Church income from "General Mission work" and for "Buildings" has been included in "Miscellaneous" and from "Zenana work" in Fees.

(a) Figures only for 9 months, Jan. to Sept. 1894.

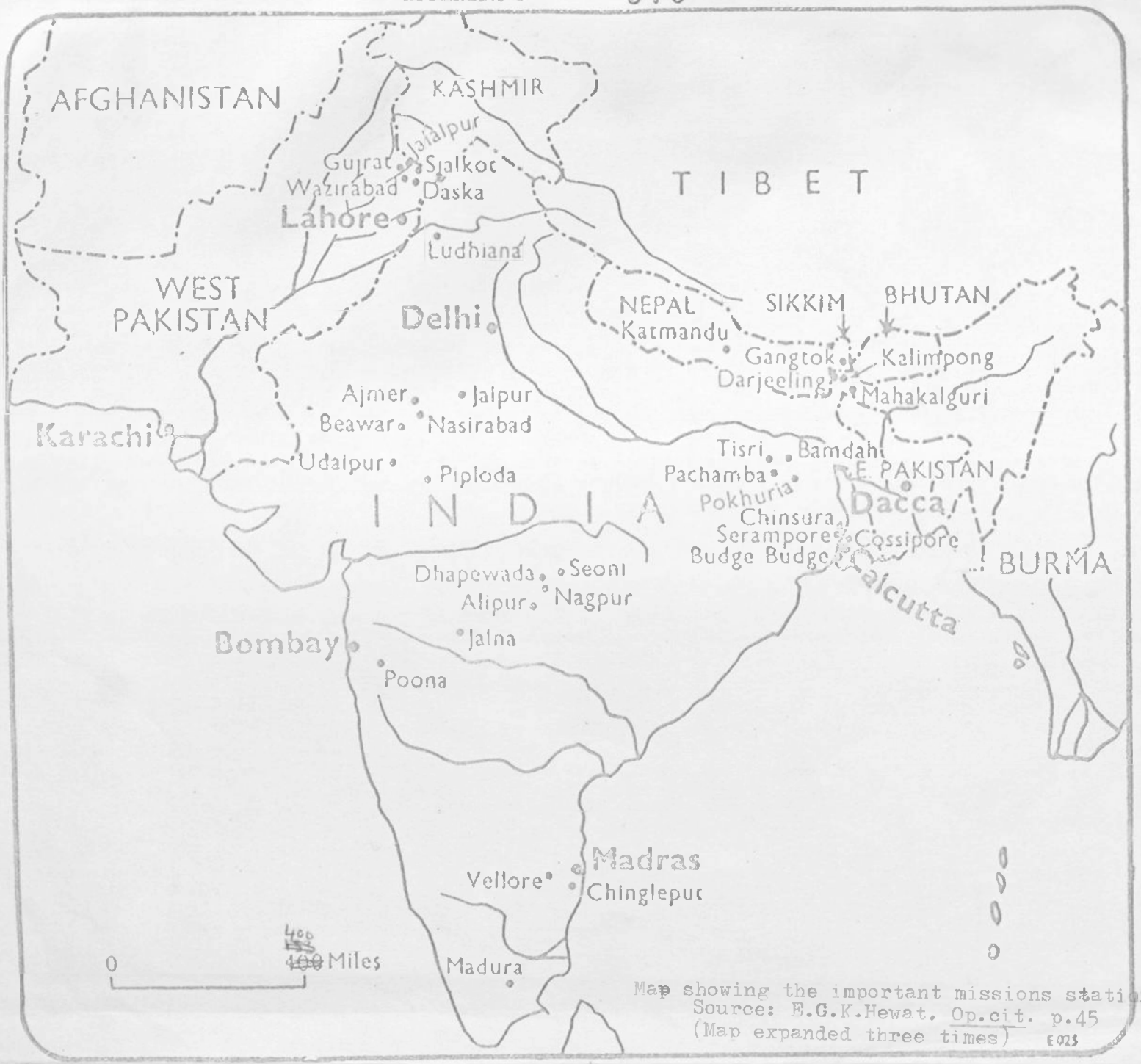
TABLE 29

Figures showing the expenditure on Indian missions of Scottish churches from home revenue

Church	1881	1885	1889	1894	1899	1904	1909	1913
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
F.C.	16623	16092	18419	18749	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
F.C. Women's Assoc.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	8195	9473	n.a.	15077	19369
C. of S.	18024	17103	18092	14829	18164	19735	17673	18265
C. of S. Women's Assoc.	n.a.	4535[b]	5031	6176	9796	9695	9791	10189
U.P.C.[a]	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	10565	11543			

SOURCES: Statistics appended to the U.P.C., F.C., and U.F.C. "Proceedings" and to the "Reports on the schemes of the C. of S.", for the years next to above, i.e. 1882, 1886, ... 1914. (These figures are not shown in tabulated appendixes but are to be found at the beginning or the end of annual reports)

Notes: a. Figures show "estimated" expenditure next year
b. Part in Africa, no separate figures for India available.



Map showing the important missions stations
Source: E.G.K.Hewat. Op.cit. p.45
(Map expanded three times)

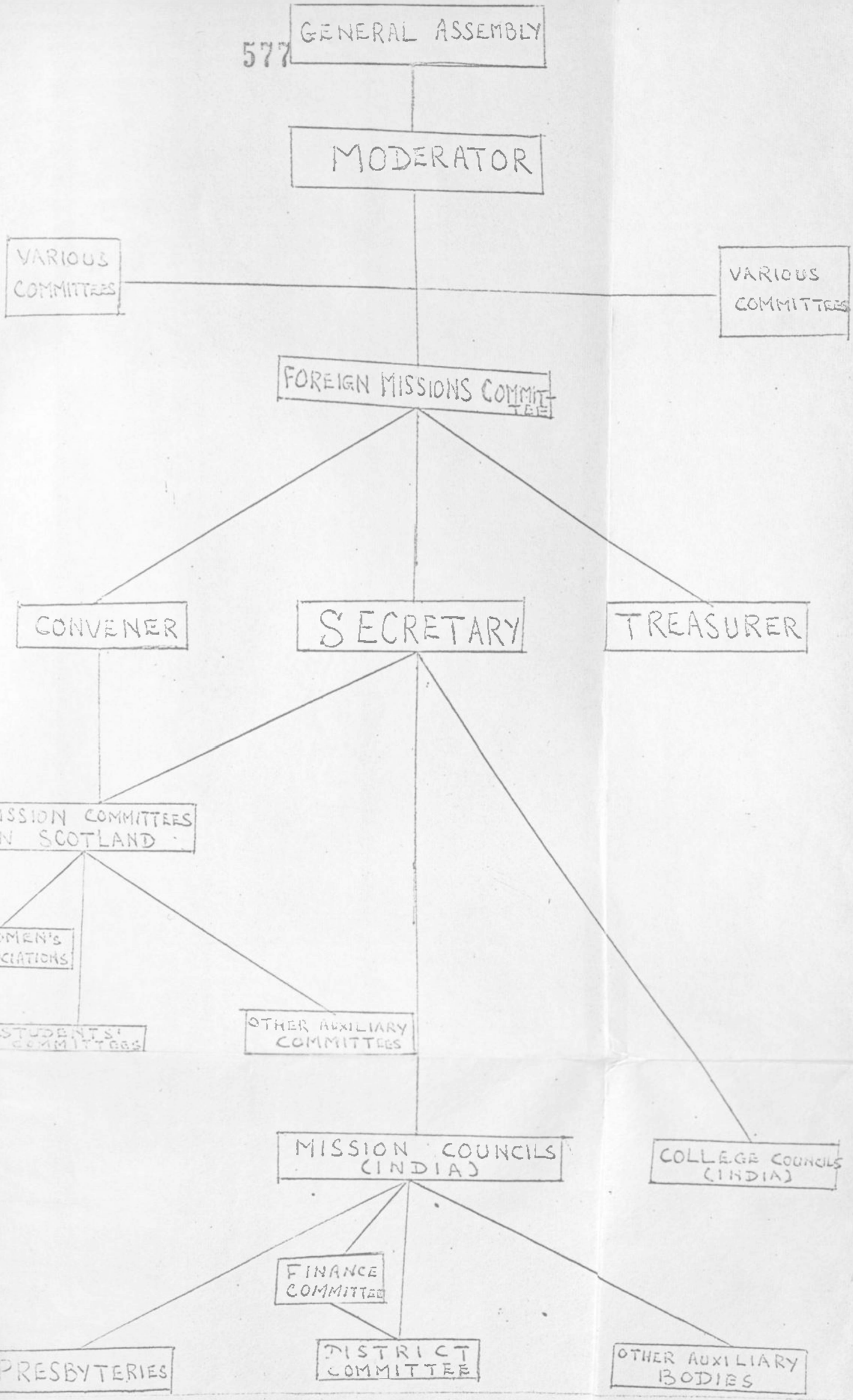


CHART SHOWING THE MISSIONARY ORGANISATION
(See Chapter V., Sections I and II)

APPENDIX 3

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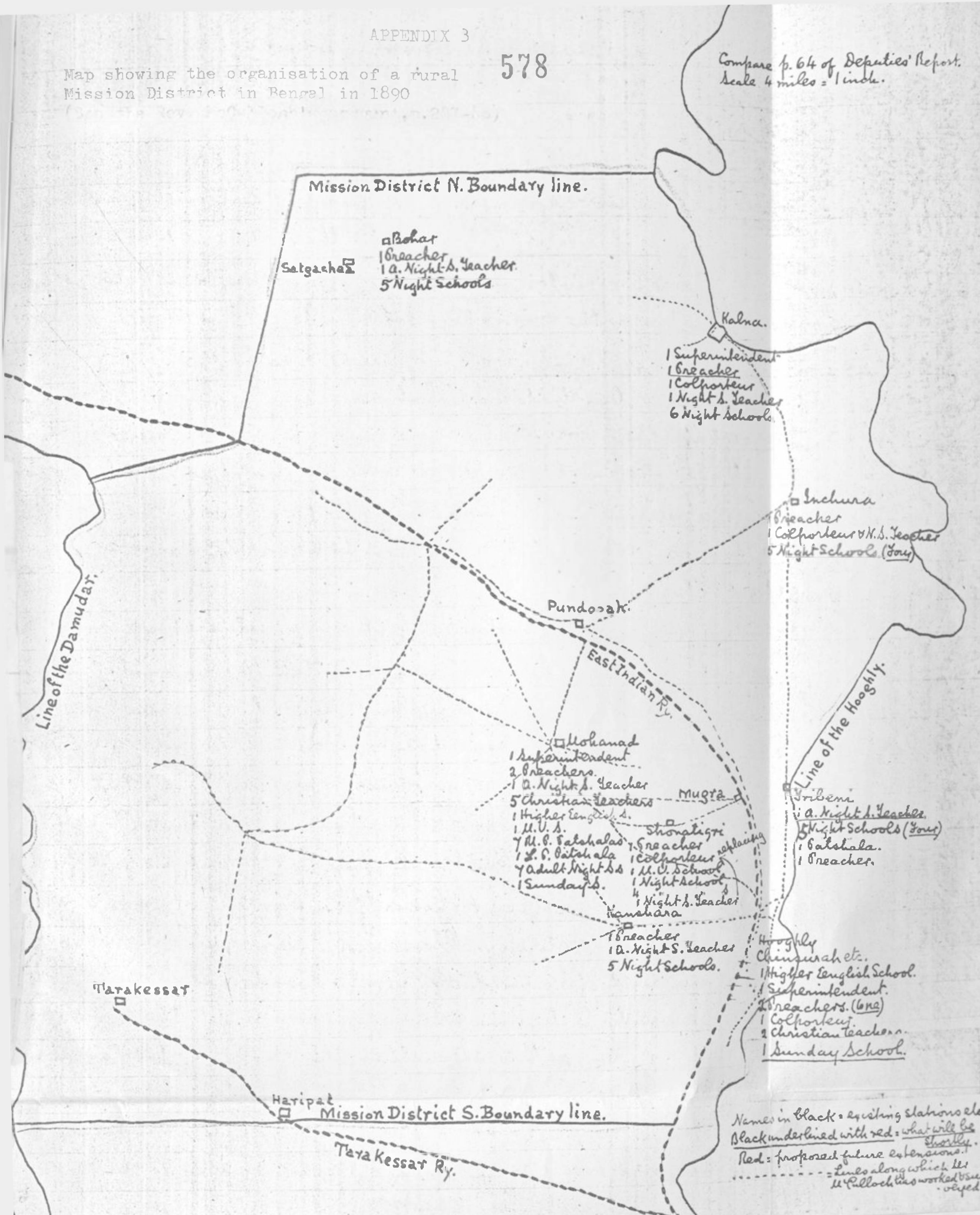
Map showing the organisation of a rural Mission District in Bengal in 1890



APPENDIX 4

BIOGRAPHIES.

These biographies have been mainly based on (i) Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae, vol.7; (Edinburgh, 1928) (ii) William Ewing. Annals of the Free Church of Scotland 1843-1900,vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1914) (iii) J.A. Lamb. Fasti of the United Free Church of Scotland, 1900-1929 (Edinburgh 1956).

I have also borrowed some material from some missionaries' biographies, their obituaries in missionary journals and have added some of my own information. Missionaries who served up to 2 years are ignored and the biographies are only those of the ordained missionaries.

ALEXANDER, Alexander (F.C.). Bornat Forgue, Aberdeen, 1854; studied at the University and Free Church College, Aberdeen; ordained, missionary to Madras, 1878; retired on account of ill health, 1887.

ALEXANDER, William Manzies (F.C.). Born near Glasgow, 1858; studied at the University and the Free Church College, Glasgow; B.Sc., B.D., M.D.; ordained as a missionary to Bombay, 1889; "After being some years in India, he returned home".

ANDREW, Adam (F.C.). Born 7th June, 1851 at Dailly; educated at Glasgow University and Free Church College there; appointed to Madras Mission, 1879; retired 1915; died, 1921. Awards: Kaiser-i-Hind Medal, 1903 (literally Lion of India). Publications: The New Testament in India,(Madras 1901); Indian problems connected with agriculture and land value, (Madras); The depressed classes of the Madras Presidency, contributions to Madras Mail.

ARCHIBALD, Alexander John (C. of S.). Born London, 4th January, 1876; educated at Eton and University of Edinburgh, M.A. (1902); licensed by the Presbytery of Edinburgh, 4th May, 1905; went as a missionary to Jammu in October, 1905, and worked there until 1927.

ASHCROFT, Frank (U.P.C.). Studied till M.A. D.D.; appointed to Rajputana mission, 1884; resigned in 1909 and worked thereafter as one of the secretaries of the United Free Church: Co-author of Story of our Rajputana Mission (1907)

BAILEY, Thomas Graham (C. of S.). Born in 1872 in India; son of Wellesley Cosby Bailey, founder of the "Mission to Lepers in India and the East". Educated at George Watson's College and University of Edinburgh; M.A. (1892), B.D. (1895), D. Litt. (1920). Licensed by the Presbytery of Edinburgh, 1895, and went to Punjab as a missionary during the same year; retired 1920, and appointed as a Reader in Hindi and Urdu at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. Publications: A Panjabi Grammar (1903), The languages of the Northern Himalayas (Royal Asiatic Society Journal, London. 1905); Kanauri Vocabulary (Royal Asiatic Society Journal, London, 1908); Panjabi manual and grammar (1912); New Testament in Panjabi (1913); Panjabi Phonetic Reader.(London. 1914); Genesis in Panjabi (1915); Linguistic Studies from the Himalayas (Royal Asiatic Society Journal, London, 1920).

BLAKE, Buchanan (F.C.). Born at Pollokshaws, 1852; son of Rev. J.C. Blake; studied at the Universities of St. Andrews and Glasgow and the Free Church College, Glasgow; ordained as a missionary to Bombay, 1876; resigned, 1884. Publications: How to read the prophets, in five parts.

BONNAR, William (U.P.C.). Born 1841 at Dunfermline; educated at United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh; appointed to Rajputana Mission 1869: retired 1910: died, 1911.

BROWN, John Anderson (U.P.C.). Born 4th October, 1854 at Galashiels; did schooling in Belgium and Prussia; M.A. (1881) from Edinburgh University; appointed to Rajputana, 1884; died at Jhalpatran (India), 1906.

BROWN, William Elmslie Wilkie (F.C.). Born, 1870; son of a minister of the same name; studied at the University and New College, Edinburgh; ordained, missionary to Bombay, 1894; He worked in the rural areas of Bombay and paid special attention to the conversion of a tribe called Katkaris.

BRUCE, George (C. of S.). Ordained by the Presbytery of Perth in 1891 and went, as a missionary Professor of English, to the General Assembly's Institution, Calcutta; worked in Calcutta until 1912.

CAMERON, Allan (C. of S.). Born in Aberdeen in 1887; educated at the University of Aberdeen: M.A. (1908); appointed as a Professor of English in Scottish Churches' College, Calcutta, 1909, where he worked for more than fifteen years.

CAMPBELL, Andrew (F.C.). Appointed as a lay evangelist to Santal mission, 1871; ordained, 1881; honoured for his work during famines of 1900-02 and also conferred with the award of J.P.

CARSTAIRS, George (U.P.C.). Born 11th February, 1880 at Glasgow; educated at Glasgow University, M.A. (1901), B.D. (1904); appointed to Rajputana, 1904; served in various mission stations in that province; joined war service, 1918; Publications: The Hindu (Edinburgh, 1925); Shepherd of Udaipur (London, 1926).

CECIL, Duncan Henry (C. of S.). Born at Crichton, 17th May, 1876; educated at Edinburgh University; M.A. (1897); appointed to Darjeeling, 1901.

CHALMERS, Theodore (U.F.C.). Born 17th June, 1884 at Inverness; educated at Aberdeen University; M.B., Ch.B.; F.R.C.S. (Edinburgh); appointed to Rajputana, 1909; Service in war; resigned, 1928.

CHREE, William (C. of S.) Born at Keig, Aberdeenshire, 10th February, 1863; educated at Keig School, and University of Aberdeen; M.A. (1882); B.D. (1886); licensed by the Presbytery of Alford, May, 1886; went as a Chaplain at Fyzabad, India, February to September, 1895 and Meerut, November, 1895 to March, 1896; Principal of the Church of Scotland College, Madras, March, 1896; died, Madras, in 1911.

CLARK, William (U.P.C.). Born in Kilmarnock, 1842; joined United Presbyterian mission service at Naserabad, 1872, as a medical missionary. Worked among Indian population and British Soldiers at the Cantonment during famines of 1877-78; looked after the farm scheme at Piploda; died 1909 after 37 years of service in India.

COCKBURN, James (U.F.C.). Born 31st December, 1872 at Foulden; studied medicine in London and Derbyshire; joined United Free Church medical Service, in 1903 and appointed to Bhandara; transferred to Rajputana, 1909; died, 1920.

COOPER, Charles (F.C.). Born at Kincardine O'Neil, 1831; studied at Aberdeen University and United Presbyterian Divinity Hall; M.A.; ordained, 1866; appointed as the headmaster of Doveton College, Madras, 1869; joined Madras Christian College, 1874 and worked there for a long time.

COOPER, John Gillespie (F.C.). Born at Kirkintilloch, 1831; Studied at Glasgow University and New College, Edinburgh; ordained, missionary to Madras, 1855; transferred to Nagpur, 1858; secretary of the Nagpur Mission Council and later Principal of Hislop College for a short period.

CRAIG, James Manson, (U.F.C.). Born 28th June, 1885; educated at the University of St. Andrews; M.A. (1908), B.D. (1910); licensed by the Presbytery of St. Andrews in 1910; went to Madras Christian College as a Professor of English in 1911; died 1912.

DALGETTY, William (C. of S.): Born Ayton, Berwickshire, 18th July, 1868; educated at Ayton School and Dalry School, Edinburgh; Student of Bible Institute, Chicago; appointed lay missionary in Punjab by the Church of Scotland in 1894; licensed by the Presbytery of Punjab in 1899 and worked there until 1902. Publications: Baibal ka mutallish or Bible Study; Asha ... Rabbani or The Lord's Supper (both in Urdu).

DOUGLAS, John (F.C.). Born in the parish of Liff, 1853; studied at the University and New College, Edinburgh; ordained, missionary to Nagpur, 1878; transferred to Bhandara, 1881; reappointed to Nagpur, 1890.

DOUGLAS, Robert Baillie (F.C.). Born at Inverkip, 1870; studied at the University and the Free Church College, Glasgow; ordained, missionary to Jalna, 1894.

DYER, James Alexander (F.C.). Born at Leslie, 1848; studied at the Medical Mission Institution, Edinburgh; appointed medical missionary to Santals, 1875; ordained at Pachamba, 1886.

EARLE, Monteith Macphail (F.C.). Born 31st January, 1861 at Aberdeen; educated at Edinburgh University; M.A. (II class Hons. in classics), (1883); B.D. (1890); D.D. (1922); LL.D: studied also at Jena (1882), Tubingen (1885) and Berlin (1889); Professor of History and Econ. at Madras Christian College, 1890; appointed Principal, 1921. Fellow of the University of Madras, 1899-1923; Vice Chancellor 1923-25. Member of the Legislative Council of India 1925-27; C.B.E. 1919; C.I.E. 1924, Died 1937.

ELDER, William (F.C.). Born at Buckie, 1844; studied at Edinburgh University; L.R.C.S. & P.; appointed medical missionary at Madras, 1871; ordained in Madras, 1882, "having gathered a native congregation with his work"; resigned, 1884.

GARDINER, Thomas Watson (F.C.). Born 30th May, 1886 at Colerine Co. Deiry; B.A. (Hons.) University of Cambridge, 1907; studied Theology at New College Edinburgh; joined Hislop College Nagpur, 1912; Principal, Hislop College, 1920; O.B.E., 1927. Publication: Religion in its purity and its power. (Madras, 1922).

GARDNER, James Francis (F.C.). Born at Poona, 1861; son of Rev. J.W. Gardner; studied at the University and New College, Edinburgh; ordained, missionary to Bombay, 1888.

GRAHAM, John Anderson (C. of S.). Born, London, 1861. Educated in Glasgow and Edinburgh; M.A. (1885); licensed by the Presbytery of Edinburgh, 1888; went to Kalimpong as a missionary of the Young Men's Guild of the Church of Scotland in 1889; recepient of Kaiser-i-Hind medal (1903); D.D. Edinburgh (1904); Created, C.I.E. (1911); was first clerk of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of India and Moderator, in 1921. He founded St. Andrew Colonial Home at Kalimpong for the education and the development of Anglo Indians' and European children. Publications: On the threshold of three closed lands (Edinburgh, 1897), The missionary expansion of the reformed churches (Edinburgh, 1898). Editor of Church of Scotland Yearbook, 1886-9; Editor, St. Andrew, 1893-1904 and St. Andrew's Colonial Home Magazine from 1900.

GRANT, Alexander Colquhoun (U.F.C.). Born 3rd June, 1884, at London; educated at Glasgow University; M.A. (1906); appointed to Rajputana, 1910; died 1915 in P. & O. liner Persia which was torpedoed in Mediterranean.

GRAY, James (U.P.C.). Born 31st October, 1838 at Tarbolton; educated at the United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh; appointed to Rajputana, 1863; retired, 1906; died, 1930.

GRIEVE, Alexander Christie (F.C.). Born at Edinburgh, 1847; studied at the University and the New College, Edinburgh; M.A.; ordained, 1876 and appointed missionary to Bombay; resigned, 1889.

HASTIE, William (C. of S.). Born Wanlockhead, 7th July, 1842; educated at Edinburgh University; M.A. (1867), B.D. (1869) D.D. (1894); also studied in the Continental Universities of Germany, Holland and Switzerland; Principal, General Assembly's Institution, Calcutta, 1879 - 1883; later Professor of Divinity, Glasgow University; author or translator of more than forty books (see Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae, vol. VII, p.403).

HECTOR, John (F.C.). Born at Aberdeen, 1845; studied at the University and Free Church College, Aberdeen and achieved D.D.; Licensed and ordained as a missionary to Calcutta, 1871; became principal missionary at that place, 1887.

HUNTLY, William (U.P.C.). Born 1st December, 1859 at Glasgow; educated at Glasgow University; M.A. (1880), B.Sc. (1884), M.B., C.M. (1885) appointed to Rajputana mission, 1886; resigned, 1902; thereafter worked as Principal, Agra Medical Training Institution until 1913, when he died.

HUSBAND, John (U.P.C.). Born 28th April, 1841 at Rathillet, Fife; educated at United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh, also F.R.C.S. (Edinburgh); appointed to Rajputana, 1870; held positions of President, All India Sunday School Union and editor, Indian Missionary Directory; created C.I.E., 1897; died in Ajmer, 1908.

JAMESON, Alexander Pringle (U.P.C.). Educated at Manchester University and United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh; appointed to Rajputana, 1872; retired, 1914; died, 1922.

KILGOUR, Robert (C. of S.). Born Glasgow, 29th April, 1867; educated at Glasgow University; M.A. (1886), B.D. (1889); D.D. (1909); appointed to Darjeeling, 1889 and served there until, 1909; examiner in Nepali for Calcutta and Allahabad Universities: Publications: Hymn book and Prayer Book (in Nepali); The old Testament (in Nepali); The Gospel in many tongues (London, 1922); Four ancient Mss. in the Bible House Library (London, 1928).

LAIDLAW, Archibald Scott (F.C.). Born at Stewarton, 1860; studied at the University and Free Church College, Glasgow; ordained for Madras, 1886; resigned, 1893.

LENDRUM, John (F.C.). Born at Ballater, 1867; studied at the University and Free Church College, Aberdeen; ordained, missionary to Nagpur, 1892; retired, 1899.

MACARA, John (C. of S.). Appointed to Scottish Universities' Mission, Sikkim, in 1892; served there until, 1902.

MACFARLANE, William (C. of S.). Born Drumbuie, Strathbraan, Perthshire, 5th January, 1840; educated at St. Andrews University; "(he was the most distinguished student of his time, so excelling in Mathematics that he was offered £600 to proceed to Cambridge for further study in that science but he declined, having dedicated his career to ministry)" ; M.A. (1858); appointed missionary to Gyah (now Gaya) in 1865; transferred to Darjeeling, 1870; founder of Darjeeling and Kalimpong missions of the Church of Scotland. According to missionaries' testimony, he was a most devoted missionary; died, 1887 in Darjeeling.

MACALISTER, George (U.P.C.). Born 16th December, 1839 at Pathhead, Midlothian; educated at United Presbyterian College and Edinburgh University; M.A., D.D.; appointed to Rajputana, 1870; awarded Kaiser-i-Hind Medal, 1900; retired, 1912; died, 1920.

MACALISTER, Robert Henry (U.F.C.). Born 1st April, 1881 at Paisley; education at Glasgow University; M.A. (1902); appointed to Rajputana, 1906 and served there until 1918 when he joined war service.

McCULLOCH, William (F.C.). Born 1814; studied at Trinity College, Dublin and New College, Edinburgh; ordained as a missionary to Calcutta, 1883; worked first as a Professor in Duff College and later as an evangelist in charge of Hooghly and Kalna missions.

MACDONALD, Kenneth Somerled (F.C.). Born at Glenurquhart, 1832; studied at Aberdeen University and New College, Edinburgh; ordained as a missionary to India, 1862; worked in India for 41 years, first as a Professor in Duff College and then as an evangelist to English-speaking Hindus and Mohammedans; described as "indefatigable writer" (see his biography by J.M. Macphail); author of 139 books and tracts; Edited, Indian Evangelical Review; Important Publications: Rome's Relation to the Bible; What Jesus Said and Did; A Manual.

MACDONALD, Roderick (F.C.). Born, 1837; studied up to M.A.; ordained as a missionary to Madras, 1876; transferred to Calcutta, 1878, "from which he was removed, 1887".

McFADYEN, Joseph Ferguson (F.C.). Born 31st July, 1873 at Glasgow; M.A. (1st class Hons.) University of Glasgow, 1895; studied Theology at F.C. College Glasgow; appointed Professor of English literature and Philosophy, Hislop College, 1899; joined war service, 1914-18; (later Vice Chancellor of Nagpur University in 1929).

MACINNES, John (U.P.C.). Born 28th December, 1859 at Ayr; educated at Glasgow University; M.A. (1881); appointed to Rajputana, 1884; resigned, 1902.

MACKENZIE, John (F.C.). Born 27th December, 1860 at Inverness; educated at Edinburgh University and New College there; appointed to Madras Christian College, 1898; died in Madras, 1905.

MACKICHAN, Dugald (F.C.). Born in Glasgow in 1851; studied at Glasgow University and Trinity College, Glasgow; M.A., D.D.; served as a Principal of Wilson College, 1877-78 & 1917; Fellow of Bombay University, 1877; four times Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University; member, Indian Universities' Commission, 1902; President, K.R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay; lectured in Evangelistic Theology at Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen after retirement in 1917; publications: Missionary ideal of Scottish Churches. (Edinburgh, 1927).

MACLEAN, James Hair (F.C.). Born 22nd November, 1868; educated at Glasgow University; M.A. (II class Hons. in Philosophy), 1890; B.D. (1894); appointed to Madras, 1895; served in various areas of Madras Presidency until 1908; 1908-9, editor, United Church Herald, Madras; member of "Commission on Village education in India, 1919-20" (It was a missionary commission); held various other posts after 1919; publications: The Fatherhood of God (Madras, 1903); The search of truth (Madras, 1910); Several tracts in Tamil language; article on Kanchipuram in Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics; articles on Sin, Atonement and Sacrifice in Tamil Bible Dictionary.

MACLEISH, Alexander (U.P.C.). Born 18th July, 1877 at Crieff; educated at Glasgow University; appointed Secretary, Y.M.C.A., Punjab, 1905-8; Served in Rajputana, 1909-1926; Vice-Chairman, Beawar Muncipality, 1912-14; Hon. Magistrate, Ajmer, 1915-26; resigned, 1926. Publications. First lessons in English (Ajmer, 1914).

MACNICOL, Malcolm (F.C.). Born, 1867; son of Rev. D. Macnicol; studied at the University and Free Church College, Glasgow; M.B.; C.M.; ordained 1893, and appointed as a medical missionary in Kalna, Bengal.

MACNICOL, Nicol (F.C.). Born at Rothesay, 1870; brother of the foregoing; studied up to M.A. at the University and theology in Free Church College, Glasgow; awarded doctorate later; ordained, 1895, and appointed first at Bombay and later at Poona; held several positions in India including the secretaryship of National Christian Council of India; Publications: Christianity and Hinduism, London, 1927; India in the dark wood, London, 1930; Is Christianity unique: a comparative study of religions; Oxford, 1935; The living religions of Indian people, Oxford, 1934; The making of modern India, London 1924; Psalms of Maratha saints: one hundred and eight hymns translated from Marathi, Calcutta, 1920; Tom Dobson; a champion of outcastes, London, 1924.

MACOMISH, Robert (F.C.). Born in Lanarkshire, 1859; studied at the University and the Free Church College, Glasgow; ordained, missionary to Madras, 1886.

MACPHAIL, James Merry (F.C.). Born in Dorsetshire, 1863; studied at the University and Free Church College, Glasgow; M.B.C.M., M.D.; appointed Medical missionary to Santal Parganas, 1888; stationed at Chakai; ordained at Calcutta, 1890; he was an eye specialist and cured many cases of cataract and other eye diseases.

MESTON, William (F.C.). Born 4th May, 1871 at Aberdeen; educated at Aberdeen University; M.A. (1st class Hons. in Philosophy), B.D. (1895), D.D. (1925); appointed to Madras Christian College, 1895; appointed Principal there, 1923; Awarded Kaiser-i-Hind medal.

MILLER, William (F.C.). Born 13th January, 1838 at Thurso; educated at Aberdeen University; M.A. (1856); D.D. and LL.D. of Edinburgh University; appointed to Madras Christian College, 1862; appointed Principal, 1877; retired 1907; died 1923. (See also chapter on Education).

MOFFAT, Alexander (F.C.). Born 21st May, 1865 at Edinburgh; educated at Edinburgh University, MA. (1887), b.Sc. (1888); LL.D., University of Toronto; appointed Professor of Physics, Madras Christian College, 1891; held positions of Chairman of Board of Studies in Physics, President, Faculty of Science and membership of Syndicate for several years in Madras University; retired 1927; died 1936. Publications: contributions in Indian Temperance News, Madras.

MORRIS, John Rutherford (U.F.C.). Born 4th November, 1868 at Aberdeen; educated at University of Edinburgh and Cliff College, Derby; appointed missionary in Nagpur in 1907; resigned, 1914.

MORRISON, John (C. of S.). Born Logie - Pert, 10th May, 1856; educated at St. Andrews University and Leipzig; M.A. (1876), B.D. (1880) D.D. (1901); Professor of English at General Assembly Institution, Calcutta, 1883; Principal, 1889-1904; Fellow of Calcutta University and examiner for degree students, 1890-1904; retired, 1904. Publications: Notes on Historical Selections (Calcutta, 1886); Notes on Edmund Burke's American Speeches; New ideas in India during the nineteenth century... (London, 1907); Message of Christ to India (Edinburgh, 1925) and several others (See Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae vol. 7, p.703)

MOWAT, Alexander Goodsir (F.C.). Born at Glasgow, 1863; studied at the University and Free Church College, Glasgow; M.B., C.M.; appointed, medical missionary to Jalna, 1890; ordained, 1892. He was one of the few missionaries who donated several sums of money for mission funds and did much work in starting co-operative societies for mission converts.

MURDOCH, Mitchell (U.P.C.). Born Glasgow, 1819; studied in Grammar School and Glasgow University; selected for Ceylon Educational Service, 1844; five years as a headmaster in a government school, Kandy; resigned, 1849; started Singhalese Tract Book Society; after some years, migrated to South India and founded "South India School Book Society" which was ultimately amalgamated with Christian Literature Society whose secretary he was until his death in 1905.

MURDOCH, William Alexander (U.F.C.). Born 16th March, 1885; educated at Glasgow University, M.A. (1907); appointed to Rajputana, 1911; resigned, 1921.

PEATTIE, George (F.C.). Born at Perth, 1860; studied at the University and New College, Edinburgh; ordained for Madras, 1884; he was for a short time secretary of Madras Mission Council, a joint body of all Protestant missions, retired, 1894.

PITTENDRIGH, George (F.C.). Born 1st December, 1857 at Whiterashes, Newmachar, Aberdeen; educated at Aberdeen University; M.A. (1886), D.D. (1922); appointed to Madras Christian College, 1886; awarded Kaiser-i-Hind Medal, 1919; created C.B.E.; member of Madras Legislative Council, 1914-19; President Madras Representative Council of Missions, 1917-19, retired, 1920; died, 1930. Publications: Co-author of Story of Madras Mission.

REITH, George Douglas. (U.F.C.). Appointed Professor of English in Hislop College, Nagpur, 1906; resigned, 1912.

REVIE, Dugald (F.C.). Born 1st May, 1862 at Glasgow; educated at Glasgow University and Free Church College; appointed to Nagpur, 1889; resigned 1910; died 1941.

RICE, Henry (C. of S.). Born, Banglore, South India, 4th January, 1846; studied at London University; appointed first by L.M.S. in Madras in 1869; joined Church of Scotland mission service there in 1880; died, 1922. Publications: Native life in South India (London, 1889); Christianity or - what? (Madras); Helps to truth seekers (Madras).

ROBERTSON, Alexander (U.F.C.). Born 28th March, 1877; educated at George Watson College, Aberdeen; M.A. (1st class Hons. in Philosophy), 1898; studied Theology at Aberdeen F.C. College; appointed to Poona, 1902; war service 1914; transferred to Hislop College, Nagpur, 1926.

ROBERTSON, James (F.C.). Born near Banff, 1845; studied at the University and Free Church College, Aberdeen, ordained as a missionary to Calcutta, 1871; worked in Calcutta until 1877; returned again to India in 1880; appointed Principal of Free Church College there in 1882 and resigned due to his selection as a Professor of Church History in Free Church College, Aberdeen, 1887.

ROBSON, Robert George (U.F.C.). Born 7th July, 1871 at Fortrose; educated at Edinburgh University; M.A. (1892), M.B. Ch.B. (1895), M.D.; studied also at University of Vienna; appointed to Rajputana 28th July, 1896; awarded Kaiser-i-Hind Medal; retired, 1920; died, 1932.

RUNCIMAN, James Watson (U.F.C.). Born 11th August, 1878 at Holm, Orkney; educated at Glasgow University; M.A. (1900), B.D. (1904) M.B., Ch.B; appointed to Rajputana, 1904; joined war service, 1917-18.

RUSSEL, James Macphail (F.C.). Born 26th December, 1856 at Wick; educated at Edinburgh University; M.A., D.D. (1912); appointed Professor of English lit., Madras Christian College, 1887; held position as a Fellow of the University of Madras and the member of the Senate of Madras University; retired, 1913; died, 1918.

SANDILANDS, John (F.C.). Born 17th July, 1862; educated at Glasgow University, M.A., M.B., C.M.; appointed to Nagpur, 1888; resigned 1904; died 1932.

SCOTT, Robert (F.C.). Born at Inveravon, 1853; studied at the University and the Free Church College, Aberdeen; D.D.; ordained,1879 and appointed as a missionary Professor to Wilson College, Bombay.

SCRIMGEOUR, John C. (F.C.). Born in Forfarshire:, studied at St. Andrews University and New College, Edinburgh; ordained, 1896 and appointed to Calcutta.

SHEPHERD, James (U.P.C.). Born 2nd February, 1847, at Aberdeen; educated at Aberdeen University, M.A., M.B., Ch.B., M.D., D.D. (1898); appointed to Rajputana, 1872; awarded Kaiser-i-Hind medal, 1914; retired, 1920; left in his will £10,000 for men's and women's Foreign Missions and a further sum for the work among Bhils.

SKINNER, William (F.C.). Born 19th September, 1859 at Inverurie; educated at Aberdeen University; M.A. (1880), D.D. (1908); appointed to Madras Christian College, 1884; appointed Principal, 1909; awarded Kaiser-i-Hind medal in 1913; created C.I.E., 1919; retired, 1921; died, 1942.

SMALL, John (F.C.). Born at Arbroath, 1833; studied at the Educational Institute, Arbroath and Moray House, Edinburgh; appointed as a missionary teacher, Poona, 1863; ordained, 1869; from 1870 to 1874 appointed in Wilson College, Bombay but returned to Poona, thereafter; died, 1899.

SOMMERVILLE, James (U.P.C.). Born 25th April, 1846 at Glasgow; L.R.C.P. (Edinburgh), L.F.P.S. (Glasgow); appointed to Rajputana, 1870; served in various mission stations of that Church; retired, 1920; died, 1925. Publications: Lectures on Hygiene (in Urdu).

STEVENSON, William (F.C.). Born at Gask, 1839; studied at St. Andrews University and New College, Edinburgh; ordained, missionary to Madras, 1864; resigned, 1883 and later became secretary of the Women's Foreign Missions in Edinburgh.

STEVENSON, William Henderson (F.C.). Born at Dundee, 1853; appointed as a lay evangelist among the Santals, 1876; ordained, 1887; died at Pachamba, 1888.

STOTHERT, Richard (F.C.). Born 1833; studied at the University and New College, Edinburgh; ordained, 1860 and appointed as a missionary to Nagpur; transferred to Bombay, 1861 and to Poona, 1884; died, 1898.

STRACHAN, Robert (F.C.). Born at Fyvie; studied at Aberdeen University and New College, Edinburgh; B.D.; ordained, missionary to Bombay, 1897.

SUTHERLAND, William Sinclair. Born 15th July, 1877 at Kilmonivaig; educated at Glasgow University, M.A. (1900), B.D. (1904); appointed to Madras mission in 1905 and served in several mission stations in that Presidency until 1925; appointed Superintendent of Lady Willingdon Leper Settlement from 1925; Awarded Kaiser-i-Hind Medal.

TELFER, Alexander Prentice (F.C.). Born at Edinburgh, 1854; studied at the University and New College there; ordained as missionary to Calcutta, 1888; resigned 1896 and settled at Arrochar.

THOMSON, James (C. of S.). Appointed Professor in General Assembly Institution, Calcutta in 1878 and served there until 1882.

TOMORY, Alexander (F.C.). Born at Constantinople, 1862; son of the missionary of the same name; studied at the University and Free Church College, Aberdeen and Leipzig; ordained as missionary to Calcutta, 1887; Principal, Duff Colleg Calcutta, 1907; member, Calcutta University Senate; Publications: Joint author of Story of our Bengal Mission (Edinburgh, 1907).

TORRANCE, John (F.C.). Born at Glasgow, 1867; son of minister of the same name; studied at the University and the Free Church, Glasgow and at Tubingen; ordained, missionary to Poona, 1892. Publications: Joint author of Story of our Maratha mission (Edinburgh, 1907) and three handbooks in Marathi.

TRAILL, John (U.P.C.). Born 1841 at Brechin; educated at Aberdeen University and United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh; appointed to Rajputana, 1868; died in Udaipur, 1909.

TURNBULL, Archibald (C. of S.). Born at West Binnie, Linlithgow, 26th July, 1855; educated at Edinburgh University; M.A. (1876), B.D. (1879); studied also at Tubingen, Germany; appointed to Darjeeling, 1879; retired, 1900; died, 1905.

WALKER, William (C. of S.). Appointed missionary to Chamba in 1884 and served there until 1895.

WANN, Andrew Blair (C. of S.). Appointed missionary to Bombay, 1890, and served there until 1908-9 when he was transferred to Calcutta as Principal of General Assembly College; retired, 1911.

WATT, John (F.C.). Born in Aberdeenshire, 1862; studied at Aberdeen University and New College, Edinburgh; ordained as missionary to Calcutta, 1888, and worked there at least until 1900.

WAUGH, George (C. of S.). Born Slamannan, 22nd October, 1857; educated at Edinburgh University and New College there; M.A. (1882), B.D. (1885); appointed to Sialkot, 1890; resigned, 1915. Publications: First Catechism Scripture (Sialkot, 1896); The uses of definite and indefinite articles (Madras, 1906); The history of Murray College, Sialkot, 1889-1910 (Lahore, 1910); Notes on the Laurette poetry Book, III (Lahore, 1912).

WHITE, William Ebenezer (F.C.). Born in Nagpur, India, 1860; son of Rev. Adam White; studied up to B.A. in the University of Cambridge and did further course in theology at New College, Edinburgh; ordained 1890 and appointed missionary to Sylhet.

WHITTON, David (F.C.). Born 2nd August, 1841 at Barry, Angus; educated at Aberdeen University, Free Church College, Aberdeen and New College Edinburgh; appointed to Hislop College, Nagpur, 1869; Principal Hislop College since its foundation to 1908 when he retired; died, 1919.

WILKIE, David Coventry (U.F.C.). Born 2nd May, 1888 at Edinburgh; educated at Edinburgh University; M.A. (2nd class Hons. in Philosophy and 1st class Hons. in Economics) (1906); B.D. (1909); appointed to Rajputana, 1909. Publications: Pnabhu Yeshu Ki Dristant-rupi Shiksha (Message of Lord Christ) (Allahabad, 1923).

YOUNGSON, John Forbes White (C. of S.). Born Pitsligo, 6th March, 1852; studied at Old Grammar School and University of Aberdeen; M.A. (1873), B.D. (1884), D.D. (1893); ordained as a missionary to Punjab, 1875; Youngson appeared to be a good organiser and was reponsible for bringing thousands of Chuhras to Church of Scotland in mass movements in Punjab; Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of India, 1905-06; retired in 1907 but returned to India and worked there till his death in 1920. Publications: Haqiqi Qurbani (The True sacrifice); Qawaid - i - Yunani (Greek grammar); The Sat-Gur or the Letters to the Sikhs; The History of Chuhras; Forty years of the Punjab Mission (Edinburgh, 1896).

APPENDIX 5

PROTESTANT CHRISTIAN COLLEGES. (1907)

	Name of Institution.	Place.	Board or Society.	Year founded.	Year affiliated.	University.	Number of Foreign Missionary Teachers.	Number of Students in College Dept.
1.	American College, II	Madura	ABCFM	1880	1881	M	3	39
2.	Jaffna College, I	Ceylon	do.	1872	1893	C	4	105
3.	American Baptist Mission C., II	Ongole	ABMU	1877	1893	M	2	28
4.	Rangoon Baptist College, II	Rangoon	do.	1872	1894	C	6	26
5.	Forman Christian College, I	Lahore	PNA	1866	1888	P	4	403
6.	Christian College, I	Allahabad	do.	1846	1903	A	3	104
7.	Woodstock College, II	Mussoorie	do.	1854	1901	A	8	29
8.	American Lutheran Mission C., II	Guntur	EIGS	1874	1885	M	1	69
9.	Elizabeth R. Voorhees C., II	Vellore	RCA	1868	1898	M	1	18
10.	Gordon Mission College, I	Rawalpindi	UP	1893	1895	P	3	56
11.	Reid Christian College, I	Lucknow	ME	1877	1888	A	3	87
12.	Isabella Thoburn College. I	Lucknow	do.	1870	1885	A	6	20
13.	Philander Smith College, II	Naini Tal	do.	1880	1891	A	2	12
14.	Canadian Mission College, I	Indore	CPM	1884	1888	A	4	47
15.	L.M.S. Institution, I	Bhowanipur	LMS	1837	1857	C	4	97
16.	Ramsay College, II	Almora	do.	1850	1885	A	2	31
17.	Scott Christian College, II	Nagercoil	do.	1821	1893	M	1	37
18.	Wardlaw College, II	Bellary	do.	1846	1891	M	0	12
19.	Noble College, I	Masulipatam	CMS	1843	1877	M	3	92
20.	St. John's College, I	Agra	do.	1853	1862	A	6	175
21.	Trinity College, II *	Kandy	CMS	1872	1878	...	2	...
22.	Church Mission College, II	Kottayam	do.	1837	1892	M	2	129
23.	Church Mission College, II	Tinnevelly	do.	1878	1878	M	1	69
24.	Cathedral Mission College, II	Calcutta	do.	1865	1899	C	1	36
25.	St. Andrew's College, II	Gorakhpur	do.	...	1899	A	1	35
26.	St. John's College, II *	Jaffna	do.	1841	1892	...	2	...
27.	Sarah Tucker College, II	Palamcotta	do.	1864	1896	M	5	9
28.	St. Paul's School, I	Darjeeling	do.	1845	1857	C	7	...
29.	Edwardes Church Mission C., II	Peshawar	do.	1900	1905	P	2	24
30.	Wesleyan Mission College, II	Bankura	WMS	1903	1906	C	2	80
31.	Wesley College, II	Madras	do.	1851	1887	M	2	47
32.	Findlay College, II	Mannargudi	do.	1845	1898	M	2	87
33.	Wesleyan Central College, II *	Batticaloa	do.	1814	1877	...	1	...
34.	Wesley College, II *	Colombo	do.	1874	1876	L	2	...
35.	Central College, II	Jaffna	do.	1834	1897	C,M	2	30
36.	St. Thomas College, II *	Colombo	SPG	1840	1864	...	2	...
37.	Bishop's College, I	Calcutta	do.	1820	1860	C	3	41
38.	Christ Church College, I	Cawnpore	do.	1865	1892	A	4	55
49.	St. Peter's College, I	Tanjore	do.	1880	1880	M	1	164
40.	S.P.G. College, I	Trichinopoly	do.	1883	1889	M	3	266
41.	St. Stephen's College, I	Delhi	do.	1881	1882	P	3	110
42.	Dublin University Mission C., II	Hazaribagh	do.	1895	1899	C	6	73
√43.	Duff College, I	Calcutta	UFC	1850	1857	C	6	388
√44.	Wilson College, I	Bombay	do.	1835	1861	B	9	464
√45.	Madras Christian College, I	Madras	do.	1837	1877	M	9	795
√46.	Hislop Mission College, I	Nagpur	do.	1883	1884	A	3	110
√47.	General Assembly's Institution, I	Calcutta	CSM	1830	1864	C	5	643
√48.	Church of Scotland Mission C., II	Madras	do.	1837	1887	M	1	114
√49.	Scotch Mission College, II	Sialkot	do.	1886	1892	P	1	21
50.	Doveton College, † I	Calcutta	IND	1823	1857	C	...	18
51.	Doveton Protestant College, † II	Madras	do.	1855	1877	M	...	18
52.	City College, † II	Colombo	do.	...	...	...	0	27
	Total			...	...	...	156	5340

Colleges managed by Scottish Societies are ticked.

Source: H. Huizinga Op. cit. p. 130-31

APPENDIX 6

DATES OF FOUNDATION OF MISSION STATIONS AND SUB-STATIONS: ARRANGED ALPHABETICALLY

MISSION	DATE OF FOUNDING	CHURCH
1. Ajmer	1862	U.P.C.
2. Alibag	1830	F.C.
3. Alwar	1880	U.P.C.
4. Amraoti	1886	F.C.
5. Ashapura	1869	U.P.C.
6. Bamdah	1890	F.C.
7. Bansarbia	1847	F.C.
8. Beawar	1860	U.P.C.
9. Bhandara	1888	F.C.
10. Bhusaval	1887	F.C.
11. Bombay	1829	C. of S.
Bombay	1843	F.C.
12. Calcutta	1830	C. of S.
Calcutta	1843	F.C.
13. Chakai	1888	F.C.
14. Chamba	1863	C. of S.
15. Chingleput	1879	F.C.
16. Chinsurah	1846	F.C.
17. Conjeeveram	1870	F.C.

18.	Darjeeling	1870	C. of S.
19.	Daska	1857	C. of S.
20.	Deoli	1871	U.P.C.
21.	Duars	1871	C. of S.
22.	Gujrat	1865	C. of S.
23.	Hoogli	1846	F.C.
24.	Indapur	1862	F.C.
25.	Jaipur	1866	U.P.C.
26.	Jalna	1855	F.C.
27.	Jammu	1884	C. of S.
28.	Jodhpur	1885	U.P.C.
29.	Kalighat	1891	F.C.
30.	Kalimpong	1873	C. of S.
31.	Kalna	1843	F.C.
32.	Kalyan	1840	F.C.
33.	Karjat	1899	F.C.
34.	Kotah	1889	U.P.C.
35.	Kurseong	1896	C. of S.
36.	Lanauli	1890	U.P.C.
37.	Madras	1836	C. of S.
38.	Madras	1843	F.C.
38.	Mahanad	1857	F.C.
39.	Nagpur	1844	F.C.
40.	Neserabad	1861	U.P.C.
41.	Nellore	1870	F.C.

42.	Pachamba	1864	F.C.
43.	Piploda	1907	U.F.C.
44.	Pokhuria	1871	F.C.
45.	Ponneri	1899	F.C.
46.	Poona	1838	C. of S.
	Poona	1843	F.C.
47.	Royapuram	1864	F.C.
48.	Saswad	1838	F.C.
49.	Seoni	1872	United Original Secesion Church Synod
50.	Sialkot	1857	C. of S.
51.	Sikkim	1890	C. of S.
52.	Sriperambudur	1889	F.C.
53.	Sylhet	1890	F.C.
54.	Thana	1853	F.C.
55.	Tisri	1908	U.F.C.
56.	Todgarh	1863	U.P.C.
57.	Udaipur	1877	U.P.C.
58.	Walajabad	1888	F.C.
59.	Wardha	1889	F.C.
60.	Wazirabad	1866	C. of S.

A. Mss. Sources

2. Women's Association of Foreign Missions of Church of Scotland: Letterbooks.

7626:	Poona letterbook;	1888 to 1897
7627:	Poona letterbook;	1897 to 1904
7628:	Darjeeling letterbook;	1888 to 1920
7629:	Calcutta letterbook;	1888 to 1920
7630:	Madras letterbook;	1888 to 1920

3. United Presbyterian Church of Scotland: letterbooks of the Secretary.

7655:	Nov. 1876	to	August 1878
7656:	Aug. 1878	to	July 1881
7657:	July 1881	to	August 1882
7658:	Aug. 1882	to	June 1883
7659:	June 1883	to	May 1884
7660:	May 1884	to	June 1885
7661:	June 1885	to	June 1886
7662:	June 1886	to	Nov. 1887
7663:	Nov. 1887	to	May 1889
7664:	May 1889	to	Dec. 1890
7665:	Dec. 1890	to	August 1892
7666:	Sept. 1892	to	Feb. 1894
7667:	Feb. 1894	to	March 1895
7668:	Mar. 1895	to	July 1896
7669:	July 1896	to	Dec. 1897
7670:	Feb. 1899	to	June 1900
7671:	July 1901	to	July 1902
7672:	Dec. 1903	to	April 1905
7673:	Apr. 1905	to	October 1906
7674:	Oct. 1906	to	August 1908
7675:	Aug. 1908	to	March 1910
7676:	Mar. 1910	to	March 1911
7677:	Mar. 1911	to	Feb. 1912
7678:	Feb. 1912	to	July 1913
7679:	July 1913	to	July 1914
7680:	July 1914	to	Sept. 1915

Free Church of Scotland: Letterbooks of the Secretary.

7750:	Oct. 1878	to	Oct. 1880
7751:	Oct. 1880	to	June 1883
7752:	June 1883	to	Dec. 1885
7753:	Dec. 1885	to	July 1888
7754:	July 1888	to	July 1889

Communications received from missionaries in Bombay.

7820:	1890 - 93
7821:	1894 - 96
7822:	1897 - 99
7823:	1900 - 02
7824:	1903 - 06
7825:	1907 - 09

Communications received from missionaries in Poona.

7826:	1877-8 and 1880 to 1885
7827:	1886 to 1892
7828:	1893 to 1901, 1903, 1905, 1907-08

Communications received from missionaries in Jalna.

7829:	1877-8, 1881-91
7830:	1892-99
7831:	1900-05
7832:	1906-09

Communications received from missionaries in Nagpur.

7833:	1879 - 1884
7834:	1885 - 1888
7835:	1889 - 1891
7836:	1893 - 1896
7837:	1897 - 1909

Communications received from missionaries in Bengal.

7838:	1879 - 90
7839:	1891 - 01
7840:	1902 - 09

Communications received from missionaries in Santal Parganas.

7841: 1880 - 85
7842: 1886 - 90
7843: 1891 - 1904

Communications received from missionary in Sylhet.

7844: 1889 - 1908

Communications received from missionaries in Madras.

7845: 1884, 1887, 1890-91
7846: 1892 - 93
7847: 1894 - 96, 1898
7848: 1900 - 02
7849: 1903 - 07

RECORDS PRESERVED AT THE
CHURCH OF SCOTLAND OFFICES, EDINBURGH

1. Minutes of the meetings of the United Presbyterian Church, 1873 - 1900.

2. Minutes of the meetings of the Church of Scotland, 1851 - 1929.

3. Minutes of the meetings of the Women's Association for Foreign Missions of the Church of Scotland.

4. Minutes of the meetings of the United Free Church of Scotland, 1900 - 1929.

5. Several Accounts books of the treasurers of the foreign missions.

B. PUBLISHED MATERIAL

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Year	House of Commons Paper No.	Session vol. No.	Page.
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1902	180	LXXIII	545
1903	249	XIVI	577
1904	186	LXIII	545
1905	180	LVIII	1
1906	175	LXXXII	253
1907	149	LIX	1
1908	145	LXXV	1
1909	156	LXII	769
1910	164	LXVII	1109
1911	179	LV	673
1912-13	147	LXI	845
1913	220	XLVI	535
1914	288	LXIII	177

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1881: Session vols. 1 to 5 and Cmd. Paper 3086.
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1897	8386 and 8511
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