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Secular Enlightenment and Christian Conversion: Missionaries and Education in Colonial India

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An account of nineteenth-century missionary activity in India observed that missionary work had been 'intimately connected' with the British Empire in India and had extended in reach and scope with the Empire.¹ This account went on to observe: 'No thanks, however, is due in the matter to the East India Company', for 'that Company gave no helping hand to missionary work', but rather 'performed the services of herald and forerunner [to missionary work] to which Providence had called it in an unwilling and reluctant manner' (Richter 1908, 128). It is true that the presence of British rule facilitated Christian and missionary activity in a host of ways; it is also true that in its official capacity the British Indian government resolutely refused to champion Christianity.

Afraid of the reaction that meddling in the religious beliefs of its Indian subjects might provoke, the East India Company made it clear to these subjects as well as to its own British officials that it was not in India to challenge or undermine existing religious beliefs. When, for instance, the Madras Council of Education proposed to permit the use of the Bible in class in government schools, the Court of Directors in London disallowed the proposal, declaring, 'We cannot consider it either expedient or prudent to introduce any branch of study which can in any way interfere with the religious feelings and

opinion of the people'.² Even if on occasion—usually with great reluctance—it could be prevailed upon to outlaw certain practices, such as *sati* or widow-burning, the colonial authorities repeatedly and emphatically declared their religious neutrality. After the Mutiny, when the British parliament took over direct administration of India, the Queen's Proclamation assured her subjects that their religious faith(s) would be respected. As long as the Queen's Indian subjects paid and obeyed, they could profess whatever they chose.

Indeed, until the Clapham sect evangelists finally succeeded in amending the East India Company's Charter in 1813 to allow for missionary activity, Christian missionaries could only operate on Company-controlled territory with Company permission and subject to many constraints. The powers Company officials had to limit and, if need be, to prohibit missionary activity were exercised with discretion. There were many colonial officials who were devout Christians and who in their official or 'private' capacity propagated the faith or assisted others in doing so. But, at other times, prohibitions were strictly enforced as after the Vellore Mutiny in 1806 in which the mutiny of native troops stationed in the southern Indian city of Vellore was widely attributed to a reaction against overzealous and insensitive missionary activity. Governor General George Barlow imposed strict restrictions on itinerant preaching and initially sought to deport all newly arrived missionaries. The incident had its ripples back home. Motions were moved (though defeated) by the Court of Directors that would have prohibited all missionary activity, and Sydney Smith used the pages of the *Edinburgh Review* to launch an attack on missionaries, who would 'deliberately, piously, and conscientiously expose our whole Eastern empire to destruction, for the sake of converting half a dozen Brahmans, who, after stuffing themselves with rum and rice, and borrowing money from the missionaries, would run away, and cover the gospel and its professors with every species of impious ridicule and abuse'.³

It was official hostility which led the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS), one of the first missionary bodies active in India, to found its chief mission in Serampur, then under the control of the more welcoming Danish authorities, rather than in British India. The Herculean efforts of the Serampur missionaries in translating the

Bible into Indian languages—it was fully translated into six (including Sanskrit) and partly translated into another 29—was widely admired in England and seen as proof of the advance of the Christian cause. In India, however, the quality of the translations was much criticised (Bryce 1839, 100–03) and scepticism was widely voiced over the efficacy of such means to spread the Word. The Abbe Dubois, for instance, prophesied that ‘these *soi disant* translations will soon find their way to bazaar streets, to be sold there, as waste paper, to the country grocers, for the purpose of wrapping their drugs in them’ (Dubois 1977, 112).

The Abbe was sceptical about the prospects of successfully converting Hindus to Christianity. He once wrote that if Hindus went to Europe, they were more likely to be successful in gaining converts to Visnu and Siva than would missionaries like him in gaining converts to Christianity (Dubois 1977, 73). But, in this case, his scepticism seems to have been well founded, as the availability of the Gospel did not seem to result in conversion. The BMS welcomed its first convert in 1800, a full seven years after its first and foremost missionary, William Carey, arrived in India. One of his colleagues, William Ward, wrote in his diary, ‘thus the door of faith is opened to the Hindoos—Who shall shut it?’ (quoted in Stanley 1992, 37). But, in fact, the opening proved to be no more than a crack, for in this early period—as indeed later also—missionary success in converting was little. Street preaching, ‘exposing’ the fallacies of Hinduism and Islam, engaging in controversies with votaries of these religions,⁴ sometimes succeeded in drawing audiences, but they were largely ineffective in securing converts.

Translating the Bible and preaching to the heathen were accompanied by another tactic—an emphasis on schooling as an aspect of the proselytising endeavour. From 1811, the Serampur missionaries began establishing a network of schools around Serampur. The schools provided an elementary education, accompanied by religious instruction. They were modelled on the system devised by Joseph Lancaster (the so-called ‘Madras system’, or monitorial system), which Carey, even in its non-denominational form, considered to be one of the three ‘powerful engines’ (alongside missionary and Bible

societies) devised by God to facilitate the spread of the gospel over the world (quoted in Stanley 1992, 51). Schools were established by other missionary bodies as well, such as the London Missionary Society and the Church Missionary Society, and in 1818, the BMS added to its growing educational infrastructure by establishing a Christian college. While many of the schools established in this period did not survive for long, the idea that education might serve to prepare young minds for a conversion, which may happen later, took deep root.

Praeparatio Evangelica

By the early decades of the nineteenth century, conversions had been few and those too overwhelmingly among low castes, outcastes, and tribal groups—the ‘heartlands’ of upper-caste Hinduism remained not simply unconquered, but almost untouched. Caste in particular seemed to be an insuperable barrier to conversion, for conversion meant placing oneself outside of caste and thus severing most social ties and forms of social intercourse. Time and again missionaries complained that the institution of caste and the natives’ stubborn attachment to their own ‘superstitions’ made the work of winning them over all but impossible.

In response to this, many churchmen began to promote extensive involvement in education as an essential and even predominant aspect of the mission to win over souls. The first bishop of India, T.F. Middleton, wrote in 1818, ‘The minds of the people are not generally in a state to be impressed by the force of argument, still less to be awakened to reflection by appeals to their feelings and to their fears... what is further required seems to be a preparation of the native mind to comprehend the importance and truth of the doctrines proposed to them; and this must be the effect of education’ (quoted in Neill 1985, 206). The importance being assigned to education here was not just the commonplace idea of ‘getting them young’, but the notion that in India it might be necessary to proceed by ‘stages’ and that educating the young might prepare the minds of Hindus for later receptiveness to the Word of God. The Reverend Miller, principal of Madras Christian College, which itself was an outcome of this emphasis

on education, went even further and told the Allahabad Missionary Conference of 1872 that conversions were not the measure of the success of Christian education, nor even what it principally aimed at; such education sought, instead, ‘a change of thought and feeling, a modification of character and formation of principles tending in a Christian direction... to leaven the whole lump of Hinduism’, aiming ‘not directly to save souls, but to make the work of saving them more speedy and more certain than it would be without it’ (Mathew 1988, 56). From roughly the 1830s onwards, many of the missions in India came to see the provision of education as one of their chief tasks, especially in urban areas. The notion had taken hold that educating the young was necessary to prepare the minds of Hindus for later receptiveness to the Word of God—that education was, in a phrase often used at the time, a ‘*praeparatio evangelica*’. This emphasis, of course, caused dissent among the missionary community in both India and, especially, back home, where mission societies were wont to wonder why their emissaries were expending energy and resources on teaching secular knowledge rather than going forth to preach like the apostles. At the Allahabad Missionary Conference of 1872, a number of participants wondered whether the efforts missionaries were putting into education were not a distraction from the main task of converting souls. The Reverend Gillan asked, ‘if St Paul who was competent enough to teach metaphysics or oratory did not open a school to put the heathen in a better position for receiving the gospel... why should we deviate from St Paul?; the answer to which rhetorical question was of course that missionaries ought not to deviate from St Paul, but rather should be following his example by ‘devot[ing] themselves principally and directly to Christianizing the people’ (Mathew 1988, 52). The reply to this by champions of education, such as Bishop Cotton, was that ‘The general clearing away of ignorance, folly and superstition effected by education are as likely to pave the way for Christ’s spirit as the plan of hurrying from village to village, preaching for a day or two, and not reappearing’ (quoted in Metcalf 1964, 131).

One missionary was especially important in propagating this idea and acting upon it. In 1829, Alexander Duff set off for India as the Church of Scotland’s first Indian missionary⁵, and soon after his

arrival he determined to establish a school for the instruction of the boys of native gentleman, which would provide a grounding through the medium of the English language in Western arts and sciences, accompanied by religious instruction. The General Assembly Institution opened in Calcutta in 1830⁶ with more applicants for admission than it could accommodate, and in subsequent years, as it expanded, it never experienced difficulty in filling new vacancies.

A demand for English education was developing among metropolitan elites in this period, a demand which grew at a rapid rate after 1835, when the British Indian government decided to patronise English over Oriental education and also began to make government employ increasingly dependent upon possession of educational qualifications. In 1854, the government announced that it would make government funds available to private (including missionary) schools and colleges, and thereafter there was a rapid growth in the numbers of schools and colleges offering Western education. The prestige attached to the conqueror's language, the access it gave one to the emerging colonial public sphere such as courts, local and provincial councils and the like, and, not least, the fact that it aided in what was many an urban middle-class colonial subject's highest aspiration—a government job—all combined to make English education a highly sought-after commodity.

Mission schools and colleges provided this commodity, and some of them were thought to provide it exceedingly well. Such institutions were sought out by parents despite rather than because of the religious instruction they provided. Missionaries were well aware of this, of course, as the Scottish Church's James Bryce acknowledged of Duff's school, 'The native youths do not come to it to obtain religious or Christian instruction, nor is that the object for which their parents send them there. What they are seeking is that education which is best to qualify them for earning a future livelihood; and they only do not refuse to take at the same time the instruction which you offer them, or rather, which you make an express condition of their receiving, in order to get the secular education which they want' (Bryce 1856, 23–24). Thus, there followed a cat and mouse game in which the missionary institution offered the bait of an English education, while the student and his parent sought to take

the bait without swallowing the hook. Lal Behary Day, a Brahmin who had attended Duff's school, reported that his father answered friends who urged him against sending his son to a missionary school by saying that 'he did not intend to make of me a learned man, but to give me so much knowledge of English as would enable me to obtain a decent situation; and that long before I was able to understand lectures on the Christian religion, he would withdraw me from the Institution, and put me into an Office' (Day 1969, 474). Occasionally conversions did occur—Lal Behari Day was one such—but when 'a conversion does occur', as a colonial official observed in 1859, 'it is well known that the school is at once emptied, and only by slow and painful degrees that it attains anything like its former condition'.⁷ More often, parents succeeded in getting their sons an education without the disaster of conversion befalling them.

The secular education provided by mission schools and colleges was not included in the curriculum simply as a carrot dangled in front of Indian parents in order to be able to subject them to religious instruction. It was also seen as having a role to play in its own right (as secular education) in preparing the minds of India's elites for the ultimate reception of Christianity. Alexander Duff provides an enthusiastic and revealing description, in his mammoth *India and India Missions* (1839), of how he came to the important discovery that the 'truths of modern literature and science' could function as 'the handmaid of true religion'. He recounts how soon after the opening of his school he was conducting a junior class in which he asked, 'What is rain?'. A student replied that it came from the trunk of the elephant of God Indra. Pressed for his source, he replied that he learnt this from his guru, whose authority in turn was a *Shashtra*, a Hindu text. Instead of directly contradicting the student, Duff describes how he led his students through the everyday example of rice boiling in a pot, the rising of steam, condensation, the re-formation of water—at each point, explaining the process and gaining the assent of students for the explanation. Assent is spontaneously given—heat causes the evaporation of water in the form of steam, etc.—until suddenly one boy, 'as if... finding that he had... gone too far' manifests alarm and exclaims, 'Ah! What have I been thinking? *If your account be the true one, what becomes of our Shashtra?*' (560). The explanation,

Duff writes, introduced the first doubt, the first suspicion regarding the truth of the Hindu faith, and thus was the first step in 'a mental struggle, which, though painfully protracted... only terminated in the case of some, with the entire overthrow of Hinduism'(560). If this encounter with Western scientific knowledge was a revelation for his student, the incident was also, Duff declares, something of a revelation for him. Literature and science were taught at his school because they were adjudged as 'indispensable to an enlarged and liberal education'. But, this incident revealed to Duff a further and more compelling reason: 'It now seemed as if geography, general history, and natural philosophy—from their direct effect in destroying Hinduism—had been divested of their secularity, and stamped with an impress of sacredness. In this view of the case, the teaching of these branches seemed no longer an indirect, secondary, ambiguous part of missionary labour—but, in a sense, as direct, primary, and indubitable as the teaching of religion itself'(563).

This was close to the view of senior English officials such as Macaulay and Trevelyan, who had been responsible for the introduction of Western education in India and had thought that it would ultimately pave the way for the triumph of Christianity. Macaulay wrote in 1836 that 'No Hindoo, who has received an English education, ever remains sincerely attached to his own religion. Some continue to profess it as a matter of policy; but many profess themselves pure Deists, and some embrace Christianity. It is my firm belief that, if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolater among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence'(quoted in Clive 1987, 411).⁸ Western science and English literature, as Gauri Viswanathan (1998) argues, would, it was thought, be corrosive of Hinduism and thus would serve to disseminate and secure not only the hegemony and legitimacy of the colonial power, but also of its religion.

That Western learning had a corrosive effect upon Hindu belief came to be widely accepted. But, this could and did give rise to two quite distinct conclusions. One, that such enlightenment was not corrosive of religion per se, but only of false religion; it would prove to be a handmaid of true, revealed religion. This would occur either directly, or (this expectation was falsified and missionaries had to

adjust to one more disappointment occasioned by the 'peculiarities' of the Indian situation) circuitously, first proceeding via the embrace of deism or various forms of 'reformed' or Protestantised Hinduism.

In his 1859 history of Christianity in India, John William Kaye could already perceive a drifting away from Hinduism. Wherever 'European education has made any great progress, Idolatry has ceased to be the religion of the younger generation'; and if this generation could only overcome their parents' opposition and social and psychological pressure to the point of embracing 'theophilanthropism', the next generation would find it easier to make the next and decisive step into the embrace of Christianity (Kaye 1859, 500). Many others also believed that the effect of Western education on Hindus was that 'with scarcely any exception [they] cease to believe in the ancestral faith' (Temple 1986, 153). Macaulay's nephew and biographer, Sir George Otto Trevelyan, asserted that 'an educated Hindoo almost inevitably becomes a Deist' (Trevelyan 1991, 202), and once sufficient numbers of Hindoos had forsaken 'Brahminism' for deism, 'we may trust that the majority of cultivated Hindoos will not be averse to accept the creed of their rulers' (204).

A possible corollary of this was that government-provided education, while prohibited by the government policy of neutrality to provide religious instruction in Christianity, nonetheless also aided in the Christianisation of India. Duff and most other missionaries were virulent critics of the 'godless education' provided in government schools and were fond of pointing to the scandalous and irreligious activities of some of the students of Hindu College as proof of the unhappy effects of a purely secular education. But, while most missionaries never missed the opportunity to denounce secular education, they also acknowledged that it was, in part at least, their ally. Reverend Summers told an international conference of Protestant missions held in London that '90 per cent of the Hindu youth trained in government colleges have ceased to believe in Hinduism and have become sceptics... God be praised for such a beneficent result and [may] he lead them on through scepticism to a reasonable faith in Christ' (quoted in Mathew 1998, 68). One of the Serampur missionaries, John Marshman, told a parliamentary committee in 1853 that 'the study of English literature, and the

knowledge of European science which is obtained by the Natives, although unaccompanied with religious instruction... produces the great effect of shaking the fabric of Hindooism to its very foundation' (quoted in Mahmood 1981, 66). The Church of Scotland missionary, James Bryce, admitted that even if government-provided secular education 'does not make Christians of its recipients, it at least un-Hinduizes them' (Bryce 1856, 8). And even Duff approvingly quoted the editor of the *Inquirer* newspaper, a former student at Hindu College and a convert to Christianity, to the effect that 'the Hindu College... has... destroyed many a native's belief in Hinduism... No missionary ever taught us to forsake the religion of our fathers; it was government that did us this service' (Duff 1850, 88).

There was another, more anxious narrative of transition, however, which came to prominence some decades after this first one, as a response to what came to be seen by some as the excessive optimism of the first narrative. In this earlier period, missionaries were often hopeful that Western education would eventually lead to more and more of the educated classes' being weaned from their own religion and, perhaps, via detours through reformed Hinduism such as the Arya Samaj or the Hindu-Christian eclecticism of the Brahmo Samaj, would be won over to Christianity. This hopefulness began to give way to concern, a concern which was fuelled by a number of developments. One was simply that the hoped-for transition to Christianity did not seem to be in the offing; for most of those who became dissatisfied with existing forms of Hinduism, the reformed versions such as the Arya Samaj were not stopping places on a longer journey towards Christianity, but rather the terminus. Moreover, from the latter half of the nineteenth century, the north-Indian-based Arya Samaj became more aggressively anti-Christian and even began to make efforts to reconvert Hindus who had converted to Islam or Christianity (Jordens 1991), while in the south of India, the Hindu Preaching and Tract Societies similarly sought to combat missionary influence (Oddie 1982). More importantly, however, the fear of 'scepticism', initially raised partly as a bogey against 'godless education', became part of a more generalised and widespread concern and complaint about educated Indians—that they were undisciplined, had lost faith and all the restraints that went with it, and that they were morally 'adrift',

with no strong sense of right and wrong. The nature of the complaint was so broad and amorphous, and the evidence for it so general and varied—indiscipline in the form of nationalist protest and criticism, a decay in manners, alleged impiety, growing disrespect for parents and other elders⁹—that it was voiced by a range of sources, not only by missionaries but often by government and many Indians. With important differences in inflection (usually related to the nature of the solution proffered), the explanation generally offered for this took the form of a narrative of a ‘derailed’ transition. Through their contact with Western learning, it was argued that educated Indians had lost faith in their religion and in their traditions and customs, without having found substitutes that were not so alien to their (not wholly abandoned) traditions that they could not be grafted onto them. The transition from idolatory to Christianity had dangerously stalled, the effect and symptoms of which were impiety, unrest, moral decay, and so on.

Keshab Chunder Sen of the Brahmo Samaj warned that ‘In times of transition... we always find that men for a while become reckless. The old faith is gone, and no new faith is established in its place. Society is unhinged and unsettled’ (quoted in Murdoch 1900, 3). The *Pioneer* noted (10 January 1883, 2) of the ‘native’ that ‘we have introduced him to a literature which at every page proves the foolishness of his old beliefs’, without substituting anything ‘whereon to found a new morality’. The concern was increasingly voiced in official circles as well. Dr Martin, the Director of Public Instruction of Bengal, said that ‘the bare materialism and freethinking of the West have dispelled a mass of ignorance and superstition... [but have also] created a feeling of scepticism and a spirit of utter irreverence which is sapping the very foundations of the moral side of a student’s character’ (quoted in Murdoch 1900, 39)¹⁰. Governor Sir George Clark of Bombay adverted to ‘certain evils’ which the introduction of Western education had given rise to, among them being that ‘The restraining forces of ancient India have lost some of their power; the restraining forces of the west are inoperative in India. There has thus been a certain moral loss without any corresponding gain’.¹¹ By 1913, a government ‘Resolution on Educational Policy’ noted that ‘the most thoughtful minds in India lament the tendency

of the existing system of education to develop the intellect at the expense of the moral and religious faculties', and described this as 'unquestionably the most important educational problem of the day' (paragraph 5).

The symptoms of this 'failed transition' were seen to manifest themselves acutely especially in the form of a moral crisis, a loss of moral moorings; and from there it was an easy step away to ascribe this to the absence of religious instruction, which if allowed might have tempered the effects of the new education. Even the British Indian government came to embrace this conclusion, at least in part. Bound, however, by its policy of religious neutrality in government schools, the 'correctives' it proposed took the form of advocating the introduction of special 'moral textbooks' (one of the recommendations of the Hunter Commission of 1883), exhortations to teachers to seek to exercise a moral influence over their charges, schemes for housing students in hostels where good influences could be brought to bear and discipline instilled, and so on.

For others, not so constrained, the remedy was obvious—that religious instruction be a prominent feature of all schools, including government schools. The establishment of Hindu and Muslim 'denominational' schools of a modern type, and the drive to establish colleges and universities which would combine Western learning with Hindu and Muslim religious instruction, made such arguments have great effect. For instance, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Congress politician and member of the (ultimately successful) movement to found a Hindu University in Benares, would refer to government acknowledgements that 'moral education' was the Achilles heel of the educational system and suggest that, 'this is one of the strongest arguments in favour of a denominational university... it will be able to make up an acknowledged deficiency in the present system of education' (Malaviya 1911, 29). Arguments of this type had, of course, long been used by missionaries to urge the teaching of Christianity in government schools; but now they were not the sole preserve of missionaries but were being used more assertively and effectively by those urging education in the religions of India.

Conclusion

The missionary emphasis on the necessity of Western education as a ‘praeparatio evangelica’ grew out of a recognition that India was ‘different’ and that the manner in which the Word of God was disseminated would have to be adapted to the specificities and peculiarities of India. Another measure of India’s difference was that here, far more than in its European birthplace, secular learning was seen to be an ally of evangelisation. But these attempts at adapting European methods to Indian conditions underwent an unintended slippage. As we have seen, the Western education which was thought to be an aid in the dissemination of Christianity came to be widely seen as a source of irreligion and immorality. Western education did not prove to be as potent in spreading Christianity as had been expected, but instead led—or so some believed—to many educated Indians being deprived of the certainties of an old world and its moral code, without any replacements for this being found. The unmistakable irony here lies not principally in the fact of falsified intentions, for examples of this abounded, but in the fact that even some missionaries came to find themselves sympathetic to the teaching of Hinduism in schools and colleges. As early as 1879, a critic of the missionaries observed that ‘complaint is made that somehow or other this “Young-India” has lost the moral control of the old religions, and has not adopted that of the new’, and went on to note the curious fact that ‘Regret seems to be felt for the extinction of the Hindu religion...’ (Cust 1879, 14). And in 1910, H.W. Orange, Director-General of Education for the Government of India, observed that ‘it is a curious to find that there is among Christian missionaries some movement towards religious instruction in the faiths of this country’.¹² The feeling was shared in government circles, which, early in the new century, relaxed the prohibition against religious instruction, allowing (optional) religious instruction out of school hours in government schools in the United Provinces and Punjab—in full recognition of the fact that in most cases this instruction would be in Hinduism and Islam. This policy was extended to Burma in 1910, where the Burma correspondent of *The Times* welcomed the new policy enthusiastically on the grounds that, ‘The sanctions provided

by Hinduism and Buddhism, though, as we believe, greatly inferior to those provided by Christianity, are immeasurably better than none at all'.¹³

And thus, Western education, the 'solution' to a problem—how to disseminate Christianity in India—itself became the problem of impiety and moral decline, to which one widely advocated solution came to be that instruction in the religions of India be introduced into the very schools and colleges which, it was once hoped, would be the solvents of such false religions.

Notes

- 1 This is a revised version of an essay which first appeared in *Semeia*, 88, 2001, under the title, 'Which Good Book?'
- 2 *Selections from the Records of the Madras Government*, no. 2, 1855. 'Papers relating to Public Instruction', Appendix VV, Madras.
- 3 Robert Southey took to the pages of the *Quarterly Review* to defend the missionaries, and the ensuing debate included a further broadside from Smith. The exchange is described in J and J Comaroff, 51–52.
- 4 For the Hindu responses in some of these early controversies, see Richard Young, 1981. For a discussion of the Serampur missionaries' experiences in street preaching, based on their diaries, see Lata Mani, 1998, chapter 7.
- 5 Details on Duff and his activities can be obtained from many sources, including G. Smith 1879, and M.A. Laird, 1972, 201ff.
- 6 A similar institution was opened by the Scottish Free Church Mission in Madras in 1837.
- 7 *Correspondence Relating to the System of Education in the Bombay Presidency*, 1860, Bombay, Education Society's Press, 65. For such an incident at the General Assembly's Institution in Madras, see Suntharalingam 1974, 35–36.
- 8 Trevelyan shared Macaulay's view on this matter as on most others, see Clive 1987, 361, 410.
- 9 One gets a flavour of this from a letter (17 June 1908) of the Inspector-General of Education in the princely state of Mysore—'Irreverence of all kinds and disrespect for authority have been on the increase. Modesty, self-restraint and good sense are largely at a discount, while presumption, vanity and unrestrained aggressiveness appear to be increasing'—Home Education, August 1910, 1-3(A), National Archives of India.
- 10 Similarly, Samuel Lobb, principal of Krishnanagar College and member of the London Positivist Society, felt the undermining of Hindu theology

had led to a veritable 'Epidemic Fever', to which Positivism, adapted to Indian circumstances, might be a solution—see Forbes 1975, 33–37.

11 *Report of the Proceedings of a Conference on Moral, Civic and Sanitary Instruction*, Bombay, Bombay Guardian Mission Press 1910, 2.

12 Education Department 74-76A, Sept. 1911, National Archives of India.

13 Education Department 74-76A, Sept. 1911, National Archives of India.

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