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The changing Scottish Presbyterian missionary vision of India and China, 1840-1914

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Signed Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where stated otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.

Sung, Yin-Hsuan
PhD candidate

Abstract

This thesis examines Scottish public views of Christian overseas missions and the growth of the British Empire in India and China between the 1840s and the beginning of the First World War – a period which saw the predominant ethos of the British Empire transformed from one emphasizing free trade and informal control to one based on more consciously expansive, imperialist policies. For most Scots, the purpose of this evolving British Empire was not limited to material gain, military control, and planting of Anglophone colonies; rather, the Empire carried a profound meaning in the moral and spiritual realms. Many Scots had been influenced by the thought of the Scottish Enlightenment, embracing the idea that commerce and manufacturing were expressions of higher civilization, that trade would help promote mutual understanding and respect among peoples, and that it was therefore legitimate to impose free trade on less developed societies by force, if necessary. Although not without dissenting voices, most Scots perceived the British Empire through a pervasive faith in the benefits of free trade and the superiority of Western civilization. This could blind them to the injustices of unequal trading relations which led to increased poverty in India and China, or to the immorality of imposing opium on China through the Opium Wars. Scottish Protestants, influenced by the Scottish Reformation and ideal of the godly commonwealth, tended to view the British Empire as a divinely-ordained means to spread the Protestant faith to the peoples of India and China. Sensitive to what they viewed as the religious responsibilities of Empire, and believing that God directed human events, Scottish Protestants worked to remove or

diminish social and cultural obstacles to Christian conversion in India and China. They placed particular emphasis on education, which had been a major priority of the Scottish Reformation, and on medical work, which had been a major emphasis of the Scottish Enlightenment. They devoted themselves to bringing knowledge of God to individuals, expecting that personal transformations would in time to lead to social transformations, and elevate the societies of India and China both materially and morally. They hoped to see both fundamental transformations of the societies of Asia, and mass religious conversions of the peoples of India and China to Protestant Christianity.

However, the Scottish public did not see these hopes of social and religious transformation fulfilled. Instead, they saw movements of resistance to imperial control emerge in both India and China from the later nineteenth century. For some Scots, these resistance movements resonated with their perceptions of Scotland's own historic struggles for the preservation of its national identity. Increasingly, Scottish missionaries and the Scottish public were forced to revisit their religious conceptions of the British Empire and their notions of God's intentions for the world. They had to re-evaluate their work in the mission fields, and to expand their theological understandings of the religions and cultures of India and China.

Lay Summary

This thesis examines Scottish public views of Christian overseas missions and the growth of the British Empire in India and China between the 1840s and the beginning of the First World War – a period which saw the predominant ethos of the British Empire transformed from one emphasizing free trade and informal control to one based on more consciously expansive, imperialist policies. For most Scots, the purpose of this evolving British Empire was not limited to material gain, military control, and planting of Anglophone colonies; rather, the Empire carried a profound meaning in the moral and spiritual realms. Many Scots had been influenced by the thought of the Scottish Enlightenment, embracing the idea that commerce and manufacturing were expressions of higher civilization, that trade would help promote mutual understanding and respect among peoples, and that it was therefore legitimate to impose free trade on less developed societies by force, if necessary. Although not without dissenting voices, most Scots perceived the British Empire through a pervasive faith in the benefits of free trade and the superiority of Western civilization. This could blind them to the injustices of unequal trading relations which led to increased poverty in India and China, or to the immorality of imposing opium on China through the Opium Wars. Scottish Protestants, influenced by the Scottish Reformation and ideal of the godly commonwealth, tended to view the British Empire as a divinely-ordained means to spread the Protestant faith to the peoples of India and China. Sensitive to what they viewed as the religious responsibilities of Empire, and believing that God directed human events, Scottish Protestants worked to remove or diminish social and cultural obstacles to Christian conversion in India and China.

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Introduction

It was the contributions of Scottish Presbyterian missionaries who had come to Formosa that first aroused my interest in Scotland. The church history of Formosa has been largely dominated by Scottish missionaries. The Rev. James Laidlaw Maxwell, born in Canongate, received his medical degree from the University of Edinburgh. He was the first missionary sent by the English Presbyterian Church to Formosa in 1865. Two years later, Hugh Ritchie, born in Millport, North Ayrshire, graduated from the University of Glasgow and joined James Maxwell in the Formosa Mission. Later, many Scottish Protestant missionaries were sent by the English Presbyterian Church to Formosa. In 1871, the Canadian Presbyterian Church sent the Scottish-Canadian George Leslie Mackay to Formosa. The Mackay family had emigrated from Sutherland to Canada because of the Highland Clearances and they had settled in Oxford County, Canada. Growing up in a religious family, the young Mackay received his early Christian education from the local church, Old Log Church, which was formed by immigrants from Sutherland, Ross, and Inverness. While still waiting for the reply to his application to be a missionary overseas, Mackay came to study under Alexander Duff at the Free Church of Scotland's New College in Edinburgh.[1] The arrival of Mackay led missionaries in Formosa to decide to share the workload. Therefore, James L. Maxwell of the English Presbyterian Church and its other missionaries took charge of the mission work of Southern Taiwan, and Mackay of the Canadian Presbyterian Church led the mission works in Northern Taiwan. James Maxwell and other Scottish Protestant missionaries and missionary wives conducted

1 George Leslie Mackay, *From Far Formosa: The Island, Its People and Missions*, ed. James Alexander MacDonald (Toronto, Chicago, New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1896), 20.

educational missions, medical missions, and preaching; meanwhile, Mackay and mission workers sent by the Canada Presbyterian Church in Northern Taiwan took the same approach.

Many Presbyterian Christians in Taiwan considered Scotland "the root and the home of the Protestant faith in Taiwan." But many questions remained unsolved. Why were they all Scots? Why was James Maxwell sent by the English Presbyterian Church but not by the Scottish Presbyterian Church? Why was it that the Scottish missionaries all received a sound general higher education together with their minister training, and why did they all lay particular focus on medical missions and education? Why was Scotland such a place that produced so many missionaries? In recent decades, "Scotland fever" in Taiwan drove many researchers and Christians eager to know more about this country. However, since the Scottish missionaries were sent by the English Presbyterian Church, the "Scotland problem" remained unresolved. Many in Taiwan who knew nothing about the nineteenth-century Scottish Protestant Church history thought there was only one Presbyterian Church in Scotland – the Church of Scotland – and that it did not carry out foreign missions. Therefore, Scottish missionaries had to transfer to English Presbyterian Church.

Such questions took me to Edinburgh to explore the Scottish missions, and their unique characteristics of medical mission and the commitment to education. I grew interested in how Scottish missionaries and their Scottish supporters at home perceived and described Asian countries in the Victorian era, especially during the period of exceptional Chinese xenophobia in the 1890s and early 1900s, and also in how Scottish missionaries interpreted wars and mission. In forming questions for my

research project, I realized this exploration required an understanding of the historical background of the making of the British Empire, and of the significant role of the Scottish people in the development of the British Empire.

Thesis Aims and Objectives

This thesis will explore the phenomenal Scottish involvement in missionary movements overseas in the Victorian period on the part of the three main Presbyterian denominations in Scotland—the established Church of Scotland, the Free Church of Scotland (which came into being after the Disruption of 1843) and the United Presbyterian Church (formed of the union of the United Session Church and Relief Church in 1847). The period of this research begins in the 1840s as Britain was embracing policies of free trade and as the Scottish presence in overseas missions was increasing significantly. Britain's long-standing connections with India began with the establishment of direct trade in the early 1600s. With the growth of British-Indian trade and Britain's military conquest of much of India in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, many among the British ruling classes became convinced that the possession of India was indispensable to the prosperity and security of the British state. They viewed British control of India as a source of wealth and power. But a group of Scottish supporters of the Christian mission in India viewed British control of India from another perspective. The Scottish Presbyterian missionary, John Wilson, who had arrived in Bombay with his wife as a missionary of the Scottish Missionary Society in 1829,[2] insisted that the British people had a moral responsibility to help

[2] John Wilson only later became a missionary of the Church of Scotland in 1835, and again transferred his allegiance to the new Free Church in the 1843 Disruption. See Carlyle, E. I., and David W. Savage.

their Indian brothers and sisters. God had placed India under the control of Britain for a purpose, and that purpose was not simply to bring Britain worldly wealth and power. For such Scottish advocates of mission, Britain's control of India was a divine trust, with a divine, noble purpose. Meanwhile, British trade with India was leading to growing commercial ambitions in China. British merchants and policy-makers hoped to open China to free trade, including trade in India-produced opium. If military action were needed to open China to trade, this was regarded as an unfortunate necessity, especially as many believed that free trade would bring long-term benefits to the world. The two Opium Wars of 1839-42 and 1856-60 did not open China to the extent that many wished, but they did force China to open certain trading ports to Western merchants, and to allow the entry of Western missionaries.

Scotland was a partner with England, Wales and Ireland in the United Kingdom state. It was also a cultural nation with a rich history, which preserved its own legal system and educational system, and its distinctive religious environment. The Scottish people were predominantly Presbyterian in their religion. According to the 1851 Religious Census, the three main Presbyterian Churches in Scotland – the Church of Scotland, Free Church, and United Presbyterian Church – represented the "dominant religious public," accounting for at least 82 per cent of church-goers.[3] These Presbyterians shared a Calvinist faith, as enshrined in the Westminster Confession of Faith, with an emphasis on the awesome power of God, salvation by divine grace alone, and the importance of living a godly, moral life. Their worship services placed

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"Wilson, John (1804–1875), missionary and orientalist." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 23 September 2004.

[3] Figures sourced based on the data in Census of Great Britain Religious Worship and Education, Scotland, 1851, *BPP*, (1854) lix. cited in Callum G. Brown*, Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 45.

emphasis on the Bible, with long sermons, Scriptural readings and the singing of the Psalms. Their Churches were governed by representative church courts – kirk-sessions in local churches, district presbyteries, regional synods and (for the Church of Scotland and Free Church) a national general assembly. This gave their Churches a more democratic ethos, reflecting their belief in the priesthood of all believers. How did these Scottish Presbyterians perceive their role within the early Victorian British Empire? How did the Scottish Presbyterian mission movement contribute to the spread of informal imperial control over large portions of Asia during this period?

This thesis will address these questions. It will consider how Scottish belief in the benefits of trade, education, medical science, and an ethical civic life shape the Scottish involvement with both the British Empire and overseas Christian missions. We will see how the Scottish Protestant missions reflected a distinctive commitment to medical missions and education. The nineteenth-century Scots were both the heirs of the sixteenth-century Scottish Reformation, with its Calvinist faith and its commitment to Bible reading, and the heirs of the eighteenth-century Scottish Enlightenment, with its emphases on moral philosophy and medical research. These two legacies helped to shape the nineteenth-century Scottish national identity and inform their "Scottishness" within the Empire. To this must be added the Scottish commitment to trade. According to the eminent Scottish historian, Tom Devine, "the Scottish blend of commerce, shipping and Presbyterianism with either local capital or reinvestment of overseas financial returns" and the networks of Scottish merchants and missionaries were important in shaping the Empire. Meanwhile, the Scottish

presence in the Empire not only had an impact on the development of the Empire, but it also affected Scotland's internal social dynamic; as Devine has stated, "the intensity of the Scottish engagement with the empire [was such] that it affected almost every nook and cranny of Scottish life."[4]

This thesis will use various first-hand materials to expand the existing understanding of the Scottish Presbyterian perception of the British Empire. Research that discussed the role of Scottish Presbyterian missions was often limited to the two major Scottish Presbyterian churches, the Established Church, and the Free Church of Scotland.[5] Those two Scottish Presbyterian churches obtained heavy scholars' attention and interest because of some high-profile figures. However, this research will include the official records of the United Presbyterian Churches and biographies

[4] T.M Devine, *Scotland's Empire, 1600-1815* (London: Allen Lane, 2003), xxvii.

[5] Many seminal works listed here discussed the significance of Scottish Presbyterian missions in shaping Scottish identity, Scottish Public opinion, and the uniqueness of Scottish Presbyterian ideas of education and social reformation. But the primary resources in these studies usually did not include publications and materials from the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. See Andrew F. Walls, 'Three Hundred Years of Scottish Missions', in *Roots and Fruits : Retrieving Scotland's Missionary Story*, ed. R. Kenneth Ross, Regnum Studies in Mission (Oxford: Regnum Books International, 2014); Esther Breitenbach, *Empire and Scottish Society: The Impact of Foreign Missions at Home, C.1790 to C.1914* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009); Esther Breitenbach, 'Religious Literature and Discourses of Empire: The Scottish Presbyterian Foreign Mission Movement', in *Empires of Religion*, ed. M. Carey Hilary, Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies Series (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Esther Breitenbach, 'Scottish Presbyterian Missionaries and Public Opinion', in *Mutiny at the Margins New Perspectives on the Indian Uprising of 1857. Volume 2, Britain and the Indian Uprising*, ed. Andrea Major and Crispin Bates (New Delhi: Sage, 2013); Esther Breitenbach, 'The Influence of the Missionary Movement in Scotland', in *Roots and Fruits: Retrieving Scotland's Missionary Story*, ed. R. Ross Kenneth (Oxford: Regnum Books International, 2014); Stewart J. Brown, 'Reform, Reconstruction, Reaction: The Social Vision of Scottish Presbyterianism c.1830-c.1930', *Scottish Journal of Theology* 44, no. 4 (1991): 489–517; Derek Alexander Dow, 'Domestic Response and Reaction to the Foreign Missionary Enterprises of the Principal Scottish Presbyterian Churches, 1873-1929' (Edinburgh, University of Edinburgh, 1977); Elizabeth G. K Hewat, *Vision and Achievement, 1796-1956 : A History of the Foreign Missions of the Churches United in the Church of Scotland* (London; Edinburgh: Nelson, 1960); Philip Constable, 'Scottish Missionaries, "Protestant Hinduism" and the Scottish Sense of Empire in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century India', *The Scottish Historical Review* 86, no. 222 (2007): 278–313; A. N. Porter, *Religion versus Empire? : British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004); Andrew Porter, 'Scottish Missions and Education in Nineteenth - century India: The Changing Face of "Trusteeship"', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 16, no. 3 (1988): 35–57; Andrew C. Ross, 'Scottish Missionary Concern 1874-1914: A Golden Era?', *The Scottish Historical Review* 51, no. 151 (1972): 52–72; R. Kenneth Ross, ed., *Roots and Fruits: Retrieving Scotland's Missionary Society*, Regnum Studies in Mission (Oxford: Regnum Books International, 2014).

of the UPCoS ministers and missionaries, which filled the current research gap and provided a fuller image of Scottish foreign missions.

Research Methods and Sources

In exploring Scottish Presbyterian attitudes to the Empire, my research draws on a range of printed sources. There are three main categories of primary resources. First, there are the published records and proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland and Free Church of Scotland, and the national Synod of the United Presbyterian Church. These are a rich source of information. They include the lengthy published reports of the Churches' Mission Committees, which were widely distributed among the ministers and elders of the Churches and were widely read among Church members, and thus played an important role in shaping Scottish Presbyterian public attitudes.

My second main category of primary sources are the mission magazines. The three mainstream Scottish Presbyterian Churches all published and widely distributed mission magazines. These included accounts of the Churches' missionary activities, including articles and editorials on the missionaries and missions in different regions. Intended to inform and inspire the Church membership who contributed to the support of the missions, their accounts must be regarded with caution and not be viewed as an objective record. None the less, their discussions of the mission fields and of such imperial events as the India Revolt of 1857 or the opium wars were important in shaping Scottish Presbyterian attitudes towards missions and the Empire. Moreover, because a main purpose of the mission magazines was to appeal for Scottish public

support, they could not risk alienating Scottish opinion and they therefore tended to convey ideas about the Empire that were acceptable to their Scottish Presbyterian readers. This means they can be viewed as expressions of Scottish public attitudes, as well as shapers of those attitudes.

A third main category are newspapers and magazines published in Scotland. There are, admittedly, problems in viewing such sources as distinctively Scottish Presbyterian expressions of views on missions and Empire. In the age of the railways and mass printing (especially after the repeal of the newspaper stamp tax in Scotland in 1855), Scottish newspapers and magazines had a large circulation both in Scotland and also outside Scotland. Their editors had an eye on potential English, Welsh and Irish readers. Some of their authors, moreover, were not Scottish or not Presbyterian. The later nineteenth century witnessed a significant growth of the Scottish Episcopal Church, especially among the educated middle classes, and some journalists were Episcopalians, Catholics or agnostics. However, although an imperfect source for Scottish attitudes, newspapers and magazines published in Scotland were widely read in Scotland, and thus they expressed a Scottish voice. A major source for this thesis is *The Scotsman.* Founded in 1817 as a radical weekly newspaper and published in Edinburgh, *The Scotsman* became a daily newspaper after 1855, and it developed a wide Scottish national circulation. During the early period of this thesis, it was mainly Liberal in its political attitudes and it supported moderate religious attitudes. The editor from 1880 to 1906 was a gifted English man of letters, Charles Cooper, who moved the newspaper to a more Conservative (or Unionist) political position, and was a strong supporter of the British Empire.

Another main source for the thesis is *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, a monthly periodical founded by the wealthy radical, William Tait, in 1832. In 1834, *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* merged with *Johnstone's Edinburgh Magazine*, which was conducted by John Johnstone and his talented wife, Christian Isobel Johnstone, who was an early feminist. Following the merger, Christian Isobel Johnstone wrote extensively for *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* and soon she took over as editor. This made *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* the first major British periodical edited by a woman, and she provided opportunities for women writers, including Catherine Gore and Harriet Martineau.[6] Alexis Easley observed that "*Tait's* was clearly a reformist magazine organized around the conception of a middle-class male voice, epitomized by the magazine's co-proprietor, William Tait, but it was also a magazine that incorporated a variety of class- and gender-based perspectives."[7] The chief editor, Christian Johnston, died in 1857, and *Tait's Magazine* ceased publication in 1861.

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine was first appeared as the *Edinburgh Monthly Magazine* in 1817. The founder was the Edinburgh bookseller and publisher, William Blackwood. *Blackwood's* was conceived as a rival to the Whig *Edinburgh Review*.[8] It was moderately Conservative in its politics and took a strong interest in the British Empire, with a loyal readership among the colonial civil service. This long-lived magazine exercised a significant cultural influence. Surviving until 1980, it continued to be owned and edited by members of the Scottish Blackwood family.

I have used other primary resources in my research, including biographies,

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[6] Pam Perkins, "Tait, William (1793–1864), bookseller and publisher." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 23 September 2004.
[7] Alexis Easley, 'Tait's Edinburgh Magazine in the 1830s: Dialogues on Gender, Class, and Reform', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 38, no. 3 (2005): 276.
[8] Anon., "William Blackwood". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 16 November 2022.

autobiographies and memoirs, which provide valuable insights into the encounters of Scottish merchants, settlers and missionaries with the peoples of India and China, and which illustrate how these encounters affected Presbyterian attitudes to missions and empire. In exploring Scottish Presbyterian attitudes to overseas missions and the British Empire, the thesis will shift the focus away from biographical accounts of Scotland's iconic missionaries, such as Alexander Duff and John Ross, to the Scottish Presbyterian public who supported the mission movement and often the development of the Empire.

Debates in Scotland over the Benefits of Empire

The eminent historian of the British Empire, Bernard Porter, in the preface to the fifth edition of his seminal work, *The Lion's Share*, asserted that "the roots of British imperialism were material, not cultural. Specifically, it grew out of the nature of the British capitalism of the time."[9] Porter believed that the spirit of capitalism and the productiveness of the industrial revolution drove many Scottish merchants and manufacturers to look for new overseas markets that would absorb the fruits of their country's industrial production. The increasing role of Scottish merchants in Britain's burgeoning overseas trade has been explored in a number of scholarly works.[10]

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[9] Bernard Porter, *The Lion's Share: A History of British Imperialism, 1850 to the Present*, 5th ed. (London ; New York: Routledge, 2013), xvi–xvii.

[10] T.M Devine and Philipp R. Rossner, 'Scots in the Atlantic Economy, 1600-1800', in *Scotland and the British Empire*, ed. T.M Devine and John M. MacKenzie, Oxford History of The British Empire Companion Series (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); T.M Devine and John M. MacKenzie, 'Scots in the Imperial Economy', in *Scotland and the British Empire*, ed. T.M Devine and John M. MacKenzie, Oxford History of The British Empire Companion Series (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire* (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press and Birlinn, 2001), especially Chapter 21"'Using the safe and small': Imperial Economics. " In the 3rd edition of *The Lion's Share*, Porter has depicted the hustle and bustle of traffic between Britain and the major trading countries, the United States, India, and China. Less significant trading countries and cities, such as the West Indies, Indonesia and Malaya, Ceylon, Egypt, Australia, West Africa, Japan, Molucca, Celebes,

Echoing the rising call for free trade in the 1840s, Scots were more concerned with opening potential markets to British industrial products, than with acquiring overseas possessions as means to enhance British power.[11]

In 1833, an article in *The Scotsman* observed that India had become a major outlet for British production: "the declared value of the exports to India has increased five-fold since that time, and when the fall of price is taken into account, it may be pretty safely affirmed, that the increase in quantity is at least *eight-fold*!"[12] This article also highlighted the exponential growth in the export of white calicoes, increasing from 82,000 yards to 22,000,000 within only fourteen years. The author significantly singled out the contribution made "the activity of the private traders" as compared to the chartered East India Company. Robert Montgomery Martin, an authority on trade within the British Empire,[13] observed in a later *Scotsman* article of 1840 that India "yields an annual revenue of nearly £20,000,000 sterling."[14] Scottish merchants made significant profits from import and re-export trades.[15]

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and Fuji, together made up about 30 per cent of the total. Bernard Porter, *The Lion's Share: A Short History of British Imperialism, 1850-1995*, 3rd ed. (London: Longman, 1996).

[11] R. M. W Cowan, *The Newspaper in Scotland: A Study of Its First Expansion, 1815-1860* (Glasgow: George Outram, 1946), 383; E. M. Palmegiano, *The British Empire in the Victorian Press, 1832-1867 : A Bibliography*, vol. 5, Routledge Library Editions: The British Empire (New York: Garland Pub., 1987), 1.

[12] "India – Trade with Britain and Other Countries," *The Scotsman*, 25 September 1833.

[13] Frank H. H. King, "Martin, Robert Montgomery (1800–1868), author and civil servant," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004.

[14] [Robert Montgomery Martin], "Free Trade for India," *The Scotsman*, 8 August 1840.

[15] Devine and Rossner's research pointed out "the effectiveness of the commercial methods of the Glasgow firms, John Glassford and Co., William Cunningham and Co., and Speirs, Bowan, and Co. They established chains of stores in the colonies run by Scots factors and clerks who bought up tobacco from the planters in advance of the arrival of the ships." Combining the geographical advantages of Glasgow, Scottish merchants were able to secure short and safe passage for goods and reduced turnabout time and operating cost. A staggering figure was quoted as the evidence of the Scottish merchants' success in tobacco, "Scottish imports rose from a yearly average around five million lbs in the late 1720s and 1730s to a staggering figure of forty-five million lbs per year in the late 1760s." See Devine and Rossner, "Scots in the Atlantic Economy, 1600-1800".

The Scottish free trade proponents did not simply emphasize how colonies were outlets for industrial production: they also recognized the importance of obtaining natural resources through colonies. Cotton, timber, pig iron, and other raw materials from the colonies were vital for the industries of the workshop of the world. Shashi Tharoor, Indian historian and politician, in his recent book, *Inglorious Empire: What the British Empire did to India*, noted that before domination by an industrializing Britain, India enjoyed a 25 per cent share of the global trade in textiles.[16] But soon India was reduced by British industrial competition to the role of producer of raw cotton, and later of opium for export trades to China, and as a customer for British-made cotton cloth. As a result, "British exports of textiles to India, of course, soared. By 1830 these had reached 60 million yards of cotton goods a year; in 1858 this mounted to 968 million yards; the billion yard mark was crossed in 1870."[17]

Another reason for believing that Britain's colonial expansion brought major benefits had little to do with trade. New South Wales, first discovered in 1770 by Captain James Cook, with its red soil, alien flora and fauna, was portrayed as barren and desolate. But its remoteness in the far Pacific Ocean made it ideal as a penal colony for British and Irish convicts. The first British penal settlement was established in New South Wales seventeen years after Captain Cook's discovery. In January 1788 a fleet of eleven vessels, carrying 548 male and 188 female convicts, under the command of Captain Arthur Phillip, arrived at Botany Bay, after a voyage of more than eight months.[18] The American colony of Georgia had been a British

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[16] Shashi Tharoor, *Inglorious Empire: What the British Did to India* (London: Hurst & Co., 2017), 7.
[17] Ibid.
[18] T.M Devine, *Scotland's Empire: The Origins of the Global Diaspora* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 271; Niall Ferguson, *Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons*

penal colony, but after losing its American colonies, Britain was in need of another penal colony. The New South Wales penal colony was much cheaper than building new prisons in Britain, while exile to a remote and distant land served as a deterrent to would-be offenders. Political prisoners, food rioters, radical weavers, pickpockets, and shoplifters could all end up in Australia. Scots, however, were on the whole not supporters of the new Australian penal colony. Both the historians Niall Ferguson and Tom Devine have observed that Scottish judges were not inclined to sentence criminals to exile.[19] Lord Gardenstone, a Scottish lawyer and judge, attacked the system of transportation on the grounds of cost, noting "the most absurd, prodigal and impracticable vision that ever intoxicated the mind of man" had left the country with a fiscal burden "to the amount of ten times the loss incurred by the robbery and trial put together."[20] Finance was not the only reason that Scottish judges disliked the penal colonies. Lord Gardenstone's contemporary, Lord Dreghorn – a Scottish advocate, later Senator of the College of Justice, and one of the founders of the Royal Society of Edinburgh – condemned transportation as an abhorrent punishment.[21] Despite these Scottish voices of dissent, large numbers of convicted criminals were shipped to the Australian penal colonies. Indeed, "in the whole period of convict

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for Global Power (New York: Basic Books, 2004), 104.

[19] Ferguson, *Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power*, 107; Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, 272.

[20] Francis Garden cited in Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, 272.

[21] Ibid. As a result, the numbers of Scots in Botany Bay were relatively small compared to the English and Irish. "In the first dozen years of the Botany Bay colony a mere seventy Scottish prisoner…the total had still only reached 855…Over the period 1791 to 1817, 266 Scots were transported, but in some periods, such as 1795-9, the numbers fell to zero. By 1823, Scots accounted for but 3.5 per cent of all the convicts transported to Australia."

transportation to 1852, the Crown shipped more than 160,000 men, women and children in bondage to Australia."[22]

Many Scots viewed Britain's new colonial possessions in the East as places of opportunity. Scottish engineers, soldiers,[23] teachers, missionaries, merchants, and medical professionals viewed the colonies as a means to a better life.[24] The "lure of empire" was combined with "the usual Scottish quest for self-advancement."[25] William Jardine, from near Dumfries, studied medicine at the University of Edinburgh. He then entered the service of the East India Company as a ship's surgeon's mate. Born in Sutherland, Scotland, James Matheson studied chemistry at the University of Edinburgh, but did not complete the course.[26] Those two Scots, 12 years apart in age and both educated in Edinburgh, co-founded in 1832 the Hong Kong-based trading company, Jardine Matheson & Co. The company's reputation would be tarnished by its involvement in the opium trade. However, Jardine Matheson & Co. reflected how many young Scots viewed the colonies as places of opportunity and self-advancement, without necessarily thinking of the larger aims of the British Empire.

Despite all the tangible benefits of British colonies, some Scots were concerned over what eighteenth-century political economists had described as the "jealousy of trade". In *The Scotsman* article of 1840 in which Martin had enthused over the huge profits being generated by Indian trade, he had also referred to the danger of arousing

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[22] Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, 271.

[23] Scottish soldiers are well-known as brave and highly valued by their martial prowess and their mastery "in the arts of violence were in great demand." Ibid., 7.

[24] Richard J. Grace, *Opium and Empire: The Lives and Careers of William Jardine and James Matheson* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 9, 16.

[25] Esther Breitenbach, *Empire and Scottish Society: The Impact of Foreign Missions at Home, C.1790 to C.1914* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 73.

[26] Grace, *Opium and Empire*, 28–29.

envy among other European commercial powers. He warned his readers that Britain's "unfair and impolitic restraints on Indian industry 'have had a powerful influence in foreign countries; that they have stimulated hostile nations to arm and intrigue against us; and that the continuance of them is rapidly undermining our power in India, and inviting to internal insurrection or to daring invasion – which China has been artfully alarmed against us by that wily power that is now meeting us in Central Asia.'"[27] Britain's newly gained colonies in the East threatened to arouse jealousies on the part of other European powers, adding to the risk of war, and requiring ever heavier financial burdens to support an enlarged army and navy. In the 1840s and 1850s, Scottish critics of empire emphasized the huge expenditures being required to defend and administer the colonies.[28] In 1848, an article was published in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, written by the Scottish journalist and Church of Scotland evangelical, George Troup, and entitled "Our Debt, Our Colonies and Their Owners." The article was highly critical of the vast amounts that British government was paying for the defense and administration of its colonies, including the costs of "bishop, governor and a number of officials, army, horse and foot, and a squadron to cruise round their coast."[29] Troup portrayed British policy towards the colonies as "a road of stumbling and offence, costly meanwhile, and likely to be more costly hereafter" and it predicted that the growing expense of empire, "without any great advantage," would in time lead to the dissolution of Britain's power.[30]

[27] [Robert Montgomery Martin], "Free Trade for India," *The Scotsman*, 8 August 1840.
[28] Cowan, *The Newspaper in Scotland*, 383; Palmegiano, *The British Empire in the Victorian Press*, 2.
[29] [George Troup], "Our Debt – Our Colonies and their Owners," *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* 15, no. 175 (July 1848): 446.
[30] Ibid., 445-6.

Finance, Commerce, and the Expansion of Empire in the East

The historian Bernard Porter distinguished the fundamental difference between the British Empire and most previous empires in human history. While previous empires had been based on "imperialisms of conquest," the British Empire "was one of settlement and trade. Its main agents were not the Britain state, but individuals and private companies."[31] These "individuals and private companies" were the sinews of the Empire, according to Cain and Hopkins, but they were controlled by a small number of people. This exclusive group developed largely from the financial service sector of British society, with prominent individual capitalists and firms, based in London, exercising their power through financial, shipping, banking, and insurance services globally.[32] These gentleman capitalists had an extraordinarily high social prestige, and the prevalence of in-group marriage reinforced their sense of group solidarity, serving "to create economic efficiency and political stability, and to take out an option on the future by ensuring dynastic continuity."[33] In short, there were wealthy and influential family networks at the heart of the British Empire, and their decisions for either the formal annexation or informal commercial penetration of overseas regions were based not simply on their assessments of long-term British political and social stability, but also on their personal or family benefits.

The extension and preservation of British control over Canada, Australia, the Cape of Good Hope, the West Indies, and India were viewed as vital in obtaining the

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[31] Porter, *The Lion's Share*, 7.
[32] P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, 'Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Expansion Overseas I. The Old Colonial System, 1688- 1850', *Economic History Review* 39 (1986): 510.
[33] Ibid., 508–9. Studies point out that the Scots were excluded from this group at home. This fact indicated that the well-trained Scots remained relatively poor at home, which gave them the great motivation to emigrate. See Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (London: Pimlico, 2003), 128; Breitenbach, *Empire and Scottish Society*, 7.

naval and military supplies that were necessary for national security, as well as being expressions of commitment to imperial defense against possible foreign rivals.[34] The First Opium War against China, and the Turkish and Egyptian treaties of 1838 to 1841, reflected the notion that expansion of British power overseas might also ease British domestic problems by uniting the social classes against overseas enemies as well as finding new overseas markets for surplus industrial production.[35] The extension of Britain's informal commercial empire after 1815 is best understood as a reflection of both the networks of capitalists in Britain and the increasingly cosmopolitan nature of Britain's trade and finance. The family networks of large-scale capitalists and landowners not only determined where large companies should invest their surplus capital, but they also used their power and influence over public opinion to define the domestic and global threats which required imperial military action. Power and benefit were restricted to this relatively small group, and the sense of group identity was reinforced by marriage, patronage, and the bonding they shared in the prestigious public schools. They were "born to rule, and trained in their public schools to feel superior (as well as to oblige)."[36] When they retired, they "mostly flocked together in ghettoes of their own kind...they had almost no contact with the mainstreams of British society."[37]

The British Empire, Bernard Porter has argued, did not bring much benefit to the lower social orders, and the common people did not take much interest in the Empire.

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[34] Cain and Hopkins, 'Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Expansion Overseas I.', 522.

[35] Ibid., 523. In footnote 122, Cain and Hopkins cited works from scholars, noting "there was a strong link between export difficulties, social unrest and unemployment and the aggressive stance taken towards the Argentine government during the Uruguayan dispute in 1841-5."

[36] Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 48.

[37] Ibid., 44.

In *The Absent-minded Imperialists*, Porter claimed that, apart from some dramatic incidents, such as the "India Mutiny" of 1857-58 or the death of General Gordon at Khartoum in 1885, the Empire did not find much mass appeal in nineteenth-century Britain.[38] Support for the Empire, according to Porter, was found mainly among the upper classes, and their motivations were essentially paternalistic and based on a sense of entitlement to govern. For upper-class advocates of empire, Britain had a duty to govern much of the world because other peoples "were congenitally incapable of ruling themselves."[39] Porter also argued that the British Empire was very different from the Roman Empire, for the latter had aggressively asserted its power and authority, while the British Empire was the product of reluctant imperialists, was "not really very glorious," and was "moulded far more by events than it moulded them."[40] Furthermore, "its army was seemingly inadequate for its purpose, [and] it was beset by a never-ending progression of controversies and compromises."[41] The failures in colonial management and military deployments which occurred from time to time indicate that the British Empire was in some respects ramshackle in form and nature.

The Scottish partners in the British Empire project were unlikely to have had access to these London-based imperial financial circles. But some Scots fervently promoted free trade within the expanding British Empire. They included the leading textile manufacturer in Glasgow and devout Presbyterian, Kirkman Finlay, Church of

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[38] Ibid., 48.
[39] Ibid., 47.
[40] Porter, *The Lion's Share*, xvii.
[41] This quotation in MacKenzie's work is used to explain the thinking of Bernard Porter and his supporters that the British were reluctant imperialists. However, MacKenzie's view on the significance of empire is different from that of Porter. MacKenzie states that the British Empire had huge cultural significance. People may not directly benefit from the British empire, but still, they are proud to be a part of a strong, advanced, and responsible empire. See John M. MacKenzie, 'The British Empire: Ramshackle or Rampaging? A Historiographical Reflection', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 43, no. 1 (2015): 101-3.

Scotland elder and friend of the eminent Church of Scotland minister, theologian and political economist, Thomas Chalmers. In 1829, Finlay promoted the formation of an association "for the protection and furtherance of the general interests of the trade with the East Indies", concluding that "no system of commerce would be of more decided advantage to this country, than free trade."[42] He insisted that free trade "was extremely desirable to arrive at a system of unshackled intercourse in trade to all quarters of the globe."[43] However, as we will see, the Scottish public, while embracing the opportunities British power offered for the expansion of trade, was less interested in colonial conquest and its associated costs. The historian Cowan observed that the Scottish press discussion of colonial affairs tended to emphasize the benefits of free trade over imperial expansion.[44] Still, the expanding British Empire did provide opportunities for Scots of humble origins, such as William Jardine and others who had talent but few connections, to make their way in the world. The Empire also, as we will observe, provided opportunities for Scots who felt a divine call to bring Christian teachings and Christian examples of service to the peoples of the larger world, including the peoples of India and China.

[42] "Scottish Intelligence: East India Trade," *The Scotsman*, 25 April 1829.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Cowan, *The Newspaper in Scotland*, 383–84.

Chapter 1:

Scottish Presbyterianism and British India, c.1840 – c. 1870

The Empire Viewed as Promoting Progress and Morality

While some Scots believed that free-trade would bring advantages to the colonial subject peoples, others went further, holding that "the progress of science, of intellect, of morals, and faith, is ultimately associated with the existence of this empire...The East looks to us for light and liberty, and we dare not wisely reject the appeal."[1] Many Scots were deeply impressed over how the subcontinent of India, with its vast population, had come under British control. *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* for example, noted that with only a few thousand well-disciplined British officers and judges, Britain had managed to overcome "the prejudices (of a hundred millions of Hindoos); and healed the divisions of so discordant a population; and penetrated the vast extent of the Eastern world, not only with the terror of its power, but the justice of its sway."[2] India, with its large population and vast territory had, many believed, come under British control for a higher purpose. This also suggested that the British people were endowed by Providence with distinctive gifts of government. "Conquest has ever been the easiest and most frequent of man's achievements -- the consolidation and administration of conquest the most difficult and least successful effort of his genius."[3] Some Scots, such as R.H. Patterson,[4] the Edinburgh journalist and author of "*Our Indian Empire* (1856)", maintained that the British Empire was

[1] "Our Anglo-Saxon Empire," *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* 16, no. 191 (11, 1849): 692-3.
[2] "The East India Question," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 33, no. 208 (05, 1833): 778.
[3] "Our Indian Empire," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 82, no. 506 (12, 1857): 664.
[4] George Stronach and Roger T. Stearn. "Patterson, Robert Hogarth (1821–1886), journalist and writer." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 23 September 2004.

destined to manifest its power not simply by conquest but more importantly by providing good government and a just legal system in colonial India. By doing this, the imperial government in India would ultimately bring its genius and talents in commerce, legal system and culture into full play, and thus serve "to fulfill the concomitant duty of benefiting the people over whom we rule."[5]

For many Scots, the people and customs of foreign lands, especially those of India and Africa, were not only strange, but also cruel and barbarous. Such customs included the practice of sati in India, by which widows would be burned alive following the deaths of their husbands, in what was portrayed as a voluntary act of self-sacrifice. The 1829 Bengal Sati Regulation, by which the East India Company state outlawed the sati, initially in Bengal and soon across British India, was seen as a triumph for compassion and human rights over heathen cruelty, and as evidence that the British Empire was bringing the moral benefits of good government to India. This achievement in "moral improvement" was portrayed as a victory in the "unwearied and continuous struggle against evil in every shape, a moral war of enlightened benevolence and Christian civilization, against the malignant influences of barbarous superstition upon minds unacquainted with any kind of freedom."[6] In Scottish accounts of India, the Indian peoples were often described as victims under the control of the Hindu Brahman caste and priesthood, and enslaved within moral degradation and superstition. Some cruel practices, including Thuggee and Dakoitee (forms of systematic gang-robbery), Meriah sacrifice, female infanticide, and the ban of widow remarriage, persisted in India under the British governance, but British

[5] "Our Indian Empire," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 80, no. 494 (12, 1856): 659.
[6] "Human Sacrifices in India," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 52, no. 322 (08, 1842): 177.

example and the educational mission seemed, in the eyes of Scottish observers, destined to secure the gradual elimination of these practices: "through the zeal and care of the English government, [there is] a still nobler prospect -- a prospect of the moral improvement of a clever and industrious population -- of the cultivation of their great powers of mind, and the eradication of their evil practices."[7]

Most nineteenth-century Scots never travelled outside the British Isles, and large numbers spent the whole of their lives in the same district, often the same town or village. They learned about British Empire mainly through second-hand sources – including newspaper articles, travel literature, missionary accounts, church periodicals, pamphlets and sometimes public events, which included addresses by famous missionaries or prominent public figures. Those publications were, as the historian Esther Breitenbach has observed, "inherently religious, though not necessarily theological, in that it sought to inform Scottish Christians about the progress of Christianization in other parts of the world."[8] Usually, this literature was produced for fundraising purposes, designed to promote the missionary ideal and to win financial support. The common elements in this mission-oriented literature included Christian doctrines of salvation through faith in Christ, the benefits of Western education in inculcating rational approaches, and Christian moral teachings. Such literature helped to shape Scottish public perceptions of the British Empire, giving a more positive impression of the contributions of the Empire. On the whole, according

[7] Ibid., 183.
[8] Esther Breitenbach, 'Religious Literature and Discourses of Empire: The Scottish Presbyterian Foreign Mission Movement', in *Empires of Religion*, ed. Hilary M. Carey (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 87.

to Breitenbach, the mission-oriented literature "fostered the growth of imperialist sentiment in Scotland."[9]

The founder-editor of *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, William Tait (1793-1864), fervently described free trade "as a world's blessing, a bond of peace, a source of mutual and ever-growing happiness and prosperity."[10] In his article of 1840, Robert Montgomery Martin Martin quoted an excerpt from the letter of Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General of India from 1828 to 1833, to the Lord Provost of Glasgow, concerning the formation of a society to promote the welfare of India:

> Mere personal gain and selfish commercial prosperity have hitherto too much characterized the whole of our policy towards India, …our duty and our safety require us to observe a more generous principle of rule. To our shame be it spoken, little progress of improvement of any kind has been made in those extensive regions,... A general moral obligation is imposed upon Britain, and a general eagerness should be shown to redeem the indifference of the past, and to render the British connexion a real blessing to India.[11]

For some free-trade supporters, trade brought material progress and increased prosperity; however, they also recognized that commerce was "a means to an end rather than an end in itself."[12] Ideally, free trade would eventually lift up the material

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[9] Ibid., 89.
[10] "Our Anglo-Saxon Empire," *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* 16: 695.
[11] "Free Trade for India," *The Scotsman*, 8 August 1840.
[12] Christopher Leslie Brown, 'The Origins of "Legitimate Commerce"', in *Commercial Agriculture,*

condition of all peoples in the world, eradicating poverty, crimes, and wars. Free trade would inculcate steady habits of work, independence of mind, and awareness of other cultures. Commerce, according to the celebrated English advocate of free trade, Richard Cobden, acted "on the moral world as the principle of gravitation in the universe – drawing men together, thrusting aside the antagonism of race, and creed, and language, and uniting us in the bonds of eternal peace."[13]

The historian Martha McLaren has provided a valuable study of Scottish administrators in India, among them Thomas Munro, John Malcolm and Mountstuart Elphinstone. She has shown how they had been influenced by Scottish thinkers of the Enlightenment, including David Hume, William Robertson, Hugh Blair, John Millar, and Adam Ferguson, and how these administrators represented a "progressive authoritarianism" that was predominant well into the nineteenth century.[14] Such Scottish administrators, with progressive ideas, and commitment to British institutions in law, governance, education and the military, endeavored to bring benefits to the people of India. Some hoped to help "India to find her own way along the path of progress that Scotland had already traversed."[15] The expanding British Empire was viewed as bringing Western material improvement and religious and moral improvement. Western administrative efficiency, the fairness of Western judicial systems, social and economic improvement, education, the spread of printing presses, the proclamation of Christianity as revealed truth, the benefits of Western science and

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the Slave Trade and Slavery in Atlantic Africa (London: Boydell & Brewer, 2013), 138.

[13] Richard Cobden, *Speeches on Questions of Public Policy*, vol. 2, War, Peace, and Reform (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1870), 153.

[14] Martha McLaren, *British India & British Scotland, 1780-1830: Career Building, Empire Building, and a Scottish School of Thought on Indian Governance* (Akron, Ohio: University of Akron Press, 2001), 68.

[15] Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire* (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press and Birlinn, 2001), 186.

medicine, and Western standards of morality were all viewed as aspects of the civilizing influence of the British Empire. It was evident that the British Empire should lead the world to a peaceful and prosperous future. As *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* enthused in 1849, this was a glorious prospect:

> Our steamers breast its noble rivers. Our engineers are employed in the construction of its future railways. Our men of science engage in devising means for its improvement. Our language is spoken, read, and written, by its merchants in their commercial dealings. Our books are bought-our science learned;….Our schools are established in their cities, and our churches are scattered over the Eastern land…on us rests the deep responsibility if we light not on their summits the torches of all knowledge, and of all freedom's blessing, until the old home of the human race arise again in more than the splendor.[16]

That those who faithfully and dutifully obey God's commands will be rewarded is a frequently cited theme in the Bible. Many Scots believed that Britain's industrial and commercial supremacy in the world was a calling from God. No one should be idle in life, everyone should find their distinctive vocation to serve God, and the reward would come. "God, Gold, Glory" or "Commerce, Christianity, and Civilization"[17] – for many, such slogans

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[16] "Our Anglo-Saxon Empire," *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* 16: 693.

[17] Ian Copland, 'Christianity as an Arm of Empire: The Ambiguous Case of India under the Company, c. 1813–1858', *Historical Journal* 49, no. 4 (2006): 1025–28.

signified that empire had a divine purpose. God's plan for the regeneration of humankind was finding expression through the British Empire.[18] "The history of British conquest in the East", according to *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* in 1856, "has certainly a bright side. In its chapters will be found recorded the exploits of men striving and toiling under the fiery skies of the Tropics, and sacrificing often life itself in their efforts to elevate the social condition of the people by whom they were surrounded."[19]

"We owe to India a great debt of gratitude and benevolence": The discussion of the Scottish Indian Mission

The missiologist, historian and the pioneer in the field of World Christianity, Andrew Walls, has noted that Scotland's participation in the mission movement "began with domestic efforts to Scotland" (mainly in the Scottish Highlands and Islands from the late seventeenth century) and "took on a wider aspect through contact with the new world of America."[20] In the mid-nineteenth century, the missionary commitments could be found in three Scottish Presbyterian Churches' "Five schemes." The Church of Scotland, the Free Church of Scotland after 1843, and the United Presbyterian Church after 1847 all maintained schemes for the support of foreign missions, home missions, education, colonial churches, and the mission to the Jews. In their respective mission strategies, the Scottish Presbyterian Churches

[18] Stewart J. Brown, *Providence and Empire: Religion, Politics and Society in the United Kingdom, 1815-1914* (Harlow: Routledge, 2008), 146.
[19] 〔Patterson, Robert Hogarth〕, "Our Indian Empire," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 80, no. 494 (12, 1856): 647.
[20] Andrew F. Walls, 'Three Hundred Years of Scottish Missions', in *Roots and Fruits: Retrieving Scotland's Missionary Story*, ed. Kenneth R. Ross (Oxford: Regnum Books International, 2014), 5–6.

viewed education as vital, in part because it would enable peoples to read the Bible for their moral and spiritual growth. The Scottish Presbyterian missions were directed to the Highlanders, Irish Catholics, Jews, and the Catholics in the British Isles, as well as to Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists, and peoples of other faiths in foreign lands. The transatlantic evangelical awakening and the growing knowledge of non-Christian lands[21] gave "a new urgency to bring the Christian message to the whole world, especially where it was hitherto unknown."[22] While the evangelical revival was a major factor, the Scottish Protestant mission movement also drew upon its Reformation roots. Its early development "arose from the urge to complete the Reformation process in Scotland. The idea of a literate, enlightened community, well-grounded in Christian understanding, fitted well with Scottish beliefs about the nation's history."[23]

In the eighteenth century, some Scots had argued that overseas Christian missions would be ineffective among peoples in non-Western societies until those peoples had embraced Western civilization. The Moderate minister of the Scottish Lowland parish of Gladsmuir, George Hamilton, argued in the Church of Scotland General Assembly of 1796 that it would be futile to attempt to spread the Gospel among barbarous and heathen nations. "Men must be polished and refined in their manners," Hamilton insisted, "before they can be properly enlightened in religious truths...Philosophy and learning must…take the preference."[24] Western education, including the study of

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[21] Andrew L. Drummond and James Bulloch, *The Church in Victorian Scotland 1834-1874* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1975), 137.
[22] Walls, 'Three Hundred Years of Scottish Missions', 5.
[23] Ibid., 8.
[24] Robert Hunter, *History of the Missions of the Free Church of Scotland in India and Africa* (London: T. Nelson and Sons, 1873), 5.

Western philosophy, history, arts and literature, and science, were necessary to prepare heathen peoples to accept the Christian God and Protestant Christianity. The early Church of Scotland missionary to India, Alexander Duff, shared to an extent this belief that Western education was a necessary first step to Christian conversion. In order to promote "pure and undefiled religion,"[25] Duff believed, missionaries must provide a Western education. As a missionary serving in Calcutta from the 1820s, Duff concentrated on providing quality education for the upper castes in India. His hope was that the knowledge of Western civilization and Christianity would lead to well-born, intelligent Brahmin converts, whose example would serve to open other Hindus to Christian influence. For him, Western higher education would eventually make Christianity "a centre of public interest [in India], and, at the same time, a matter of universal concern; in this way it would prove itself the mightiest spiritual force in existence, and capable of entering into ghostly conflict with the ancient Indian spirit world and its ideals."[26] By ensuring that English would be the medium not "merely for modern knowledge in general but also for Protestant Christian culture", Duff believed that education would be highly "salutary in 'heathen' India."[27] In the India mission fields as at home, "the aims of Scottish education had never been purely secular, for the information of Christian faith and character had held as important a place, if not more, than the imparting of knowledge."[28] As the Governor of Madras, Sir Arthur Havelock, observed, "no system of education is sound or

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[25] *Life and Work*, Church of Scotland, January, 1879.
[26] Julius Richter, *A History of Missions in India*, trans. Sydney H. Moore (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1908), 175.
[27] Michael Andrew Laird, *Missionaries and Education in Bengal, 1793-1837* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 209.
[28] Drummond and Bulloch, *The Church in Victorian Scotland 1843-1874*, 94.

complete unless religious teaching form part of it."[29]

In an address delivered before the General Assembly of 1837, Alexander Duff noted that in India "thousands of native youth have now begun to flock to Government and Missionary [educational] Institutions, there to enter on the career of English." "If the future keep pace proportionately with the past," he added, "these thousands will ere long be multiplied ten-fold, and ultimately a hundred-fold."[30] While not all who attended the educational institutions would be converted to Christianity, Duff believed that "every individual who receives a thorough English education, whether he become a convert to Christianity or not, will, with it, imbibe much of the English spirit." They would "become intellectually Anglicised" and would inevitably enroll themselves to emancipate their people "from the bondage of ignorance."[31] In time, Duff and Scottish educational missionaries believed, "science, literature, and political economy all illustrated Biblical truth"[32] would explode "within the fortress of traditional Hinduism."[33]

Most Scottish Presbyterian missionaries were educated at Scottish universities, where they imbibed "the thought of the Enlightenment, with its emphasis on reason, progress and the harmonies of nature."[34] As the historian Stewart Brown has observed, the Scottish Enlightenment ethos represented "a movement away from a rigid adherence to the Reformed doctrines of the Westminster Confession to an

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[29] *Overland Times of India*, 24 December 1898, cited in J. Murray Mitchell, *In Western India* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1899), 120.
[30] Alexander Duff, *A Vindication of the Church of Scotland's India Missions: Being the Substance of an Address, Delivered before the General Assembly of the Church.* (Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1837), xi.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ian Maxwell cited in Walls, 'Three Hundred Years of Scottish Missions', 18.
[33] Walls, 'Three Hundred Years of Scottish Missions',18.
[34] Brown, *Providence and Empire*, 21.

emphasis on charity, virtue and sociability."[35] The Scottish-educated missionaries took this intellectual approach to India; "the concern for a curriculum integrated by either philosophy or religion, and for a full development of the intellectual potentialities of the students- were clearly manifested in Duff's work in Bengal."[36] Scottish missionaries, as children of the Scottish Enlightenment,[37] believed that their educational schemes would allow "India to find her own way along the path of progress that Scotland had already traversed. Meanwhile they were tolerant of her exotic culture, descrying in it the variant of a universal history awaiting fulfillment".[38]

There was no single policy in the Scottish Protestant missionary movement. Members of the Scottish Presbyterian Churches embraced different attitudes towards other religions and cultures according to their own theological perspectives. Ian Douglas Maxwell's study of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Scottish missionaries attitudes suggests that "from the very beginning of Scottish interest in missions in the mid-eighteenth century differences in approach had emerged between the two wings of Scottish Presbyterianism, namely, evangelical and rational Calvinists."[39] Rational Calvinists placed confidence in the power of human reason to reveal religious truths, with reason supplementing divine revelation in Scripture. For rational Calvinists, human minds needed to be "polished" first by learning, and then as they developed their powers of reason, they would be prepared to receive the

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[35] Stewart J. Brown, 'Moral Culture and Historical Progress in the Scottish Enlightenment', *Modern Intellectual History*, 2017, 5.
[36] Laird, *Missionaries and Education in Bengal, 1793-1837*, xvii.
[37] Ross, *Roots and Fruits*, 141.
[38] Fry, *The Scottish Empire*, 186.
[39] Ian Douglas Maxwell, 'Civilization or Christianity? The Scottish Debate on Mission Methods, 1750-1835', in *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, ed. Brian Stanley (New York: Eerdmans, 2001), 124.

revealed truths in Scripture. Evangelicals placed greater emphasis on the power of Holy Spirit to open hearts to Gospel truths. Through Bible reading and prayer, people would, by the power of the Spirit, be prepared to accept God's grace. This is not to say, however, that Evangelicals did not recognize the value of education for mission work.

Scottish Presbyterian missionaries in India were not wholly focused on education: they also conducted Bible study and prayer groups, preached, and visited the sick and infirm. The journal of the Scottish Presbyterian missionary, John Wilson, indicated a dual focus on education and evangelization in his work in Bombay. He preached to native Indians, the largely European congregation of the Scotch Church, and he also examined the bazaar school.[40] John Murray Mitchell, ordained in 1838 and sent to Bombay in the same year, was aware that some believed that educational missionaries did not believe in "the power of the simple Gospel, and therefore betook themselves to the aid of literature and science."[41] Educational missionaries "certainly deemed education a most valuable means of freeing the mind from heathen superstitions", and in their classes they could "both teach and *preach* more regularly and effectively than elsewhere."[42]

However, some grew concerned over the relatively small number of Christian converts in India, and became convinced that more focus was needed on evangelism. In 1855, the Bengal Protestant Missionary conference in Calcutta called for more direct evangelism in order to save souls. David Ewart, who was ordained in July 1834

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[40] George Smith, *Life of John Wilson of Bombay* (London: John Murray, 1879), 40–42.
[41] J. Murray Mitchell, *In Western India: Recollections of My Early Missionary Life* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1899), 60–61.
[42] Ibid., 61.

as the third Church of Scotland missionary to Calcutta (and who joined the Free Church in 1843)[43] chaired this conference. One of the conference papers maintained that

> We are not content with things as they are. It is not that we find fault with efforts in the past, or with the results which they have produced.…We contemplate with profound awe the vast, the indescribable amount of labour yet to be accomplished. We know that the Lord has blessed us.…But the more we know India, the more we are overwhelmed by the consideration that millions upon millions never hear the Gospel, and that millions upon millions die unconverted.[44]

While they appreciated the value of English education for "removing the obstacles" to the Gospel, they also insisted on the need for translating the Bible into vernacular dialects, distributing Christian tracts, preaching in the different dialects, training Indians to become preachers, catechists, and ministers, and building the native Christian church.[45]

The tensions between Moderates and Evangelicals in Scotland between the 1830s and 1850s had some impact on overseas missions. However, the Scottish Protestant Churches' overseas missions were characterized more by cooperation than conflict.

[43] Hunter, *History of the Missions of the Free Church of Scotland in India and Africa*, 15.
[44] Proceedings of a General Conference of Bengal Protestant Missionaries, held at Calcutta, *Calcutta Review*, Oct 1855.
[45] On the progress made by Christian Missions in Bengal, *Proceedings of a General Conference of Bengal Protestant Missionaries*, Calcutta, 1855, 8.

As Laird found for the early nineteenth century, "the unity of the two parties in the cause of the mission was further demonstrated by the fact that, if the most prominent leaders at home were Moderates, the actual missionaries were Evangelicals; one may therefore see the mission as a joint enterprise which was planned by one party but carried out by the zeal and sense of urgency of the other."[46]

The unity of the Moderates and Evangelicals in foreign missions was based on a firm belief in Scotland's responsibility to bring Protestantism to India and Christianity as a civilizing influence. In 1844, John Wilson presented himself before the Free Church of Scotland General Assembly. He had served as a missionary in Bombay with his first wife, Margaret Bayne, since 1829. However, with the Disruption of 1843, Wilson decided to join the new Free Church along with twelve other missionaries in India.[47] Speaking at the Free Church General Assembly of 1844, John Wilson asserted that God had placed India and other nations under British imperial control, for the British Empire "is quite able to protect and does now protect, the ministers of the Divine Word."[48] The British Empire had unparalleled success in conquering India, and it now surpassed in size any previous empire in human history. The British conquest of India outperformed the conquests of Cyrus of Babylon, Alexander the Great, ancient Rome, the Saracens, and the Moguls. India "furnishes honourable and profitable employment to the flower of our British youth" and its

[46] Laird, *Missionaries and Education in Bengal, 1793-1837*, 200–201.
[47] *HFMR, Church of Scotland*, July 1844, p.42. The Report to the General Assembly on the India Mission, 1844, penned by the convener Alexander Brunton, noting"…with abasement and anguish of heart. Of these thirteen missionaries, not one abides by the Church. They continue, without the slightest change, to exercise their former functions. But it is no longer in connection with you. Your enterprise is thrown back into the very rudiments of its first beginning; into all the anxieties, and all the difficulties with which it had to struggle at the first."
[48] Indian Mission, *Proceedings of Free Church of Scotland*, May 22, 1844, 103.

commerce is the most profitable. Now, Wilson asked, "do not the advantages which we derive from India show to us that we owe to it a great debt of gratitude and benevolence,-- a debt which we may best discharge by giving to it the greatest blessing which we have to bestow, even the knowledge of the true God, and Jesus Christ, whom he hath sent?"[49]

The Protestant faith needed to be proclaimed to the wider world, and Scotland, many Scottish Presbyterians believed, was an instrument of the Divine purpose. History had shown that kingdoms and empires had often fallen for failing to contribute to God's sovereign plan for the progress of the world. Meanwhile, the failure of previous empires was an acceptable, understandable result in the lens of the progress of civilization. These kingdoms and empires had not achieved a high, sustained moral standard, and hence had failed to bring progress and civilization to those whom they governed. "We believe it is the custom of Englishmen," observed *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* in 1854, "to pride themselves upon the high morality which distinguishes their country…We have a deep experimental faith in the principle that 'righteousness exalteth a nation'….We point with a rich contempt to the cruelties of slavery in America, and to what we call the abounding licentiousness of France, as though we would thank God that we are not as other kingdoms."[50] Many believed that "the progress of science, of intellect, of morals, and faith, is ultimately associated with the existence of this empire."[51] It was a moral debt, as John Wilson had maintained in 1844, that Scotland owed to its Indian people, a great responsibility that

[49] Ibid., 104.
[50] "Our Social Morality," *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* 21, no. 250 (10, 1854): 603.
[51] "Our Anglo-Saxon Empire," *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* 16: 692.

Scotland must not shun. *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* continued: "In times, and ways many, we have actively sinned against the interests of the Aborigines in our colonies and possessions; the uncounted millions committed to our care; in instances innumerable, we have neglected them. Now, at least in many minds, a new sense of duty is awakened. Our responsibilities are acknowledged. The power of our position for almost infinite good is felt."[52]

Scottish Presbyterian missionaries in India promoted the idea of their responsibility for brothers and sisters in other lands through conference reports, correspondence with mission boards, pamphlets, and addresses to divinity students. The historian John Darwin notes that the sense of imperial responsibility for Victorian Scottish Presbyterians was "liberating", "empowering" and "progressive".[53] Although he accepts that the word "empower" might be an anachronism, he believes that it reflects how some Scottish Presbyterians genuinely believed that the Protestant religion would benefit Britain's Indian subjects. The peoples of the Asian sub-continent would be liberated from superstition, and be enabled to live moral lives and experience social, political, economic progress, not to mention the inestimable benefit of eternal salvation.

For many Scots, "divine truth – as revealed in the Bible – is still destined to shine before an astonished world."[54] The views of Christianity promoted by leading Scottish clergymen in Enlightenment Scotland helped to shape the Scottish understanding of faith in the following decades. Hugh Blair, minister of St Giles,

[52] Ibid., 692.
[53] John Darwin, *Unfinished Empire: The Global Expansion of Britain* (London: Penguin, 2013), 266.
[54] Duff, *A Vindication of the Church of Scotland's India Missions: Being the Substance of an Address, Delivered before the General Assembly of the Church*, 34.

Edinburgh, and Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres at the University of Edinburgh, maintained that the Christian message was "aimed at purifying the heart"[55] and that a "vital role of religion" lay in its power to control and discipline the passions.[56] Religion would assist human reason in channeling emotions to a higher purpose, promoting "the peace and harmony of society."[57] Human beings had the capacity for virtue: as the celebrated Scottish moral philosopher, Francis Hutcheson, taught, "from the very frame of our nature we are determined to perceive pleasure in the practice of virtue, and to approve of it when practised by ourselves or others."[58] A stable political order, such as British rule was bringing to India, would in the view of Scots educated in Enlightenment thought inevitably stimulate the material progress of civilization. The progress of commerce gave the Victorian Scots confidence that Christianity, as revealed truth, was contributing to material prosperity and intellectual maturity, and this encouraged them to take up the burden of reforming India.[59]

The Indian historian, Sutapa Dutta, has noted that from the late eighteenth century through the nineteenth century, parish schools and Sunday school teachers frequently used "tales, parables and fables, especially from the scriptures". Biblical stories, especially in the didactic works of Hannah Moore and Sarah Trimmer, imparted "the necessary distinction between vice and virtue."[60] Such Bible-based educational works

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[55] Stewart J. Brown, 'Hugh Blair, the Sentiments and Preaching the Enlightenment in Scotland', *Intellectual History Review* 26, no. 3 (2016): 422.
[56] Ibid., 430.
[57] Ibid., 432.
[58] Francis Hutcheson cited in Arthur Herman, *The Scottish Enlightenment: The Scots' Invention of the Modern World* (London: HarperCollins, 2003), 73.
[59] For a more in-depth discussion of Christianity, material progress, and Providence thinking, please see Nicholas Phillipson, "Providence and Progress: An Introduction to the Historical Thought of William Robertson." in *William Robertson and the Expansion of Empire*, ed. Stewart J. Brown (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 55–73.
[60] Dutta Sutapa, *British Women Missionaries in Bengal, 1793-1861* (London: Anthem Press, 2017), 22.

often associated "economic and social deprivation with moral decadence," while they endorsed such virtues as hard work, piety, respect for authority, humility, self-restraint, sacrifice for others, and benevolence. Improvement of moral character frequently led to improvement in material circumstances. Such practical Christian teaching also held that those of strong Christian character should seek the improvement of weaker brethren; or that "those who were superior were obligated to reform social profligacy."[61] In short, Christian education helped people to channel their passions to higher, constructive purposes, and to act with benevolence and moral virtue. This was especially the case in Scotland, with its Enlightenment traditions. As the distinguished historian of the Scottish Enlightenment, Nicholas Phillipson, observed, the Scottish Christian Enlightenment promoted "the growth of politeness and knowledge with those general changes which had turned the world into one vast society, closely connected by human wants; each part contributing its share toward the subsistence, the pleasure and improvement of the whole."[62] Many Scottish missionaries, having embraced this cosmopolitan ideal, hoped that their educational work in India would not only lead to eventual conversions of individuals, but also connect Britain and India for their mutual benefit within this "one vast society" of the world.

It has observed how many Scottish Christians linked civilization, benevolence and reason, and a shared responsibility for others, with their missionary commitment. Christianity, a reasonable faith, would not simply improve individual lives but would

[61] Ibid., 23.
[62] Phillipson, 'Providence and Progress: An Introduction to the Historical Thought of William Robertson', 71.

also transform society in India. Compared with the Christian teachings of reason, benevolence and self-control, other religions in India were portrayed as combining fanaticism with superstitious rituals, and were viewed as brutal and immoral. Chaotic, frantic, over-enthusiastic religious practices were seen as driving their worshippers into insanity and hideous ritual practices, the whole process usually combined with noisy parades, lascivious dancing, beating drums (tom-toms), chanting, and bodily mutilation and self-harm.[63]

The Scottish Presbyterian India missionary, John Murray Mitchell described some of these rites. Horrified by witnessing the rite of hook-swinging, Mitchell noted "what can be done to extinguish the atrocious worship? For, with the blessing of Heaven, extinguished it must be."[64] Some repeated themes emerge in Western depiction of Indian ritual practices, such as Sati (the practice of burning widows), Muralis in Maharashtra (female infants dedication to prostitution), the pilgrimage to Juggernaut (Jagannath) in Orissa,[65] Meriah sacrifice,[66] child marriage, and the hook-swinging. Firstly, bystanders and participants frequently exhibited a frenzy of excitement and ecstasy in the riotous parade. They also showed apathy, numbness, and "hardness of heart" while watching people suffer. Secondly, those cruel ritual practices were conducted by "evil, crafty priests", who controlled and corrupted the innocent. It was further reason why Western Christian missionaries must liberate Indian subjects from their priests and false religion. "If the British Government cannot put a stop to the

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[63] "The Religions of India," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 82 (1857): 743-67.
[64] Mitchell, *In Western India*, 283–300.
[65] Jagannath is an Indian deity. There were temples in honor of Jagannath in various locations, supremely at Puri in Orissa. The Jagannath festival involved the procession of a wheeled carriage, beneath which devotees were sometimes crushed.
[66] "Human Sacrifices in India," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 52, no. 322 (08, 1842): 177.

occurrence of such disgraceful and tragic scenes, British Christians at least should arouse themselves to increase efforts to diffuse Divine light among their benighted fellow-subjects in the East."[67] Thirdly, for Western observers, traditional Indian religions tended to victimize and marginalize women. This, in turn, stirred voluminous discussion about the treatment of Indian women and how women were frequently denied basic educational opportunities because of their gender. The last point will be further discussed later in the chapter.

Such Scottish missionaries as John Murray Mitchell tried to suppress Indian religious practices, arguing that these practices damaged the economy, social life, political order, faith, morality, and spiritual welfare. As Mitchell wrote, "viewed from a social and economical point of view, the whole Hindu system of pilgrimage entails an enormous loss upon the country."[68] Some pilgrims would give up "a year or two of his existence", while there were some Hindus "whose whole life was spent in journeying to and from some 'holy' spot." "I hasten to express my conviction," Mitchell added, "that the state of things at Jejuri is so vile that not only ought the hearts of Christians to be deeply affected by it, but for the sake of morality – for the sake of public decency – Government ought to interfere and suppress a portion of the rites."[69]

For Scottish educational missionaries, India's transformation was just around the corner, especially with what they viewed as the success of Duff's English education programs in Bengal. According to *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* in 1837, "The natives

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[67] *HFMR, CoS*, April 1844.
[68] Mitchell, *In Western India*, 270.
[69] Ibid., 269.

of India have also come forward to promote steam communication with England – to establish female and infant schools, temperance societies, and agricultural societies; the spirit of improvement has infused itself into the minds of the immutable and quiescent Hindoo, and of the bigoted Mahommedan, with all his prejudices of fatalism; and they have now become sensible of the advantages to be derived from their connexion with the British."[70]

Scottish missionaries carefully presented the conversion cases to the mission supporters to explain the slow progress. Two conversion cases will be introduced here, which illustrate the challenges the Scottish missionaries faced in India. Hormazdji of Bombay converted around 1839. After his conversion, his wife and infant daughter were both detained by his angry relatives. He did not see them for years, and his repeated request to allow his wife and daughter to return to him were refused. When his relatives finally realized that "all attempts to win him back to the religion of his ancestors were unavailing" because he "loved Christ better than wife and child", they went to extremes. His father-in-law proceeded to re-marry his daughter to another man, while the family took steps to have Hormazdji's daughter, now a child of five years old, married to a Parsi.[71] Hormazdji's case was eventually considered by the Supreme Court. The judges, "without any hesitation", returned the child to her father. For Scottish missionaries, not only was a Christian convert punished by his family for converting, but his child was used as a form of punishment. It reflected how women and female children were often exploited. In his report to the Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee of 1842, Alexander Duff observed that "All Hindu

[70] "The Progress of Society in India," *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* 4, no. 48 (12, 1837): 768.
[71] *HFMR, CoS*, May 1843.

females must be married ere they reach the years of puberty…In point of fact, the greater proportion by far are married before they are ten years old; numbers before they are eight, six, or four; and not a few younger still."[72] When the husband-boy (or elder husband) die, the wife-girl or infant "become a widow…once a widow, she is doomed, however juvenile or infantile, to remain such all her days."[73] In some areas, despite the legal abolition of Sati in 1835, widows were still being burned; otherwise, they were forbidden to remarry.

The second case is a sixteen-year-old young student, Umesh Chandra Sirkar of Calcutta. Born a high-caste Hindu, he relinquished his high social status to become a Christian in 1845. Umesh Chandra Sirkar had been married to a ten-year-old girl. When he converted, he began secretly instructing his young wife to read, despite the opposition to female education among the upper castes. "The young couple sat up secretly till one or two o'clock in the morning."[74] This relationship was portrayed by a Free Church of Scotland historian of missions as an idyllic Christian family picture: a pious Christian husband educated his young, subservient wife to read the Word of God. Through "the instrumentality of these instructions, the young girl became a convert and now a good reader in Bengali."[75]

From the depictions in missionary literature, people living in heathen lands were frequently described as morally "blind" – corrupted by superstition and cruel religious practices. Missionary literature also portrayed them as "helpless" victims of false religious teaching and priestcraft. Scottish educational missionaries believed that as

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[72] *HFMR, CoS*, November 1842.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Hunter, *History of the Missions of the Free Church of Scotland in India and Africa*, 90.
[75] Ibid.

people in India, their fellow subjects within the British imperial state, were educated, they would eventually embrace Christianity: it was only a matter of time.

Scottish missionaries placed much emphasis on conversion narratives as evidence of a changing India. The conversion narratives were written down by Scottish missionaries in India mission stations, published in such official Church publications as the *Home and Foreign Mission Record,* and then frequently republished in magazines, pamphlets, and sometimes newspapers. Such personal narratives were often dramatic, entertaining and could be real tearjerkers. Full of hardship, challenges, obstacles, and temptations that were overcome by the converts, the narratives were intended to illustrate the superiority of Christianity over other religions.

Changing Scottish Attitudes towards Indian Culture

Scottish public attitudes towards India changed during the early and mid-nineteenth century. During the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Scottish public attention focused primarily on trade and the commercial benefits of Britain's expanding control over India. There was public concern that British interference in Indian religious practices would result in disaffection and insurgency, and even after Parliament opened India to missionary activity, some local imperial governors, including Scottish governors, discouraged the entry of missionaries. Such Scottish governors as Thomas Munro, Mountstuart Elphinstone, and John Malcolm, to be sure, opposed what they viewed as Indian superstition because it "debased and debilitated" the mind and was a hindrance to

improvement.[76] Nevertheless, they did not encourage Christian missionary activity. They had more confidence that Western education, the rule of law, and rational policies would guide India to prosperity and progress, and once Indian society was transformed, Indians would turn from idolatry. For Malcolm, "the danger of interference in Indian religious beliefs and practices" might shake "not only the political stability of British India but also to its continued existence as a state."[77] In spite of rising Evangelical influence and Parliament's opening of India to missionary activity from 1813, the East India Company in India, including such Scottish governors as Malcolm, Munro, and Elphinstone, showed little enthusiasm for converting India to Christianity, at least up to the mid-1840s.[78]

In 1839, in an article entitled "Idolatry in India," *The Scotsman* considered the thorny question of the East India Company's decision to oversee the collection of the pilgrim tax, a tax used for the upkeep of Hindu temples. Charles James Blomfield, the Bishop of London, had given a speech arguing that the British government connived in heathen religious practices by permitting Sepoy troops to escort native princes when they processed to Hindu temples. For Blomfield, the imperial state was overly interested in the "revenues of pagodas" and the "pilgrim tax," when it should have nothing to do with Hindu practices. "It was our duty," Blomfield insisted, "to show them [the natives] that being in the possession of a true religion, we could not countenance idolatry", to support Hindu temples meant to "sacrifice the holiness of our own religion" and to protect and extend "the dominion of Satan."[79]

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[76] Martha McLaren, *British India & British Scotland, 1780-1830*, 155.
[77] Ibid., 157.
[78] Ibid., 159.
[79] "Idolatry in India," *The Scotsman*, 17 August 1839.

In response to Blomfield's speech, *The Scotsman* agreed that the Hindu religious practices ought to be "discontinued," but only if "it can be safely done." The imperial state must not unduly antagonize the large Hindu majority in India, but should rather treat them with respect. India, *The Scotsman* insisted, "defrays its own expenses, which none of our other colonies do, while it adds to the wealth of the country by increasing its commerce and enriching individuals." Indeed, India is "the only one of our colonies which a wise statesman would care to retain." Further, *The Scotsman* reminded its readers that "of all the dangers which menace our Indian empire, the most serious are those which spring from the jealousy excited in the minds of the natives by any proceedings, which bear the aspect of insulting or tampering with the national religion." *The Scotsman* noted that the Scottish educational missionary, Alexander Duff, had "pointed out the true and safe method of sapping Braminical superstition – by diffusing knowledge…especially the knowledge of science." In comparison, it observed that the more evangelizing missionaries in India had made "little or no progress…, while at the same time they created a very considerable degree of jealousy."[80]

Confidence that India was moving steadily towards an "intellectual preparation for the acceptance of Christianity, as well as an inspiration for the reformation of society"[81] was profoundly shaken in 1857, with a mass rising across much of North-Central India, aimed at ending British rule in India. The movement is known as the First War of National Liberation in India, and in Britain as the "Mutiny" of 1857. The rebellion began on Sunday, 10 May 1857, when tensions over new Enfield rifle

[80] Ibid.
[81] Laird, *Missionaries and Education in Bengal, 1793-1837*, xii.

cartridges, which were opened by the teeth and which were believed to be greased with either cow or pig fat (offensive to Hindus and Muslims), led Indian sepoy soldiers to rise up against their British officers.[82] The rebellion quickly spread and became a mass movement, directed not only against British rule, but against British and European cultural influence. The rebellion was accompanied by massacres of Europeans, and also missionaries and Indian converts to Christianity. The rising was eventually suppressed, but only after immense loss of life, including atrocities committed by the British forces.

For many in Britain, the violence of 1857-58 was profoundly unsettling. They had been led to believe that Britain and India had been growing ever closer, under the influence of British law, education, and efficient government. But the Indian rising, and especially the violence directed against missionaries and converts, revealed a deep hatred of British rule and Christianity among much of the Indian population. The most common Christian response was to call for more direct, assertive forms of missionary activity. The new, more uncompromising missionary mood was reflected in the founding of the Rajputana Mission by Scotland's United Presbyterian Church. At the Synod of 1858, the report of the United Presbyterian Committee on Foreign Mission proclaimed in reference to the Mutiny "That in view of recent events in India, there is a loud call on all the friends of the Redeemer to come forward and take part in the evangelization of that mighty empire; and that in answer to that providential call, this Board earnestly recommend to the Synod the adoption of such measures as may be necessary for commencing a mission there at the earliest practicable period."[83] In

[82] 'Indian Mutiny', *Encyclopædia Britannica*, November 04, 2020.
[83] *Proceedings of the United Presbyterian Synod*, May, 1858, 117.

November of 1858, the United Presbyterian Church had selected its new mission field in the region of Rajputana. It was described as "one of the most interesting" and "also one of the most difficult fields in all India to evangelise, one in which the past history of the people rivets their attachment to their ancestral faith."[84] For many in Scotland, not only had the policies of toleration and non-interference in India had failed miserably, but the horrors of the Mutiny would have been avoided "if the Sepoy had been acquainted theoretically with Christianity."[85] Now, after the bloodshed, "India must be treated in a different manner from the apparent neutrality or coldness of the past."[86] Bible reading and instruction must become central to Western education in India. The Mutiny of 1857 should become the occasion for the missionaries and their supporters to renew their commitment "to wrest India from the grip of the evil one by means of the soldiers of the cross."[87]

As accounts of the Mutiny spread in Britain, many in Britain reflected on the larger meaning of the events for the British Empire in India. For some, the events called for a strong military presence: the British imperial state needed to embrace a policy that "tends in the greatest degree to increase our military power by all means consistent with justice."[88] However, there was also recognition that military force alone could never be sufficient to safeguard Britain's rule in India and that "the last and greatest agent in the consolidation and administration of our conquest must be Christianity. By this alone we can hope to break down the barriers of caste and the

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[84] United Presbyterian Church and John Robson, *The Story of the Rajputana Mission* (Edinburgh: Offices of United Presbyterian Church, 1894), 26.
[85] "Education and Christianity in India," *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* (06, 1860): 328.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Brian Stanley, 'Christian Responses to the Indian Mutiny of 1857', *Studies in Church History* 20 (1983): 289.
[88] "Our Indian Empire," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 82, no. 506 (12, 1857): 660.

difference of race. A community of faith could alone beget a perfect union betwixt the conquerors and the conquered, the governors and the governed."[89]

The Mutiny had still another "moral lesson" for Christians within British Empire.[90] Many missionaries and their supporters in Scotland read it as a moral failure of themselves. They had failed to fulfill their Christian duty to the people of India.[91] They had allowed the caste system to continue, which had the effect of poisoning the Indian mind.[92] Even worse, the British imperial authorities actually condoned the caste system, as helpful to the maintenance of social order in India: "it has been approved and nourished and supported, and encouraged by us, in many forms, both in private life and in the public services."[93] For Christians, the Mutiny was a divine visitation which should call them to reformation and transformation. In beginning its mission in Rajputana, the United Presbyterian Church hoped to contribute to the renewed missionary movement in co-operation with the other Scottish "Presbyterian missions in the west and north-west of India, 'among whom the most friendly relations and co-operations, if not absolute union, at no distant day will doubtless exist.'"[94] In 1858, Parliament ended the Chartered East India Company's government role in India and brought British provinces in India under direct crown rule. To a much greater extent, the British imperial state now viewed the

[89] Ibid., 664.
[90] John Wilson, *The Indian Military Revolt Viewed in Its Religious Aspects: A Lecture Delivered in Bombay on the 14th and 16th August* (Bombay: Smith, Taylor and Co., 1857), 8,
[91] Ibid. Wilson claimed "We maintain that the events which are now occurring in India are undoubtedly judgments from the Lord; and that, if rightly interpreted by us, they may teach us the most solemn and salutary lessons."
[92] Ibid., 16.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Smith, *Life of John Wilson of Bombay*, 284.

peace, civilization, and prosperity of India as its moral responsibility.[95]

Scottish missionaries played a crucial role in shaping the Scottish public understanding of India. They provided "missionary intelligence,"[96] helping to bring many readers to see India through their eyes. Several Scottish missionaries had an especially powerful influence in defining not only Scottish Protestant overseas mission activity, but also the larger Scottish Protestant identity.[97] Such Scottish missionaries as Alexander Duff, John Wilson, and John Murray Mitchell had different views on the origin of 1857 Indian Mutiny, but they all agreed that the best response was to combine Christianity with effective political rule. Duff's fame over the early success of Scottish educational mission in Calcutta, meant that for Scottish Presbyterians, his views on India were regarded as authoritative.

The removal of the advertisement duty in 1853 and of the newspaper stamp tax in 1855 made information circulation easy and cheap. Newspapers and printed publications gradually became a significant part of Scottish national life.[98] This was combined with the improved steam and cable communications, and the developing profession of journalism.[99]

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[95] Fry, *The Scottish Empire*, 200.
[96] Esther Breitenbach, 'The Influence of the Missionary Movement in Scotland', in *Roots and Fruits: Retrieving Scotland's Missionary Story*, ed. Kenneth R. Ross (Oxford: Regnum Books International, 2014), 65.
[97] John M. MacKenzie, Angus Calder, and Jeanne Cannizzo, *David Livingstone and the Victorian Encounter with Africa* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1996); Breitenbach, 'The Influence of the Missionary Movement in Scotland', 66–68; Esther Breitenbach, 'Scottish Presbyterian Missionaries and Public Opinion in Scotland', in *Mutiny at the Margins: New Perspectives on the Indian Uprising of 1857: Volume II: Britain and the Indian Uprising*, ed. Andrea Major and Bates Crispin (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2013), 80–84.
[98] Breitenbach, 'Scottish Presbyterian Missionaries and Public Opinion in Scotland'.
[99] John M. MacKenzie, 'The Press and the Dominant Ideology of Empire', in *Newspapers and Empire in Ireland and Britain : Reporting the British Empire, c.1857-1921*, ed. Simon J. Potter (Dublin: Four Courts, 2004).

The Challenges Faced by Scottish Presbyterian Missions in India

One of the challenges that Scottish overseas missions faced in the 1840s was the division of the Established Church of Scotland. On 18 May 1843, a procession of commissioners to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland -- ministers and elders -- departed the General Assembly meeting place in St Andrew's church, Edinburgh, and proceeded to nearby Tanfield Hall, where they formally announced their determination of leaving the Church of Scotland. Over a third of the ministers and about half the lay membership left the Established Church at the Disruption of 1843, in protest over the intrusion of ministers into parish churches against the will of parishioners, and more importantly, what they saw as moves by the British civil state to undermine the spiritual independence of the Church. Under the leadership of Thomas Chalmers, the outgoing ministers and lay people, who included most of the evangelicals within the established Church, formed the Free Church of Scotland.[100] As well as reflecting profound theological questions about the relationship of Church and State, the Disruption also reflected social tensions and regional and class divisions within the Scottish society: in Callum Brown's phrase, "it was the product of varied social tensions and segregation."[101]

The Disruption had an impact on the Scottish missions in India. The two Church of Scotland missionaries in the Bombay station in India, both John Wilson and Robert Nesbit joined the Free Church in September of 1843. Alexander Duff and his fellow-labourers in Calcutta also joined the Free Church in November, as did the

[100] Stewart J. Brown, 'The Ten Years' Conflict and the Disruption of 1843' in *Scotland in the Age of the Disruption*, ed. S.J. Brown and M. Fry (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), pp. 1-27.
[101] Callum G. Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707*, 25.

Church of Scotland missionaries and mission workers in Madras.[102] Despite the upheavals of the Disruption, many were confident that Presbyterian missions would continue with undiminished commitment. Henry Dunlop, in giving in the report of the "Five Schemes of the Church" (home mission, overseas mission, colonial churches, education, and mission to the Jews) at the first General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland in May 1843, expressed "the confident hope that they would proceed with renewed zeal in carrying out those Schemes."[103] The Moderator of the Free Church General Assembly, Thomas Chalmers, was also confident that "the Five Schemes will go on prosperously as ever, and that all our plans of Christian philanthropy will operate, not on a principle of abstraction, but on a principle of fermentation."[104]

During its first five years, the new Free Church of Scotland built over 730 new churches, over 500 primary schools, over 400 manses, founded a college in Edinburgh, and provided stipends for its minsters and teachers, while it provided more funds for relief during the great famine in Ireland and the Scottish Highlands and Islands than any over denomination in Scotland. The new Church also had to provide new buildings and financial support for overseas missionaries – as every overseas missionary of the Church of Scotland, with one exception, had joined the Free Church in 1843. All of this required massive efforts at fund raising, and considerable sacrifices from Free Church members.

The Church of Scotland remained Scotland's established national Church; however, the Disruption had taken away many of its ablest men, including many with

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[102] All the missionaries sided with the Free Church of Scotland, except one woman, Miss Saville.
[103] *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland*, Monday, May 22, 1843, 52.
[104] Ibid., 54.

expertise and zealous commitment to overseas mission work. To be sure, many able men remained, and under the leadership of such figures as Norman Macleod, John Cairns, and John Tulloch, the Church of Scotland gradually recovered from the trauma of the 1840s and preserved its commitment to provide spiritual and moral instruction to the Scottish people.[105] But despite these commendable efforts, the Church of Scotland would not recover its pre-1843 national influence and authority. Moreover, as Esther Breitenbach has maintained, the Established Church "never caught up with the Free Church in terms of numerical strength of the missionary workforce."[106] For all the damage it caused, the Disruption of 1843 also contributed to a resurgence of public interest and commitment to Presbyterianism in Scotland, and this in turn fueled public interest and financial contributions to the support of Scottish overseas missions.

In 1847, the Secession and Relief Churches (which had originated in secessions from the Church of Scotland in 1733 and 1761 respectively) joined to form a new denomination, the United Presbyterian Church. The British State's Religious Census of 1851 showed that the United Presbyterian Church represented almost one-fifth of churchgoers in the country as a whole.[107] Mid-nineteenth-century Scotland, then, was home to three major Presbyterian Churches, all competing for members. The Church of Scotland, the Free Church of Scotland, and the United Presbyterian Church were barely distinguishable in terms of theology, polity, and liturgy, and each claimed that

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[105] Professor Stewart J. Brown's research has detailed some important figures that play crucial roles in the revival of the Church of Scotland after the great Disruption 1843. Please see Stewart J. Brown, 'After the Disruption: The Recovery of the National Church of Scotland, 1843–1874', *Scottish Church History* 48.2 (2019): 103–25.

[106] Breitenbach, 'The Influence of the Missionary Movement in Scotland', 60.

[107] Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707*, 25.

they were the real heirs of the Scottish Reformation and represented the true Scottish Presbyterian tradition. Of the three denominations, the United Presbyterian Church held the most radical attitude regarding the connection of Church and State.[108] It insisted that religion should be entirely Voluntary, and opposed any State interference in Church life. For United Presbyterians, Voluntaryism was an essential aspect of Scottish Presbyterianism. The United Presbyterian Church acknowledged that missions "at home and abroad were … an obligation on the Church."[109] It began its overseas mission work in West Africa, and although it made a slower start in the Indian mission, from 1859 it compared favorably in missionary effort with the other two Scottish Presbyterian Churches. Thus, from the mid-nineteenth century there were three Scottish Presbyterian Churches operating mission stations in India, and while different congregations may have had different attitudes towards overseas missions, on the whole the overseas mission movement brought exotic lands and stories about missionaries into Scottish public life.

The tensions between the three competing Scottish Presbyterian denominations – the Church of Scotland, Free Church, and United Presbyterian Church – were intense in Scotland. However, despite this denominational competition at home, in the overseas mission fields there was more cooperation than competition between the three Scottish Presbyterian Churches. When the United Presbyterian Church launched its Indian mission in Rajputana in 1859, the two ordained United Presbyterian missionaries, Williamson Shoolbred and Thomas Blair Steele, were received warmly

[108] Wallace's work, Chapter 7, Radicalism in Scotland, has a deep exploration of the principle of non-intrusion of Scottish dissenters. Valerie Wallace, *Scottish Presbyterianism and Settler Colonial Politics: Empire of Dissent* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).
[109] Drummond and Bulloch, *The Church in Victorian Scotland 1843-1874*, 45.

on their arrival in India by Dr John Wilson and his wife, Free Church of Scotland missionaries in Bombay.[110] The Presbyterian historians, Andrew Drummond and James Bulloch, observed that "friendship and co-operation between the missionaries of the Free Church and the Church of Scotland provided a contrast to bad relations at home."[111] The three denominations had to acknowledge that the vast numbers to be converted in the mission fields were more than enough and that there was no need for them to view each other as rivals and competitors. In 1844, the Convener of the Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee, Alexander Burton, reported that "after minute and anxious inquiry...at each Presidency [of India], there is scope enough for the exertions of both parties." [112] Regardless of their denominational differences, Scottish Presbyterian mission agents, missionaries and their wives, catechists and teachers of mission schools frequently formed close mutual support groups. They shared the same culture and language, felt a similar divine "call" to mission service, and believed that the most important thing was their shared faith, Christianity.

The expanding overseas missions of three Scottish Presbyterian churches coincided with the development of mass printing technologies between the 1840s and 1880s. The repeal of stamp and paper duties in 1855 and 1861, the development of the rotary press and Linotype machine in the 1880s, the expansion of railway lines for newspaper distribution across the country,[113] and the improvement of cable

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[110] John Robson, *The Story of the Rajputana Mission*, 35.
[111] Drummond and Bulloch, *The Church in Victorian Scotland 1843-1874*, 174.
[112] *HFMR, Church of Scotland*, July 1844, 425.
[113] MacKenzie, 'The Press and the Dominant Ideology of Empire', 24–25.

communication networks[114] all combined to make information circulation wider in scope than before. The competing voices of the Scottish denominations helped to ensure that Church issues gained increased public exposure, and this served to increase Scottish public interest in missions and the British Empire.

Still, some challenges in mission fields appeared repetitively from time to time. One of the greatest challenges that Scottish missionaries encountered in India was its climate. The heat and damp of tropical weather and the tropical diseases, including cholera, malaria, smallpox, and sleeping sickness, sapped missionaries' energy, and when they did not prove fatal, they often had long-term, and devastating effects on their health. In addition, the long journey from Scotland to India often took a deadly toll. United Presbyterian missionaries serving in Rajputana had to go by steamer to Surat first, "and from there, by daily stages of from fifteen to twenty-five miles on horseback or in bullock-cart, the journey could be performed in five or six weeks."[115] The first missionary of the United Presbyterian Church, Rev. Thomas Blair Steele, who left Scotland the end of September 1859, suffered a collapse in health during his journey, dying soon after arriving in Rajputana, in February 1860.[116]

The following record of the United Presbyterian Church Rajputana mission indicates the high missionary mortality in the nineteenth century:[117]

> Dr Colin S. Valentine arrived as missionary at Beawar with his wife Mrs Valentine in the beginning of 1862, a year later in February 1863, Mrs Valentine

[114] Ibid., 30.
[115] Robson, *The Story of the Rajputana Mission*, 35.
[116] Ibid., 35.
[117] Ibid., 37–38, 131–33.

died at Bombay;

In February 1862, a new station at Ajmer was opened by Auguste Glardon and John Robson, with Abd-ul-Masih as native evangelist. Abd-ul-Masih passed away nine months later. Glardon contracted malaria on his journey to Ajmer, was obliged to go home in 1863 and in 1865 had to resign;

Rev. James Gary settled with his wife at Ajmer in February 1864, and she died in September 1865;

William Martin and his wife arrived at Beawar in February 1861, she died five years later in September 1866 at Nasirabad;

The lay missionary, John Drynan arrived at Beawar in January 1863, and died of cholera in 1867;

Robert Gary, medical missionary, arrived at Beawar in Februar 1868, was forced to depart for health reasons, but died in April 1869 on his way home.

According to the United Presbyterian Church official record of the India mission, "at the close of the decade, only twelve of the twenty-two who had joined remained."[118] High death rates and resignations due to ill-health were not limited to the United Presbyterian Church Indian Mission. The Free Church of Scotland and the Church of Scotland Indian missions experienced similar levels of loss, as their missionaries struggled with India's climate and diseases for which they had little immunity. If they were strong or fortunate enough to survive, they often had to leave India for health reasons or needed rest, and the mission stations required a steady

[118] Ibid., 38.

stream of new missionaries.

Besides the high mortality rate of missionaries, financial stringent was a frequently mentioned difficulty. Before the 1830s, Scottish critics of overseas missions tended to argue that the missionaries' enthusiasm and passion for converts threatened the public peace and stability of the mission fields. Moreover, many Scottish Christians believed that the need to convert the population at home was the first priority. "The main battle-ground of the opposing factions revolved around the time-worn cliché that 'Charity begins at Home.'"[119] Supporters of overseas missions noted that they continually had to respond to those "who thought they should confine their attention to the unsaved at home."[120]

The high cost of training and sending missionaries from Scotland and the cost of mission station maintenance also attracted criticism. There was also concern that the costs of supporting dependent native converts would eventually exhaust the resources of the missionary societies.[121] Some became convinced that the best way forward for mission success was to train local missionaries and to create self-sustaining Christian communities in the mission fields. Local missionaries, it was argued, would not experience the same problems as Westerners working in a tropical climate, they would be able to use local vernacular languages to communicate with their own people, and would be more familiar with local cultures. The three-self formula, self-financing, self-propagating and certainly self-governing Indian church, was

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[119] Derek Alexander Dow, 'Domestic Response and Reaction to the Foreign Missionary Enterprises of the Principal Scottish Presbyterian Churches, 1873-1929' (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1977), xx.

[120] Stuart Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries, 1789-1858: The Social Background, Motives and Training of British Protestant Missionaries to India*, Evangelicals & Society from 1750 (Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1984), 140.

[121] C. Peter Williams, *The Ideal of The Self-Governing Church: A Study in Victorian Missionary Strategy*, Studies in Christian Mission (Leiden, New York, Kobenhavn, Koln: E.J. Brill, 1990), 26.

gradually formed in order to react to criticism of the high cost of the India mission.

Scottish missionaries did not only seek individual conversions in India: they also aimed for a fundamental transformation of Indian society through Christian influence.[122] They looked to the promises in the Bible "that at the end of time the world would turn to God in response to the preaching of the gospel."[123] Sermons, Bible tracts, Bible study, education, and medical service all indicated that Scottish Presbyterian missionaries in India hoped for a wider cultural transformation.[124] They intended to lay the foundations for this cultural change through an expansion of knowledge. As the Scottish Free Church missionary in Bombay, John Murray Mitchell, wrote in a pamphlet of 1888:

> We must not forget the very large amount of work performed by the missions, which, although not directly evangelistic, is yet decidedly a *preparatio evangelica*,—such as the preparation of grammars and dictionaries, and the investigation of native literature…They have also largely contributed to our knowledge of the botany, zoology, &c., &c., of the various regions in which their lot has been cast.[125]

Missionaries in their correspondence and reports had to justify the slow progress of proselytization in India. Alexander Duff, writing a letter to his home Church of Scotland in 1841 from Calcutta, acknowledged that people "may, and must, mourn

[122] Shashi Joshi, *Mission, Religion, and Caste: Themes in the History of Christianity in India* (Shimla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 2010), 55.
[123] Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Leicester: Apollos, 1990), 74.
[124] Ibid.
[125] J. Murray Mitchell, *Foreign Missions of the Protestant Churches: Their State and Prospects* (Toronto, Canada: Toronto Willard Tract Depot, 1888), 29.

over the small number of present actual conversions." But he also believed that missionaries were sowing the seeds for future conversions, observing that "numbers…without being baptized, are circulating Christian truths and sentiments in the social circles in which they mingle". "Indeed", he added, "the extent to which this under-ground work is carrying on, quietly and unobtrusively, it would not be easy to estimate." Concluding his letter on a promising note, Duff reassured his readers that "not one word of Jehovah shall prove wholly ineffectual, or fail the accomplishing the thing whereto it hath been sent!"[126] Nonetheless, Duff's widely expressed hope that by converting members of the Brahmin caste, Christian beliefs would then trickle down to the lower castes, proved to be disappointing. There was only a handful of upper-caste converts to show for this policy. This would lead the Scottish missionaries to a strategic change on Indian mission after the 1860s, shifting the focus of evangelism from the social elites to the Hindu lower castes.[127]

Scottish missionaries and their supporters, again and again, asked the Scottish Christian public to evaluate their work in India not by the quantity of converts but by the quality of their educational and social service work, which was gradually preparing the way for future success. "If we have to detail no wondrous result in the returning of many from the service of idols, we could remind this Venerable Court that the assiduity of our missionaries, or the measure of success which has attended their labours, is not to be determined by this rule of calculation." They pleaded with the Scottish Christian public not to forsake their duty under God to the peoples of

[126] *HFMR, Church of Scotland*, January 1842.
[127] Philip Constable, 'Scottish Missionaries, "Protestant Hinduism" and the Scottish Sense of Empire in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century India', *Scottish Historical Review* 86 (2007): 288.

India because of the slow progress in gaining converts, but rather to hold fast to their faith in the promise in the Bible through prayer and practical support for the missionary cause. "Reminded, as we evermore are, in our best and noblest Christian enterprises at home, that while duty is ours, success in these belongs to a higher hand."[128]

Scottish missionaries had to explain the reasons for the slow progress of the Indian mission, in order to maintain financial support for the missions and also to recruit suitable candidates for mission service. Based on their experiences, missionaries described the severe difficulties faced by Christian converts in India, including the breaking of familial and communal bonds and separation from the surrounding culture, with its roots in traditional religious beliefs. John M. Mitchell, Presbyterian missionary in India for thirty years and the Secretary of the Free Church's Foreign Mission Committee in 1873, called on the Scottish Christian public to "remember that in India baptism, as a rule, entails expulsion from home – a terrible calamity to a Hindu – and expulsion also from caste, which is equivalent to civil death…In the West, men are slow to comprehend this hesitation to come out and be separate."[129]

In confronting criticisms relating to the relatively small numbers of converts, missionaries would often stress the positive influence that Christianity was having on Indian society as a whole, including the Hindu and Muslim populations. They maintained that missionary education and social service were changing India

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[128] *Report for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Especially India, to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, given by James MacFarlane D. D. Convener, 29th May 1855* (Edinburgh: Paton and Ritchie, 1856), 3-4.
[129] Mitchell, *Foreign Missions of the Protestant Churches*, 23.

gradually, and that “multitudes, of young men especially, have had their minds more or less enlightened by Christian truth, who, though afraid to profess their faith openly, strive to make a religion of morality, accepting the teachings of the Gospel as their guide.”[130] This led some to the vague idea of invisible Christians, that is, secret Christians who effectively accepted Christian teachings but kept this quiet so as to retain their familial and communal bonds. According to this view, those who lived under the positive influence of Christianity were more educated, and more thoughtful than their fellows,[131] and were better able to live a moral life. For missionaries, the reform movement within Hinduism, Arya Samaj, with its belief that ancient Hinduism had been monotheistic and its calls for high moral behavior, had “a hopeful side” and indicated that Western missionaries were undermining idolatry and fanaticism in India.[132]

While some were concerned over the relatively small number of Christian converts in India, other were worried that the Indians who did convert, especially those from the lower castes, may not have had a clear understanding of Christianity or felt a genuine repentance over past sins, but may have converted for reasons of secular interest – for example in order to receive charitable assistance from Christian missionaries or to improve their social status and employment opportunities within British India. A letter to the editor of *The Scotsman* in 1857 questioned the genuineness of many Indian conversions:

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[130] Ibid., 33.
[131] Ibid., 26.
[132] Ibid., 27-8.

> A native attends a mission school, not from any abstract love of knowledge, not that he has been roused by the chota paches (missionary) preaching, but because he can there acquire a certain amount of knowledge representing a tangible number of rupees. Its acquisition opens up to him the lower forms of governmental bureaucracy, and one must have been in India to know how dear such positions are to natives, especially to those natives amongst whom, in the chief Presidency, the greatest missionary efforts have been made – the Bangalees[133]

Some questioned the efficiency of medical missions, which were expensive, and seemed to be less relevant to evangelism and saving eternal souls. In a report to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland of 1856, James MacFarlane, convener of the Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, especially India, insisted that "we need only apply our efforts to the saving of their souls and not the well-being of their bodies ... I wholeheartedly concur, and urge the committee to do likewise, in refusing this call for more medical men to be sent to India."[134] For Macfarlane, medical missions were a "costly diversion from true evangelization." In the event, the Church of Scotland and other Scottish Presbyterian Churches did accept the value of medical missions, as well as educational missions.[135] In fact, Scottish Presbyterian churches were much quicker to acknowledge the legitimate role of

[133] "Correspondence: Indian Schools and Converts," *The Scotsman*, 6 June 1857.
[134] *Report for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Especially India, to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, given by James MacFarlane D. D. Convener, 22nd May 1856* (Edinburgh: Paton and Ritchie, 1857), 26.
[135] Esme Cleall, *Missionary Discourses of Difference*, Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies Series (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 77.

medical missions than were the English missionary societies. The formation of the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society in 1841 reflected the higher standard of medical education in the Scottish universities, especially Edinburgh, and a recognition of the importance of applying medical education and service to the Scottish mission. Still, there were questions of whether educational or medical missions might not lead, in truth, to sincere conversions of individual Indians, and this obliged the missionaries to maintain that those conversions they did help to achieve, even if relatively small in number, were genuine conversions.

What counted as a true conversion? What should be the standard to evaluate the quality of someone's faith? Among both Scottish supporters and Scottish opponents of Indian mission, there were questions about the "motivation" of the converts. Missionaries in India were aware of these doubts that the public at home had about the genuineness of Indian conversions. Some missionaries sought to address such doubts by emphasizing their careful scrutiny of all potential converts, and their insistence on the strictest standards for baptism. In an account from 1873, the Free Church Presbyterian missionary in Madras, Dr William Miller, described the strict procedures for baptism. A teacher in the Nellore school, Seshu, who had been "for about twenty years in the mission service; a heathen all the time" had indicated an eager desire for baptism. But it was only after months of probation and inquiry, that he was permitted to receive baptism from a native Presbyterian minister, A. Venkataramiah, who was one of the early converts of the Scottish mission in India, having been converted in 1841.[136] Seshu's conversion reflected a clear sense of sin

[136] Hunter, *History of the Missions of the Free Church of Scotland in India and Africa*, 157.

and repentance, and was punctuated with "cries for mercy" and heart-felt "confessions of sin". His answers to the Catechism were "full and explicit, and appear to have pleased and satisfied all present." On the same day that Seshu was baptized, his wife had asked that she also be baptized with her husband. However, Venkataramiah had turned her down her request, because of her ignorance of the doctrines of the Christian faith and her lack of signs of "any real conviction of sin, or deep concern for her soul."[137]

There is a similar story in the Church of Scotland *Magazine and Review* for 1853. Scottish missionaries had deliberately delayed accepting the request of baptism for two family members, despite their frequent requests, until "we felt that we had every reason to be satisfied both with their sincerity and their acquaintance with the truth."[138] Such accounts were meant to counter the claim that missionaries searched only lower-caste Indians, who were vulnerable and had social and economic interests in being baptized, in order to increase the numbers of converts for their reports.[139] Missionaries did apparently examine candidates for baptism closely, so that they could feel assured that the convert was "sincere in his profession."[140] The converts were expected to show sincere remorse for their sins, real anxiety about well-being of their souls and reward or punishment in the afterlife, and a willingness to endure "trials" in faith, for example through the ending of family relationships with non-Christians. They were required to go through a period of probation, or

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[137] "An Old Heathen Teacher,"*The Free Church of Scotland Monthly Record* (Edinburgh, Scotland), 1 December 1865.
[138] *Magazine and Review, CoS*, May 1853.
[139] Sutapa, *British Women Missionaries in Bengal, 1793-1861*, 100–101.
[140] *Report for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Especially India, to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, given by James MacFarlane D. D. Convener, 29th May 1855* (Edinburgh: Paton and Ritchie, 1856), 6.

observation, and to pass an examination in the Catechism to show their understanding of Christian doctrines. They were expected to show proper emotion, to be sorrowful enough to indicate genuine concern over the condition of their soul, but not so much as to suggest fanaticism or enthusiasm. Missionaries would have the final say on the quality of faith, before agreeing to baptize the potential convert, and of course it was in the interest of the missionaries to exercise care in admitting candidates for baptism, as back-sliders or immoral "converts" would damage the reputation and work of the mission.

Scottish Female Missions in India

Scottish women's participation in missions was severely limited within the male-dominated churches, but it is arguable that the mission movement would not have achieved the success it did were it not for the involvement of women. Before the middle of the nineteenth century, the role of women in missions was largely restricted to contributing funds, or helping to raise funds, in Britain. To be sure, some wives and sisters of male missionaries came to India and shared in the work of visiting homes and teaching children, but they were frequently not mentioned in the official mission documents or were simply portrayed as helpmeets to their husbands. Their contributions were largely unrecognized, undocumented, and therefore underappreciated. Unlike male missionaries, they were rarely the subjects of biographies. Most female missionaries left no records, which made it extremely difficult to relate their story. Mrs. Margaret Wilson, neé Bayne, was an exception because her husband, the Church of Scotland missionary, John Wilson, wrote her

biography after she died in 1835 in India. The establishment of the Edinburgh Ladies' Association for the Advancement of Female Education in India in 1837 and the Glasgow Ladies' Association for Promoting Female Education in Kaffraria in 1839 indicated a growing interest among Scottish women in the education of women in non-Christian countries. The following sections will consider some themes relating to Scottish women's involvement in the India mission, including the efforts to appeal for women's support for the missionary cause and the larger humanitarian responsibilities of Empire.

Despite the fact that the practice of Sati was officially prohibited by the Company-State in Bengal in 1829, the practice continued in many parts of India, and it remained the most vivid image in depictions of the degraded status of Indian women. Graphic accounts of the burning alive of widows were engraved in the hearts and minds of many Scotsmen and Scotswomen. Many missionaries in India, to be sure, did not personally witness the horrors of Sati, but they heard, and circulated distressing accounts. Kenneth S. Macdonald, a Highlander born in 1832, was ordained as a Free Church of Scotland minister and missionary, and arrived in Calcutta on 1 March 1862.[141] Spending over forty years in the mission field, Macdonald never witnessed an episode of Sati, but the descriptions he heard left a tremendous impression on him. "Suttee… had been abolished by law long before Dr Macdonald arrived in India, but…he would never forget the thrill of horror that passed over him

[141] Kenneth S. Macdonald was influenced by the speech of Duff. In Duff's second furlough from 1850 to 1855, "he pleaded the cause he loved in every congregation, large or small, of the Free Church of Scotland. Among those who heard him in the course of this campaign was Kenneth Macdonald." K.S. Macdonald then resolved to receive a call to be a missionary in India. When he arrived Calcutta in 1864, Duff welcomed him "with both hands and tears of joy." James M. Macphail, *Kenneth S. Macdonald, M.A., D.D.: Missionary of the Free Church of Scotland, Calcutta* (Edinburgh: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1905), 34-49.

when one of the converts told him."[142] It strengthened Macdonald's commitment to the work of Indian female missions.

Most depictions of Sati by Westerners were written so as to evoke "both horror and pity, sentiments which effectively raised money."[143] An eyewitness account of Sati from a British officer's diary was attached to the report of the Aberdeen Auxiliary to the Scottish Ladies' Association for the Advancement of Female Education in India, clearly intended to generate support for the cause. In such accounts of Sati, the Indian victims were depicted as either reluctant victims or willing, infatuated subjects. The first set of victims were clearly unfortunate, unprotected, and desperate, they were subjected to cruelty and false promises to force them to accept their deaths: "…women are daily exhorted to this act of self-immolation, by promises of eternal happiness, and threatened with poverty, scorn, and infamy…that poor, ignorant creatures, thus urged and threatened by a crafty priesthood, prefer death, even a fiery death on the funeral pile." The second set of victims were described as blind, fanatical, driven by uncontrollable and unreasonable emotions in willingly accepting death. They were viewed as foolish and ignorant. Men, especially the widow's father and sons, and women on-site "appeared to look forward with pleasure to the approaching tragedy", even worse, many of them "raised a joyful shout, mingled with peals of laughter."

The whole of Indian society was denigrated in such accounts. Indians were portrayed as incapable of feeling empathy and mercy towards the women, even when

[142] Ibid., 181.
[143] Catherine Hall cited in Andrea Major, '"Mothers Have Become Monsters": Danger, Distress and Deviance in British Evangelical Depictions of Indian Motherhood, 1757–1857', *Cultural and Social History* 15 (2018): 539.

the women were their own daughters and mothers. Accounts of Sati in missionary publications are clear that "if the British Government cannot put a stop to the occurrence of such disgraceful and tragic scenes, British Christians at least should arouse themselves to increased efforts to diffuse Divine light among their benighted fellow-subjects in the East, and in particular the *Ladies* should employ their powerful influence to extend among their own sex in that quarter of the world a *sound spiritual education*."[144]

From the 1840s, the example of Sati was seen as irrefutable proof that Scottish Protestant missions must strive to preserve poor, ignorant Indian widows from the evil hands of the Brahman priests. The increasingly successful suppression of Sati by the Company State suggested that still fuller social reform in India was possible and that the Christian missions needed to persist. Along with Sati, other such "social evils," including infanticide, polygamy, child marriage, immolations at idol-festivals, and the ban on female education, could be gradually eliminated through the pressure exerted by Christian public opinion in Britain. "Vast changes for good have already taken place in the social habits of the people…they have yielded not merely to the pressure of British law, but before a real change of public opinion."[145]

When Scottish missionaries found the importance of female education in India, they noticed that some Indian females were not accessible. Some women lived in the inner apartments of a house, the zenana, secluded from outside interaction to protect their purity and innocence. Male visitors were forbidden to see or enter the reserved areas; hence, they were unable to introduce Christianity to those women. The zenana

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[144] *HFMR, CoS*, April 1844.
[145] "Christian Missions to India," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (01, 1869): 99.

missions were set up specifically for sending female doctors and teachers to establish connections with females who lived outside contact with the outer world.

Thomas Smith went to Edinburgh University at the age of thirteen, studying under Thomas Chalmers. On completing his education, he was ordained as a Church of Scotland missionary to the General Assembly's Institution in Calcutta in March 1839. Many years later, in 1880, Smith, now a member of the Free Church, became Professor of Evangelistic Theology at New College and served as Moderator of the Free Church of Scotland's General Assembly in 1891.[146] Smith had suggested employing female missionaries to establish the zenana mission in 1840; however, the formation of the first zenana mission of the Scottish churches had to wait until the initiative of the Free Church of Scotland missionary, John Fordyce, and his wife in 1854.[147] With the assistance of the very able Eurasian (the term refers to people of mixed Indian and European birth) Miss Eliza Toogood, who was fluent in Bengali, they managed to "enter the closed fortress of the zenana."[148]

How should we explain the delayed progress regarding Rev. Thomas Smith's proposal in 1840 for establishing zenana missions? Scottish missionaries found many social practices and customs concerning women in India offensive, including child marriage, the enforced celibacy of widows, denial of the right to education, polygamy, and the existence of purdah. Such practices, missionaries maintained, were degrading

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[146] W. F. Gray and Lionel Alexander Ritchie. "Smith, Thomas (1817–1906), missionary and mathematician." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 23 September 2004.

[147] George Smith, *The Life of Alexander Duff, D.D., LL.D*, 4th ed. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1900), 300; Robert Hunter, *History of the Missions of the Free Church of Scotland in India and Africa*, 112.

[148] Elizabeth G. K Hewat, *Vision and Achievement, 1796-1956 : A History of the Foreign Missions of the Churches United in the Church of Scotland* (London; Edinburgh: Nelson, 1960), 75; Lesley Orr Macdonald, *A Unique and Glorious Mission : Women and Presbyterianism in Scotland 1830-1930* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2000), 118.

for Indian women.[149] Above all, there were the real or rumored incidents of Sati, despite the official outlawing of the practice: as one historian has noted, "the hardships connected with early marriage were less obvious and less shocking to Europeans than the flames and the real or imagined cry of the burning sati."[150] In Madras, Maria Mitchell, the wife of the Free Church of Scotland missionary, John Murray Mitchell, complained of the poor progress of female education, because girls were not allowed to remain in school after they married, and early marriage was so prevalent that "you hardly see a pupil in the classes over thirteen, and most of the children are under ten."[151] The founding of zenana missions was in part a response to the early marriages and their negative impact on women's education.[152] As Maria Mitchell noted "Zenana-visiting…, is as important here as elsewhere, in order that the girls, after they are betrothed, may be followed to their homes, and their education may be carried on and completed."[153] As the zenana missions began, it soon became clear that the work could only be performed by women. The secluded Indian women were frequently described as immature, ignorant, superstitious, and dull and idle, with no interest in knowledge and learning.[154] Annie. H. Small, sent to India in 1876 by the Free Church of Scotland's Ladies' Society for Female Education in India and

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[149] "It is needless to speak of the sad degradation to which the female sex is subjected in India. …The most noted evil introduced in later times was, doubtless, suttee (sati)….but the early marriage of girls and the prohibition of widow-marriage inflicted still more extensive wretchedness. And with regard to education, it is surely startling to find that…it is still only one woman in two hundred that is able to read and write." Mitchell, *In Western India*, 157.

[150] Geoffrey A. Oddie, *Social Protest in India: British Protestant Missionaries and Social Reforms 1859-1900* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1979), 76.

[151] Mrs Murray Mitchell, *In Southern India: A Visit to Some of the Chief Mission Stations in the Madras Presidency* (Edinburgh: The Religious Tract Society, 1885), 52.

[152] Oddie, *Social Protest in India*, 76.

[153] Mrs Murray Mitchell, *In Southern India*, 52.

[154] Mrs Murray Mitchell found that zenana-visiting is "often trying and disappointing." They show no special interesting in knowledge. "They ask the same foolish questions here about your children and husbands, and your motives for coming to India…They would talk of nothing but clothes, and wanted to examine every article we had on." Ibid., 52-3.

South Africa, commented after visiting several zenanas, that “The women have grown up without the habit of application. They are still children, in constant search after change of amusement, and our lessons are a mere play, to be thrown aside when tired of.”[155] The best long-term means to promote Indian women’s temporal and spiritual welfare was believed to be Christian education.

From the 1830s to the 1850s, numerous accounts of Indian women’s life and marriage can be found in Scottish official records and missionaries’ correspondence. Scottish missionaries, laymen, ministers and church members employed stories of Indian women in raising funds to support female education initiatives. Such fund-raising efforts for female education, however, attracted less Scottish public interest than Duff’s educational mission toward the high-caste Brahmins. However, noticeable growth in Scottish public support for Indian female education mission began in the late 1850s, especially after the Indian Mutiny in 1857. Support for female education in India ran parallel to a rising public concern for girls’ popular education in Britain. Three foci of female education – intellectual knowledge acquirement, spiritual refinement, and social role fulfillment – were frequently interwoven in the narratives promoting the Indian female education mission.

The notion that “the Bengalese women are shut out from many of the educational opportunities enjoyed by the men”[156] would hardly have surprised Scottish readers, who would have been all too familiar with such inequalities at home. In India, it was noted, parents rejected the idea of education for girls for a variety of reasons. Some believed that it would cause bad luck, because only temple girls, who were attached to

[155] Annie H. Small, *Light and Shade in Zenana Missionary Life* (Paisley: J. & R. Parlane, 1890), 46.
[156] “Indian Helpers and Rulers,” *Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine* (02, 1859): 109.

the Hindu temples and often forced to engage in sex, needed to learn reading and writing. Such women were deemed indecent in Indian society.[157] Some Indian men believed that there was no benefit and much risk in educating women: it exposed fragile women to the dangers of the outside world and led to women neglecting their domestic responsibilities.[158] To counterbalance those concerns, Scottish missionaries stressed that female education would prepare Indian women to be better mothers, wives, and home-makers. Indeed, Scottish missionaries would add training in needlework to the curriculum for female education as a means of gaining the support of Indian men. Such an emphasis on domestic skills also resonated with Scottish views of the relations between the genders, including the idea of "separate spheres" for men and women. As the Scottish Enlightenment thinker, Lord Kames, had argued, "women play an important role in enabling men to realise the potentialities of their moral sense, and hence, of their public spirit and patriotism."[159] It was also widely held that "Women have a wide influence in forming the character of nations. That fact is established by precedent. The rising female population of India will become the mothers of a future generation."[160] On the other hand, denial of women's right to education would contribute to "juvenile depravity", resulting in "a stream of moral pollution" that would inundate India.[161] The neglect of female education would thus not only continue to degrade women, but also lead to sexual violence, prostitution,

[157] Geraldine H. Forbes, *Women in Modern India*, The New Cambridge History of India, IV.2 (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 32–33; *HFMR, CoS, February*, 1843.
[158] Dutta, *British Women Missionaries in Bengal, 1793-1861*, 115–16.
[159] Karen O'Brien, *Women and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 75.
[160] "Education and Christianity in India," *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* (06, 1860): 326.
[161] *HFMR, CoS*, September 1842.

crime, weakened family relations, and social immorality.[162] Female education had a pivotal role in the Scottish hopes for reforming the whole of Indian society. It would not only liberate women from their oppressed and degraded positions, but also, as James Mitchell observed in 1843 in a letter to John Wilson, it would serve "to diffuse the blessing of education and religious instruction through the whole of society."[163]

Some previous studies of the foreign mission literature in the nineteenth century have dealt with how the narrative of Indian women and domesticity served to justify imperialism and mold an imperialist identity around culture, race, gender, and religion.[164] Three major themes frequently appear in publications, with the aim of accentuating a sharp difference between the treatment of women in Britain and in the subject lands. These themes are marriage, family and marital relationship. These themes are emphasized in female education committee reports, mission magazines designed for female readers, female missionaries' travel literature, pamphlets targeting female potential donors, and interdenominational conference papers. It is not surprising that many articles composed by female mission workers reflect middle-class British ideals of home, family and domestic life, and make highly

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[162] Ibid.

[163] *HFMR, CoS*, August 1843.

[164] Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800–1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Esme Cleall, *Missionary Discourses of Difference*, Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies Series (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Eliza F. Kent, *Converting Women: Gender and Protestant Christianity in Colonial South India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Mary Taylor Huber and Nancy C. Lutkehaus, ed., *Gendered Missions: Women and Men in Missionary Discourse and Practice* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1999); Dutta, *British Women Missionaries in Bengal, 1793-1861*; Geoffrey A Oddie, *Imagined Hinduism: British Protestant Missionary Constructions of Hinduism, 1793-1900* (Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, 2006); Jane Haggis and Margaret Allen, 'Imperial Emotions: Affective Communities of Mission in British Protestant Women's Missionary Publications C1880-1920', *Journal of Social History* 41 (2008): 691–716; Major, '"Mothers Have Become Monsters": Danger, Distress and Deviance in British Evangelical Depictions of Indian Motherhood, 1757–1857'; Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York; London: Routledge, 1995); Susan Thorne, 'Religion and Empire at Home', in *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, ed. Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Macdonald, *A Unique and Glorious Mission: Women and Presbyterianism in Scotland 1830-1930*.

unfavorable comparisons with the condition of women in other lands. Such accounts could include the visits of Indians to Britain, and how they were impressed with the status of women there. The missionary wife, Mrs. Fuller, related the story of a young Indian man who had been in England for several years pursuing a course of studies. "We got a glimpse of how the beautiful English homes he had been in had affected him, and saw that he had felt the influence of refined and cultured ladies….He had seen real homes with women reverenced and chivalrously cared for. He had found them educated and interested in all that interested father, brother, or husband: and not only that, but they were treated as companions and were even allowed to advise and help." Such accounts portrayed educated Western women as contributing to an orderly family life, in which men and women interacted with courtesy and affection. She concludes, using the young man's words, that there was "a wide gulf lay between the vision and the home to which he was returning."[165]

Concerns over female education in India were being expressed long before the establishment of zenana missions. In 1829, Margaret Wilson, the wife of the Church of Scotland Bombay missionary John Wilson, was deeply concerned over female illiteracy, and used "her persuasion, during personal visitations, with the different classes of the natives, to send their daughters for instruction."[166] The result was that within three months she had enrolled 53 female students, and she later helped to establish six schools with 120 girls.[167] In Madras, another Scottish missionary wife,

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[165] Mrs. Marcus B. Fuller, *The Wrongs of Indian Womanhood* (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1900), 23–24.

[166] John Wilson, *A Memoir of Mrs. Margaret Wilson of the Scottish Mission, Bombay* (Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1840), 198; George Smith, *Life of John Wilson of Bombay* (London: John Murray, 1879), 80.

[167] Wilson, *A Memoir of Mrs. Margaret Wilson of the Scottish Mission, Bombay*, 199.

Mrs. John Braidwood, established the first day school for caste girls. The enrolment of high-caste girls was rather slow in the beginning, in comparison to the enrolment of low-caste or even outcaste girls. Attendance of individual girls at school was frequently ended by early marriage or the opposition of male family members. From 1846 to 1862, at the Madras Girl's Day School, every girl who attended received a farthing a day. In a letter to the Church of Scotland mission committee in 1862, Miss Caroline Anderson observed that "this custom was universally adopted in all mission schools; but within the last year several of these schools have abolished the practice…There was a good deal of murmuring amongst the teachers about it; but they saw the necessity of such a rule, so they all came round as it were, and are going on now as usual. The school was thinned for about a month, but it soon got up again."[168] Scottish missionaries viewed female education as indispensable to the Christianization of India. They wrote to the Scottish Presbyterian readers that "their degraded sisters in India, who are not perishing for lack of the bread of life, but are the victims of ruinous prejudices, unnatural laws, and a system of idolatrous superstition."[169] Missionary wives' and female missionaries' involvement in the care of orphans and abandoned or impoverished girls contributed to the idea that the elevation of women was a fundamental part of the mission in India. Although the female educational mission was expensive, "we will not grudge the money if it pleases the Lord to smile on them. The domestic and social hope of India, and the well-being and increase of the native Christian Church, are bound up in their prosperity. Let the Marys and Marthas in our Israel help us with their prayers for this

[168] *News of Female Mission in connexion with the Church of Scotland*, May 1862, 171-2.
[169] *HFMR, CoS*, March 1844.

new and promising field."[170]

At the first annual meeting of the Scottish Ladies Association in 1839, the Church of Scotland missionary, Alexander Duff, spoke of the biblical teaching regarding the "original position and destiny of woman". The woman, according to Duff, was "fit to be the companion and associate of man…the coadjutor and ally of man…the co-equal and fellow-heir of man."[171] The equality of women, he continued, meant that she was "a joint partaker of all his joys, and hopes, and prospects."[172] For nineteenth-century Scottish missionaries, the civilization of a country was judged according to how women were treated in society. And Scottish missionaries found that the situation of Indian women was far from satisfactory. In 1867-68, Norman MacLeod, Church of Scotland minister and Convener of the General Assembly Foreign Missions Committee, travelled to India to gather information on the state of the mission. In his published account of his visit, Macleod was highly critical of the situation for women in India:

> her position in her own family is to us almost inexplicable. No Hindoo wife, I have been informed, would ever dare to eat in the presence of her husband, or speak to him before any of his relations, or address his mother, his elder brother, or uncle! In rare cases alone, and only when under European influence, would she be taught to read or write. These

[170] *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland*, May 1844, 100.
[171] Alexander Duff and Scottish Ladies' Association for the Promotion of Female Education in India & Church of Scotland, *Female Education in India: Being the Substance of an Address Delivered at the First Annual Meeting of the Scottish Ladies Association, in Connection with the Church of Scotland, for the Promotion of Female Education in India* (Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1839), 3.
[172] Duff and Scottish Ladies' Association for the Promotion of Female Education in India & Church of Scotland, 6; *HFMR, CoS*, February 1843.

> privileges have been, strange to say, hitherto confined to the wretched women connected with the temples; and this has necessarily made such knowledge to be regarded as a mark of degradation by others of their sex, or possibly as being too sacred to be possessed by those who are not allied with the priesthood. The wife, again, has no domestic freedom, but is at all times under the strictest surveillance...[173]

According *to The* Scotsman some three decades earlier, "women [are] the retarders of improvement. It is the women of India who are at this moment impeding the advance of improvement."[174] Dr. Esme Cleall has analyzed missionary discourse, and how it served to define otherness and civilization within the context of empire. Indian men, she observed, were constantly accused of failing to protect their women and children, "roles that missionaries considered crucial to 'civilized' masculinity."[175] Missionaries often portrayed Indian men as morally and intellectually incapable of protecting women from misery, because the whole nation was in the grip of false religion. This false religion was viewed as permeating the whole nation, hampering social development.[176] It was a Scottish Christian duty under God to help both their Eastern brothers and sisters. "Reminded, as we evermore are, in our best and nobles Christian enterprizes at home, that while duty is ours, success in these belongs to a higher hand."[177]

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[173] Norman Macleod, *Peeps at the Far East: A Family Account of a Visit to India* (London: Strahan & Co., 1871), 128–29.
[174] "Women the Retarders of Improvement," *The Scotsman*, 24 February 1841.
[175] Cleall, *Missionary Discourses of Difference*, 26.
[176] Duff and Scottish Ladies' Association for the Promotion of Female Education in India & Church of Scotland, 6–8.
[177] *Report to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland by Committee for Propagation of the*

Accounts of the alleged misfortune and degradation of Indian women were all too familiar to the Scottish readers, who learned that even the birth of a girl "had been deemed by their parents a kind of calamity."[178] Frequently made contrasts between the condition of Scottish "ladies" and Indian "women" were intended evoke sympathy for less fortunate heathen sisters, and also action on their behalf. In 1863, the honorary secretary of the Association, James Sheriff, concluded the 25th annual meeting of Scottish Ladies' Association for the Advancement of Female Education in India by entreating the "free, respectful, influential, enlightened, and happy Christian women to impart light and happiness to others."[179] Supporters of the British mission movement deployed a "familial terminology",[180] aimed at creating a sense of imagined world family connection with unknown peoples overseas.

The female educational mission (and later also the female medical mission) in India came to be perceived as a "separate sphere" for women missionaries. In the missionary discourse, as Cleall has observed, women were "constructed as morally pure and beacons of religiosity", and were "vested with responsibility for their family's spiritual well-being as well as for its domestic upkeep, a task newly imbued with moral status."[181] Women were expected to become the moral foundation of a Christian family. Their duties included nurturing children with Christian teaching because "the evil dispositions and evil habits which its members have contracted in their very infancy, from a mother brought up in heathenism, superstition and sin, will

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gospel in foreign parts, especially in India, James Macfarlane (Convener), 29th May 1855, 4
[178] *Magazine and Review, Church of Scotland*, June 1853.
[179] *News of Female Mission in connexion with the Church of Scotland*, June 1863, 76.
[180] Cleall, *Missionary Discourses of Difference*, 29.
[181] Ibid., 26.

with difficulty be eradicated."[182] Compared to Duff's top-to-bottom missionary educational program, aimed at first converting male members of the upper castes, the female education missions aimed at educating and converting women, who were widely regarded as inferior to men, suggested the aim of a bottom-up social reformation. The purpose of founding the Scottish Ladies' Association was described in the *Home and Foreign Mission Record* of 1852 as follows: "It is to improve, to teach, and if possible to convert (Hindu women) ...to make them obedient daughters, better wives and fitter mothers."[183] By redressing the structural evils of society that oppressed women there was the prospect of a general moral regeneration of society. But failing to improve the moral condition of Indian women would result in a vicious circle. As *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* observed in 1860, "idle, dirty girls, grow into idle, dirty women; men, if idle and dirty themselves, will no excuse the same faults in their wives; hence follow the quarrellings, beatings, and fighting so frequently heard of", eventually, "these are all degrading to women."[184] The historian Andrea Major has noted repetitive discussions of Indian motherhood in publications which "focus on the 'moral' impact of Indian socio-religious practices on family structures."[185]

Some missionaries maintained that when Hindu young men received a Western Christian education, they would then prefer to marry an educated woman. An example of this was Rammahan, one of the principal clerks in a Government office, who allegedly sent the following request to the Scottish missionaries:

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[182] *HFMR, CoS*, April 1842.
[183] *HFMR, CoS*, 1852, 276.
[184] "Education and Christianity in India," *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* (June 1860): 326.
[185] Major, '"Mothers Have Become Monsters": Danger, Distress and Deviance in British Evangelical Depictions of Indian Motherhood, 1757–1857', 532.

> let English people send us our teachers for our wives. Let English ladies come and show *our* ladies how to be like them,- let them teach them what the mission schools have taught us, and then we shall hope for India. And we earnestly desire that our kind entertainers of this evening may, when they return …to their native Scotland, make known thus our desire to ladies and gentlemen at home, and ask them to consider our condition, and send instructors for our wives and families.[186]

Many Scottish readers responded positively to the appeals on behalf of female missions in India. Their Eastern sisters, as well as their Hindu brothers, needed their help, and in heeding this call, many not only believed that they were promoting family life in India, but they were also fulfilling their responsibilities to the larger family of humankind. But at the same time, as we have seen, the discourse also had an imperialist message, conveying a sense of Western superiority. Scottish men and women were called to support female education, the zenana missions and other initiatives on behalf of Indian women, because "the men, who should be the protectors of helpless girlhood and womanhood, are themselves not free to act."[187]

Scottish Medical Missions in India

This section will introduce how Scotland became a center of medical education.

[186] Mrs Malcolm Ross, *Scattered Seeds; or, Five Years' Zenana Work in Poona* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1880), 13–14.
[187] Mrs. Marcus B. Fuller, *The Wrongs of Indian Womanhood*, 30.

The distinct and strong Scottish medical education combined with the mission enthusiasm and the vision of social improvement led to the formation of the Edinburgh Medical Mission Society.

The celebrated Monro dynasty at the University of Edinburgh – Alexander Monro *primus* (1697-1767), Alexander Monro *secundus* (1733-1817), and Alexander Monro *tertius* (1773-1859) – played a pivotal role in establishing the high international reputation of Scottish medical education. Alexander Monro *primus* sat under Herman Boerhaave when he was a medical student at the University of Leiden. Herman Boerhaave, Professor of Botany and Medicine and later Rector of Leiden University and Professor of Practical Medicine, revolutionized teaching practices in the Dutch Republic by abolishing regents and adopting the professorial system.[188] Boerhaave's innovative approach allowed professors in the Dutch Republic to focus on their areas of specialized knowledge, and the University of Edinburgh followed suit. Monro *primus* was appointed Professor of Anatomy in 1720. With the help of some influential friends, he started the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh with six beds in Robertson's Close, where provided medical students with clinical teaching and training. Many medical students were drawn to Monro *primus'* charisma, eloquence, and professionalism. In 1758 his son, Monro *secundus*, was appointed to the Chair of Anatomy and Surgery after his father's resignation due to illness. Monro *secundus* held the post for forty years, and then his son, Monro *tertius* succeeded to the Chair from 1808 until 1848. All three Monros were highly able, and devoted to lecturing,

[188] Tara Womersley and Dorothy H. Crawford, *Bodysnatchers to Lifesavers: Three Centuries of Medicine in Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2010), 22; T.M Devine, *The Scottish Nation: A Modern History* (London: Penguin Books, 2012), 72.

writing, and clinical and private practicing. Together, the nourished the study of anatomy and established Edinburgh medical education's worldwide reputation. On the darker side, the thriving development of the teaching of anatomy at Edinburgh resulted in unsavory methods of obtaining cadavers for demonstrations, including grave robbery and even murder, as was witnessed with the sensational trial of William Burke and William Hare in 1828.

The University of Edinburgh was arguably the premier Scottish university for medical instruction, but Glasgow and Aberdeen also maintained strong medical faculties, and the Scottish universities gained an international reputation for excellence in the field. Tom Devine has noted that "between 1751 and 1800, over 85 per cent of medical graduates in Britain were trained in the Scottish universities."[189] The 1858 Medical Act was designed to give statutory recognition of medical occupations. The Act's Regulation of the qualifications of practitioners in medicine and surgery showed how the role of surgeons had undergone a metamorphosis from the so-called "barber-surgeon" of the early modern period to that of a high-status professional occupation. Before the 1858 Act, many Scottish-trained medical graduates, whether or not they completed the whole medical education program, would become medical officers on merchant and Royal Navy vessels, or would set up medical practices in the colonies. Patrick Manson, later "Father of Tropical Medicine", graduated from the University of Aberdeen in 1865 with a medicine degree. He then set off to London to start his career as a medical practitioner, but found London an uncongenial location. There was not only a highly competitive

[189] Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, 233.

market in physicians, but there was also a strong metropolitan discrimination against Scottish surgeons and doctors. In 1886, Manson procured an appointment as a port surgeon in the Imperial Maritime Customs Service, and this brought him to the Far East. The clinical practices in Takow (Taiwan), Amoy (China), and Hong Kong inspired his research in seeking to prove the theory that malaria was spread by mosquitos. The marginalization of Scottish physicians in England had little to do with the quality of training they received or the reputation of the medical faculties at the Scottish universities.[190] In fact, as Bernard Porter, Esther Breitenbach, and T. M. Devine have observed, the Scots and the Irish frequently encountered prejudice. Such prejudice acted as a push factor, contributing to the considerable outward migration of Scots to the British colonies and the wider world.

In 1841, the Scottish physician, writer, and philanthropist John Abercrombie, an Aberdeen parish church minister's son, met Dr Peter Parker, who worked in Canton on the coast of South China. Parker's persuasiveness, enthusiasm, and first-hand experiences as a medical missionary convinced Abercrombie of the great need for Christian doctors to work alongside the missionaries in China. This led Abercrombie and several others to found the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society in the same year. Abercrombie was elected the first President, and the vice-presidents included Thomas Chalmers, Professor of Divinity at the University of Edinburgh, and Professor William Pulteney Alison, President of the Royal College of Physicians.

At the outset, the EMMS was intended to recruit qualified doctors to serve as medical missionaries in China. However, after two years, the EMMS adopted some

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[190] Douglas M. Haynes, *Imperial Medicine: Patrick Manson and the Conquest of Tropical Disease* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 18.

changes, becoming more committed to promoting a medical education. Instead of seeking qualified doctors, it now aimed to "assist suitable students to train as doctors with a view to becoming medical missionaries",[191] it sponsored and promoted medical education in the mission fields, and opened new overseas fields for medical missions. At the EMMS meeting in 1843, a "subsidiary means for promoting the great object of the Medical Missionary Society in China" was brought forward, by which the Society would assist Chinese youths to travel to and study at medical schools in Britain and America. Edinburgh was exhorted to take part in the new program for "we have amongst us unequalled facilities for medical education", we are "professedly very zealous for the promotion of the spread of the gospel", and "we enjoy spiritual advantages such as perhaps no other city in the world has ever before been favoured with."[192]

This ambitious collaborative plan proved disappointing in the first few years. The same attempt to establish an Indian medical mission station also failed. The Report of the Free Church of Scotland in 1851 noted that "after repeated attempts, however, no [medical] missionary qualified in all respects, could be obtained to proceed to India, and the proposal is therefore for the present in abeyance."[193] The EMMS finally sent its first medical missionary to India in 1852. Dr John Owen Evans, a London University graduate, was jointly supported by the EMMS and London Missionary Society.[194] Then in 1856, David H. Paterson was sent to Madras, jointly supported by

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[191] John Wilkinson, *The Coogate Doctors: A History of the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society 1841-1991* (Edinburgh: The Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society, 1991), 10.

[192] *Second Annual Report of the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society*, 1843, 8.

[193] Free Church of Scotland. *Committee on Foreign Missions. Report on Foreign Missions: Laid before the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, on Thursday, May 29, 1851: With the Assembly's Deliverance Thereon* (Edinburgh: Printed by John Greig, 1851), 10.

[194] Dr Evans' medical service was intermittent due to illness, language barrier, and his plans to get

the EMMS and the Free Church of Scotland. Paterson's correspondence from the Madras Dispensary to the Free Church Board of Missions was encouraging and optimistic. He found that his medical visits enabled him to establish contacts with otherwise inaccessible adult females in zenanas.[195] His medical dispensary, which was another success, attracted large numbers of patients.[196] Paterson believed that his medical mission was effective in removing obstacles and securing "a willing audience for the reception of the gospel message."[197]

In 1867, the Church of Scotland ministers, Norman Macleod of Glasgow and Archibald Watson of Dundee, embarked on a journey to inspect at first hand the Church of Scotland India missions. After their tour of India, Macleod affirmed that medical missions and educational works were indispensable in preparing people in India to receive the Christian gospel. "It is taking a very narrow and unwise view of mission work," he observed, "to assume that we must at once begin with direct Christian instruction", because the Indian people often feared and hated such "proselytism" as a threat to their communal identity. However, a medical missionary manifested Christian teaching in action; medical missionaries would win hearts "by truth, justice, patience, by unselfish kindness, and that whole life of self-sacrifice shown in ways innumerable, and such as genuine Christian benevolence will suggest."[198]

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married, while the 1857 Indian Mutiny ended his service. This joint plan was ceased after six years. See Wilkinson, *The Coogate Doctors: A History of the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society 1841-1991*, 28.

[195] *HFMR, FCoS*, June 15, 1861.

[196] *HFMR, FCoS*, January 1, 1864,

[197] Ibid.

[198] Norman Macleod, *Peeps at the Far East: A Family Account of a Visit to India*, 263.

To be sure, the medical mission's ultimate target was to win true heathen converts. The Scottish medical missions did much to alleviate suffering of people living at the time. As Andrew Walls observed, the medical missions in the nineteenth century were inspired by humanitarian impulses and the desire to reduce unnecessary suffering.[199] These motivations were then mixed with evangelical convictions, the desire to serve the Empire, and a desire to promote individual self-improvement.

William Pulteney Alison had published an influential pamphlet a year before his election to the EMMS vice-presidency. In this pamphlet, he provided a humanitarian response to the prevalent thought regarding the deserving and undeserving poor. In the preface of *Observations on the Management of the Poor in Scotland: and its Effects on the Health of the Great Towns*, Alison wrote, "I entertain a sanguine hope, that the people of Scotland will, in no long time, very generally admit the fallacy of the opinion which has been so zealously inculcated upon them, that all legal provision for the poor is an evil."[200] He further insisted that the evils are "Poverty, Destitution, and Mendicity", "evils inherent in human nature", and the Bible vindicated this. The evils of poverty inflicted on all human beings.[201] Brown pointed out that mid-Victorian Evangelicals regarded the existence of social evils, such as intemperance, illiteracy, and material deprivation, as obstacles to the gospel.[202] The gospel was the one true panacea for social problems, but philanthropic acts had to go

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[199] Andrew F. Walls, '"The Heavy Artillery of the Missionary Army": The Domestic Importance of the Nineteenth-Century Medical Missionary', in *The Church and Healing*, ed. W.J. Sheils, *Studies in Church History* 19 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982), 288.

[200] William Pulteney Alison, *Observations on the Management of the Poor in Scotland: And Its Effects on the Health of the Great Towns.* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1840), vi.

[201] Ibid.

[202] Stewart J. Brown, 'Reform, Reconstruction, Reaction: The Social Vision of Scottish Presbyterianism c.1830-c.1930', *Scottish Journal of Theology* 44 (1991): 493.

beforehand and prepare the way for the Christian message.[203] Diseases and poverty were frequently interpreted as the consequence of slackness, both physically and spiritually. In his *Observations*, Alison compiled many cases from his medical practices pointing out that diseases, destitution, misery, and mortality were linked. Because of the medical service, diets and comforts, the poor, the outcasts, the disabled, and the disadvantaged lived under the shadow of disease and death. Alison did not exclude Christianity in his vision of social reform, but his emphasis was on social-political implementation.[204] Alison's social-political faith struck a chord in the 1840s, and his belief that medical treatment must be made available for the poor, at home and also abroad, had a profound influence on Scottish Christian thought, including missionary conceptions.

James Miller, Professor of Surgery in the University of Edinburgh, senior surgeon to the Royal Infirmary, was an ardent member of the Free Church of Scotland.[205] In a lecture given under the auspices of the EMMS in 1849, he described the purpose of medical missions as to "profitably blend the healing of the sick with the teaching of the Gospel, the cure of the body with the care of the soul."[206] Miller acknowledged that medical missions might be criticized as being "dishonest", with "the gift of healing [being] used as a lure to draw men, under false pretences, to [a] change of

[203] Peter Hillis, 'Towards a New Social Theology: The Contribution of Norman MacLeod', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 24 (1992): 263; Brown, 'Reform, Reconstruction, Reaction: The Social Vision of Scottish Presbyterianism c.1830-c.1930', 491.
[204] Christopher Hamlin, 'William Pulteney Alison, the Scottish Philosophy, and the Making of a Political Medicine', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 61 (2006): 144–86.
[205] D. A. Power and Kaye Bagshaw. "Miller, James (1812–1864), surgeon." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 23 September 2004.
[206] Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society, *Lectures on Medical Missions: Delivered at the Instance of the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society* (Edinburgh: Sutherland and Knox, 1849), 4.

religious belief."[207] He then suggested that persistence would be the best response to such criticism. Medical missionaries should persevere in their work so that those they helped would gradually come to "know the warmth and love of Britain's heart."[208] Although Scottish missionaries in India understood the potential of medical missions, Miller also observed that only "a comparatively small number of devoted men shall go forth from the Medical to the Missionary field."[209] Medical work might the share similar goals with the evangelizing missions -- healing and saving people in need. However, medicine was not especially well tailored for evangelism. Miller called on supporters of missions to embrace the importance of partnership, with "the professed Evangelist and the professed Physician or Surgeon working together – in different callings, but, at the same time, in the same spirit, and towards the same end."[210]

George Wilson, a medical graduate of University of Edinburgh who enjoyed a lifelong friendship with the African missionary David Livingstone, was Regius Professor of Technology at the University of Edinburgh and the first Director of the Industrial Museum of Scotland. In 1855, he gave a lecture on "The Sacredness of Medicine as a Profession" under the auspices of the EMMS. According to Wilson, medicine was a benevolent profession, a sacred practice, which sought, together with the evangelists of the Christian gospel, to "abolish death, and to realize for man a perfect and endless life."[211] Its hope was that the physical ailments and the spiritual agonies that humans constantly grappled with would be ameliorated by the combination of medical practitioners and evangelists. Pain, torment, and inevitable

207 Ibid., 31.
208 Ibid., 41.
209 Ibid., 33.
210 Ibid., 34.
211 Ibid., 227.

physical death could be assuaged and delayed by medical aid, but the Christian gospel showed the way to overcome death and the "aching conscience" that brought so much unhappiness. Wilson insisted that "this essential benevolence [medical practice] has put forth its full blossom and fruit only when nurtured by Christianity."[212] Only Christian medical practitioners, working alongside evangelists, could bring the ultimate comfort and relief, the healing of the temporal body and the salvation of the eternal soul. Wilson agreed that the burden of disease and poverty all too often "only hardens the heart into stoical indifference, sears the conscience, and makes the temper sullen, or drives its victim to despair." The person experiencing acute physical suffering often "cannot be got to listen to directions which might conduct him to an ark or haven of shelter, but flings his arms wildly about in vain search after something which may save him."[213] Physicians, Wilson believed, should take advantage of their profession to access the most vulnerable hearts and make the most of their distinctive position, "which you may turn to the best account as their spiritual guides."[214]

Although some were positive about medical missions, some would question the efficiency of this "healing bodies, saving souls" mission strategy and whether it would draw the heathen people to Christianity sincerely. Dr Colin Strachan Valentine, a Scottish United Presbyterian medical missionary in India, presented a paper on medical missions at the first decennial missionary conference at Allahabad in 1872. He recalled when he was a medical student, "a grave theological Professor considered it necessary, to enter his protest against this corrupt and immoral system, …the

[212] Ibid., 230.
[213] Ibid., 242-3.
[214] Ibid., 243.

bribing of the heathen and Muhammadans of India, into becoming Christians by means of a dose of castor oil or Epsom salts."[215] Moreover, some members of the Board objected to funds of the Mission Board being used in sending medical doctors to India, for "every Missionary under ordinary circumstances knew when to take a dose of quinine or other medicine, and the services of Government doctor could always be had when required."[216] Medical missionaries felt a need continually to remind members of the public and leaders in the missionary movement that there was a great need for medical services in the world. Medical missionaries could gain access to secluded zenana women and to men who were otherwise hostile to missionaries. The Scottish medical missionary in Siberia, William Swan, pointed out "that Medical Missionaries are everywhere received as the true benefactors of the people", and they reached "personages of all classes and of every rank."[217] The early resistance to medical missionaries gradually waned. Between the 1850s and 1880s, there were frequent accounts that celebrated the success of medical missions in the EMMS conference reports, publications, and newspapers. It was becoming "universally recognized that medical missions were a great power" and "foremost instruments."[218] Indeed, Walls quoted an enthusiastic speaker at a Student Volunteer Missionary Union conference in 1900 who portrayed medical missions as "the heavy artillery of the missionary army." The medical missions were seen as especially valuable in the less responsive and sometimes hostile mission fields, such as Islamic societies, Indian

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[215] General Missionary Conference. *Report of the General Missionary Conference Held at Allahabad, 1872-73*(London: Printed by C. Foster, Madras, for Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday, 1873), 189-190.
[216] Ibid., 190.
[217] Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society, *Lectures on Medical Missions: Delivered at the Instance of the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society*, 105.
[218] "Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society," *The Scotsman*, 31 January 1896.

zenanas, and China.[219]

The collaboration of medical mission and evangelizing mission created problems of finding sufficient financial support, especially as medical missions could be very costly. From the 1870s, the building of hospitals and hospices, the creation of medical dispensaries, the development of public health initiatives, and the founding of medical colleges in the mission fields all combined to place a huge financial burden on the three Scottish Presbyterian Churches.[220] According to the report of the Free Church of Scotland India mission in 1888, since "every town has its government dispensary and its medical officer", the Free Church Mission Committee should direct its limited resources to the rural districts where most medical officers were from the "lower grades of the service" with "not much real medical knowledge."[221] The Free Church committee also expressed concern over whether its medical mission in India served what they viewed as its highest end effectively. "The great temptation of Medical Mission work is unconsciously to put the medical before the missionary work." To better meet its end of evangelization, the report suggested that the medical missionary must learn "the language of the people among whom he works" so that he could lead the conversation to those spiritual topics "which must always be the missionary's main theme."[222] If a medical missionary was not able to use the local vernacular language, that person "should not have a dispensary, or the usual annual grant for medicines."[223]

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[219] Walls, '"The Heavy Artillery of the Missionary Army": The Domestic Importance of the Nineteenth-Century Medical Missionary', 290.
[220] Free Church of Scotland Committee, *The India Mission of the Free Church of Scotland. Being Report of the Deputies to India in 1888-9, Opinion of the Missionaries in 1890* (Edinburgh, 1891), 26.
[221] Ibid., 25.
[222] Ibid.
[223] Ibid., 26.

Some recent historians have argued that the development of British public health measures in colonial India, as well as South Africa, Hong Kong, and other colonies, must be viewed through the lens of imperial control. The so-called "Empire Medicine" interpretation held that the British Empire ultimately used medical care as a means to know and control the subjects.[224] Proponents of this view noted that very few in the nineteenth century believed that a government should provide its citizens with equal access to education and medicine as a fundamental human right. However, I would argue, the Scottish churches were developing a sense that education and medicine were necessary tools to heal the blindness of minds and ailments of the body, and that both ignorance and poor health were among the greatest obstacles to the spread of the gospel of eternal salvation. The imperial state did not recognize that education and medical care were universal human rights among the inhabitants of the United Kingdom state and British Empire, but the Scottish churches were increasingly recognizing that these were needed in order to fulfil their duty to God to spread the gospel to all people and to fulfil what they viewed as obligations associated with empire.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have examined Scottish Presbyterian attitudes to the British Empire between the 1840s and 1870s through conference proceedings, missionary journals, newspapers, and Edinburgh-based magazines. As we have seen India had a

[224] Mark Harrison and Biswamoy Pati, 'Social History of Health and Medicine: Colonial India', in *The Social History of Health and Medicine in Colonial India*, ed. Mark Harrison and Biswamoy Pati (New York: Routledge, 2009).

special place in Scottish public life. Scottish merchants and manufacturers, under the influence of the economic theories of political economy and free trade, advocated the opening of British India to commercial activity. The East India Company State in India, moreover, offered many opportunities for Scots in the Company's civil service or army. Scottish Presbyterians joined the wave of outward migration to the British colonies in the 1840s. With the beginnings of the Scottish Presbyterian mission in India from the later 1820s, many Scottish Presbyterians stressed the British Empire's divine duty, and in so doing, they gradually shifted the Scottish discussion of colonial issues from financial arguments to moral arguments for Empire. Members of the Scottish Presbyterian mission public saw themselves as responsible for bringing civilization, western knowledge, and true religion to India, as part of the providential plan for the improvement of the world and the spread of Christianity. Educational work was at the heart of Scottish conceptions of their overseas missions. As the distinguished missiologist Andrew Walls has maintained, what was viewed as the unfinished project of the Scottish Reformation called Scottish Protestants to support the missionary movement. They felt they had important contributions to make, through their Scripture-based Reformed theology. They also believed that Scottish philosophy, science and literature – the legacy of the Scottish Enlightenment – meant that Scotland had particularly valuable contributions to make in the area of educational mission. Scottish Protestants expected that a vigorous educational mission, with the establishment of quality schools on the model of Alexander Duff's Calcutta institute, would lead to the conversion of the upper-castes in India, and that through the influence of the upper castes, Christianity would spread downwards to the lower

castes. But the Scottish missionary public also hoped that in the longer term, their educational mission in India would shape ideas of a democratic intellect, and the potential of all people, regardless of caste or gender, to benefit from education.

In 1843, the Great Disruption of the Church of Scotland had contributed to the religious divisions in Scottish society. However, the Scottish Presbyterian overseas mission movement was also energized by the intensified religious commitments resulting from the Disruption. The new Free Church, as well as the Church of Scotland, sought to demonstrate that they were a true Christian Church, and one mark of a true Church was a commitment to mission. In 1847, the formation of the United Presbyterian Church further enlivened the Scottish religious scene, and the United Presbyterians also embarked on overseas mission. By the early 1850s, there were three Scottish Presbyterian Churches in Scotland, all sharing a similar theology and church organization, and all becoming active in overseas mission within the expanding British Empire. Devine has pointed out that "Scottish Presbyterianism might be bitterly divided at home but, as a result of the Empire, it was now exported by dedicated missionaries throughout the world, as Scottish religious colonies blossomed in Canada, Australia and Africa."[225] As we noted in section 3 of this chapter, the Scottish missionaries collaborated far more closely in the mission fields than we might have expected. Once they were abroad, a shared identity, language, culture, religion, and most importantly social vision, reinforced a common Scottish Protestant, especially Presbyterian, identity.

[225] Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, 290.

Chapter 2：

Scottish Presbyterian Attitudes to China between the 1840s and 1870s

In writing about nineteenth-century Scottish views of missionary and imperial interactions with the Celestial Empire,[1] it is vital to begin with the opium trade. The lucrative and controversial opium trade built a busy commercial network that tied British imperial expansion, the mercantile empire in India, and the British merchants in Canton and Macao together. British merchants viewed opium as the only commodity that could ever penetrate the impenetrable kingdom. Discussions and debates over British involvement in selling Bengal-grown opium in Chinese territory began in the 1830s and lasted until the end of the nineteenth century. This hallucinogenic, relaxing, but highly addictive drug had once been used in the highest echelons of Chinese society as the means to entertain special guests. The drug had lured the English essayist, Thomas De Quincey, into the world of illusion, while the English poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge and the Evangelical anti-slavery campaigner, William Wilberforce, were also opium addicts. Most people in nineteenth-century Britain were aware of the damaging effects of opium use. In this chapter, Scottish publications, newspapers, and magazine articles will be used to investigate how the nineteenth-century Scottish public understood the encounter with the massive, distant Chinese Empire. The answers to those questions must be considered against the backdrop of British and Scottish trade in the East.

[1] Celestial Empire meant the heavenly dynasty. It was one of many names to refer to the Chinese Empire. The ancient Chinese considered the sky the highest god with supreme power. The emperors were called "Sons of Heaven" and were born to govern the country.

Many studies on the British opium trade have been published within the last two decades, including works by such prominent scholars as Stephen R. Platt, Julia Lovell, Jonathan Spence, Mao Haijian, and Timothy Brook. There were also many pamphlets produced in the nineteenth and twenties centuries which explored this topic. Documents produced and circulated during the Victorian era reflected the thoughts and minds of the people who lived at the time of the expanding British Empire. And as this chapter will reveal, there was a cacophonic, sometimes contradictory mosaic of many groups and differing viewpoints, rather than a coherent Scottish public view. That said, behind the cacophony and inconsistent voices in the discussion of British foreign policy, there was also an underlying consensus that the British empire was a positive, progressive force in the world that would in the longer term benefit all humankind.

Scottish Attitudes before the 1840s

In a recently published work, *Mr. Smith Goes to China*, Jessica Hanser provided her readers with detailed information about the lives and commercial activity of three Scottish private traders. All three of these Scottish traders were named George Smith, with one of them based in Canton, one in Bombay, and one in Madras. They worked together in a Scottish financial network under the patronage of the Scottish politician Henry Dundas (later Viscount Melville), who was President of the Board of Control over the East India Company from 1793-1801. In 1644, Jurchen tribes from the north had overthrown the Ming dynasty in China, beginning the Qing dynasty. Years of violent confrontations with buccaneers and Ming loyalists along the coastline of

China meant that the survival of the new Qing dynasty was by no means certain. After the Qing government finally managed to quell the unrest along the coasts after 1683, it showed no enthusiasm for oceanic trading activity. During the eighteenth century, the Qing government pursued protectionist policies, severely limiting foreign trade. All such trade had to be conducted in one designated port, Canton, during a restricted trading season, and under the supervision and control of the Cohong, a guild of Chinese merchants. During the restricted trading period, overseas merchants could lodge in foreign factories without female companions, but permanent residency was prohibited. The East India Company nominally conducted all British trade in Canton. However, during the late eighteenth century, "private traders," also known as "free merchants," "country traders," and "interlopers," became active in Canton. They were not employees of the East India Company, but they lived and worked in the Company's shadow."[2] Many of the private traders were Scots. Some of them facilitated financial remittances needed for the opium trade by loaning British capital to Indian rulers and Chinese merchants.

In 1833, *The Scotsman* newspaper published Hugh Hamilton Lindsay's first-hand experience on a small cargo vessel, the *Lord Amherst*, as it visited the east coast of China. The German Lutheran missionary, Karl Gützlaff, was also on board the *Lord Amherst*. The East India Company had commissioned Lindsay to collect intelligence concerning the British trade in Canton. The reason for this mission was to expose "the impositions and harassing restrictions to which the British are subjected to their commercial transactions at Canton" and hopefully, hope to "open up a trade with

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[2] Jessica Hanser, *Mr. Smith Goes to China* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019), 3.

some other ports in the Chinese empire." The EIC and Lindsay handled this delicate mission with discretion. Lindsay employed Gutzlaff as an interpreter, since his six-year experience in China had given him valuable knowledge of Chinese culture. Lindsay sometimes used his Mandarin name, Hoo-hea-me, during his information-scouting mission.[3]

According to Lindsay's report, their first stop was Amoy, where their arrival caused a stir. The Chinese officers "warned them off, referring to an imperial edict, forbidding all "Barbarian ships" to anchor even for a moment on the coast; ordering any one attempting it to be driven away." After a brief stop, the ship continued northbound to Foo-Chow (Fuzhou) harbor. Lindsay noted that "the national interest they took in our arrival was very great: they had learned from the little pamphlet that we were the people who consumed so great quantities of their teas, and thereby furnished subsistence to many of their countrymen." Although the Chinese mandarins sought to drive the *Lord Amherst* away by "publishing fierce edicts, prohibiting all the boats to approach us", they also, inconsistently, gave "full permission to the people to come on board, and they themselves began to trade."[4] Many British free trade advocates believed that the Chinese people wholeheartedly welcomed British commerce and products, and they therefore found the Qing government's actions to thwart trade surprising. The Qing government's intervention, they believed, was harmful not only to British manufacturers but also to the interests of the Chinese people.

[3] "China: Its people and trade," *The Scotsman*, 11 September 1833.
[4] Ibid.

British merchants, officials of the East India Company, and the British Parliament were uncertain about how to respond to the Chinese government's efforts to limit any further trade between China and the British Empire. They trod carefully regarding the China issue, fearing too much intervention would risk terminating the existing trade. They were unsure of the strength of China's armed forces, and whether it was worth going to war to force the Chinese government to allow more trade. In the first decades of the nineteenth century, Britain rarely exerted military power in support of trade. The historian John Darwin observed that "China was the most striking case where military power was used in the interests of trade."[5] In Lindsay's account of the voyage of 1833, he suggested that

> Britain might take advantage of any squabble which occurs, to dictate a free trade to the Chinese Government at the cannon's mouth. Even should this course not be adopted, it seems extremely probable, that when the commerce between England and China is fully opened to private enterprise, a vast smuggling trade (such as now exists partially) will grow up, and ultimately be legitimated by the sanction of the Government.[6]

It was unclear if Lindsay had in mind the *Lady Hughes* affair of 1784. In this episode, the Scottish private trader George Smith of Bombay served as the

[5] John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System, 1830-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 40.
[6] "China: Its people and trade," *The Scotsman*, 11 September, 1833.

"supercargo" – that is, the person employed by the owner of the vessel to manage the cargo, its sale and any goods received in trade – of the merchant vessel, the *Lady Hughes*. In a harbor near Guangzhou in China, the gunner on the *Lady Hughes* fired a salute to another European ship and accidentally struck a Chinese vessel, causing two Chinese deaths. The Chinese authorities insisted that the British gunner responsible be handed over, holding the supercargo George Smith in custody until the gunner was surrendered. When the gunner was given to the Chinese authorities, he was executed for murder. After this affair, the British became convinced that they must press for extraterritoriality, with British subjects subject only to British legal jurisdiction while they were in China. The incident, as Hanser pointed out, "marked an important point in a long struggle to escape Chinese legal jurisdiction and obtain extraterritoriality rights in China."[7]

Lindsay's reluctance to see war with China as likely to have any beneficial results reflected what many Victorian free traders thought. Along with Lindsay, British free traders believed that resort to war was not the best choice, but they were not afraid of launching a war if necessary. Lindsay believed that Britain could use its superior power to conduct trade with China despite the official opposition of the Qing State, arguing "that even in opposition to the expressed permission and authority of the Chinese government, a sort of forced trade, both in opium and all descriptions of British manufactures, similar in many respects to the trade which was carried on between England and the Spanish colonies before their independence, may by established and maintained at Fuh-Chow-Foo."[8] No one, Lindsay insisted, was

[7] Hanser, *Mr. Smith Goes to China*, 117.
[8] "China: Its people and trade." *The Scotsman*, 11 September 1833.

genuinely opposed to the advantages of commerce, and he believed that threatened by force, the Celestial Empire would eventually recognize the mutual benefits of the so-called illegal opium trade. But in this, Lindsay proved to be wrong.

The First Anglo-Chinese War and the Discussion of British Foreign Policy in Asia

In March 1839, Commissioner Lin Zexu, supported by an edict issued by the Daoguang Emperor, set about to suppress the illegal opium trade. Before implementing these forceful measures, the opium case had been extensively debated at Pekin. Qing officials considered various options: whether the Qing government should legalize the opium trade; whether the Qing government should promote systematic opium cultivation in China to stop silver "oozing out" of the country; or whether the Government should enforce the existing law for the well-being of the Chinese people. The Emperor Daoguang decided on the third option, giving his support to Commissioner Lin's determination to eradicate Canton's opium trade. The Chinese authorities began confiscating British merchants' opium and they surrounded the Western enclave with Qing soldiers. The British merchants at Canton appealed to the British government of the Whig Lord Melbourne in September 1839, pleading with "your lordship that some serious alternations in our relations with this empire are indispensably necessary."[9]

British merchants insisted that they had fully cooperated with Commissioner Lin's order as soon as they knew of it, submitting all their goods for the required

[9] "Trade with China: Public notice to her Britannic Majesty's subjects," *The Scotsman*, 28 September 1839.

inspection. But it seemed this was not enough for Imperial Commissioner. After confiscating all the foreign merchants' commodities, Lin forcefully detained "all foreigners, including her Majesty's superintendents" with "the open and undisguised threat to hold foreigners responsible with their lives for this surrender, and for any future infraction of the Chinese custom laws." British traders were aware that the opium trade was prohibited by the Qing government, but they appealed to a report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1832, in which the committee had stated "that it does not seem advisable to abandon so important a source of revenue as the East India Company's monopoly of opium in Bengal." The merchants further noted that the Chinese authorities had for years been quietly permitting the opium trade, "by the lax observation of prohibition and open connivance of its officers, in at one time fostering a trade involving several millions sterling, and at another rendering its pursuit a pretext for spoliation."[10] In other words, they believed that China neither wanted a war nor really intended to suppress the opium trade. The merchants called for British State help to halt "the unjustifiable imprisonment of the whole foreign community in Canton", "the still more wanton protraction of that captivity," and "the forced surrender of property."[11] At the outbreak of the Canton conflict, the Scottish trader, William Jardine, had returned from China to London in order to lead the merchant lobby. Jardine and his Scottish partner, Matheson, were notorious for their success in selling opium in China. Described as one of the architects of the First Anglo-Chinese War,[12] Jardine managed to transform individual free-trade capitalism

[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Julia Lovell, *The Opium War: Drugs, Dreams, and the Making of Modern China* (New York: Overlook Press, 2014), 79; Benjamin Cassan, 'William Jardine: Architect of the First Opium War',

into a growing commitment to economic imperialism, a commitment which would contribute significantly to shaping a global economic leviathan.

In an article published in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* in March 1840, entitled "War with China, and the Opium Question", the author robustly insisted that the Qing regime's moral condemnations of the opium trade were completely insincere.[13] Although a leading Qing officer, the Vice-president of the Sacrificial Court, had maintained that smoking opium made people idle, lazy vagrants, the *Blackwood's* article claimed that "scarcely one word about the immoral or deleterious effects of opium is to be found."[14] According to many Scottish merchants, the economic dispute over the opium trade involved Britain's dignity and even its place as a world power. If Britain lost its predominant commercial presence in China, it would be replaced by the United States, while the British Empire would face dire economic challenges in balancing expenses in India. Britain must not "consent to drink the cup of degradation", and war with China would be "not only for the benefit of this country, but all the world."[15] By asserting its military power in China, Britain would demonstrate "the righteousness of the claim of our oppressed merchants, British and Chinese, to indemnity for loss, damage, confiscation of property, and deprivation of personal liberty."[16]

In the 1840s, there was growing support for imperialist policies among Scottish merchants, manufacturers, and journalists, and their views helped to prejudice

Historia 14, no. 1 (2005): 107–17.

[13] "War with China, and the Opium Question," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 47, no. 293 (03, 1840): 368.

[14] Ibid., 375.

[15] Ibid., 383.

[16] Ibid., 384.

Scottish public opinion against the Qing government. The ancient Asian empires in China and India were no longer viewed as repositories of sophisticated wisdom and rich cultures. Instead, they represented stagnant, decaying civilizations whose time of greatness had passed. Evidence for China's decline, for many Scots, was evident in the inconsistency of Qing government policy on the opium trade. In a pamphlet on China, the Scottish novelist and journalist, Leitch Ritchie, insisted that the Chinese Emperor was a despot: the Emperor "it is true, is the master. He is the lord of life and death; he is the dispenser of rewards and punishments both in this world and the next."[17] For Ritchie, the people of China had become degraded under the Emperor, since every aspect of their lives, rights, and prosperity were subjected to his power."[18]

At the close of a major debate over China in April 1840 within the House of Commons, the leading Tory politician Sir James Graham was similarly dismissive of China, observing of the Chinese imperial state that despite

> their 350,000,000 of inhabitants, and their 60,000,000 per annum of revenue, they cannot prevent smuggling on their coasts, -- nay that they cannot even check their own officers from conniving at it, and participating in its gains.[19]

Graham made two observations. First, the Qing government was unable to stop the opium trade, and free trade was the only logical way forward, even if this meant free trade in opium. The Chinese government's failed efforts to curtail trade reflected

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[17] Leitch Ritchie, *A View of the Opium Trade, Historical, Moral and Commercial* (London: Smith, Elder and Company, 1843), 1.
[18] Ibid.,2.
[19] "Close of the Chinese debate," *The Scotsman*, 15 April 1840.

its narrow-minded, out-of-date attitudes, and the Chinese must be made to accept the new conditions in the world. Secondly, the Qing's government's attempt to restrict free trade had resulted in widespread corruption and bribery, which prevailed amongst the coastal officials and Chinese merchants. Many Scots were outraged over how "the Chinese Government in its proclamations and orders, describes the English, and all foreigners, as barbarians, cheats, paupers, wretches deformed by every vice, and hardly human either in body or mind."[20] They denounced the Qing government's arrogance and protectionism, and insisted that "hypocrisy, corruption, and falsehood, are universal among the Chinese functionaries."[21] Britain had many reasons for military action in China. "We in Britain have traversed the whole distance from savage life to the summit of civilization. China, starting with such advantages, has yet to learn even the elements of law and justice."[22]

Scottish public opinion was by no means unanimously in favor of war with China. Once the First Opium War had begun with China in 1839, opponents of war expressed concerns that Britain was "now engaged in hostilities with an empire the most peaceable, and also the most populous." For these opponents of war, the armed conflict with China would result in nothing good but would rather pass the whole of China trade into "the hands of the Americans."[23] *The Scotsman*, a liberal newspaper, described with approval how Earl Stanhope, presiding at a meeting at the Freemasons' Tavern, London, asked his audience

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[20] "China: Its people and trade," *The Scotsman*, 11 September 1833.
[21] Ibid.
[22] "The opium trade and the China question," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 47, no. 296 (06, 1840): 738.
[23] "Opium trade-War with China," *The Scotsman*, 29 April 1840.

> how could we, with any appearance of justice, complain against China because she retaliated upon us for the numberless miseries we had caused, and the pestilence and death which we had carried to her shores by the trade we had carried on with her in opium[24]

Convinced that the opium trade was morally indefensible, he insisted on an "equitable and pacific arrangement of the differences."[25] In the event, free trade capitalists and imperialists strongly and successfully mobilized the Scottish public opinion to support the war. They portrayed the moral criticisms of the opium trade and the claims that opium was poisoning the Chinese people as nothing but a pretext to cover the Qing's government's jealousy over Britain's commercial success.[26] "This sudden leap into the anxieties of parental care" on the part of the Chinese Government was portrayed as suspicious.[27] *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, in an article on "The Opium Trade and the China Question," averred that the Qing government intended to exclude the Bengal-grown opium in order to protect "the infancy of the home growth."[28] "That the English have become objects of intense jealousy at the court of Pekin" was due in large part to Britain's expanding power in India, including the invasion of Burma in 1824 and British territorial expansion along the Burmese coast. "The English advance has pushed forward the English outposts within musket range of the Chinese." It was therefore "reasonable that China should

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[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid.
[26] "The quarrel with China," *The Scotsman*, 28 March 1840.
[27] "The opium trade and the China question," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 47: 719.
[28] Ibid., 718.

fear us" and that "the cabinet of Pekin sets itself to reduce our power by reducing our money resources, and to reduce our money resources by refusing our opium."[29]

Was the use of opium really a deadly habit, enfeebling the innocent Chinese, as Imperial Commissioner Lin said? Victorian Scots were not unfamiliar with the abuse of alcohol and alcohol addiction, and its destructive effects on families and society. In response to widespread drunkenness, John Dunlop of Greenock formed Britain's first Temperance society in 1829 in Glasgow.[30] The Scots were notorious drinkers, and "the drinking customs of society had become so closely connected with all social meetings and business transactions...drinking customs and habits were so universal that from the cradle to the grave they accompanied almost every individual."[31] Some Scots maintained that opium was less dangerous to society than alcohol because while alcohol often fueled violent anti-social behavior, "the effect of opium is to madden the mind, not the senses; it is not to throw us into hostile collision with those around us, but to abstract us from the world and wrap our spirits in dreams and illusions."[32] For many Scots, the claims that Britain was poisoning the Chinese by selling them opium was a mere excuse that the Qing government used to terminate the lucrative British opium trade.

Beginning with the China trade quarrel of the late 1830s, discussions of British foreign affairs in Asia increasingly came into the Scottish public sphere. R. M. W. Cowan, an historian of the Scottish newspaper, observed of the outbreak of war in 1839 that "it may be said that in the previous 50 years the Orient had never been

[29] Ibid., 719.
[30] P. Turner Winskill, *The Comprehensive History of the Rise and Progress of the Temperance Reformation* (Warrington: Ma, 1881), 16.
[31] Ibid.,15.
[32] Ritchie, *A View of the Opium Trade, Historical, Moral and Commercial*, 14.

brought so close."[33] The result of the First Anglo-Chinese War was deemed satisfactory, even though Britain did not obtain Formosa or Chusan as trading ports, as some had hoped.[34] Still, confidence in a smooth and prosperous trade in China could be found in the Scottish press, with *The Scotsman* noting in November 1842 that, "The manifest advantages which the treaty has secured to our commerce are, of course, the theme of general congratulation. A vast extension of demand, it may be hoped, will be created for British manufactures among the immense population of the Chinese empire." Before long, *The Scotsman* continued, the Qing government would harvest the fruits of enhanced trade with Britain and "We have little doubt that a few years of such policy…will convert the Chinese and their government into warm and affectionate allies."[35] Nonetheless, Scottish Evangelicals continued to comment on the moral issue of opium, and there were concerns about the morality of the expanding British Empire. Some Scots observed that the weakness of the Qing military forces – the "inequality in skill and prowess which was evinced by the vanquished" – meant that the conflict brought no "glory to our arms."[36] That Britain was militarily strong was without a doubt, but some asked, "is your strength a reason for doing wrong?"[37]

Voices of Scottish opponents of the Opium Trade could be noticed in publications. The Scottish Dissenter, William Tait, the editor and the founder of *Tait's Edinburgh*

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[33] R. M. W Cowan, *The Newspaper in Scotland : A Study of Its First Expansion, 1815-1860* (Glasgow: George Outram, 1946), 404.
[34] E. M. Palmegiano, *The British Empire in the Victorian Press, 1832-1867 : A Bibliography*, vol. 5, Routledge Library Editions: The British Empire (New York; London: Garland Pub., 1987), 26.
[35] "The Chinese treaty of peace," *The Scotsman*, 26 November 1842.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Hansard HC Deb. vol.68 cols 362-469, 04 April 1843. [Online]. [Accessed 02 August 2021]. Available from: https://www.parliament.uk/

Magazine,[38] penned four letters in 1858 urging his readers to "petition Parliament for its [opium's] restriction to medicinal purposes" and for Parliament to cut off British's involvement in opium cultivation and trade. In the second letter, "Folly of the Opium Trade", Tait was highly critical of the British India opium economy. In Tait's opinion, the economic triangle of the opium trade between Britain, India and China was unhealthy and would in the long term weaken other forms of commerce. Opium eating enervated Chinese, resulting in their "losing their health and habits of industry", and leaving them less able to trade in other manufactured goods.[39] The predominantly Scottish Free Church journal, the *North British Review*, reviewing the opium trade in 1857, noted that

> The opium smoker has, for the most part, brought himself into a condition of poverty, or even of abject indigence…Opium fumes dull the appetite for those articles with which the British manufacturer would tempt the Chinese people-tempt them at once by the excellence of the article and by its extreme cheapness.[40]

In 1843, the Evangelical MP Lord Ashley (later Lord Shaftesbury) presented three petitions from the committee of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, Baptist Missionary Society and the London Missionary Society, petitioning the House of Commons to take measures for the abolition of the opium trade between British India

[38] Tait, William (1793–1864), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).
[39] William Tait, *Appeal to the British Nation Against the Opium Traffic: In Four Letters* (London: Wertheim, Macintosh, & Hunt, 1858), 12.
[40] "ART. VIII," *The North British Review* 26, no. 52 (02, 1857): 539.

and China. His concern for the welfare of the working-class meant that he supported expanding legitimate commerce and opening new markets for British manufacturers.[41] Ashley quoted his friend, Walter Henry Medhurst, a London Missionary Society missionary in Shanghai, China, who observed that "by paying four millions for opium, the Chinese show that they have money to spend, and if we can but induce them to take our cottons and woollens instead of our opium, we shall be blessing them and enriching ourselves."[42] Convinced strongly that Chinese people "possess a strong predilection for commerce, and a great taste for foreign manufactures", Lord Ashley pleaded for an end to the nefarious opium traffic, removing "the temptation" of opium use. Then, he insisted, "the Chinese would readily give their produce in exchange for our goods, which they very much require."[43]

Nevertheless, the free trade counter-argument stressed the supply-demand market mechanism. With a tinge of sarcasm, the Scottish author Ritchie wrote

> When the Chinese come to you craving for the poison, and with horse-shoes of silver in their hands to pay for it, offer them a blanket instead, and they will never know the difference! Why do they not propose that we shall slyly change the commodities in our public-houses, and when a worthless fellow comes in for a dram, offer him instead a night-cap, or a prayer-book, or a dose of physic?[44]

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[41] Hansard HC Deb. vol.68 cols 362-469, 04 April 1843.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ritchie, *A View of the Opium Trade, Historical, Moral and Commercial*, 20.

Since "Malawa, Turkey, Persia" and even China itself all had their share in the opium trade, asked Ritchie, why should Britain alone should take the blame and sacrifice their profit?[45]

The British insatiable appetite for "a cup of tea" contributed to Britain's trade deficit with China in the nineteenth century. The East India Company had tried peddling manufactured wares to China to address the deficit. They looked to the fertile soil and tropical climate in India, believing that by growing tea in British India, they could quench the British thirst for tea, also develop another product for imperial trade with the wider world. Rose Sarah's *For All the Tea in China: How England Stole the World's Favorite Drink and Changed History* told the story of a Scottish botanist, Robert Fortune, who travelled into the interior of China looking for tea plants.[46] Fortune, helped by the provisions of the Treaty of Nanking, was commissioned to undertake a three-year plant collection expedition to southern China. Fortune's journey, as a Scot applying botanical science in seeking to benefit the trade of the expanding British Empire, was an intriguing story. In the 1850s, according to Lord Dalhousie's Minute, tea cultivation has extended along the Himalayas, extending to "the heights toward Kangra…Murree hills (Pakistan)" and eastbound Kumaon and Gurhwal. Plantations produced large quantities of tea every year, therefore "there is every reason to believe that the cultivation of the tea plant will be very widely spread in future years, and that the trade in tea produced in India will become considerable in extent."[47]

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[45] Ibid.
[46] Sarah Rose, *For All the Tea in China: How England Stole the World's Favorite Drink and Changed History* (London: Penguin Books, 2010).
[47] *The North British Review* 26, no. 52 (02, 1857): 535.

It is worth noting that some of the more vociferous opponents of the opium trade were within the Chartered East India Company. One of them was the Scot, Charles Alexander Bruce, a former superintendent of the Assam tea plantations, who believed that “the British Government would confer a lasting blessing on the Assamese” by implementing “immediate and active measures” to put down the opium cultivation in Assam. Such opponents maintained that the Assam tea cultivators were being seduced by the opium mania, redirecting their resources to opium cultivation and dissipating their energy through opium consumption. They called for their “humane and enlightened Government” to terminate “these evils by a single dash of the pen, and save Assam, and all those who are about to emigrate into it as tea cultivators, from the dreadful results attendant on the habitual use of opium.”[48] This argument was fully supported by William Tait, who believed that the fertile land and climate of Assam, under British administration, would be better used in growing more valuable but less morally controversial cash crops, such as cotton or sugar. Growing cotton and sugar on the finest land in India would help Britain to become independent of slave-produced cotton in the United States and slave-produced sugar in Cuba respectively.[49] Writing after the 1857 India Mutiny, Tait referred to God’s judgement and probable divine punishment of imperial crimes, urging “every clergyman to instruct his parishioners on this subject and every minister of religion his congregation.”[50] He believed that “the God of judgment has brought the sword upon us in India, and can bring the same sword to our English homes.”[51]

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[48] Hansard HC Deb. vol.68 cols 362-469, 04 April 1843.
[49] Tait, *Appeal to the British Nation Against the Opium Traffic: In Four Letters*, 15.
[50] Ibid., 7.
[51] Ibid., 8.

Moral Concerns over the British Empire

Most Victorian Scots viewed the First Opium War of 1839-1842, and the opening of trade to China by the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, as a positive development in history. When China did not fully abide by the conditions of the Treaty of Nanking, British and French forces combined to defeat China again, in the Second Opium War of 1856-1860. For many Scots, the British victories in the two Opium Wars meant more than simply expressions of British military strength. For many Scottish Christians, British victories in the Opium Wars built upon the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and the abolition of slavery in the British Empire by the act of 1833. They saw this as Britain using its power to expand freedom in the world, whether free labor or free trade. But now that Britain had forced free trade on China, some Scottish Christians began to ponder the British moral responsibility to the Chinese people.

For many Scots, the abolition of slavery and the imposition of free trade on China demonstrated not only the military and industrial power of the expanding British Empire, but also the moral and religious qualities of the British people. Humility, diligence, perseverance, rationalism, and disciplined passions were characteristics of the British people and these brought rewards from God in the form of material wealth and divine protection.

After the First Opium War, there were a number worried, reflective voices questioning the reasons for Britain having gone to war. Some Scottish felt it was an inglorious fight, even if the victory would bring benefits to Britain's commerce. British merchants were importing a highly addictive drug into China, which for many Chinese resulted poor health, a loss of productivity, and family unhappiness.

The editor of the Edinburgh-based, Free Church *North British Review* called for the readers' careful attention "in the name of humanity, and in the name of Christian consistency." It was believed that "the ruin and the woe attendant upon the trade in opium is as great as that which has made the African slave trade an object of execration to all nations."[52] Opponents of the opium trade drew on the analogy of the enslaved body to convey what it was like to be an involuntary slave of a substance. Robert M. Martin, a Scottish free trader and supporter of opening India to British trade, was none the less appalled by the opium trade, comparing selling opium to China to the African slave trade and slavery. In a short pamphlet on the opium trade, drawn from his larger, two-volume work, *China, Political, Commercial and Social*, Martin asked the question, how does the opium trade differ from the slave trade? His response was that

> We did not destroy the bodies of the Africans, for it was our immediate interest to keep them alive; -- we did not debase their natures, corrupt their minds, -nor destroy their souls. But the opium seller slays the body after he has corrupted, degraded, and annihilated the moral being of unhappy sinners.[53]

The physical confinement and the deprivation of freedom in the slave trade were

[52] *The North British Review* 26, no. 52 (02, 1857): 522.
[53] Robert Montgomery Martin, *Opium in China, Extracted from "China, Political, Commercial and Social."*(London: James Madden, 1847), 89.

horrifying indeed, but the destruction of bodies and blemishing of souls through the opium trade were even more heinous. How could a Christian country like Britain, which had "abolished slavery, mitigated our sanguinary code, purified our prisons, and ministered relief to suffering humanity everywhere"[54] at the same time help to spread the baneful influence of opium in China? In a condescending manner, the author of *North British Review* article referred negatively to the alleged Chinese laxity in morals and the powerlessness of the Chinese government. However, the author insisted, the British were more to blame for bringing such a temptation to the weak-willed Chinese, and defeating them in such an unequal war. Hence, the author concluded, "The Chinese people are our victims"[55] and the Opium War was a "dark passage of British history."[56]

In 1859, a letter from William Tait in the *Home and Foreign Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland* addressed the ministers of Church of Scotland, asking them to use their moral authority to call the Scottish nation, which sought to promote overseas missions, to righteous behavior in its trading relations as well: "can we carry to these Gentiles the blessed message of salvation which it is so? The opium chest, to destroy, in our right hand-the Bible, to save, in our left?"[57]

The celebrated Scottish sinologist, linguist, translator, and missionary of the London Missionary Society, Dr James Legge, in his autobiography described a conversation with a Chinese diplomat, Kwo-Sung-tao (Guo Songtao), who was the first foreign emissary to be sent abroad by the Qing government. During their meeting,

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[54] Ibid., 2

[55] *The North British Review* 26, no. 52 (02, 1857): 524.

[56] Ibid., 531.

[57] *HFMR, CoS*, March 1859.

Kwo asked Legge to compare China and Britain, and assess which was superior. Legge responded that Britain was superior in material culture. Kwo then asked about moral culture. Without hesitation, Legge insisted that "it is impossible for me not to give the superiority to England." To which Kwo replied, "then, Mr Doctor, why, why does your country compel us to receive opium from it." This, Legge recalled, left him feeling "shamefully beaten."[58]

According to Helen Edith Legge, daughter and biographer of the East Asia missionary, James Legge, there were two convictions upon which Legge "never wavered". The first was his hatred of opium trafficking, and the second was his belief in Christian missions.[59] Like many missionaries, Legge deplored the opium trade "as a national crime", and one that severely diminished the effectiveness of missionary labour. David Sandeman, a Scottish Free Church minister serving as a missionary of the English Presbyterian Church, joined the China mission in 1857 but died of cholera in 1858. He observed that "were it not for the vile opium traffic, the whole society here might be called agreeable."[60] Believing the trade to be heinous in nature, Sandeman severely criticised Britain's role in imposing it upon the Chinese: "do they not die fast enough in their wickedness and idolatry, without England supplying poison for mind and body?"[61] Most missionaries strongly condemned the opium-related commercial activity in China and India, especially "it was carried on by men bearing the Christian name."[62] Similar conversations would recur again and

[58] Helen Edith Legge, *James Legge, Missionary and Scholar* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1905), 226.
[59] Ibid., 224.
[60] Andrew A. Bonar, *Memoir of the Life and Brief Ministry of the Rev. David Sandeman* (London: James Nesbit & Co., 1862), 224.
[61] Ibid., 276.
[62] *Memorials of Rev. Carstairs Douglas: Missionary of the Presbyterian Church of England at Amoy,*

again through the nineteenth century. Missionaries drew on such conversations to criticize the British government for not doing enough to terminate the opium trade. The trade weakened their efforts to spread Christianity in China, while it defamed Britain's reputation as a Christian nation. The literati of Qing China used it to denigrate the West and its religion.

It was difficult to find descriptions of how Scottish missionaries imagined China as they contemplated going to China as missionaries. Such Scottish missionaries as Robert Morrison, William Milne, William C. Burns, Carstairs Douglas, James Hume Young, James Johnston, David Sandeman, and James Legge left no accounts of what they had learned of China before they set foot in the country. The first Scottish Protestant missionaries had arrived in China before the first Opium War. After the treaty of Nanking and later, as more treaties were signed, most Chinese seem to have viewed Protestant missionaries as no different from Western merchants, soldiers and diplomats. They were perceived as a unity of foreign forces, invaders with different values, language, religion, and morals. In her study of Scottish missions, Elizabeth Hewat noted how in the aftermath of the two Opium Wars there was in China a "deep-rooted suspicious that the foreigners had come to filch their land from them."[63] "Hong Kong had been taken, Chinese ports had been forcibly opened to trade, the Summer Palace at Peking with all its treasures looted." No matter how much the foreign missionaries and merchants insisted on their good intentions and no matter how "cogent the reasons for these actions from the Western point of view"[64], it was

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China (London: Waterlow and Sons limited Printers, 1877), 17.

[63] Elizabeth G. K Hewat, *Vision and Achievement, 1796-1956 : A History of the Foreign Missions of the Churches United in the Church of Scotland*, 254.

[64] Ibid.

difficult, for many Chinese, to believe that such evils could ever produce anything good.

The Scottish missionaries came to China with the aim of saving souls by proclaiming the gospel of Christ, and promoting welfare through medical work and education. Yet, in Chinese eyes, the Scottish missionaries bore a burden of shame for the Opium Wars. Some Scottish missionaries may have hoped, through their work in China, to rectify some of the damage that Britain had inflicted on the Chinese. For them, the moral debt could be paid only through the proclamation of the gospel and the power of the Spirit.

At the beginning of 1843, the editor of the Church of Scotland *Home and Foreign Missionary Record* referred to the end of the First Opium War and what followed after the war, noting the "altered relations with China may be turned to the greatest temporal advantage." The editor suggested that behind the violent events in China might be "the call of God to arise and enter by that door of Christian access."[65] The same issue of the journal published a letter by Alexander Duff, in which the Scottish Presbyterian missionary to India noted that "as a Christian man and especially as a Christian missionary",[66] he could not help but believe that the recent wars in both Afghanistan and China would bring something good to those lands and their people. "China", Duff wrote, had long been "sealed against the direct intrusion of Bible heralds." In this land, the first Scottish missionary, Robert Morrison, had toiled for thirty years for a mere handful of conversions. Now, however,

[65] *HFMR, CoS*, January 1843.
[66] Ibid.

> when the requisite apparatus for an effectual spiritual warfare has been fully prepared, suddenly and unexpectedly the immense field for their practical application has been thrown open.

With excitement Duff exclaimed, “What a striking coincidence! Who dare say that it is fortuitous!” Britain’s victory in Opium War would now open China to Christian missions: “a permanent peace with China may open up an effectual door of ingress to more than 300,000,000 of human beings”, so that one-third of the entire human race would soon be brought into “willing subjection” and “endowed with meek and lamb-like dispositions.” Duff could not refrain from shouting out “the joyous sound”. Clearly, he saw the war as a sign that God entrusted China’s spiritual welfare to Christian Britain and her Empire. It was, for Duff, an event “embodying so solemn a recognition of Jehovah’s supremacy and man’s responsibility.”[67]

Between the 1840s and the 1870s: The Scots in China

The official Scottish Presbyterian China mission started in 1872 in Manchuria and in 1878 in Ichang, initiated by the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland and the Church of Scotland respectively. Individual Scots had been active as missionaries in China from the beginning of the nineteenth century. They served with mission societies that had no affiliation with specific denominations. But it was only in the 1870s that Scottish Presbyterian Churches began supporting missionaries in China.

At the meeting of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland in May

[67] Ibid.

1845, the famous Scottish missionary to India, John Wilson, exclaimed that "I cannot sit down without calling on this Venerable Assembly to recur to a remarkable occurrence connected with the eastern world."[68] Having captured the attention of the Assembly, Wilson proceeded to observe that the Emperor of China had repealed "the former edicts which interdicted his subjects from the profession of Christianity. It is not now a crime in civil law to be a Christian in China." Although missionaries were still obliged by the Treaty of Nanking to confine themselves to the five treaty ports, "the natives of China, after embracing Christianity [in one of the treaty ports], and being educated for the Christian ministry, will find their way into the interior of the country, and there preach the doctrine of Christ." They were witnessing the beginning of a movement that would culminate in the conversion of China. His joyful affirmation was met by the Assembly's heartening cheers and applause.[69]

The Rev. Dr Robert Smith Candlish, minister of St George's Free Church in Edinburgh and a leading figure in the Free Church, also spoke warmly in the General Assembly about the new prospects for missions in China. However, given the Free Church's existing commitments to mission in India, he did not think the Free Church could also undertake large-scale mission work in China. As Candlish explained:

> It would be impossible for us, as a Church, in present circumstances to undertake the wide field of China; but it would only be performing our duty to enter upon record the great delight we feel at the movement in

[68] *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland*: Held in Inverness, August 1845 (Edinburgh: W.P. Kennedy, 1846), 30.
[69] Ibid.

> contemplation by our brethren in England, and to offer to them all the encouragement which this Church can give them in prosecuting this work.[70]

By "our brethren in England," he was referring to the China mission being planned by the English Presbyterian Church, and he called on the Free Church to extend its warm encouragement to those plans:

> we should advert to the movement which is contemplated by the sister church in England, offering to them our hearty encouragement, and the promise of our cordial support, so far as we can, in the prosecution of the missionary work in China.[71]

It turned out, however, that Scotland would in subsequent years offer more than hearty encouragement and cordial support. The first English Presbyterian Church missionary, William Chalmers Burns, was a Scot, the son of a Church of Scotland minister, who had been educated in Scotland and had initially offered himself as a missionary for the Church of Scotland Indian mission.[72] In 1843, Burns had supported those who went out at the Disruption to form the Free Church, but he found there was no position for him in the Free Church Indian mission. Instead, in 1847, Burns went to China as a missionary under the auspices of the English Presbyterian

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70 *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland*, August 1845, 31-2.
71 Ibid.
72 Islay Burns, *Memoir of the Rev. William C. Burns, M.A.* (London: James Nesbit & Co., 1870), 55.

Church.

Meanwhile, James Hamilton, the convener of the English Presbyterian Church Missionary Committee and a friend of Burns' family, asked Dr James Buchanan, the convener of the Scottish Free Church Foreign Mission Committee, for the recommendation of "any minister or preacher in Scotland" who might go as English Presbyterian Church missionaries to China.[73] As a result of his appeal, James Hume Young,[74] James Johnston, David Sandeman,[75] and Douglas Carstairs,[76] all members of the Free Church of Scotland, were sent by the English Presbyterian Church from 1850 to 1857 to China.[77] In 1860, Douglas Carstairs, along with Hur Libertas Mackenzie, the Scottish medical missionary at Swatow, visited Formosa. Carstairs was "impressed with the importance of the field for Mission work"[78], and in 1865, the English Presbyterian Church began a new mission station in Formosa. The early English Presbyterian Church missionaries in Formosa, James Laidlaw Maxwell, Hugh Ritchie, William Campbell, Thomas Barclay, Duncan Ferguson, Peter Anderson, Campbell Naismith Moody, and Andrew Bonar Nielson, were either Scots or trained in Scotland.

As well as serving with the English Presbyterian Church, Scottish missionaries

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[73] Ibid., 7, 292.
[74] Alexander Wylie, *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese* (American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1867), 198; David Cheung, *Christianity in Modern China: The Making of the First Native Protestant Church*, vol. 28, Studies in Christian Mission (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2004), 31–39.
[75] Bonar, *Memoir of the Life and Brief Ministry of the Rev. David Sandeman*, 9.
[76] *Memorials of Rev. Carstairs Douglas: Missionary of the Presbyterian Church of England at Amoy, China*, 10.
[77] John Geradus Fagg, *Forty Years in South China: A Biography of the Rev. John Van Nest Talmage. D.D.* (New York: Board of Publication of the Reformed Church in America, 1894), 175.
[78] See James Johnston, *China and Formosa: The Story of the Mission of the Presbyterian Church of England* (London: Hazell, Watson, & Viney, 1897), Chapter 9, 11-13.

also served with the London Mission Society. Following in the footsteps of Robert Morrison of the LMS, the Scottish missionaries, William Milne, William Swan and Robert Yuille, formed the spearhead of the Mongolia and Siberia Mission. Other Scottish missionaries in China included William Muirhead, James Legge, their colleague John Chalmers, James Gilmour of the Mongolia Mission, the medical missionary Thomas Bryson of Wuhan,[79] the Stornach brothers, Alexander and John,[80] and William Gillespie.[81] In 1854, the Synod of Scotland's United Presbyterian Church approved an overture submitted by the Presbytery of Glasgow, proposing "taking the extension of the mission of the London Missionary Society to China, by sending ten additional missionaries to that country, into consideration."[82] The Synod further agreed "strongly to recommend it to the congregations under their inspection," and they also formed a committee for raising funds to aid the LMS in sending additional missionaries to China.[83]

As well as training and exporting individual missionaries, Scotland also supported a number of mission societies. As Brian Stanley has observed, Scottish public support was not limited to the missions maintained by the three mainstream Scottish Presbyterian churches, but Scots also contributed to the London Missionary Society, the Baptist Missionary Society, the Moravian missions, and later the China Inland Mission.[84] James Calder, the author of *Scotland's March Past*, insisted that

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[79] James M. Calder, *Scotland's March Past: The Share of Scottish Churches in the London Missionary Society* (London: The Livingstone Press, 1945).
[80] Cheung, *Christianity in Modern China: The Making of the First Native Protestant Church*, 28:103–4.
[81] Ibid., 140.
[82] *Proceedings of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church* 1847-1856 (Edinburgh: Printed by James Hogg), 521-22.
[83] Ibid., 594-5, 657.
[84] Brian Stanley, 'Missionary Societies', in *The Oxford History of Protestant Dissenting Traditions:*

"Scotland's missionary enthusiasm has been fed at the fire of the Livingstone tradition."[85] Unquestionably, the celebrated Scottish missionary David Livingstone (who had initially hoped to go as a missionary to China, before going to Africa) played a pivotal role in the history of the Scottish mission movement. Still, as we have seen, many other Scottish figures in the mission movement have cast long shadows.

Missionaries, the historian Daniel H. Bays has noted, were "beneficiaries of the new framework of relationships between China and the West."[86] Many nineteenth-century missionaries welcomed how the once "sealed" China had to open its door to Western influences; they attributed this change to the Providence of God, and believed it would lead to many conversions to Christianity. Thus, Bays has further observed, "it is not surprising that there were no missionary protests in either the war of 1839-1842 or that of 1856-1860 against the means by which the British government and its military forces advanced foreign interests in China."[87] Missionaries denounced the circulation and cultivation of opium. Yet, they tended not to condemn the armed conflicts themselves as the result of British aggression. For the missionaries, as Brian Stanley maintained, their belief in providence "indicated there must have been some purpose behind the war, and some purpose which was consistent with the known character of God's government."[88]

The Long Eighteenth Century c. 1689-c. 1828., ed. Andrew Thompson, vol. 2, *The Oxford History of Protestant Dissenting Traditions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 255.

[85] Calder, *Scotland's March Past: The Share of Scottish Churches in the London Missionary Society*, 21.

[86] Daniel H. Bays, 'Protestant Beginnies, Catholics Redux, and China's First Indigenous Christians, 1800-1860', in *A New History of Christianity in China*, The Global Christianity Series (Malden; Oxford; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 58.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth*

James Johnston, the Scottish missionary with the English Presbyterian Church, had to terminate his Alexander Duff-inspired educational scheme in Amoy after four years when his health failed, and he subsequently became an important historian of the English Presbyterian mission. In his book, *China and Formosa*, Johnston portrayed the opening of China through the Opium Wars as God's answer to the Church's long-time prayer that "the wall of exclusion from that vast kingdom of darkness might be thrown down."[89] Johnston recognized that the opening of China had been imposed by military force. Yet, while "the opening of China to the Gospel was the result of the war", Johnston believed that it would bring progress and Christianity to the Chinese people. "It was the Lord's doing," he insisted, "and it is marvellous in our eyes."[90] The author of the article on "The Chinese Treaty" in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* in 1860 confessed to be unsettled by the huge amount of indemnity that the British government and other foreign allies asked for.[91] Yet, the main argument in the article was that Britain must use the provisions of the treaty to promote Protestant missions, for if it did not, there was a danger that France would act to spread its Catholicism in China.

Scottish Presbyterian Missions in China during the 1870s

In June 1844, following the treaty of Nanking, the *Home and Foreign Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland* commented:

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and Twentieth Centuries (Leicester: Apollos, 1990), 107.

[89] Johnston, *China and Formosa : The Story of the Mission of the Presbyterian Church of England*, 5.

[90] Ibid.

[91] "The Chinese Treaty," *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* (12, 1860): 625.

> in the Providence of God, a footing has been gained by British in the country, which, we trust, may produce the happiest results, and not only introduce her merchandise into that vast region, but also lead to the introduction of the inestimable treasures of the Gospel.[92]

The Church of Scotland must "not *abuse* the *trust* committed to her."[93] Although individual Scots had played vital roles in initiating and sustaining missions in East Asia, it was not until the 1870s that Scottish Presbyterian Churches formed their mission stations in China. In this section, we will consider the reasons for the delay.

The Disruption of 1843, as we have seen, was a major event in Scottish history. Yet the competition between the Church of Scotland and the Free Church of Scotland for resources and personnel, as the Church of Scotland sought to maintain its national parochial establishment, and the Free Church sought to develop a new national territorial church organization, severely limited for a time the amount either denomination could invest in overseas missions. With their missionary outreach made still more difficult by the high mortality of missionaries in India that we discussed in the previous chapter, neither the Church of Scotland nor the Free Church of Scotland believed that they could create new mission stations in China.

At the General Assembly of 1846, the Foreign Missions Committee of the Free Church of Scotland reported on the steady progress of its India missions in Bombay, Poonah, Nagpur, Madras, and Calcutta. The Committee was "aware that new and very inviting fields of missionary labour have of late been opened up, and their attention

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[92] *HFMR, CoS,* June 1844.
[93] Ibid.

has been directed from communications from most respectable quarters to some of those openings, -- particularly China and the Sikh country." But the Free Church also had to be realistic about what it could undertake in the mission field, and "the first and most urgent demand upon her is to place on efficient footing the stations which she already occupies."[94]

The history of the Scottish missions in South Africa is outside the scope of this research. But a brief Free Church General Assembly debate on whether to terminate the Kaffir mission station provides evidence on the challenging situation that the Free Church encountered in maintaining its overseas missions. As a result of financial pressures combined with the two Kaffir Wars, the Foreign Mission Committee recommended in 1848 ending the Kaffir Mission.

> After various and anxious discussions had been held in the subject… the wisest course to be adopted would be, as already stated, to transfer the Cape Town branch of the colonial departments, and to discontinue the Kaffir Mission, broken up as it had been by the war, employing the missionaries of the latter in such other departments of the Church's labours as they might be able or willing to undertake.[95]

Its recommendation was made, explained the Committee, after considering "the position of the missions in India" alongside "the financial state of the country, and the

[94] *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland*, May 1846, 142.
[95] *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland*, May 1848, 190.

annually increasing debt of the missions."[96] While the Free Church rejoiced at "seeing the missionary spirit of the Church keep pace with the increasing facilities for introducing the gospel into heathen lands",[97] they were also painfully aware that "the operations in each [mission] sphere are hampered by the necessities of the other."[98] However, many in the Free Church opposed ending the mission operation in South Africa. For Robert M'Corkle, Free Church minister of St Ninian's in the Presbytery of Stirling, the abandonment of the mission would be "disastrous" for South Africa and also "ruinous to the Free Church."[99] But Robert Gordon, minister of the Free High Church in Edinburgh, exhorted the Commissioners of the General Assembly to be practical: "while they were running into debt, were they to keep up the present establishment?" In the event, the Free Church Kaffir mission was saved by additional efforts in annual contributions, but it was clear that there were limits to what the Free Church, and other Scottish churches, could afford to support in its overseas missions.[100] This helps to explain why the Scottish churches were not directly involved in the China mission until the 1860s.

The United Presbyterian Church of Scotland was the first Scottish Presbyterian church to have a mission station in China. At the annual meeting of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church in 1862, a group of friends of mission in Glasgow laid the proposal for the Ningpo medical mission station on the table. Unfortunately, it was rather a short-lived mission station. This section will discuss the mission station by using the United Presbyterian Church Synod documents to analyze Scottish attitudes

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[96] Ibid.
[97] *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland*, May 1846, 142.
[98] *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland*, June 1849, 166.
[99] Ibid, 179.
[100] Hewat, *Vision and Achievement*, 180.

toward this new mission station in China.

It is a pity that we have so few records of Dr William Parker's connection with China, including what he witnessed, and the ordeals, frustrations, and inspirations of his mission activity in China. Parker, a native of Glasgow, had served as a China missionary, first in Shanghai and then, from 1855, in Ningpo, under the auspices of the Chinese Evangelization Society. Disturbed by the high illiteracy rate in Ningpo, he "advocated a literacy movement and the opening of schools simply to bring people to the point of being able to read Scripture and Christian books."[101] Parker had worked closely with Hudson Taylor in Shanghai and Ningpo, accompanied by two missionaries of the London Mission Society, Walter Henry Medhurst and Dr William Lockhart.[102] When the Chinese Evangelization Society became unable to sustain the Ningpo station, some friends in Glasgow "were desirous that the mission at Ningpo should still be carried on."[103]

A plan was presented by the Mission Committee to the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church, by which the United Presbyterian Church would support a medical missionary and an ordained missionary in Ningpo. Parker's friends in Glasgow managed to raise the necessary funds for "defraying the expenses of the outfit and the passage money" and granting two mission workers "adequate salaries for three years, as well as a sum of £200 annually for hospital expenses."[104] In Ningpo, these mission workers would support

[101] A.J. Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor & China's Open Century Volume Two: Over the Treaty Wall* (Hodder and Stoughton and Overseas Missionary Fellowship, 1982), 349.
[102] See A.J. Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor & China's Open Century Volume Two: Over the Treaty Wall*. Also A.J. Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor & China's Open Century Volume Three: If I had A Thousand Lives* (Hodder and Stoughton and Overseas Missionary Fellowship, 1982).
[103] John M'Kerrow, *History of the Foreign Missions of the Secession and United Presbyterian Church* (Edinburgh: Murray and Gibb, 1867), 506.
[104] Ibid., 505.

> Dr William Parker, a native of Glasgow,…[who had] healed 43,000 Chinese patients – to very many of whom the truths of the gospel have been presented, and several of whom he has been the means of converting; and has, by his medical skill, and missionary zeal and energy, established for himself a high name of Ningpo and neighbourhood.[105]

It was noted that in Ningpo, "in connection with the station, there existed a dwelling-house, a chapel, a laboratory, a dispensary, and a spacious hospital containing the necessary accommodation both for male and female patients; and the whole was owned by Dr Parker as his own property."[106] Thus, in Ningpo, "nothing is needed but to step in and work."[107] Everything that a mission station required was present: financial support for the annual salary, the expense of outfit and passage, the dwelling manse, the premises for medical practices, an amicable relationship with local inhabitants, and an experienced medical missionary.

The Ningpo medical mission, as we have seen, was already established in 1862. The only thing they asked from the United Presbyterian Church was to be fully under its name and management. After fully considering the circumstances, the Mission Committee recommended that "the Synod should sanction the proceeding, [and] express their readiness to assume the management" on three conditions. First, that the subscribers should cover all the expenses on the Ningpo mission for the first three

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[105] *Proceedings of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church* (Edinburgh: Printed by James Hogg, 1862), 543.
[106] M'Kerrow, *History of the Foreign Missions of the Secession and United Presbyterian Church*, 506.
[107] *Proceedings of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church*, May 1862, 543.

years, including "the sending out and the support of Dr Parker and the ordained missionary, and the working of the hospital."[108]

The second condition was as follows:

> That the assuming of the management of this Mission for the period stated shall not be understood as implying a pledge to continue the Mission when the three years have expired, unless the state of our Missionary funds shall, consistently with justice being done to our existing Missions, obviously put it in the power of the Synod to do so.[109]

The second condition implied that the United Presbyterian Church was cautious about entering the China mission field. The United Presbyterian Church had hitherto devoted its missionary endeavors to Canada, Nova Scotia, the West Indies, India, Israel, and Africa. The Church would be hard-pressed to find more resources for the East Asia mission. The third condition was that, even if the Church should decide to continue the Ningpo mission after three years, the existing missions would continue to have priority:

> That in deciding upon the question of continuance at the close of the three years, the obligations under which we lie to our existing missions,

[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid.

both as to support and extension, shall be regarded as having the prior claim.[110]

On these conditions, the United Presbyterian Synod agreed to the Ningpo mission, sending Parker out in the January of 1863.

Parker could not start his service in Ningpo immediately because the city was under the sway of the Taiping rebellion. Not long after William Parker resumed his medical mission work in Ningpo, while on his way home from a visit to a hospital in the city, he fell from the horse into icy cold water. He was severely injured and died after a few weeks, in early 1864.[111] His brother, Dr John Parker, now carried on the Ningpo medical mission, becoming a recognized missionary of the United Presbyterian Church in 1865. In May 1867, however, John Parker resigned from the Ningpo medical mission and returned to England.[112] Finding no successor, the management of the Ningpo medical station was quietly transferred to Hudson Taylor's China Inland Mission.

The short-lived United Presbyterian Ningpo medical mission did not discourage Scottish commitment to the mission in China. William C. Burns, a Scottish missionary serving with the English Presbyterian Church, reached Northern China in Port Newchwang (now Liaoning), the door to Manchuria, in 1867. Noting that Manchuria was "a vast, open, and unoccupied field, with a fine climate, and a population comparatively well off in a worldly point of view", Burns recommended to

[110] Ibid.
[111] M'Kerrow, *History of the Foreign Missions of the Secession and United Presbyterian Church*, 507.
[112] Wylie, *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese*, 273.

the Presbyterian Church in Ireland that it might to launch a new mission there.[113] Burns' suggestion was well received by the Irish Presbyterians, and an Irish Presbyterian Chinese mission was begun at Newchwang in 1869 by the Rev. Hugh Waddell and Dr Joseph Molyneux Hunter. Meanwhile, Burns' Scottish co-worker, Alexander Williamson, who had been laboring in Shanghai since 1855 in connection with the Scottish Bible Society, was also inspired by Burns' call for missionaries to go to Northern China. Making his base in 1863 in Chefoo (now Yantai), Shandong province, Williamson travelled extensively in Northern China, distributing copies of the Bible in Chinese. In 1874, he became a United Presbyterian Church missionary in Northern China, serving until his death in 1890 in Chefoo. In 1872, The United Presbyterian Church missionary, John Ross, who was originally stationed in Chefoo, decided to go on to Manchuria, a place where he believed "the need was greater."[114] Ross was joined by the Rev. John Macintyre in 1875, Dr McDonald Westwater in 1881, Dr Dugald Christie, the Rev. James Webster and James Wylie in 1882, and through their efforts the United Presbyterian Church Manchuria mission was strengthened and concentrated.[115]

During the same period, the Church of Scotland also began its mission work in Ichang (now Yichang, Hubei) in 1878. Hewat described the genesis of the Ichang mission as driven by lay energy and enthusiasm. It was the Glasgow merchant, William Buchanan, who presented the idea of a China mission to the Church of

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[113] Burns, *Memoir of the Rev. William C. Burns, M.A.*, 526.
[114] Hewat, *Vision and Achievement*, 253.
[115] D Macgillivray, *A Century of Protestant Missions in China (1807-1907)*, vol. Being the Centenary Conference Historical Volume (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1907), 206–7; Robertson, *The Story of Our Mission Manchuria*, 25–26; Hewat, *Vision and Achievement*, 253–54; Austin Fulton, *Through Earthquake, Wind and Fire: Church and Mission in Manchuria 1867-1950* (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1967), 31–32.

Scotland, personally donating £1000 to initiate the work.[116] In 1877, *The Home and Foreign Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland* reported that "up to last year the Church's whole missionary agency for the heathen was confined to India", apart from "one small mission in the centre of Africa."[117] But now, the *Record* continued, "the circumstances and condition" of China were making a robust claim for the Church of Scotland's attention. Having the population that equaled "nearly a third of that of the whole earth"[118] and a close connection with Great Britain through extensive commerce, China made an imperative call upon the Church of Scotland. "How many of our countrymen must owe their wealth, and how many others much of their daily comfort and enjoyment, to China!"[119] Meanwhile,

> We have been, and are still, guilty of forcing upon China, for our own purposes, the curse of opium. How long that may be continued we know not; but surely it is a strange anomaly for a Christian nation to insist on sending opium and not to send the Gospel[120]

The article noted that "a great part of the country is now open to the settlement of Europeans and the teaching of Christians", it urged that members of the Church of Scotland not confine themselves to "devoting much attention to missionary work at home" but rather that the Church take advantage of the improved relations between Britain and the Qing government to press forward with missionary activity in

[116] Hewat, *Vision and Achievement*, 271.
[117] *HFMR, CoS*, April 1877, 319.
[118] This quotation echoed Duff's letter of 1842. *HFMR, CoS*, January 1843.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Ibid.

China.[121]

The Three Pillars of Scottish Missions: Education, Medical Mission, and Evangelism

Donald MacGillivray, in *A Century of Protestant Missions in China*, pointed out that "from the very commencement of the Mission, work has begun in three branches… Evangelistic, Medical, and Educational."[122] In 1851, the Foreign Mission Committee of English Presbyterian Church had appealed for a missionary, who would take on educational work on the principles "so clearly enunciated by Dr Inglis thirty years ago" and "at that time being acted out by Alexander Duff in India."[123] The Rev. James Johnston, who put himself forward for the position, was directed to take teacher training at the Glasgow Normal School. On the way to take up his appointment in China, Johnston visited India and spent two months in Madras, closely observing the methods of the educational mission in India.[124] It was possible that Duff's English educational scheme of Madras, accelerated by the English Education Act 1835, consolidated the medium of English as the language for higher education and the pass to British Indian administrative posts and of the higher law courts. Duff's success in Madras inspired many Evangelical enthusiasts, especially when Duff presented himself with "heart-stirring appeals" before the 1852 Presbyterian Church of England Synod;[125] the chances are that Scottish and the English believed that

[121] Ibid.
[122] Macgillivray, *A Century of Protestant Missions in China (1807-1907)*, Being the Centenary Conference Historical Volume: 201.
[123] AR-FMC, in *Mess* (1851) p. 140 cited in Cheung, *Christianity in Modern China: The Making of the First Native Protestant Church*, 28:39.
[124] Johnston, *China and Formosa*, 81.
[125] Cheung, *Christianity in Modern China: The Making of the First Native Protestant Church*, 28:39.

missionaries could replicate Duff's educational mission in another Asia country. Nevertheless, as I mentioned in the first chapter, education was a means to polish human beings' minds and reason, a primary way to pave the way for human receiving of the Gospel and to further the aspiration of complete social reformation. Victorian Scots thought highly of the work of education in the advancement of human civilization and human society. John Wilson alluded to education when he stated that "the means of national improvement which have been effective in the West, must be effective in the east."[126]

Alexander Williamson, the missionary of the Scottish Bible Society and the United Presbyterian Church, observed that in China "Education prevails extensively, and the minds of the youth are all directed towards moral excellence as the acme of their ambition."[127] The celebrated Scottish missionary and linguist, James Legge, maintained that in "no country is the admiration of scholastic excellence so developed as in China, no kingdom in the world where learning is so highly referenced."[128] However, Scottish missionaries in Ichang and Manchuria were also critical of much of the content of Chinese education. An exclusively secular education, they argued, was insufficient to elevate a nation to a high moral standard. In his educational mission in India, Duff had stressed the importance of Christian teachings that would provide the Hindu pupils with moral guidance; without the moral aspect, education would simply transform young Hindus "from idolaters into sceptics(sic) and infidels." They would be left to recognize no moral Governor of the world, and would "be

126 *HFMR, CoS*, April 1843.
127 Alexander Williamson, *Journeys in North China, Manchuria, and Eastern Mongolia; with Some Account of Corea*, vol. 1 (London, 1870), 4.
128 Legge, *James Legge, Missionary and Scholar*, 28.

divested of every moral rule and principle; and renounce all fear of future rewards and punishments."[129]

Scottish missionaries blamed Confucian teachings for failing to stir among the Chinese elevated thoughts concerning liberty, equality, and moral endeavor. Confucius, they insisted, did not "rise to what we would call national education",[130] nor had he understood that women "would profit by a school education."[131] Most importantly, "Confucianism never saved a single Chinaman from the silliest superstition"[132] and the follower of Confucian teachings ignored "a future life or judgment to come, but rests his system on a purely secular and utilitarian basis."[133] The educational system of the Qing dynasty only really served those students who were preparing to pass the literary examinations in order to secure Government appointments. For the Scottish missionaries, the Confucian educational system did not equip the Chinese student with moral guidance for practical living and it did not inculcate social responsibilities or spiritual truths. The missionaries also claimed that Chinese education favored the affluent and neglected the poor, while it excluded women.[134] According to missionaries, the Scottish educational mission would provide the cure for the problems of Chinese society and civilization, inculcating Christian moral principles of Christianity that would transform society on earth and bring hope for the afterlife.

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[129] *HFMR, CoS*, July 1843.
[130] George Cockburn, *John Chinaman: His Ways and Notions* (Edinburgh: J. Gardner Hitt, 1896), 57.
[131] Ibid., 60.
[132] Ibid., 62.
[133] Ibid., 61.
[134] Williamson, 1:56.

The story of the Scottish medical mission of Manchuria from the 1880s onwards, led by Dr Dugald Christie, will be discussed in ax later chapter. Here, we will briefly discuss how Scottish Protestant missionaries perceived the medical practices of the Qing dynasty and the role of Western medical missions.

Western medical missionaries claimed that Chinese medical practices were rarely effective. Cockburn maintained that "having no knowledge of anatomy or physiology, their identification of diseases must be most unreliable."[135] Western doctors ridiculed Chinese medical practices which interpreted illness as the imbalance of Ying and Yang, of the five elements of gold, wood, water, fire, and earth, and of the four classes of hot and cold, dry and wet inside the human body. For Western doctors, the advanced state of western biological science and the invention of pain relievers enabled the Western doctor to perform surgeries with a higher rate of success and lower risk of death. While Protestant missionaries were aware of the rising tensions over the Western presence in China, they also noticed that Western doctors were relatively welcomed by the Chinese. On his trip around China, Cockburn found that he and his company were "often taken for doctors," and that this meant Chinese people crowded around, hoping for medical treatment, instead of shunning them as foreigners. "A poor fellow would come up holding his jaw, and asking for a cure for toothache; another had something wrong with his eyes, and a third poked a sick child in our faces: sometimes most distressing cases of suffering were met with." As a result of these experiences, he concluded that "China is certainly an inviting sphere for medical missions."[136]

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[135] Cockburn, *John Chinaman: His Ways and Notions*, 114.
[136] Williamson, *Journeys in North China, Manchuria, and Eastern Mongolia; with Some Account of*

Born and educated in Aberdeen, Dr William Gauld was later a medical missionary with the English Presbyterian Mission at Swatow. In 1877, Gauld delivered a paper on Medical Missions at the first Protestant Conference in Shanghai, arguing that strategically speaking, the medical mission is "the means best calculated to secure success."[137]

> In the well known *hostility of the Chinese* to foreigners and to the Gospel they preach, there is ample need and scope for the acknowledged influence of the medical mission in allaying hostility, removing prejudice, and conciliating the people, so as to incline them to a favourable hearing of the truths of Christianity.[138]

In his *Mission Methods in Manchuria*, John Ross stated the importance of evangelism, insisting that "in order to gain the Chinese to Christianity, all other conceivable methods combined cannot compare in efficiency with public preaching."[139] Educational missions polished men's minds and reason, and medical missions improved the conditions of bodies; but both of these simply pointed to the ultimate purpose of missions – which was preaching the Gospel of eternal salvation to the heathen. Nevertheless, in order to preach effectively, Scottish missionaries needed to spend years learning Chinese, including the dialects in the provinces. Protestant

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Corea, 1:269–70.

[137] *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China: Held at Shanghai, May 10-24, 1877* (Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1878), 121.

[138] Ibid., 120.

[139] John Ross, *Mission Methods in Manchuria* (London; Edinburgh: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1903), 233.

missionaries also had to work closely with "native assistants", and while they were in the process of learning the Chinese language and its dialects, they relied on native assistants for help in teaching and translating. The difficulties with the Chinese language, combined with the hostility they received from many local inhabitants, strengthened the commitment among many Western Protestant missionaries to promote autonomous Chinese churches through the three-self policy: that is, self-propagation, self-governance, and financial self-support within Chinese churches.

Protestant missionaries to China during the Qing Dynasty found that the Emperor of China did not encourage religious practices: he was himself conceived as the Son of Heaven, who embodied the heavenly nature in his character and governance. Because it involved relatively little ritual practice, Confucianism was considered by many not as a religion but rather as the teachings of the ancient Chinese sage.[140] However, James Legge, in *The Religions of China*, did conceive of Confucianism as a primitive religion. For him, it included the "primitive [name] for heaven or the sky" (tien), the "primitive [version] for the name God" (Ti and Shang Ti), the "primitive [names] for spirits and spiritual things" (chi, shih), the "primitive shih, with the idea of manifestation or revelation", and the "primitive [name] for the spirits, or manes, of departed men."[141] Legge tended to be relatively open-minded toward Chinese worship of the ancestral tablets and he believed that Confucian worship had originated from the monotheism of the ancient Chinese.[142] The truly Confucian worship within the Chinese Empire, Legge maintained, was a form of monotheism;

[140] The China Review cited in James Legge, *The Religions of China: Confucianism and Taoism Described and Compared with Christianity* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1880), 5.
[141] Ibid., 8–13.
[142] Ibid., 52.

however, he believed that the monotheism of Confucianism had been corrupted at the popular level by "the superstitious worship of a multitude of spirits, terrestrial and celestial."[143] He compared the worship of many spirits in China with popular Roman Catholicism within Western Christianity, "because of the place which is held in it by angels and saints."[144]

The later introduction of Taoism and Buddhism into China, in the Western missionaries' opinion, further corrupted ancient Confucian monotheism, and added further dimensions to popular Chinese superstition. Missionaries heavily criticized the morality of those who practised what they viewed as forms of heathen religion. Priests of Daoism, Buddhism, and also Roman Catholicism in China were together portrayed in Protestant missionary publications as immoral and self-serving, using their priestcraft to manipulate the hearts and minds of the ignorant. Cockburn expressed a strong antipathy against Catholicism, noting that

> The resemblance of Buddhism to Roman Catholicism has been often pointed out. …. The rosary, the pastoral staff, prayers in an unknown tongue, mass for the dead, adoration of saints and relics, images with glories round their head, the celibacy and tonsure of the clergy, incense, bells, candles, the exorcism of evil spirits, abstaining from meats, the selling of indulgences, monastic rules, and vows of poverty, are common to both systems.[145]

[143] Ibid.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Cockburn, *John Chinaman: His Ways and Notions*, 82.

Nevertheless, Cockburn believed that Daoism "is a darker superstition than Buddhism, and does its best to supply the ordinary Chinaman with a religion that will be in accord with his natural desires."[146] The Daoist priests, Cockburn observed, pulled off many tricks, such as laying to rest a ghost, charming away a spirit, "fixing a small mirror above the door of a house to keep away the devil," and "writing a charm to drive away the bugs and fleas."[147] False religion and teaching took their toll on Chinese people's happiness and the prosperity of the nation. According to another Scottish traveller in China, Alexander Williamson,

> they (Chinese) need something which shall awaken the moral sense, create the fear of God, and adjust and strengthen the conscience…They need foreigners of some culture, and of Christian principles, to mingle with the people, disabuse their minds of their prejudices, initiate them into the path of progress, and to instruct, guide, and encourage them in their new career.[148]

Conclusion

In this Chapter, we examined the strong free trade spirit in the 1840s that pushed British and Scottish merchants into an overtly aggressive attitude toward opening the Qing territory. In the 1840s, the opium trade was at the center of the

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[146] Ibid., 84.
[147] Ibid., 85.
[148] Williamson, *Journeys in North China, Manchuria, and Eastern Mongolia; with Some Account of Corea*, 1:19.

British-India-China trading triangle, and it was the most lucrative but also controversial product. The Qing dynasty, founded in 1644, showed no interest in oceanic trading activity for security reasons. All trading activity was limited in a designated port, Canton, and had to go under the supervision of the Cohong in trading seasons. However, Scottish private traders, free merchants, and interlopers were willing to take risks and violate Qing's trading regulations to expand their trading markets in China. They regarded the Qing's restrictions and intervention in commercial activity as evidence showing the backwardness and conservatism of a despotic government. The prohibition of Chinese people from participating in trade freely also meant that the Qing dynasty and its officials paid no heed to its people's material well-being. Their ignorance of the benefits trade would bring to the individuals and the society was harmful and destructive to China. British and Scottish merchants lashed criticism at the Qing government and its officials for hampering the happiness and improvement of their own subjects and the prosperity of their nation and trying to frustrate the prominence of British trade. Compared to British and Scottish merchants' overt ambition and rapaciousness, the British Parliament and the East India Company tended to handle trade with the Qing government cautiously. Although the limited trading activity within the port of Canton was not ideal, that trade had created stunning interests that Britain could not imagine losing.

Before the First Opium war, Victorian British and Scottish traders, and the British government, were more reserved about waging wars against China for trade despite some ambitious free traders eager to open up more trading ports. First, they did not have a clear picture of China's military force. Second, the cost of waging war was

high, especially when the situation was still unclear. But soon, this careful attitude would be gradually replaced by the rising confidence in British commerce, superior power, and Western civilization. Although resorting to war was not the best choice, British merchants were not afraid of launching a war if necessary.

Free trade advocates paid little attention to whether opium was morally frowned upon: hence, the Qing government's restriction on opium and British trade was interpreted as jealousy, malice, and arrogant reaction toward Great Britain. Some Scots believed that opium was less dangerous to society than alcohol because alcohol often excited violent anti-social behavior. Victorian Scots were not unfamiliar with the drunken brawls; meanwhile, some famous Victorians were heavy opium users for entertaining or healing purposes. There was no such thing as Britain poisoning the Chinese by selling them opium. Some traders, therefore, insisted that the Qing government schemed to cut British traders out of the lucrative opium trade by fabricating some flimsy excuses.

However, there existed some Scottish dissenting voices against the British opium trade. William Tait, the editor and the founder of *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, claimed that selling opium to the Chinese, in fact, in the long term, undermined other forms of commerce. While opium sapped Chinese energy and money, it would push a family into poverty and reduce their desire to purchase British goods if more and more Chinese families were financially disadvantaged due to opium consumption, which meant less demand for British products. It would severely affect the life of British manufacturers and many laborers. Tait, also Charles Alexander Bruce, the former superintendent of the Assam tea plantations, believed that Assam's fertile land and

climate should be used wisely for growing more valuable but less morally controversial cash crops, such as cotton or sugar.

Between the two opium wars, the British and Scottish free traders played a crucial role in shaping British foreign policy. They called for sturdy and intrusive measures that needed to be taken to protect British subjects in China. It was not only for the profitable British trade but also for the dignity of Great Britain. In the meantime, they worried that if the Qing government cut Britain out of Chinese trade, the United States would soon replace them. This would affect the British economy and threaten its international status. Free traders tied the honor, the survival, and the future of Great Britain to its trade with the Qing dynasty. It was so important to retain the commercial tie and widen it if possible would be better. Free trade was so important to Great Britain and China for all the prosperity it could bring and share among people and elevate society and nation. In the 1840s British merchants and traders helped form a backward, benighted, and conservative stereotype of China. The ancient Middle Kingdom was once viewed as a repository of sophisticated wisdom and rich culture and was now a stagnant, decaying civilization. It needed commerce and Western civilization to breathe new life into its old dying society. And we will find that the idea of commerce and Western civilization together would uplift and improve society and lift a nation running through the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century.

Two opium wars opened the sealed Chinese door to Protestant missions: hence, missionaries believed that the Providence of God intended to give China, this massive land and its people, to Great Britain. They had the divine moral obligation to bring

light to the Chinese with education, Western knowledge, and, most important, the Christian truth. Nevertheless, the 1843 Disruption stopped Scottish Presbyterian churches from directly participating in the China mission. The official Scottish Presbyterian China mission started in 1872 in Manchuria and in 1878 in Ichang, founded by the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland and the Church of Scotland, respectively. The Church of Scotland lost many talented mission workers and ministers during the Disruption. On the other hand, the newly seceded Free Church of Scotland, with great enthusiasm, many supporters, and passionate ministers, was in great need of finance to build churches and erect mission buildings overseas. Neither could afford the money or personnel to start a mission station in China. However, both of them channeled the energy to train Scottish missionaries to support other mission societies, especially the English Presbyterian Church and the London Missionary Society. Scottish Presbyterian mission commitment to education, medical mission and education, and evangelizing therefore transmitted beyond the three Scottish Presbyterian churches and led pioneering mission works everywhere.

Chapter 3:

The Scottish Presbyterian Missionary Public and the Rise of the New Imperialism: India, 1870-1914

In the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, the British Empire, together with European powers, the United States and Japan, entered what has been termed the period of the "New Imperialism." This phase was characterized by greatly increased overseas territorial annexation and increasing military intervention to claim enlarged spheres of influence. An article in *The Scotsman* of 1897 entitled "The Victorian Era: The Expansion of the Empire" discussed the British Empire's increased worldwide expansion in its varied forms. This Empire, it noted, "is the most striking political phenomenon of this nineteenth century." The author continued with some enthusiasm, noting that, "we command the sea and it makes our Empire the most cosmopolitan that the world has ever seen." The control of India had been achieved by annexations and wars; Canada was acquired largely through the peaceful expansion of trade and agriculture, as was also the case with Australia. In the North island of New Zealand, British colonists fought prolonged wars with the warlike Maoris, who were eventually forced to accept the Empire's progress, while in Africa, military conquest and the more peaceful expansion of commerce went hand in hand. India, the jewel of the British Empire, was from 1858 under Crown rule. Moreover, "the British Government has … been obliged by the irresistible drift of circumstances and events to extend its power, not only up to but beyond the natural boundaries of Hindostan." Islands and places on the route to India were acquired to

"strengthen the connection with great dependency", including Aden in 1838, the island of Perim in 1855. "With the same object, and specially to protect our interests in the Suez Canal", the island of Cyprus was taken over in 1878, and the Somali coast in 1887. The occupation of Egypt, the recapture of the Eastern Soudan and the upper valley of the Nile, and Suakin on the Red Sea in 1882, the last being to aid the work of "recovering for civilization the devastated districts of the Soudan."[1] As for India, although it was governed by the East India Company until 1858, its relationship with Britain was never that of a mere "trading country." By 1913, more than one hundred separate political units owed allegiance to the British Crown.[2]

India was especially important for Scottish Presbyterians. In this chapter, I will explore Scottish attitudes towards India during the period of the "new imperialism." I will begin with the 1857 Indian Uprising, a crucial moment in shaping the Scottish Presbyterian India missions and the British Empire for the coming decades. Despite the fact that Scottish casualties during the uprising were relatively minor, Scottish Presbyterian missionaries' depictions of and commentaries on this event in various publications made sure that that was not to be forgotten easily. In the first section, I will discuss Scottish missionaries' periodical correspondences, biographies, church publications, newspapers, and articles from the Scottish periodicals – *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* and *Blackwood's Magazine* – to explore how Scottish Presbyterians perceived this event and how they believed imperial Britain should respond in the longer term. In the second section, I will explore how the 1857 Uprising reshaped Scottish Presbyterians' attitudes towards the political situation and

[1] "The Victorian Era: The Expansion of the Empire," *The Scotsman*, 10 June 1897.
[2] John Darwin, *Unfinished Empire: The Global Expansion of Britain* (London: Penguin, 2013), 189.

eventually promoted a Scottish theological reinterpretation regarding non-Christian religions. From the 1880s, a noticeable withdrawal of the Scottish Presbyterians from British-India policy discussions contributed to a gradual separation of the "secular" and "ecclesiastical" realms. The third section, I will first consider perceptions of India during the high tide of the "new imperialism." Was it a colony like New Zealand, Australia, Africa, and Canada, and if so, why was it not invited to participate in Colonial Conferences? I will then discuss what might be described as a nineteenth-century Scottish dual identity, with some Scots viewing themselves as an imperial partner with England in forming the Empire, and some Scots perceiving themselves as a separate nation, which was controlled from Westminster and which needed more autonomy. I will further consider how this dual identity may have influenced Scottish attitudes towards the empire in India.

The 1857 Indian Uprising

The Indian Uprising began on 10 May 1857, at Meerut, in north-central India. Along with grievances over the terms of service, rumors had been spreading among Indian soldiers in the Sepoy regiments that the cartridges, which soldiers were required to bite before loading into their new Enfield rifled muskets, were greased with mixed cow and pig's fat. Believing that biting the end of cartridges would contaminate the purity of their faith, and lead to divine punishments, the Muslim and high-caste Hinduism soldiers (sepoys) of native regiments stationed at Meerut attacked and killed many of their British officers.

There had been almost continuous warfare in India since the beginnings of the East India Company state in 1606. While the wars were costly, the Company state was not averse to instigating conflict if it meant acquiring more territory and expanding both the tax base and the profits of commerce in India. As the military historian David Saul has discussed, there were a number of wars in India prior to the uprising of 1857, including the wars that the British fought against neighboring states: Burma in 1824 and 1853, Afghanistan in 1838-42, and Persia in 1856-7.[3] Further, alongside the early frontier annexations of Marathas and Assam, Arakan, and Tenasserim in the 1820s and 1830s, the British moved the frontier to the northwest, taking over Sind in 1843 and the Sikh region in 1845. The East India Company state occupied central India by annexations of the Indian States of Satara in 1848, Nagpur, Jhansi, and Berar in 1853, and Awadh in 1856.[4]

However, the 1857 Uprising had a special significance not only due to the wide extent of the conflict, which affected much of north-central India, but also in ending the British dual-government system, by which the East India Company and British state had shared the governance of India. The 1857 Uprising has attracted considerable scholarly attention, as reflected in the seven-volume multi-authored collection, *Mutiny at the Margins: New Perspectives on the Indian Uprising of 1857*, which included scholars from almost every continent.[5] Esther Breitenbach's contributed chapter on "Scottish Presbyterian missionaries and public opinion" in volume II of this collection provides a valuable account of Scottish missionaries' role

[3] David Saul, *The Indian Mutiny: 1857* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 25–26.
[4] A. N. Porter, *Atlas of British Overseas Expansion* (London: Routledge, 1991), 90–91.
[5] *Mutiny at the Margins: New Perspectives on the Indian Uprising,* general editor, Crispin Bates, 7 volumes (New Delhi: Sage, 2013-2017).

in the public debate and shaping general understanding of Britain's India Empire in Scotland.[6] Building upon Dr Breitenbach's work, I will include more discussions from Scottish missionaries' correspondence and from Scottish newspapers and magazines, showing how the 1857 event had a substantial impact on the Scottish vision of India, forming an image that would be reshaped by later Scottish thinkers.

Scottish Missionary Correspondence and Publications

In this section, three Scottish missionaries' accounts will be examined closely. Oddie has portrayed missionaries as "social commentators" who constantly "observed, took notes and commented on the nature of Indian social life" wherever they went.[7] They always wrote with a clear set of purposes: to understand and analyze their mission subjects, to make favorable impressions on foreign mission subscribers at home, to persuade foreign committee members, church members, and government officials of the importance of the mission, and to fulfil their job requirements to the missionary societies or churches that employed them. Oddie pointed out three primary purposes of such missionary writings. The first was to encourage Christian missions. The second was to inform the educated public at home about the situation in the mission field through well-researched investigations. The last was to suggest solutions for particular social problems and issues.[8] Since missionaries believed that their ultimate concern was for the eternal salvation of those in the mission fields, they

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[66] Esther Breitenbach, 'Scottish Presbyterian Missionaries and Public Opinion', in *Mutiny at the Margins New Perspectives on the Indian Uprising of 1857. Volume 2, Britain and the Indian Uprising*, ed. Andrea Major and Crispin Bates (New Delhi: Sage, 2013).

[7] Geoffrey A. Oddie, 'Missionaries as Social Commentators: The Indian Case', in *Missionary Encounters: Sources and Issues*, ed. Robert A. Bickers and Rosemary Seton (Surrey: Curzon Press, 1996), 199.

[8] Oddie, 201.

generally believed the best way to deal with social problems was through Christian conversion, as they held that converted individuals would be more moral, hard-working and committed to helping others. Following the outbreak of the 1857 revolt, Scottish missionaries attempted to give first-hand accounts of the situation to British readers. To be sure, their interpretations of the uprising were not objective, but rather reflected their limited perspectives and their religious and cultural pre-suppositions: none the less, their descriptions have provided historians with materials from which to construct more nuanced scholarly accounts.

I must acknowledge that the three Scottish missionaries chosen for analysis in this section were all from the Free Church of Scotland. This is not to suggest that the other two main Scottish Presbyterian denominations did not care about the mission to India during the mid-Victorian period. After the 1843 Disruption, all except one of the Church of Scotland's India missionaries joined the Free Church. The United Presbyterian Church of Scotland had very little work in India until 1860, when it began a mission in Rajasthan in response to the 1857 Rising. This fact reflects how the Free Church of Scotland missionaries dedicated more energy to writing accounts of their activities, recognizing the vital importance of the printed word in generating public support for their missions.

The first was Alexander Duff, the most prominent Scottish Presbyterian missionary in India. He was also a highly prolific contributor of views about the 1857 Uprising.[9] He composed twenty-five lengthy letters, with detailed accounts of how

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[9] Esther Breitenbach, 'Scottish Presbyterian Missionaries and Public Opinion', in *Mutiny at the Margins New Perspectives on the Indian Uprising of 1857. Volume 2, Britain and the Indian Uprising*, ed. Andrea Major and Crispin Bates (New Delhi: Sage, 2013), 76.

the rebel sepoys engaged in looting and killing, analysis of the causes of this event, and contextual discussion of Scottish mission history and British governance in India. During the Uprising, Duff was in Calcutta, which was relatively free of trouble, and so was Bengal. Later, those letters were published under the title *The Indian Rebellion: Its Causes and Results*. The Convener of the Free Church Scotland's Foreign Mission Committee, the Rev. Dr W K. Tweedie, wrote in the preface that Duff's letters were "not only perused by many readers, but a very general desire was expressed for their republication in a collective form." [10] Duff's letters circulated widely in nineteenth-century Scotland. Due to his reputation as a missionary and as an author, his views extended beyond Scottish Presbyterianism and reached many from other Protestant denominations. His works are vital for an understanding of Scottish missionaries' attitudes toward missions and empire.

Breitenbach has pointed out that Duff provided an explicit account of widespread hostility towards British rule among the peoples of India. Although in the early decades of British expansion in India, many members of the lowest castes had welcomed British rule, members of other castes resented how from the later 1820s the British government promoted ideas of equality under the law and social reforms into India, as these greatly threatened traditional forms of privilege.[11] In his letter of 26 August 1857, Duff provided the following analysis of the nature of the Uprising,

> …every day makes it clearer to all out here that the tremendous

[10] Alexander Duff, *The Indian Rebellion: Its Causes and Results: In a Series of Letters* (London: J. Nisbet and co., 1858), iii.

[11] Alexander Duff, *The Indian Rebellion*, 98; Breitenbach, 'Scottish Presbyterian Missionaries and Public Opinion', 82.

> rebellion, in the throes of which we still are, has been the result of a long concocted Mohammedan conspiracy against the British power, with a view to re-establish the old Mughal dynasty instead.[12]

Russian spies, Duff believed, had further incited the ambition of Muslims to restore the Mughal empire: such spies, "under various guises, have been successfully at work in in inflaming the bigotry of the Mussulman and the prejudices of the high-caste Hindu."[13] Duff observed that some portrayed the Uprising of 1857 as a military mutiny among the sepoy soldiers and some as a major Indian popular uprising directed at ending British rule. Duff described the proponents of the military mutiny explanation as "the peace and the security party" and the proponents of the popular uprising explanation as "the alarmist and panic party", while he further observed that both explanations "may be equally mistaken."[14] To think this conflict was simply a limited military revolt was a delusion would greatly "underrate the gravity" of the situation. For Duff, the widespread, formidable nature of the Uprising testified that it was not a "mere military revolt."[15] However, to conceive of the Uprising as a popular Indian movement to end British rule was also inaccurate and potentially defeatist, and such alarmist thought would fundamentally shake the belief that "God has given India to the British Empire," a belief that had helped to sustain the mission to India for many years. It would also suggest that the work of Scottish and other missionaries in India was achieving nothing, and might even be serving to

[12] Duff, *The Indian Rebellion*, 93.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid., 77.
[15] Ibid., 219.

undermine British rule in India. Missionaries insisted that their amicable relations with local inhabitants were helpful in consolidating British rule and that Indian Christians were the most loyal allies of the British government. The allegiance of Indian Christians would prove vital in preserving British rule. Duff pointed out that once the news of the Meerut rising of 10 May 1857 had reached Calcutta, "the educated native Christians of all denominations met in our institution, and drew up a truly loyal and admirable address to the Governor-General."[16] The Indian Christians of Krishnaghur, Chota Nagpur, East Bengal and Decca, Duff observed, were prominent in organizing resistance to the rebels, thus demonstrating their allegiance to the British.[17] As a Christian missionary, Duff stressed that British rule in India would be preserved only if Christianity could have a substantial role in the administration of the country:

> Theory and practice alike concur in proving, that to increase and multiply the number of native Christians, is to increase and multiply the only class of truly staunch and loyal native subjects of the British Crown among the teeming millions of India.[18]

It is interesting to note that Duff, intentionally or not, brought up his Scottish origins in many ways. He was fulsome in his portrayal of his countryman, the "Scottish warrior",[19] "the Crimean celebrity",[20] and the "Highland chief', Sir Colin

[16] Ibd., 192.
[17] Ibid., 192–93.
[18] Ibid., 193.
[19] Ibid., 185.

Campbell,[21] who led the military force that relieved Lucknow, after a siege of some six months. Duff provided a heroic account of Sir Colin Campbell's military talent and personal characteristics.[22] Alongside Campbell's military prowess, Duff also linked the victory at Lucknow to the providence of God and interpreted it as the sign that "the God of Providence has, in a strange way, given us India in trust for the accomplishment of *His* grand evangelizing designs concerning it."[23] Another Scottish figure, General J.G.S. Neill, was also given special attention in Duff's letter. Despite the fact that some British in India had qualms about General Neill's violent retributive punishments in Cawnpore,[24] Duff attributed these acts to a righteous anger over the innocent victims of the Uprising.

> His [Neill's] Scottish Bible-training had taught him that justice was as absolute an attribute of Deity as mercy, -- that magistracy was 'an ordinance of God,' and expressly designed to be a 'terror to evil-doers.'[25]

Duff played down the horrific counter-atrocities inflicted by Neill and his troops

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[20] Ibid., 230.

[21] Ibid., 201. Colin Campbell was born in 1792 in Glasgow. During the Crimean War, Colin Campbell commanded the Highland division. Later, Campbell was offered the command-in-chief post to replace his predecessor, General Anson. It was noted by Lord Roberts "there was a feeling throughout the army that Sir Colin was inclined to favour Highlanders unduly." Duff further romanticized Sir Colin Campbell's connection with the Highland, called him "Highland chief". Although this nickname was far from the truth, it was a typical strategy to stress the Scottish Highlanders and Scots made significant contributions to the British Empire. See Stephens, H. M., and Roger T. Stearn. "Campbell [formerly Macliver], Colin, Baron Clyde (1792–1863), army officer." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 23 Sep. 2004.

[22] Duff, 184–85, 210, 230, 251–53.

[23] Ibid., 255.

[24] Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire* (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 2001), 198–99.

[25] Duff, *The Indian Rebellion*, 245; Fry, *The Scottish Empire*, 198.

upon Indians, while he insisted that discipline and Christianity had to work hand in hand if the British government hoped to govern the vast population of India successfully. This led to Duff's final point. The populace of Northwest and Central India disliked British rule "not because it is British, but *simply because it is strong.*" The jealous nature and "the spirit of lawlessness and misrule" of the Indian people came to predominate at the time when the exercise of British power and discipline had relaxed. Duff compared the Indian peoples to Scottish Highlanders, stating that British military superiority alone would never prove to be effective in conquering such people. Of course, a preliminary measure, he suggested, "towards the ultimate pacification of these regions must be the universal disarmament of the people, sternly and rigorously carried out." But the ultimate, "the only effectual Pacificator and Reconciler" in India in the long term would be Christianity, just "as it has already proved amid the wildest glens and remotest solitudes of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland."[26] Duff drew upon his own dual identity as a Scottish Highlander and member of a conquered people and as a supporter of imperial Britain, in connecting the histories of the Scottish Highlands and of India:

> As a *Scottish Highlander*, I know how bitter was the act which disarmed the clans after the decisive battle of Culloden; but as a *Christian man*, I feel how necessary that apparently despotic act was for the subsequent evangelization of the Highlands, and how thoroughly it was justified by its blessed result![27]

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[26] Duff, *The Indian Rebellion*, 173.
[27] Ibid., 201.

Unlike his fellow Scot, Duff of Calcutta, John Wilson of Bombay did not believe that the uprising was a major Indian uprising with broad popular support. Instead, he believed that the Mutiny was purely military in its origin.[28] The Crimean War of 1853-56 and the Anglo-Persian War of 1856-57, Wilson claimed, had considerably reduced the "British troops [in India] from thirty-seven to twenty-two regiments." This in turn left northeast and central India largely in the hands of the Indian sepoy soldiers, who joined with the "vilest confederates and agents in the swashbuckler rabble of the great cities and cantonments."[29] Three months after the outbreak of the uprising, Wilson delivered a lecture in Bombay, which he published soon after under the title *The Indian Military Revolt Viewed in its Religious Aspects*. In the lecture he argued that "the spirit of unmitigated heathenism or Muhammadan fanaticism" took advantage of the paucity of British soldiers in India to instigate a rebellion.[30] He rejected the argument put forward by some commentators that opposition to Christian missions was a major cause of the army revolt. Rather, he maintained that Christianity was an "undeniable good" brought to India by the British. It was one of a number of benefits of British rule, a rule that had done so much

> in preserving India from external invasion and imparting to it internal peace and repose; in giving to it, what it never had before, the blessings of law, order, and justice; in repressing its crimes and inhumanities; in adjusting and lightening its taxation; in calling forth

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[28] George Smith, *Life of John Wilson of Bombay* (London: John Murray, 1879), 276.
[29] Ibid.
[30] John Wilson, *The Indian Military Revolt Viewed in Its Religious Aspects: A Lecture Delivered in Bombay on the 14th and 16th August, 1857* (Bombay: Smith, Taylor and Co., 1857), 13.

> the resources of its soil; in increasing and giving security to its commerce; in devising marvellous means of intercommunication between province and province and city and city; and in promoting within it general enlightenment and growth in knowledge and reformation.[31]

Christianity was fundamental to these Western benefits. Wilson believed that Christian influences "are beginning quietly and peaceably to affect in many parts of the country large portions of the Indian population."[32] Few appreciated fully how much good Christianity had done indirectly in improving Indian social life.[33]

Secondly, Wilson insisted that sepoy claims that the introduction of the greased cartridges was an " attempt of a violation of their caste" has been a mere pretext. The rebels, he maintained, had no real commitment to practice either the Hindu or Muslim faith. They did not sincerely seek consolation in religion nor work to alleviate the widespread suffering in Indian society, but rather took up the cause of preserving caste rules in order "to promote irritation and disaffection."[34] Wilson had no respect for the caste system, which he viewed as part of Indian heathen religion; for him, caste "has been one of the principal causes of the ruin of the Bengal Army, and the lamentable murders which have occurred."[35] Had more sepoys in the Bengal Army been educated in Christian mission schools, received Christian public instructions, and accepted and perused Christian publications, as many sepoy soldiers in the royal

[31] Ibid., 9.
[32] Ibid., 19.
[33] Ibid., 12.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid., 19.

Bombay Army did, the uprising in northern India would not have happened.[36]

The Scottish Free Church missionary, Stephen Hislop of Nagpur, noted the British annexation of Nagpur, by the doctrine of lapse[37] in 1854, had resulted in disappointments among the high caste place-holders. In a letter of 23 October 1854, Hislop wrote concerning the annexation of Nagpur, "the cultivators, who are scattered over the rural districts, to a man rejoice; but nobles, priests, and the dependants on the palace, who are crowded in the city, complain."[38] Rioters against the annexation had mistakenly assaulted Stephen Hislop, who was visiting and inspecting branch schools in the city, leaving him with "ten deep gashes on head, while all over his body were bruises; and the white dress he had worn was everywhere so saturated with blood."[39] The riot was, Hislop believed, had been motivated by the political resentment of the Indian elites.[40]

While the political discontent had been brewing, Hislop complained that the Chief Commissioner "took no precautions to preserve the peace of the city."[41] He then claimed that the local British administrators were "in general men animated by no high principle whatever."[42] This preamble from 1854 formed the basic tone of Hislop's later interpretation of the 1857 India Uprising. Hislop believed the British annexation of Nagpur in 1854 brought "its blessing, material and moral…across the hitherto unknown and barbarous regions of Central India, from Bombay to Bengal

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[36] Ibid., 20.
[37] Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General of India, devised the doctrine of lapse as the rule of succession. It was designed for the annexation of Hindu-Indian states. Any Indian princely state without natural male heirs would come directly under the rule of the EIC.
[38] Wilson, *The Indian Military Revolt Viewed in Its Religious Aspects*, 145.
[39] Ibid.,144-5.
[40] Ibid.,146.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.,148.

and North Madras."[43] It was, he continued, widely welcomed by the Indian peasantry for bringing enhanced human rights, Christian instruction, and education to the Central India. He denied that either over-expanding British power or the spread of Christianity was the main reason of the uprising, but rather maintained that the negligence and mismanagement of some British military officers "in the highest command, allowed the mutinous and murderous Bengal native army to find a refuge and a centre of support in the old Mussulman capital of Delhi, where the Great Mughal still exercised titular influence."[44] Hislop further claimed that the "Mohammedans have for some time past been animated by more than their usual hostility to the British Government."[45] In this hostile environment, the Muslims intentionally encouraged high-caste Hindus to join the Bengal army, and these high-caste Hindus then co-operated with Muslims to stir up "the prejudice of the native soldiery" against the British and to use this anti-British prejudice "for the subversion of authority."[46]

Like Duff and Wilson, Hislop emphasized the positive contributions that Christian missionaries made in preserving the British governance of India. On 12 June, an old "Mussulman gentleman", Feiz Buksh,[47] who was Hislop's acquaintance and whose son was a pupil at the mission school, urged Hislop to send his wife and family to Bombay "as in four days more the people of Nagpoor intended to join the military,

[43] George Smith, *Stephen Hislop: Pioneer Missionary & Naturalist in Central India from 1844 to 1863* (London: John Murray, 1888), 152.
[44] Ibid., 172–73.
[45] Ibid., 183.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.,179-80. Feiz Buksh was later rewarded with the office of chief magistrate in Nagpur for his "loyal aid" in cooperation with the British army.

and massacre all the Christians in the place."[48] Hislop did not take up Feiz Buksh's suggestion that he should flee, but instead Hislop communicated his knowledge of the rebel plans to the Deputy Commissioner of Nagpur. The Scottish author, George Smith, the biographer of many Scottish missionaries, praised Hislop as "fearless, just and upright, a friend of the natives, and a foe to the abuse of his own countrymen, while trusted and admired by the best of these." Most importantly, "his influence with Feiz Buksh alone, under God, saved Nagpoor."[49]

Apart from the Scottish missionary accounts of the 1857 Uprising, this event drew attention from the Scottish public. On 23 September 1857, a public meeting called by the Lord Provost was held in the Edinburgh City Council Chambers. This public meeting was meant to express support for efforts to suppress the Indian Uprising and to organize a public subscription for relief of the victims. According to the newspaper report of this event, the Rev. George D. Cullen of Leith pointed out that "on the occasion of the Crimean war, they all know how well the people of India responded to the call which was then made." Believing that "this country had received benefits from India in many ways", he hoped the people of Edinburgh would generously "swell the contributions." This resolution was welcomed by cheers from the audience and was carried unanimously.[50] Around the same time, a similar meeting was held in Glasgow.[51] The welfare of British and European residents in India, as well as of the majority of Indians who had not joined in the uprising, was linked to the preservation of the British Empire in India.

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[48] Smith, *Stephen Hislop: Pioneer Missionary & Naturalist in Central India from 1844 to 1863*, 176.
[49] Ibid., 184–85.
[50] "The Mutiny in India," *The Scotsman*, 23 September 1857.
[51] "The Mutiny in India," *The Scotsman*, 26 September 1857.

Alongside providing coverage of Scottish Presbyterian churches' responses to the Crown's proclamation of the national Fast Day during the 1857 Uprising,[52] *The Scotsman* promoted Britain's responsibility to civilize India, including its duty to provide education to the peoples of India. Believing that Britain's educational policy should be informed by Christianity and that "the most effectual means should be taken to instruct the natives of India in the truths of Christianity", the question was whether the Government would have the moral courage to undertake to do so.[53] A letter penned by "Indophilus" was published in *The Scotsman* stating that the British government's duty was to promote the Christian education that was being conducted by many Protestant denominations in India. The letter recommended that the Government supplement missionary schools by establishing institutions that would provide a broad European education,

> providing instruction in branches of knowledge which are of so special and advanced a kind that they are beyond the reach of private associations, such as law, medicine, civil engineering, geology, chemistry, and metallurgy, and the fine arts; and, above all, the maintenance of an efficient system of inspection over all schools and colleges which desire the pecuniary assistance of the Government.

The Scotsman recognized that it was impossible to impose Christianity on Britain's Indian subjects by authority. It would stir further unrest both in India and Britain if the government attempted to impose Christianity in India by force. Genuine

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[52] Breitenbach, 'Scottish Presbyterian Missionaries and Public Opinion', 85–86.
[53] "Education and Christianity in India," *The Scotsman*, 6 January 1858.

religious belief was a matter of individual conscience and could not be imposed. Moreover, there were various denominations engaged in missionary activity in India, and if the government were to promote one form of Christianity, "who is to decide which of these (denominations) it should be?" The government, *The Scotsman* continued, should also avoid attempting to suppress the caste system: it "ought not to interfere in an arbitrary manner with any man's caste", even though caste was "at the root of half the social evils of India."

While some Scots would have liked to have seen a rapid social transformation in India after the 1857 Uprising – including the end of caste, the expansion of European education, improved status for women, and the spread of Christianity – probably some Scots inclined to believe that Indian society was not ready for radical and drastic changes. *The Scotsman* insisted that the British state "cannot legislate for India as we should for a Christian country", and any real hope that India would be transformed into a more stable, civilized society rested upon gradual universal education in European science, literature, values, and above all Christianity. As for the future direction of the British rule in India, *The Scotsman* noted that

> We must, of course, do what we can, by paying well and punishing well, and administering cheap and simple justice; but the only effectual remedy is to begin at the foundation by educating the young and infusing as much Christian principle as possible into native society.[54]

[54] Ibid.

Another leading Scottish journal, which was supportive of Scottish missions in India, *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, blamed the 1857 Uprising on the Chartered East India Company's mismanagement and the short-sighted policies in India: the Company, it insisted, had "never turned their capital, energy, or labour to the improvement of a country."[55] The Company's mismanagement included allowing slack discipline within the Indian army, the complacency of government officials, the indifference to the welfare of their Indian subjects in spiritual and material matters, and failure to have sufficient understanding of the bellicose nature and disaffection of many of their subjects. Most dangerously of all, the EIC permitted the fiction of the Mughal Empire to continue: by maintaining "the palace of the emperors" and allowing their would-be successor to reside there, "under the nominal title of king, with a pension of some two to three thousand pounds" the Company only invited trouble.[56] Those who schemed to topple the British rule felt no gratitude for the generous gesture of the British government:

> All parties agree that the discipline of the Sepoys has been destroyed by kindness and petting, and the Asiatic character misapprehends indulgences which are supposed to spring from weakness, and to be the fruit of fear.[57]

Tait's Edinburgh Magazine recommended a sweeping overhaul of British policy.

[55] "The Absorption of India," *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* (Dec, 1857), 744.
[56] "The Indian Blunders and Mutinies," *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* (Sep, 1857), 514.
[57] Ibid., 518.

A reorganization of the British Indian Army, especially the "Bengalese army", was "one of the first measures that must occupy the statesmen of India."[58] In the editor's view, the leading cause of the 1857 uprising was the pugnacious high-caste sepoys who were able to exert control in the northern mountainous region of India and who were manipulated by ungrateful titular Indian princes. A major area of reform must therefore be the Indian Army:

> That army must hereafter contain in some form a far larger infusion of Europeans than heretofore, while the dangerous castes and ground must be avoided in recruiting for the service, and that to them will be a severe punishment.[59]

Meanwhile, the British government could make India "be less India" by promoting further British immigration into the subcontinent. The editor observed that "the introduction of more British planters seems to be essentially necessary for the strength of the British connexion."[60] Increasing the number of British officers serving in India would also be a necessary step in enhancing order and strengthening British rule in India. These officers should also be educated in Britain for their responsibilities: they "must not proceed to India for the purpose of learning these duties, and unacquainted with the languages of the East."[61] Britain should also send to India trained engineers and administrators, who could help to develop the

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[58] "The Absorption of India," *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* (Dec, 1857), 745.
[59] Ibid., 745.
[60] Ibid., 745-6.
[61] "The Indian Blunders and Mutinies," *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* (Sep, 1857), 516.

infrastructure, including canals and railways, that would promote the expansion of cultivation and the development of towns and cities. Well-educated British and European immigrants into India "would form the best garrison of India, and become ere long a powerful people."[62] With more and more British and European settlers in India, the British government would become less and less an alien regime in India.

According to *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine,* "the Asiatic mind, in its brooding heathenism, is abominably cruel." This has meant that under British rule, India has been "better governed than at any former period" of its history.[63] However, the outbreak of the uprising revealed that the civilizing influences of British rule had not gone far enough. If the British government had learned anything from this event, it was that Christianity was beneficial not only for the British Empire but would be especially important for the future of India. The editor stated that the British government should not conceal its Christian faith but should be open about its belief "in the superior morality of Christianity." To manage well its Indian subjects, the British Indian government

> must in future cast off timidity which has characterized all its proceedings towards religious parties hitherto. It cannot be, and must not appear to be, ashamed of the Gospel.[64]

It was noted that the Indian Christians during the rising had proven to be loyal

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[62] "The Absorption of India," *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* (Dec, 1857), 745-6.
[63] "The Government and the East Indian Company," *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* (Feb, 1858), 66.
[64] Ibid., 70.

subjects. The lesson of this was clear: the spread of Christianity would be the best way to ensure the security of the British Empire in India.

> Others may or may not swerve from allegiance to a Christian Government, but the allegiance of the Christians is morally secure, and their increase will add to the stability of the empire.[65]

Meanwhile, the 1857 Uprising became an area of contention between the Whig Government in Britain and the Tory opposition, and these political divisions were reproduced in the press.[66] Salahuddin Malik's work has indicated that such popular newspapers as *The Scotsman*, *Manchester Guardian* and *Illustrated London News* took a similar stance in portraying the 1857 rising as largely a regional military mutiny.[67] The notion of a predominantly military mutiny was prevalent among the governing Whigs and the EIC officials, with both groups downplaying any questions about the legitimacy of British rule in India. Many in Britain, Malik argued, subconsciously refused to accept that "the revolt was a civil rebellion, as this would challenge the legitimacy, popularity and success of colonialism."[68] Such doubts rarely rose to the surface in mid-Victorian Britain, due to the general belief in the British civilizing role, commercial expansion, and naval superiority.

While the Whigs viewed the rising largely as a sepoy mutiny among sepoy

[65] "The Government and the East Indian Company," *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* (Feb, 1858), 70.
[66] Andrea Major and Crispin Bates, 'Introduction: Fractured Narratives and Marginal Experiences', in *Mutiny at the Margins: New Perspectives on the Indian Uprising of 1857: Volume II: Britain and the Indian Uprising*, ed. Andrea Major and Crispin Bates (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2013), xxi.
[67] Salahuddin Malik, 'Popular British Interpretations of "the Mutiny"', in *Mutiny at the Margins: New Perspectives on the Indian Uprising of 1857: Volume II: Britain and the Indian Uprising*, ed. Andrea Major and Crispin Bates (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2013), 27.
[68] Ibid., 27.

soldiers, the Tories placed more emphasis on the view of the rising as a large-scale popular movement directed against British rule. Under the leadership of the romantic imperialist, Benjamin Disraeli, the Tories largely attributed the uprising to Whig efforts to impose progressive, liberal reforms in India, combined with unbridled territorial expansion. The liberal reforms and military expansionism served to alienate large number of Indians, who felt their traditional beliefs, culture and identity were under threat.[69] The civil uprising reflected widespread discontentment among the Indian population at large against Whig reforms and the Company state's expansionist policies. The Indian Uprising had resulted largely from the failure of the Whig Government's policies, and it should not be seen as challenging the legitimacy of British imperialism.[70]

But not all Scottish Tory-leaning newspapers and journals shared the view of the rising as a national movement directed against Whig reforms or expansionism. Trevor George, writing in the Tory-leaning Scottish *Blackwood's Magazine*, for example, denied that the 1857 event was a national uprising or coherent political movement. The ordinary people, it argued, had shown themselves to be indifferent as to who was in charge. The diverse populations of India, George believed, "not only never formed a nation, nor even a confederacy, but they have nothing 'national' within themselves."[71] "To talk of national insurrection, national discontent, national education, or national *anything*, among a population of this description, is to talk ignorantly."[72] At the same time, *Blackwood's* continued "we dismiss at the outset all

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[69] Ibid., 31.
[70] Ibid., 35.
[71] [Trevor George], "The Bengal Mutiny," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (09, 1857): 374.
[72] [George], "The Bengal Mutiny," 374-5.

idea of Russian instigation" simply because there was "no evidence of Russian agency."[73] As for criticisms of expansionist policies on the part of the Company state in India, *Blackwood's* insisted that most Indians valued the benefits of good government brought by British rule. For example, it insisted that the British government in India had in 1856 acted rightly when it deprived the King of Oudh of rule and annexed the state. The old puppet king himself, it continued, was generously treated by being awarded a healthy pension, and on the annexation, the British government took wise preventive action by disbanding two-thirds of the king's army. The editor believed that "annexation has uniformly been attended with so many blessings to the country annexed." In short, the British Army had liberated the people of Oudh by taking them under British rule, and there was no evidence that the people of Oudh were alienated by the annexation. Rather, "it would be strange indeed if the natives just emancipated from his ex-majesty's reign were to conspire for his restoration."[74] Furthermore, *Blackwood's* rejected the argument that opposition to the missionaries had been a major cause of the insurrection. Missionaries, it noted, had been active for more than a century in Madras, where no rising had been reported there in 1857.[75]

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine was defined as a Tory-oriented magazine,[76] but was an exception to the Tory journals in Malik's study, with its arguments that the pro-Tory press supported the theory of a civil uprising in 1857. *Blackwood's*

[73] Ibid., 387-8. A similar refusal of the conspiracy theory could also be found in another article by Trevor George. See "The Company's Raj," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (11, 1857): 622.
[74] [George]. "The Bengal Mutiny," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (09, 1857): 389.
[75] Ibid., 388.
[76] Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "William Blackwood." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, November 16, 2022.

Magazine considered the 1857 event as mainly a military revolt, and trod lightly around the idea that British territorial expansion had alienated the Indian populace. Regarding the frequent criticism of the East India Company state for shying away from manifesting their Christian religion before the peoples of India by promoting Christianization, the editor believed "it was a plainly impossible" task for a British State, which was home to many different Christian denominations, to promote any one version of Christianity in India. Moreover, it was now broadly accepted that "to preach the Gospel is the province of the Church, not of the Government." The spread of Christianity in India should be left in the hands of Protestant missionaries working according to the principle of voluntarism, by which church membership was a voluntary choice on the part of individuals, acting in accordance with their consciences, and not in response to state coercion or influence. For *Blackwood's* "it was clearly impossible...even if it has been desirable, for the Government of India to engage in efforts at the conversion of the natives."[77] However, while *Blackwood's* continued its belief in Christianity's civilizing power, after the 1857 Indian Mutiny, the magazine took a more gradualist position, noting that the Christianization of India would require a long period of time, and that Christians would need to wait for a "purer and nobler triumph in the end."[78] To try to hasten the process of Christianizing India by employing force would be counter-productive, for "anything like persecution would be as impolitic as it would be unrighteous. Persecution only hardens and makes fanatics."[79] *Blackwood's* therefore maintained that the Christian mission in India

[77] [George], "The Company's Raj," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (11, 1857): 639.
[78] [R. H. Patterson], "The Castes and Creeds of India," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (03, 1859): 334.
[79] Ibid., 334.

should "go on as it is doing", and that showing the example of Christian living was the best way to evangelize India. Christian mission should be seen now as the responsibility of every British officer, soldier and administrator because the British were "the ruling class in India,...are looked up to by the natives."[80] They should demonstrate in their lives and work how Christianity could elevate and ennoble the individual. The British presence in India was interwoven with Britain's Protestant religious identity. "Let these men do their duty, and we shall have an agency far more powerful than any possible development which we can give to missions."[81]

Duff reported the death toll among Europeans outside the military during the Uprising was around 1,300, including

> four chaplains, and ten male missionaries with their wives. Of the latter ten, two belonging to the Propagation Society, fell at Cawnpore, and three at Delhi; four, of the American Presbyterian Mission, at Futteghur, and one, of the Established Church of Scotland, at Sealkote, in the Punjab.[82]

Most Scottish missionaries "appeared not to have been directly in danger during the uprising"[83] because they were working in largely unaffected areas. Breitenbach found the coverage of the uprising in Scottish periodicals to have been minimal, primarily because virtually none of the Scottish missionaries had been directly caught

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[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Breitenbach, 'Scottish Presbyterian Missionaries and Public Opinion', 77–78.
[83] Ibid., 78.

up in the conflict, with the exception of the Church of Scotland missionary in the Punjab, Thomas Hunter, and his family.[84] The quantity of press coverage, to some extent, reflected the different editors' personal views regarding public issues and the Empire. The selection of news topics was frequently a means to propagate the editors' political and religious stances. Moreover, the editors also took sales into consideration.

In considering Scottish Presbyterian coverage of the India Uprising, certain features are noticeable. Scottish Presbyterians would often re-evaluate the mission methods in India. However, their accounts would also seek to quiet doubts and fears among contributors to and supporters of the missionary movement, assuring them that the Indian mission was both necessary and broadly effective. Scottish Presbyterian publicists rebutted criticisms of the missionaries, including the allegations that some missionaries had been over-zealous in evangelizing and had stirred up local resentments. For those believing in the Christian civilizing mission, many held that the degree of its commitment to the Christian mission would decide whether the British Empire would flourish under God, or fall like the other great empires in history. Scottish Presbyterians linked control of India with the fate of the British Empire, believing that how Britain responded to the India Uprising of 1857 would decide the fate of the British Empire and greatly influence the prospects of Protestant faith, and even the direction of human civilization.

"Britain's sin and India's wrongs," published in the Free Church of Scotland mission magazine, warned its readers that "we are arrived at a crisis of our empire."[85]

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[84] Ibid., 77.
[85] *HFMR, FCoS*, November 1857, 73.

> We are without doubt the first nation on the earth; the first in civilisation, in commerce, in wealth, and in that scientific and mechanical skill by which wealth is created and perpetuated. We commanded the respect of the powerful and civilised nations around us; and were looked up to with reverence by the remotest tribes, who had heard of our power, and accounted it a blessing to be subject to our sway.[86]

Losing India would be not "merely the loss of a colony" but would threaten the stability of the Empire and the position of Britain as a world power. The Free Church mission magazine maintained that "the safety of British power in India will probably depend on whether she shall now array herself avowedly on the side of Christ."[87] Without both Christianity and India, the British Empire was "in danger of falling from the leading place we now occupy in the world's affairs, and which it is so much for the world's interest, and our own, that we should continue to occupy." If British rule was overthrown in India, the author warned, "not only will the standing of Britain be grievously damaged, but the cause of Christianity will be thrown back for, it may be, centuries."[88]

Some Scottish Presbyterians, then, portrayed the 1857 Uprising in India as a spiritual battlefield in the struggle for a Christian world. For them, the 1857 Uprising

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[86] Ibid.
[87] *HFMR, FCoS,* February 1858, 165.
[88] *HFMR, FCoS*, November 1857, 73.

marked the struggle of Christianity against heathenism, of light against darkness, of truth against falsehood. They used such language to show the necessity of spreading Christianity in India and to encourage church mission subscribers to continue giving. A letter, said to be written by a layman who held a high civil service position in India, was published in the *HFMR*. According to the layman, the revolt did not reflect the opposition of Indian people to British rule in India: rather, it was an act of God to punish and discipline a Christian Britain that had ignored its duty. The author believed that the Indian Uprising was fundamentally a religious conflict. "The false religions, ever ready (like Herod and Pilate) to combine against the true, have done so here. It has been Brahminism and Mohammedanism against Christianity – the Eastern Antichrists against Christ."[89] Other Scottish Presbyterians viewed the 1857 Uprising as evidence that Christianity was achieving some success in India. Adam White of Bombay, who later left the Scottish Free Church in 1860 and joined the Baptists, in a letter to Dr W. K. Tweedie noted his conviction that "this insurrection is a sign of progress- a sign that efforts to civilize and to teach the way of life have penetrated more deeply than many would have been apt to imagine."[90] The discontent of the sepoys was "an indication that the irresistible advancement, occasioned by the presence of British power and Christianity, has told upon the mind of the country, and has occasioned pain and fear."[91] Many Scottish Presbyterians were prepared to seek a religious and theological interpretation for the events of 1857-58, although their accounts were controversial and sometimes contradictory.

[89] Ibid., 95.
[90] *HFMR*, *FCoS*, December 1857, 100.
[91] Ibid.

A re-evaluation and Re-envisioning of Scottish Presbyterian Mission in the post-Uprising Era

An exploration of Scottish missionaries' and publications' interpretations of the causes of the 1857 Uprising reveals that there was no unanimous explanation. That said, in the second half of the nineteenth century, there was a more noticeable racial bias in discussions of British rule in India.[92] Scottish newspapers and magazines, along with some missionaries, shared a hostility toward high-caste Hindus and sometimes Muslims. The many accounts of sepoy atrocities toward European women and children had a profound impact in Britain, in part because they seemed to confirm racial prejudices. This is not to say that there were not appalling atrocities committed by both sides in the conflict. However, according to Merritt's research, the emphasis on the Indian atrocities tended to "construct India as a mysterious, barbaric land inhabited by fanatical religious devotees, thus providing a suitable setting and cast of characters for the events that were about to unfold."[93] There was no significant difference between the accounts in the English press and the Scottish press. It is difficult to measure the extent to which the views of Scottish missionaries shaped Scottish public opinion regading India. However, it is fair to say that much of the nineteenth-century Scottish public, who had no direct India experience, read "India" through the Scottish missionaries' lens.

In responding to the atrocities, Scottish Presbyterians believed all the more that India needed their assistance if it hoped to have a more civilized and prosperous

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[92] Major and Bates, 'Introduction: Fractured Narratives and Marginal Experiences', xxvi.
[93] Rebecca Merritt, 'Public Perceptions of 1857: An Overview of British Press Responses to the Indian Uprising', in *Mutiny at the Margins: New Perspectives on the Indian Uprising of 1857: Volume II: Britain and the Indian Uprising*, ed. Andrea Major and Crispin Bates (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2013), 3.

future. It was dangerous to leave India in the hands of the Indians. Neither could the civilizing mission in India be left to any other nation. An essay on "The Future of India," included in an edited collection entitled *Essays by ministers of the Free Church of Scotland*, noted that other Western nations that came to India – including the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French – had failed to consolidate their rule over India. The author, the Free Church missionary in Calcutta, Thomas Smith, asked, "why God in his providence prevented their gaining the ascendency which they coveted."[94] Only the Protestant Christian British imperial state, Smith believed, could fulfil this providential mission.

Some Victorian Scots, along with others in Britain, subconsciously denied the agency of peoples in India by claiming the Uprising of 1857 had been instigated by Russia or portraying it as an unsuccessful military revolt initiated by a minority of fanatical Muslims or superstitious high-caste Hindus. Merritt noted that explanations viewed the uprising as "limited in scope, with its causes fixed in irrational, unfounded and illegitimate religious fears rather than real grievances."[95] Among many in Victorian Scotland, the idea that India was a sovereign nation or people did not exist. Merchants, politicians, and missionaries all perceived India as a geographical location where they traded, ruled, conducted social reform experiments, or fulfilled their own divine calling to preach the gospel to all people.

How to rule the vast subcontinent of India remained a crucial problem. Many complex issues needed to be addressed if the British Empire were to rule India

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[94] Thomas Smith, 'The Future of India', in *Essays by Ministers of the Free Church of Scotland*, ed. William Hanna (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable, 1858), 344.

[95] Merritt, 'Public Perceptions of 1857: An Overview of British Press Responses to the Indian Uprising', 6.

successfully – including the legal system and law courts, administrative and political structures, protection of the customs and traditions of the diverse peoples, and most importantly, providing for the governance and security of India without overwhelming the British national budget. The result of such considerations was that the archaic political architecture of the British East India Company state in India was abolished, and sovereignty in India was transferred to the British Crown in 1858. While the Crown-in-Parliament was now ultimately sovereign, practical governance was vested in a Secretary of State for India and a 15-member Council of India. In India, a Governor-General, also known as Viceroy, became the head of India's Government located in Calcutta, while there were subordinate Governors in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. The third layer of this government system was the princely states at the local provincial level. During the 1857 Uprising, some local rulers sided with the British Army, such as the Maharajah Scindiah, who "unhesitatingly placed his troops, his personal services, and all his resources, at the disposal of the British Government,"[96] helping to make the British victory possible. "If they had turned against us," observed *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* in 1860, "all central India would have been in a blaze…It is hard, indeed, to calculate the full extent of the peril, if they had been false to their allegiance."[97] These local princes and their supporters "lent all their strength to the British cause," either because the British Empire was powerful or because they respected its good governance. It they gave their support to Britain "out of love, it is a tribute to our justice; if they did it out

[96] "What we have done for the Princes of India," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 87, no. 534 (04, 1860): 506.
[97] Ibid.

of fear, it is a tribute to our power."[98] The British kept these local princes and their supporters in power, as a reward for their loyalty. The British imperial state centered in London had the final say in Indian affairs, but the British imperial state, or Raj, in India was never a centralized, uniform government.[99]

Scottish missionaries embraced what Breitenbach called the "superiority of Christianity"[100] in discussing the India Uprising. It was not initially meant to be racial discrimination. In Duff's comparison between the Scottish Highlanders and the people of India, the emphasis was on the role of Christianity in promoting social stability and improvement and not on racial differences. However, many Scottish Protestants now began linking their support for overseas mission to their racial and national identity, and this could later serve to justify racist explanations of imperialism. Scottish missionaries often connected their evangelizing work with their loyalty to the British Empire; others linked the British mission to advance civilization with imperial expansion. Such attitudes contributed to a rising racial nationalism. For many Scots, the 1857 Uprising was not about the grievances or aspirations of the people of India but was rather a divine punishment which God had inflicted on the Christian Empire of Great Britain for neglecting its God-giving mission to Christianise India, and instead allowing their ruled subjects to retain their heathen practices. Those Europeans and Indian Christians who died in the revolt were transformed in Scottish imagination from passive victims to "martyrs" of the Christian faith.[101] They had sacrificed themselves in the cause of bringing

[98] Ibid., 497.
[99] Douglas M. Peers, *India under Colonial Rule: 1700-1885* (London: Routledge, 2013), 72–73.
[100] Breitenbach, 'Scottish Presbyterian Missionaries and Public Opinion', 77.
[101] Duff, *The Indian Rebellion*, 213.

Christianity to India. At the same time, those who had not done enough in the cause of the Christian and civilizing mission in India, those who had permitted idolatry and superstition to continue in India, shared in the guilt of the perpetrators of the Uprising. And if the British people did not repent of their inaction and work to ensure that the British Empire fulfilled its divine duty of spreading Christianity and civilization, God might direct His wrath against a guilty Empire. Scottish missionaries and mission supporters viewed the "Martyrdom stories" as a warning sign that the lukewarm faith and toleration of heathen religious practices might lead to the fall of the British Empire, Protestant Christianity, and human civilization. By focusing on the martyrs of the 1857 Indian Uprising, Scottish Presbyterians sought to ensure that the events in distant India were felt to be "everyone's issue" because they might bring divine punishment down upon everyone in Britain. Duff called on Christian people of Great Britain – "the Christian capitalists", "the … Christian lawyers and political aspirants", "Christian young preachers", "Christian young educators", and "Christian possessors of wealth" -- to focus their eyes upon the Indian mission.[102] India, he insisted, was God's India and thus every Scottish Protestant's India.

In the nineteenth century, the expanding British Empire fought a number of wars of various levels of magnitude. Conflicts occurred for many reasons, and involved fighting for control of vital natural resources, fighting for control of key commercial ports, conflicts over freedom of religious worship and practice, or conflicts involving commercial contracts and relationships. The 1857 Uprising, even though many Scottish Presbyterians refused to acknowledge it had been caused by Christian

[102] Ibid., 312–13.

evangelism, certainly did, to some extent, involve Indian opposition to Christian missions, which many Indians viewed as a British attempt to impose Christianity upon India. In their correspondence with the Foreign Mission home committees, in public speeches, and in newspaper and journal articles, Scottish missionaries tried hard to show that the mission movement was not a cause of armed conflict in India, while they also continued to promote zeal for the pursuit of missions. For many Scots, the real perpetrators of violent unrest in India were the "warlike Rajput", "fierce and intractable Mohammedan",[103] and arrogant high-caste Hindus. Nevertheless, they softened the harsh rhetoric after the 1857 Uprising. The suppression of the Uprising had been costly, in lives and treasure. There was a recognition that denunciation of the religions of India created deep Indian resentment which might well lead to further unrest. Scottish missionaries carefully distanced themselves from the kind of rhetoric that could stir social upheaval in India.

This change in mood can be seen in Alexander Duff. His fiery remarks critiquing heathen religions were highly prominent in the 1840s. His hostility toward many religious communities within India had contributed to the increasing fissures between English and Indians.[104] However, changes in attitude can be discerned in his letter of 6 March 1858 to Dr Tweedie. This letter was similar to his statement to the Calcutta Missionary Conference on caste. He now believed that caste was so deeply ingrained in Indian culture and its society that nothing could "repudiate the anti-social dogma,

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[103] Ibid., 304.

[104] Geoffrey A. Oddie cited in Philip Constable, 'Scottish Missionaries, "Protestant Hinduism" and the Scottish Sense of Empire in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century India', *The Scottish Historical Review* 86 (2007), 288.

and fling aside, in whole or in part, the cramping shackles of caste" at this moment.[105] Duff further believed that it was "in vain to plead" to the Hindus that they could not find the caste system in the four Vedas. Their belief in the caste system was rooted not in evidence from the classical Vedic texts, but rather in popular traditions and beliefs that shaped their cultural identity. It was "in vain to plead" an absence of evidence, Duff repeated eleven times to stress his point that the deep-seated religious and cultural identities of the Indian peoples would not change any time soon.[106] Despite his own efforts to work with the Hindu pundits in reading and translating Hindu classics, "the fact of the spirit of caste itself remaining unchanged and unchangeable amid every variety of change in its outward modes of manifestation."[107] But he then urged his readers not to try to abolish caste by force: "let there be no direct or violent attack, by the arm of secular power, on it or any of its usage." He offered the following cautious advice:

> So long as our native fellow-subjects are in darkness, and know and feel, and believe no better, let them retain and freely practice (sic) what usages and customs they please, so far as they do not interfere with the peace and order of society, or openly trench on the grand fundamental laws of general morality.[108]

It was noticeable in this letter that Duff, although retaining his faith in the

[105] Duff, *The Indian Rebellion*, 327.
[106] Ibid., 328–38.
[107] Ibid., 339.
[108] Ibid., 349.

eventual conversion of India, suggested his readers take a less aggressive attitude towards the non-Christian religions. He proposed, "instead of fencing round caste, as heretofore, with favours and prerogatives, let us, by practically not recognising it at all, denude it of all special favours and prerogatives."[109] Among the many suggestions he made in this letter, the general principle he conveyed was to move Hinduism, especially the high castes, to the margins of Indian society by opening up opportunities for high status positions to qualified persons with good conduct, including but not limited to Indian Christians. Duff's change of attitude reflected his fellow Scottish missionaries' increasing dissociation from the political discussion after the events of 1857-58. This might not be true of all Scottish Presbyterian missionaries, and some may have looked for state action to suppress caste and impose Christianity in India. But Duff was an institution in the Scottish mission, and his expressions had a profound impact on his contemporaries and also cast a long shadow over future generation. From the 1860s onwards, Scottish Presbyterian missionary voices increasingly grew silent in political discussions, especially regarding Indian political affairs. Hardly any political discussion could be found in the Scottish Christian publications regarding the controversial 1871 Criminal Tribes Act, the 1878 Vernacular Press Act, and the 1883 Ilbert Bill. It was only when a political subject related directly to the mission enterprise that Scottish Presbyterian missionaries would speak up. There was an increasingly clear separation of the secular British Empire and the heavenly kingdom of Christ.

[109] Ibid.

Still, this significant event disturbed many Scottish Christians. While some complained that the missionaries had pushed the social reform in India "too fast", others, among them the Scottish missionary John Wilson, held that the Uprising indicated that "these movements have been far too slow."[110] The influential Church of Scotland minister, Norman MacLeod of the Barony Church, Glasgow and editor of the magazine, *Good Words*, would later, after his visit to India in 1869, portray how "the mutiny" had rapidly spread "over a wide extent of country," with the result that "our possession of India, not to speak of the lives of all the European in it, was at stake."[111] In this, Macleod articulated a concern shared by other Scottish Protestant Christians – that the loss of rule over India would lead to the end of the British Empire and its role of bringing Christianity and civilization to the wider world. For many Scottish Protestants, Christianity had not been the cause of the Indian Uprising, but Christianity would definitely be "the cure" for the fevered state of mind that had led Indians to rebel and commit atrocities. Following the outbreak of the India rising, John Murdoch, Secretary of the Christian School-Book Society, wrote to the UPCoS, insisting that the violent events showed the vital importance for the Protestant missions among different denominations now to join together in a shared work of converting India:

> The missionaries of the Church and London Societies have mainly devoted themselves to preaching; those of the Free and Established Churches of Scotland to education; while the Baptists have given

[110] *HFMR, FCoS*, January 1858, 124.
[111] Norman Macleod, *Days in North India* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1870), 170.

> special attention to the translation of the Scriptures. The department of general Christian literature has, in some measure, fallen to the lot of the United Presbyterian Church.[112]

Let each group now see themselves as engaged in a common mission, sharing their different areas of strength and expertise for the Christianization of India.

In June 1858, Scotland's United Presbyterian Synod passed a resolution to undertake a new denominational mission to India, in response to "the deep and wide-spread feelings which the recent events in India have excited." Although the United Presbyterian Church had until now remained outside the missions within the British Raj in India, it now recognized that "there is a loud call on all the friends of the Redeemer to come forward and take part in the evangelisation of that mighty empire."[113] The United Presbyterian plan was to send at least four missionaries to India for five years. The Mission Board observed that the costs of outfitting and travel for the four missionaries and their wives would be £1000. The money was raised at an unprecedented speed. As the United Presbyterian Mission Board recorded,

> A few friends met on the 27th of April, drew up a circular, and issued it to a number of the liberal numbers of the church; and the result was, that on Friday, the 7th of May, it was announced that £7455 had already been promised, to be expended in five years.[114]

[112] *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, January 1858, 12.
[113] *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, June 1858, 118.
[114] Ibid.

The terrible cry from India, like the Macedonian Call in the Book of Acts, had reached the Scottish United Presbyterians. While bringing India the benefits of uniform laws and good government, it was also Britain's responsibility to bring India the much higher benefits of Christianity. "We have assumed the responsibility of them; they are our subjects; we have that gospel which can give them rest, peace, and salvation."[115] All three major Scottish Presbyterian Churches now shared in the India mission with the missionaries of the FCoS working especially closely with the UPCoS in choosing locations that would not involve duplication of efforts. Despite the prompt and generous donations given to the new United Presbyterian mission effort in India, it proved difficult to recruit the four missionaries. In May 1859, the UPCoS *Missionary Record* reported that

> after months of appeal, only four applications, one of which has been accepted, one is still under consideration,[116] and two the Committee have felt it dutiful, though with reluctance, to decline. We are anxious to obtain at least four missionaries…we again very earnestly press upon the attention of the young men of the church the strong and urgent claims of this mission.[117]

For the following months, prayers and articles in the UPCoS magazine revealed

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[115] *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, November 1858, 186.
[116] This candidate later declined the invitation. See *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, July 1859, 129.
[117] *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, May 1859, 90.

the continuing frustration of recruiting qualified candidates for its India mission. In September 1859, Williamson Shoolbred and Thomas Blair Steele were ordained and sent as United Presbyterian missionaries to India. However, Steele died not long after he arrived in India, and the United Presbyterian Church continued to struggle to staff its India mission. In the 1890s, the United Presbyterian Church sent Dr. David Young of Woodlands Church, Glasgow, and Duncan M'Laren Jr. of Edinburgh as a deputation to visit the Church's Rajputana Mission.[118] Following this visit, calls for increasing foreign mission income re-emerged. Without question, overseas missions maintained a high public profile in Scotland during the second half of the nineteenth century. Missionaries gave public lectures in town and village meetings. The expansion of mass printing contributed to a major increase in the production of inexpensive tracts and missionary magazines. The development and expansion of undersea telegraph cables, regular steamship services, and the Suez canal greatly increased the circulation of news and information about world events, while receiving regular news from the British colonies seemed to draw the Empire more closely together. Still, despite the higher public exposure overseas missions received, it is unclear that this was translated into more public support for missions. Andrew C. Ross repudiated the popular assumption that the period from Livingstone's death in 1873 to the First World War was a golden era of Scottish missionary enthusiasm. The constant shortage of finance and mission candidates revealed that the widespread mission passion among Christians was not actually existed.[119]

[118] Robson, *The Story of the Rajputana Mission* (Edinburgh: Offices of United Presbyterian Church, 1894), 46.
[119] Andrew C. Ross, 'Scottish Missionary Concern 1874-1914: A Golden Era?', *The Scottish Historical Review* 51, no. 151 (1972): 52–72.

According to the cultural historian Jeffery Richards, in the post-Uprising period the "evangelical impulse faltered, [and] the religious thrust became secularised."[120] By this, he meant that overseas missions became less directly concerned with securing conversions, and more with providing medical care, education, printing presses, charity – or what many viewed as the benefits of Western civilization. The Rajputana mission showed the United Presbyterian mission passion being rekindled with commitment to civilizing mission. Indeed, in the later nineteenth century all three Scottish Presbyterian Churches identified themselves with the larger civilizing mission of the British Empire. Imperial crises, such as the Indian Uprising of 1857, became occasions for renewing missionary sentiment, contributing to bursts of generosity in financial donations for missions. However, such bursts of Scottish public sentiment for mission did not necessarily lead to sustained missionary activity. The difficulty experienced by the United Presbyterians in recruiting four missionaries for India in the later 1850s was an early sign of the difficulties in sustaining missionary enthusiasm in the longer term.

Broader Interpreters of Scottish Christian Missions in India

In his analysis of the gradual decline in Christian educational missions in India after the 1860s, Eric Sharpe offered some informed explanations for this phenomenon: these included the shortage of educational missionaries, the pressure of growing numbers of Indians seeking a Western education, the need to employ non-Christian

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[120] Jeffery Richards cited in Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800–1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 18; Andrea Major, '"Spiritual Battlefields": Evangelical Discourse and Writings of the London Missionary Society', in *Mutiny at the Margins: New Perspectives on the Indian Uprising of 1857: Volume II: Britain and the Indian Uprising*, ed. Crispin Bates and Andrea Major (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2013), 66.

teachers who did not share the evangelizing commitment, the rigid and inflexible examination system mandated by the state, and the state-mandated requirement of a fixed syllabus of secular subjects.[121] The Indian government guidelines meant that the Scottish educational mission experienced a strict and continuing performance review. Although from the 1860s many were calling for direct evangelization, for example, through faith missions, for most Scottish advocates of mission, the belief in Western education "remained unshaken throughout the trials of 1857."[122] Why did the Scottish supporters of overseas missions continue to emphasize education, despite growing questions as to the effectiveness of education in converting India?

In this section, two prominent Scottish Presbyterians will be brought into the discussion: Norman Macleod, the Church of Scotland minister of the Barony church, Glasgow, and William Miller, the Free Church of Scotland missionary to Madras. The discussion will show how Macleod and Miller both upheld the importance of education against those who were questioning the place of education in overseas missions. Both Macleod and Miller embraced a broader, more liberal Reformed theology against the narrow, dogmatic evangelicalism held by many Scottish Presbyterian supporters of mission. Their more comprehensive vision of God's coming Kingdom on earth was more open to the value of different cultures. Their vision reflected the argument that mission works "gradually became less theologically driven and more interested in 'good works' directed toward specific communities or

[121] Eric J. Sharpe, *Not to Destroy but to Fulfil : The Contribution of J.N. Farquhar to Protestant Missionary Thought in India before 1914* (Gleerup: Studia Missionalia Upsaliensia, 1965), 78.
[122] Thomas R. Metcalf, *The Aftermath of Revolt: India, 1857-1870* (Princeton; New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1964), 121.

problems."[123] In this section will also show how the Scottish educational missions contributed to a dynamic reinterpretation of non-Christian religions, which later led to the formation of "fulfillment theology".

In the 1860s, Scottish mission schools came under close scrutiny, in part due to the heavy investment of resources in educational mission. Education was one of the principal means by which Scottish missionaries believed they would eventually bring the whole heathen world into the light of God. The historian of education Rao Parimala pointed out that before the arrival of Alexander Duff in Calcutta, the missionaries had, for the most part, provided a rudimental vernacular literacy.[124] Duff, on the other hand, firmly believed that the teaching of language was crucial, as language was the medium for transmitting culture and ideas. Western progressive ideas, for Duff, were encapsulated in its literature, science, and the Bible, and these could only best be transmitted through English. Duff's success with English-language education in Calcutta encouraged his contemporary missionaries to follow suit. Meanwhile, Duff's Scottish missionary colleagues in Bombay and Madras also became devoted to English-language acquisition, education, and preaching. After 1857, Rao noted, some among the British governing classes attributed the revolt to the introduction of English education, despite the fact that most of the native soldiers involved in the rebellion were illiterate.[125] The criticism of English-language education was led by the Secretary to the India Board in London, G. A. Clerk, with support from the former Governor-General of India, Lord Ellenborough. However,

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[123] Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800–1860*, 18.
[124] Parimala V. Rao, *Beyond Macaulay: Education in India, 1780–1860* (London: Routledge, 2020), 10.
[125] Ibid., 229–30.

the Scottish newspapers and magazines did not agree with Lord Ellenborough's Indian religions toleration policy or his criticism of English-language education and missionary activity, with the Scottish Free Church missionary magazine even calling Lord Ellenborough's statement a "falsehood."[126]

Scottish Presbyterians continued to assert the importance of English-language education but, at the same time, some strongly urged that British officials and missionaries be equipped with the local language of their district so that they could spot any conspiracy and suspicious situation as early as possible. Within the Scottish Presbyterian churches, the discussion was focused on whether there existed an effective, economical way to Christianize India. While most remained committed to the ideals of an educational mission, it was very expensive to maintain schools and colleges, and to provide trained teachers. There were serious concerns over "the dearth of recruits and the scarcity of funds",[127] especially when the number of conversions achieved were so few. Some claimed that the Holy Spirit worked directly through a simple, apostolic preaching, aimed at bringing the gospel to as many people as possible. According to this view, their individual intellects did not need to be polished before people could accept the essentials of the Christian faith.

What was the Scottish public attitude toward this evangelism and education debate? *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* discussed this "perplexing subject of mission" by presenting Norman Macleod's opinion on direct preaching of the Gospel and education. According to Macleod's view, direct preaching, "in supposed apostolic

[126] *HFMR, FCoS*, November 1857, 93.
[127] A. N. Porter, *Religion versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 260.

fashion",[128] faced problems in India since "there is this no common meeting-ground for the missionary and native mind to begin with."[129] To be sure, many missionaries spent years mastering Indian languages and this could delay their process in joining the mission field. Nevertheless, it was vital that missionaries should learn local Indian languages so they could communicate with those they hoped to convert. The most significant challenge, according to the *Blackwood's* author, was the lack of a "common body of thought."

> When the former speaks of one God, the latter may do the same, but the ideas in the mind of speaker and hearer are entirely different. We use the words *sin, salvation, regeneration, holiness, atonement, incarnation*…but each term represents to him an old and familiar falsehood, which he understands, believes, and clings to, and which fills up his whole eye, blinding it to the perception of Gospel truths altogether different although expressed by the same terms.[130]

Even Yishu Khtishta (Jesus Christ), was often confused with Ishi Khista, a companion of Indian God Krishna, by "the uneducated" in India.[131] In that sense, "how is it possible in such circumstances to preach with any effect?"[132] The *Blackwood's* author believed the Christian educator "was the most accredited type of

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[128] "Christian Missions to India," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (01, 1869): 100.
[129] Ibid., 101.
[130] Ibid., 102.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Ibid., 101.

missionary for India."[133] The Christian schoolmaster prepared the way for the biblical proclamation that in turn "prepares the way of the Lord."[134] In contrast, the preacher in the street and market for most Indians who did not understand the terms and conceptions of the Holy Bible was mere "a voice, and nothing else."[135] In response to the criticism that mission schools produced no massive fruit, the proponents of educational mission argued that in time the Christian schoolmasters would break down old prejudices and allow for the communication of a higher order of truths. No one should expect that this foundation work would be "followed by any rapid enthusiasm of conversion, adding daily multitudes unto the Church."[136] In fact, "the process of conversion is extremely slow and gradual", but if the missions were conducted systematically "a *real* success" will come someday.[137]

Norman Macleod's vision of changing India through Christian influence reaffirmed the role of education in social reform. Nothing, he claimed, "has so directly and rapidly told upon then intellectual and moral history as the education which they owe solely to European wisdom and energy."[138] Perhaps most important, Christian education would eventually "raise up the native ministry from among the converts". Christian mission would be carried out by native ministers among their people with an immediacy such "as no foreigners or temporary residents in the country could possibly do."[139] Andrew Jones' recently published University of Edinburgh doctoral thesis has emphasized Norman Macleod's contribution in shaping

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[133] Ibid., 104.
[134] Ibid.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Donald Macleod, *Memoir of Norman Macleod*, vol. II (London: Daldy, Isbister, 1876), 409.
[139] Ibid., 426–27.

"increased breadth and inclusivity" within the Established Church.[140] A milder, more open attitude toward Hinduism can be discerned in his writing: as when he wrote, "we must not forget that this Hindoo people represent a remarkable civilization, which they have inherited from a time when earth was young."[141] His sympathetic and broad-minded understanding of Protestant theology contrasted with the rigid, dogmatic Calvinist evangelicalism held by many Scottish Presbyterians. While many conservatives criticized his liberal theological position, his intellectual influence and pastoral concerns helped to ensure Macleod's appointment in 1864 as convener of the Foreign Mission Scheme of the Church of Scotland.

The Scottish Free Church missionary William Miller arrived at Madras on 9 December 1862, to join the staff at Madras school, founded in 1837 by the Rev. John Anderson. It was a low point for the Scottish educational mission scheme. He recalled there were only two Scottish missionaries of the FCoS in Southern India in 1863, "where it had formerly had … at least five or six, and where it had work enough for more."[142] Educated at Aberdeen and Edinburgh Universities, Miller was a strong advocate of the Scottish educational ethos, and he believed that the Scottish educational mission in India was part of the "divine plan."[143] Miller was not like the first generation Scottish Presbyterian missionaries in the 1830s and 1840s, and he did not share their belief that the conversion of India could be achieved in a relatively short time. For many advocates of mission, the unexpected outbreak of the 1857

[140] Andrew Michael Jones, *The Revival of Evangelicalism: Mission and Piety in the Victorian Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022), 86.
[141] Macleod, *Memoir of Norman Macleod*, II, 414.
[142] William Miller, *Educational Agencies in Missions: An Address Prepared for the World's Congress of Missions, Held at Chicago, USA in September 1893* (Madras: The Lawrence Asylum Press, 1893), 13.
[143] Miller, *Educational Agencies in Missions: An Address Prepared for the World's Congress of Missions, Held at Chicago, USA in September 1893*, 7–9, 12.

Uprising forced "renegotiation of the ideological and practical terms of missionary endeavour, and the relationship between this and civil society."[144] And Miller shared in this renegotiation, seeking to cultivate a new discourse that linked his Scottish Presbyterian tradition, his personal calling to the educational mission, and the post-Mutiny tension.

Miller, Eric J. Sharpe wrote, reshaped the Christian Colleges of India with "a new and controversial" purpose.[145] Unlike his Scottish missionary predecessors, who regarded baptism as their major goal, Miller instead considered baptism to be a stage in the Christian life and the beginning of a process of spiritual development. It is unfair to judge the Scottish missionaries before Miller too negatively for their focus on baptism. As we saw in the first chapter, candidates had to fulfil specific criteria before being admitted to baptism. Still, the number of people who received baptism was all too often the deciding factor in judging the success of missionary efforts. Miller's shift in focus from the moment of baptism to the longer term discipleship in Christian life led to a changing conception of the nature of Christian mission. In a speech addressed to past and present students in 1896 at Madras College, Miller addressed the question of whether all students at the College should be required to have received baptism. Refusing to give a simple answer, Miller advised the students to "pay little heed to what I or any man may say to you about the question" and rather than be overly concerned about who was baptized, he asked that each student earnestly pursue the development of their own faith. They should also remember that

[144] Major, '"Spiritual Battlefields": Evangelical Discourse and Writings of the London Missionary Society', 68.
[145] Sharpe, *Not to Destroy but to Fulfil*, 82.

baptism was a sacrament, instituted by Christ and not to be received lightly. Neither pressure from outside nor a sudden rush of emotions were proper reasons to receive baptism. "Do not dream of taking such a step because you are pressed by any one to take it. Dream as little of taking it under any excitement of feeling or in order that you may secure any benefit to yourself, whether it be in this present life or in the life to come."[146] His advice on whether to be baptized was never either to soothe or alleviate student anxiety. That same year, Miller told his fellow Presbyterians not to look for simple criteria for missionary success on his opening speech to the Free Church General Assembly of 1896, when he observed that

> The number of missionaries and the amount of outlay may be increased; but if the increase come from a desire to find the easiest way to what may pass for success, or if it be trusted to as certain by itself to bring success, we shall not be nearer, we shall only be farther away from doing the will of God on earth and finishing the work that has been given us to do.[147]

If conversions were not to be the main criteria by which to judge the success of a Christian missionary college, what would be? In addressing this question, Miller noted that "your College will not regard itself as a success if all it does be merely to send you out completely equipped in regard to things like these and able to pass every

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[146] William Miller, *The Place of Christian Education in the Story of India: An Address Delivered to Present and Former Students of the Madras Christian College* (Madras: The Lawrence Asylum Press, 1896), 166.
[147] William Miller, *Opening and Closing Addresses to the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland in 1896* (Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace, 1896), 15–16.

examination that can be devised upon them."[148] The higher goal of all Christian education, whether in Scotland or in India, was to mold moral character and cultivate lofty ideals of selfless service. The results of Christian education, Miller insisted, should be "men eager to welcome truth, earnest in the discharge of duty, preferring public good to private interest, strong against all adverse circumstance to cleave to the right and do it."[149] And if the students educated in Christian colleges went forth to live a good Christian life, showing compassion for others, a commitment to truth, and integrity in all their endeavors, the teaching of Christ would steadily enliven and elevate the whole of Indian society. Sharpe called this "the principle of diffusion."[150]

Miller's attitude toward Christian education seems similar to his predecessors. To form moral character and bring good manners and social progress to India based on Christian teaching were also the goals of previous educational missionaries. It was his understanding of Hinduism that set Miller apart from the first generation of missionaries. Miller's thought promoted toleration of non-Christian religions, free from condescension or contempt. He believed that "God means His real work in non-Christian lands to be progressive – to be carried out from stage to stage, not all at once as if by might or power. The process of revelation was progressive."[151] Hinduism was not all as devious and benighted as it had been portrayed. His speech to the World's Congress of Missions at Chicago in 1893 described Hinduism "not the idolatry and unrooted polytheism of savages"; rather, within Hinduism, "there are aspirations as lofty and philosophies as subtle as formed the environment of the early

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[148] Miller, *The Place of Christian Education in the Story of India*, 11.
[149] Ibid., 14.
[150] Sharpe, *Not to Destroy but to Fulfil*, 82–88.
[151] Miller, *Opening and Closing Addresses to the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland in 1896*, 9.

Church at Ephesus and Alexandria."[152] Although Miller's theology assigned a superiority to Christianity and he described other religions as "imperfections",[153] he departed from the denunciatory attitudes toward Hinduism held by many Scottish Christians.[154] By "imperfection" he meant

> an essential element in real revelation, so that things which may rightly be called defect, if not even error, in one point of view, are an excellence in another and a truer. Each stage, however imperfect, was beautiful in its season.[155]

For him, non-Christian religions partook in the Divine plan, which developed in a mysterious and gradual manner. What the Scottish Churches needed to appreciate was "that what men regard as delay, disappointment, and defeat, is an essential feature of the divine plan."[156] If the Church would learn with humility, "the day will come for a fuller understanding of this mysterious portion of the divine ways."[157] Miller's ideas were by no means welcomed and accepted by all his fellow Scottish Christians. Nevertheless, his forty-two years of educational mission in India redefined the relationship between missionaries and local Indian communities. He laid the foundation stone for what would later become John Nicol Farquhar's fulfillment

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[152] Miller, *Educational Agencies in Missions: An Address Prepared for the World's Congress of Missions, Held at Chicago, U.S.A in September 1893*, 15.
[153] Miller, *Opening and Closing Addresses to the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland in 1896*, 9.
[154] Constable, 'Scottish Missionaries, "Protestant Hinduism" and the Scottish Sense of Empire in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century India', 289.
[155] Miller, *Opening and Closing Addresses to the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland in 1896*, 9.
[156] Ibid., 14.
[157] Ibid., 19.

theology.

The place of India in the Empire

Geopolitical tensions escalated from the 1860s, as European Powers competed in partitioning the world into empires, dependencies, and spheres of influence. At the onset, minor conflicts broke out on the peripheries of lands occupied or controlled by European Powers. The Disraeli Government's forward policy in the 1870s, including the conflicts in Natal and Afghanistan, and the occupation of Cyprus, was followed by further imperial expansion in the early 1880s, especially the occupation of Egypt. British Navy supremacy and the large Indian army ensured the British Empire could secure its interests overseas and settle disputes by force. But the imperial expansion of the 1870s and 1880s was by no means a carefully planned policy. The eminent historian of the British empire, John Darwin, has challenged the idea that the British overseas expansion during the period known as the "new imperialism" happened because British leaders "subscribe[d] to new theories of economic imperialism" or that they assumed the electorate at home "would be appeased by circuses abroad."[158] He further denied that British overseas expansion arose from deep-laid strategic design aimed at consolidating Britain's position as a great world power. However, Darwin also denied that the expansion resulted from random impulsiveness. In truth, Darwin maintained, "the pattern of annexation and occupation closely reflected the distribution of existing commercial and strategic interests."[159] With its position on the

[158] John Darwin, *The Empire Project : The Rise and Fall of the British World-System, 1830-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 106.
[159] Ibid.

trade routes between Europe and East Asia, its massive Indian army, its valuable manufactures and natural resources, and its intensive trade, including the lucrative, though immoral opium trade with China, India was too important to let go. This section will use articles from the newspapers and magazines to examine India's role in the eyes of nineteenth and early twentieth-century Scots. It will consider the Scottish perception of India's place in the British Empire and the British imperial expansion in the era of the "new imperialism."

In 1909, Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Viceroy of India from 1899 to 1905, spoke to the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution on "The place of India in the Empire."[160] Lord Curzon's years as viceroy were controversial, with his remarks on the Indian character stirring great discontent among educated Indians.[161] Nonetheless, he had a strong sense the geopolitical importance of India.[162] In accepting the invitation to address Edinburgh's historic Philosophical Institution, according to Lord Rosebery, Curzon intended to remind the Scots that their nation occupied a place "of eminence in the annals of our Indian Empire [greater] than any other part of the United Kingdom."[163]

In his Edinburgh address, Curzon lamented that "when Englishmen speak or think of the British Empire, they are apt to leave India out of sight, and to think only of the colonies that were founded and are largely peopled by the men and women of our own race."[164] India, for example, had no representation in the Imperial Conferences. These Colonial Conferences – which after 1907 were renamed the Imperial

[160] "Lord Curzon on Indian Progress and Policy," *The Scotsman*, 20 October 1909.
[161] Sharpe, *Not to Destroy but to Fulfil*, 212–15.
[162] Darwin, *The Empire Project : The Rise and Fall of the British World-System, 1830-1970*, 202–5.
[163] "Lord Curzon on Indian Progress and Policy," *The Scotsman*, 20 October 1909.
[164] Ibid.

Conferences – had been held in 1897 and 1902 in London. Lord Curzon believed that India was important to the British Empire, just as the British Empire was important to India. It was a mutual interest that tied two countries together in mutual dependence. "India can no more prosper without the Empire than the Empire can prosper without India. Each is indispensable to the other, and in their recognition of this principle lies their mutual happiness and strength."[165] And how did this interdependence manifest itself?

First, the long-term commercial connections had steadily developed for over two centuries. The British demand for raw materials and manufactures from India and the export of British-made products to India had steadily increased with time. According to Curzon, India, the principal granary of the Empire, was "the largest producer of food and raw material", "the imports into the United Kingdom of wheat, meal, and flour from India exceeding those of Canada and being double those of Australia." At the same time, India received British industrial products; indeed, it "was the largest purchaser of British produce and manufactures and notably of cotton goods." The trading relationship was assisted by the low, uniform tariff instituted by the British Raj. As Curzon noted, "the existing system English manufactures imported into India pay a duty only of 3 1/3 per cent…contrast this with the heavy tariffs which British goods have to pay in the ports of our own colonies of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa." Furthermore, India's geographical location intensively strengthened its economic status within the Empire.

[165] Ibid.

> One-tenth of the entire trade of the British Empire passes through the seaports of India; and this seaborne trade is more than one-third of the trade of the Empire outside the United Kingdom. It is greater than that of Australia and Canada combined, and within the Empire India seaborne trade is second only to that of the United Kingdom.[166]

In short, India contributed nearly as much to the prosperity of the British Empire as all the settlement colonies, even though India did not receive the benefits of the settlement colonies, such as responsible government or full representation in the Imperial Conferences.

Secondly, India provided the historical foundations of the current British Empire. Curzon believed that the form of the modern British Empire had emerged from its connection with India. Its rule over India was the critical factor in transforming Britain from "a small island with trading and maritime interests" to "the greatest land Power of the world." Protecting the trade routes to India had been a major factor in the expansion of the British Empire.

> Had it not been for India we should never have seized the Cape, or begun that career of South African expansion that has lately entered upon so remarkable and pregnant a phase…India compelled us to lay hold of Aden, a position of incomparable importance, and to establish a Protectorate over the neighbouring parts of Arabia. India started us

[166] Ibid.

> on that career of territorial conquest which was only arrested by the snowy ramparts of the Himalayas…It was through India that we established those connections with the Straits Settlements (once under the rule of the Governor-General of India), and with China and Japan, that were the foundation of our once unchallenged and still powerful position in the Far East.[167]

The Indian army, moreover, was a major element in imperial defense, and Indian soldiers "have frequently borne a share in our Imperial wars." Its central geographic position meant that its large army could be "hurled at a moment's notice upon any point either of Asia or Africa." For Curzon, the British Empire was dependent upon India's army.

> Here it is sufficient to say that Natal would not have been saved in the Boer war, and the Legations at Pekin would not have been rescued in the Boxer rising in China, but for the contingents that were dispatched to the scene of war from India. Nor are these mercenary forces employed against their will to fight the battles of a distant Government. Not a war can take place in any part of the British Empire in which the Indian Princes do not come forward with voluntary offers of armed assistance.[168]

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[167] Ibid.
[168] Ibid.

In return for its many commercial and military benefits, the British Empire gave India internal peace and order, an infrastructure of roads, railways and telegraph lines, education, just and good government, and the services of many of Britain's most intelligent and committed men and women. Education was arguably the most precious thing that the British Empire had brought to India. Even the rising Indian nationalism, Curzon maintained, was fostered by the spread of education, and was a side product of the development of Indian minds. Curzon called for more reforms to be introduced into India. The most important was to give India a seat in the Imperial Conference, welcoming India to "the high table in the banquet hall of the Empire States" so that it could share "a sense of pride in the Imperial partnership." For Britain to neglect doing all it could for India's development would not only jeopardize British-India's prosperity, but it would risk alienating India's loyalty to the British Empire, especially at a time when other European powers were casting envious eyes upon this valuable asset. India was the "Royal piece on the chessboard of international politics." Losing this precious piece would risk losing the continuing contest for world power. The British Empire should "sink into a third-rate Power, an object of shame to ourselves and derision to the rest of the world."[169]

Whether India counted as a British colony became a question when the first Colonial Conference was held in London in 1897. Delegates were invited from the four "white" settlement dominions, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, while India was not represented. The Colonial Conference was organized at the behest of the Imperial Federation League, and the purpose was to create a closer union

[169] Ibid.

between the "British nations."[170] While British officials in India emphasized the indispensable role of India in the Empire, the absence of an Indian representative of the Imperial Conference indicated that for many others within the British governing classes perceptions of the place of India within the Empire were uncertain and ambiguous. Viscount Midleton, Secretary of State for India from 1903 to 1905, shared similar views on India with Lord Curzon when he spoke at the Canadian Club luncheon. Viscount Midleton noted that "troops from India saved Natal, and helped to relieve our Legation in Pekin, while at Suakim the Sikhs saved British troops from disaster." For Midleton, India was "the main prop of the Empire."[171]

Following the 1857 Uprising, the British imperial state had felt a need to adjust the composition of the Indian army, to avoid an overwhelming preponderance of Indian over British soldiers. Thus the number of British soldiers in the Indian army doubled from 38,000 in 1856 to 73,000 in 1908, while the number of Indian soldiers was reduced from 348,000 to 148,000. The ratio of British-to-native-soldier had been one to ten in 1856; this became one British soldier to every 2 1/4 native soldiers in 1908. In addition, the Indian army had 17,000 Imperial Service troops, with two batteries of mountain artillery, making a total of 165,000 native troops and fourteen batteries.[172] But it was seen as crucial to have well-trained British officers in the Indian army. As one commentator observed of the Indian army, the "incapacity of the native to command is also the secret of [the] weakness in the Indian army": without British officers, "these troops, however brave and eager before, would be overtaken

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[170] Darwin, *Unfinished Empire : The Global Expansion of Britain*, 89.

[171] "India "The main prop of the empire,": Viscount Midleton's tribute," *The Scotsman*, 6 January 1908.

[172] [F. G. Cardew], "The native army of India," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 162, no. 982 (08, 1897): 194.

with the dismay of a shepherdless flock."[173]

Discussions of India's place within the imperial British political and military structures continued at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. Recognition of India's importance in British imperial defense was a prevailing attitude in Scottish publications. "A New View of Imperial Federation" by the Scottish journalist and historian, Alexander Allardyce, which appeared in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* of 1890, was a contribution to the discussion. In this article, Allardyce drew some points from the liberal imperialist Sir Charles Dilke's bestselling book, *Greater Britain* (1868). Allardyce disagreed with Dilke's depiction of India as a one of the British Colonies. India, Allardyce insisted, "cannot with any justice to language be classified as a part of "Great Britain," in the sense in which the term is generally accepted." For him, "India it is, and India it will remain, an empire by itself, differing in its circumstances from all our other possessions, and united to us by entirely other bonds than those which bind our other colonies to us."[174] The massive Indian empire was fundamentally alien in its population and government to the British settlement colonies. This excluded India from joining an Imperial Federation, while "all our other possessions are readily combinable with Great Britain in an Imperial Federation which will shape its own destinies, and guide the tendencies of each, so that they shall be exerted for the benefit of all." Rather, India "must continue to depend upon the Crown and Cabinet, and upon the benevolent despotism which controls its fortunes upon the spot."[175]

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[173] Ibid., 206.
[174] [Alexander Allardyce] "A New View of Imperial Federation," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 147, no. 895 (05, 1890): 710-711.
[175] Ibid., 716.

In the 1880s, a conscious national identity developed in India. A growing belief that India should have representatives in legislative assemblies dealing with Indian interests and that Indians should enjoy equal opportunities with Europeans in applying for official posts encouraged educated Indians to form the Indian National Congress in 1885. Many early Indian nationalist leaders had graduated from schools founded by the Western missionaries and many of the architects of the Indian National Congress were either Christians or influenced by Christian ideas imparted in mission institutions. The first-generation political leaders tended to have amicable relationships with British colonial officers. Although their calls for reform were sometimes expressed in forceful language, overall early Indian nationalist reformers had no intention to overthrow the British imperial government in India. However, opposition took a new direction in 1909, when an Indian student assassinated Colonel Curzon Wyllie and Dr Cawas Lalcaca in London. When news of the assassinations reached India, the Indian journalist and nationalist leader, Surendranath Banerjea, asked the British public to "dissociate this crime from the community", as it was the act of an extremist and was not representative of the whole of Indian society. Banerjea also appealed to Indian students "to set their faces against lawlessness and violence and to qualify themselves as the future leaders of Indian public opinion by discipline, by right doing, by self-consecration, and a practice of self-sacrifice."[176] Indian nationalism must not embrace violence, for "in the constitutional struggle in which we were engaged, we need the sympathy of England and of the civilised world."[177]

With the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, India seemed initially to rally

[176] "Indian editor's appeal: sense of horror and detestation," *The Scotsman*, 3 July 1909.
[177] Ibid.

to the support of the British Empire, with telegrams from Hindu and Muslim leaders reaching the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India, pledging their allegiance. In November 1914, *The Scotsman* published an article entitled “The Feeling in India: Enthusiasm on All Sides. Devotion to the British Empire.” Many leaders in India, *The Scotsman* observed, proclaimed their devotion to the British Empire. The statements included that of His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, “in which he emphatically impresses upon all Mahomedans that it is their bounden duty at the critical juncture to adhere firmly to their old and tried loyalty to the British Government.” Indian religious-political leaders echoed Britain’s official reasons for entering the war.

> Her Highness the Begum, in an address to her people in the public Durbar on the 6th November, after explaining how Great Britain was unwillingly drawn into this war in order to protect a small State against the rapacity of Germany, solemnly expressed the hope that all Mahomedans would show that they are as staunch as ever in their loyalty, and will not allow themselves to be led away by hostile influences…The Nawab of Rampur, in a proclamation issued to his subjects, pointed out that the war was not sought by the British Government, and that the British cause is a just one. He therefore enjoined his subjects, and invited all Mahomedans in India, to remain steadfast in their loyalty at this crisis, and to do everything in their power to further the British cause, which is also the Indian cause.[178]

[178] “The feeling in India: enthusiasm on all sides. Devotion to the British Empire,” *The Scotsman*, 12 November 1914.

The Indian National Congress of 1914 opened with the speech of the Chairman, Sir Subramania Iyer. With the beginning of the war, Iyer affirmed that India demonstrated that "among His Majesty's Indian subjects, none is more loyal to him than we, the representatives of educated India. No one more fervently prays to the Almighty for the success of the Allies."[179] Such early Indian nationalists like Sir Subramania Iyer and President Bhupendra Nath Bose had been striving for India to become a "self-government Dominion under the Crown," and they hoped that support for Britain in the war would further this aim. India's support, nationalist leaders argued, would be decisive. Bhupendra Nath Bose insisted that "India can put a wall of Indian soldiers in the field against which German militarism will hurl itself vainly." President Bhupendra Nath Bose called for Indians to show the world "the spectacle of a united Empire."[180] The idea of full Indian independence had not yet germinated; this would only come after the end of the Second World War, when the public discourse of decolonization and self-determination had come to the fore.

The Place of Scottish Christian Indian Missions within the Empire

The Scottish historian, Richard J. Finlay, has argued that during the period of the "new imperialism" Scotland redefined its own identity by embracing with enthusiasm the imperial partnership. This "pride in the imperial partnership constituted an important aspect of Scottish identity in the nineteenth century."[181] The public

[179] "India: The National Congress Evidences of a United Empire," *The Scotsman*, 31 December 1914.
[180] Ibid.
[181] Richard J. Finlay, 'The Rise and Fall of Popular Imperialism in Scotland, 1850-1950', *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 113, no. 1 (1997): 13.

discourse emphasizing Scotland's role as an imperial partner and contributor was intended in part to distinguish Scotland from the "Black sheep Ireland." When in 1890 the Scottish author, Alexander Allardyce, discussed the idea of Imperial Federation in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, he observed that unlike Scotland, Ireland would never be able to become a full partner with England in the British Empire.[182] This section will discuss how Scotland's dual identity – as historic nation which had struggled against imperial conquest, and as imperialist partner which participated in empire building – developed with the British Empire's expansion, to what extent the discourse of "imperial partnership" played a significant role in the formation of Scottish identity, and finally, whether Scotland's dual identity affected its relationship with India.

James Nicoll Ogilvie was minister of Greyfriars Kirk and Convener of the Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland, and also Moderator of the General Assembly in 1918. In his Baird Lecture for 1915, Ogilvie reaffirmed the commitment of Scottish Presbyterians to Christian missions. He gave particular attention to Alexander Duff, describing him as "Scotland's special contribution" to the mission to India: "the man she then sent forth as an apostle to that land ranks as one of the chiefest of them all, and along his own line of influence has no peer."[183] Duff, Ogilvie noted, was both the apostle and, through his major educational reforms, the "Maker of Modern India."[184] Duff laid the foundations and left an example for missionaries who followed in bringing the gospel to India. The methods Duff

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[182] [Alexander Allardyce], "A New View of Imperial Federation." *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 147, no. 895 (05, 1890): 720.
[183] James Nicoll Ogilvie, *The Apostles of India: The Baird Lecture for 1915* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1915), 380.
[184] Ibid., 425.

introduced were "subsequently adopted by practically every Mission in India as an important section of its operations, and … to-day the leading Missions are combining their forces in order to make their educational work in its higher developments yet more efficient."[185]

In 1923, Ogilvie was invited to present the Duff Missionary Lecture, which he subsequently published under the title, "Our Empire's Debt to Missions." In this lecture, Ogilvie linked Duff's Christian educational mission in India with his role in strengthening the British Empire: Duff, he maintained, "was a great missionary, but he was also a great patriot, and ever insisted on the high place of Christian Missions as an asset of the Empire."[186] Ten years earlier, the Scottish missionary, James Horne Morrison, portrayed the Scottish educationist and missionary to India, William Miller, as "an empire builder,"[187] whose own Scottish educational schemes would have a long-lasting effect on future Indian generations. Although the majority of the graduates of Miller's Madras College were not professed Christians, they were, in ways probably unknown to them, "secret disciples, who order their conduct by the laws of the Gospel; but of all of them it can be said that they carry with them in heart and mind the imperishable seeds of divine truth."[188] The Madras College under Miller's principalship helped to educate many future Indian leaders in all walks who guided India's future under the influence of Scottish Presbyterianism.[189] Scottish Presbyterian missionaries did not involve themselves in the debates over Indian

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185 Ibid., 418.
186 James Nicoll Ogilvie, *Our Empire's Debt to Missions: The Duff Missionary Lecture, 1923* (Edinburgh: Hodder and Stoughton, 1924), vi.
187 James Horne Morrison, *On the Trail of the Pioneers: A Sketch of the Missions of the United Free Church of Scotland* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1913), 99.
188 Ibid., 102.
189 Ibid.

nationalism and self-determinism. Instead, they were dedicated to transforming what they perceived as a once dark and unstable India into a modernizing, largely orderly country through the influence of Scottish educational ideals and Scottish Presbyterianism.

In a recent article, Ryan Mallon revisited one of the most significant events in Scottish Victorian history – the Disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843. The split, Mallon observed, was caused by a fervent popular commitment to preserve both the spiritual independence of the national Church of Scotland and a distinctive Scottish national culture from what was perceived as English intrusion. For many of those who left the Established Church in 1843, Scottish Presbyterianism was an expression of Scottish national identity. When the Parliament at Westminster determined that the ecclesiastical courts of the Church of Scotland did not have the final say over the ordination of a minister or the disciplining of a parish, many believed that the only alternative was to end the connection of Scotland's national Church and the British state, and to form a new, national Free Church of Scotland.[190] Richard Finlay saw the Disruption of 1843 as resulting from the impact of urbanization and industrialization on Scotland's traditional national institutions, including its distinctive ecclesiastical system, educational system and legal system. By the early nineteenth century, all three institutional foundations of traditional Scottish national identity, the Kirk, the education system, and the legal system, were severely challenged by rapid, large-scale social changes driven largely by

[190] Ryan Mallon, 'A Church for Scotland? The Free Church and Scottish Nationalism after the Disruption', *Scottish Church History* 49, no. 1 (2020): 1–24.

developments in England.[191] Moreover, industrialization produced a new commercial bourgeoisie, who sought to assert their power and influence against the dominance of the aristocratic and landed classes. The movements reached a climax when almost a third of the ministers and nearly half the church members followed Thomas Chalmers and the evangelical party out the Established Church.[192] Although such recent scholars as Mallon and Finlay hold different views of the larger causes of the Disruption of 1843, there is a scholarly consensus that the Disruption was a crucial moment for Scottish national identity.

After the Disruption, both the Established Church of Scotland and the newly formed Free Church of Scotland claimed to be the true national Church of Scotland. In 1847, the United Presbyterian Church was formed by a union of the United Secession Church and most of the Relief Church and it also saw itself as a national Church in Scotland. Amid the competition of these three major Scottish Presbyterian churches, Ryan Mallon believes that in a religious sense "Scottishness had been shattered into multiple fragments", and Scottish identity was increasingly pluralistic.[193] However, despite these Scottish Presbyterian denominational divisions, overseas missions and support for the civilizing mission of empire "provided an alternative focus for Scottish national identity which helped to unify an increasingly divided nation."[194] The Scottish churches at home highlighted Scottish mission heroes, and the success of Scottish missions. In a sense, Scottish Presbyterianism expanded along with the enlarging empire, bringing social improvement, benevolence,

[191] Finlay, 'The Rise and Fall of Popular Imperialism in Scotland, 1850-1950', 14.
[192] Ibid.
[193] Mallon, 'A Church for Scotland? The Free Church and Scottish Nationalism after the Disruption', 24.
[194] Finlay, 'The Rise and Fall of Popular Imperialism in Scotland, 1850-1950', 13.

and true Protestant religion to the regions being brought under British imperial control. Breitenbach illustrated how the Scottish Presbyterians reconciled their dual identity as a small nation and as an imperial partner, saying, "local identity and imperialism might also come together in the conceptualisation of imperial cities."[195] Many Scots managed to reconstruct and preserve their separate national identity in the imperial structure by embracing the mission of bringing what they perceived as the benefits of Scottish Presbyterianism to India and other British dependencies and colonies. In his Chalmers Lectures of 1926, Dugald MacKichan noted how the Scottish missions followed "the migrations of the Scottish people, into the remotest parts of the Empire," thus ensuring that although a small nation, Scotland would use the British Empire to exercise a profound influence for good in the wider world.[196] Through their missionary activities, Scotland held a special place of honor within the larger imperial architecture.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have examined Scottish attitudes to the 1857 Uprising. The three leading Scottish missionaries in India, Duff of Calcutta, Wilson of Bombay, and Hislop of Nagpur had different views of the causes of that event. Duff, arguably the highest profile Scottish missionary and a prolific author, believed that the Uprising had resulted from a Muslim conspiracy. On the other hand, Duff's colleague in Bombay, John Wilson, maintained that it was primarily a military revolt among

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[195] Esther Breitenbach, *Empire and Scottish Society: The Impact of Foreign Missions at Home, C.1790 to C.1914* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 18.
[196] Dugald MacKichan, *The Missionary Ideal in the Scottish Churches: The Chalmers' Lectures Delivered in 1926* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1926), 9.

disgruntled sepoy soldiers in the Indian army. Wilson further believed that certain high-caste Hindus, who resented British rule, had then helped to transform the sepoy mutiny into a larger revolt against Christian missions and influence in India. For his part, Hislop refuted the prevalent argument that it was largely the British annexation of Nagpur in 1854 that had caused the 1857 Uprising. Hislop pointed to the many benefits the British brought to Nagpur by annexation and to how the inhabitants of Nagpur had welcomed the annexation. In all these interpretations of the causes of the Uprising, it is significant that none gave credence to the idea that Indians were fighting to achieve independence from British rule. For the Scottish missionaries, the Uprising of 1857 was not evidence of a widespread desire among Indians for freedom from outside control, but rather it was evidence of Indian violence and superstition, which reaffirmed the need for the Christianization of India.

Scottish missionaries were careful about what they said on the political issues surrounding the Uprising of 1857. They understood that if they were overly critical of British imperial policies in India, it would risk antagonizing the British officials in India whose support was vital for missionaries, and it might also lead to a fall in public contributions at home for the missionary cause, especially as public opinion at home was largely favorable to the British Empire. Such concerns contributed to the relative silence of Scottish missionaries in discussions about Indian politics and Indian national aspirations. At the same time, most Scottish missionaries probably genuinely believed that Christianity and education were the only cure for the problems of the vast Indian subcontinent. Scottish newspapers and magazines shared this belief in the critical role of Christian missions, especially educational missions, in

India. *The Scotsman* believed in the need to further Christian education in India, and hoped that the government would support the Christian schools as a matter of policy. But many Scots also maintained that the government should leave Christian education in the hands of missionary denominations and respect the spiritual independence of the churches in India, just as they should in Scotland. *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* suggested that, with the end of the East India Company state in India in 1858, the Crown government in India now should not only introduce military reforms, but also promote improved agriculture and commerce. The East India Company state had left India economically underdeveloped, with much of its population uneducated and impoverished. But above all, the Scottish public believed that the British government should not conceal its Christian commitment and should recognize that the spread of Christian morality could transform India for the better.

The historian Andrea Major has argued that the Indian Uprising of 1857 helped to transform the London Missionary Society's operation in India from "aggressive public preaching and towards the more structured, formalized and sanitized environment of classroom and the hospital" after the 1860s. This change, she maintained, reflected "the fears of an uncontrolled and hostile local society instilled by the events of 1857, as well as an emerging commitment" to the need to spread Western intellectual culture through education before seeking to evangelize, and "to avoid aggressive or confrontational methods."[197] A similar tendency can be discerned in the Scottish missions in India. Concerned that confrontational critiques of Indian morality and religion would be counterproductive and might stir further unrest,

[197] Major, '"Spiritual Battlefields": Evangelical Discourse and Writings of the London Missionary Society', 68.

Scottish missionaries became less overtly critical of existing Indian religious practices and instead looked to the longer term effects of Christian education in preparing people to accept the gospel. To be sure, belief in the effectiveness of education had been shaken by the "trial of 1857," but the commitment to the educational mission in India survived. Such Scottish Presbyterians as Norman Macleod, convener of the Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee, and William Miller, renowned Free Church educational missionary in Madras, reformulated the theological understanding of Scottish Presbyterians regarding the mission in India, placing increased emphasis on respect for toleration and an inclusive society, practical examples of Christian living, the gradual dissemination of Christian faith, dialogue with other faiths, and an early version of what would become fulfillment theology, with its vision of Christianity as the fulfillment of the partial truths to be found in other major religions. The Scottish educational mission from the 1870s to 1914 was not a strategy to avoid confrontation, as Andrea Major has maintained, nor was it primarily a manifestation of a more secularized Christianity. Rather, the Scottish educational mission from the 1860s was a robust theologically-oriented reinterpretation of faith and work, and it reflected a continued Scottish belief that the evangelical mission would find support in the civilizing mission of the British Empire.

The period between 1870 and 1914 has been described as that of the "new imperialism," a period that saw intensified imperial competition, with the Great Powers scrambling for control over lands in Africa, China, and the Middle East. What historians such as Robinson and Gallagher described as a free trade imperialism of the mid-nineteenth century, characterized by a desire to establish "economical and

informal control" over other territories, but without the costs of conquering and administering those territories, gave way to a more assertive imperialism.[198] Britain's perceived need to consolidate and protect its rule in India played a pivotal role in the more aggressive imperialist policies that would become associated with the "new imperialism." This included wars related to the defense of India, of the trade routes to India, or to the trade of India, such as the Crimean War of 1854-56, the Second Opium War of 1858-69, the Second Anglo-Afghan War in 1879, and the Second Boer War in 1899. India's resources, the value of its trade, and its large army, all contributed to ensuring that Britain would hold on to it firmly, fearing that its loss would drastically weaken the Empire's power and status. At the same time, many in Britain, especially Scotland, believed that in bringing India the benefits of Western civilization, including Western education, the rule of law, the maintenance of internal peace and order, Western science and medicine, and the elevating influences of Christianity, Britain was fulfilling a sacred trust and a higher purpose of Empire. Lord Curzon exhorted the Scots in Edinburgh always to remember that "India is still the great touchstone of British character and achievement, and with a high heart and a sober self-reliance go forward, and persevere to the end."[199]

[198] See J.A Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, 'The Imperialism of Free Trade', *The Economic History Review, New Series,* 6, no. 1 (1953): 1–15.
[199] "Lord Curzon on Indian Progress and Policy," *The Scotsman*, 20 October 1909.

Chapter 4：

Scottish Presbyterian Attitudes and the Rise of the New Imperialism: China, 1870-1914

The intricate British networks of trade, population movements, military alliances, and overseas Christian mission were extended worldwide. According to the Scottish explorer, merchant and author, Alexander Michie, writing in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* of 1895, "no affairs in the world can be deemed 'foreign' to the scattered but ubiquitous British empire, whose very nucleus is so placed that the mere feeding of the people depends on the political balance of the globe."[1] British merchants had established connections with many nations, as was explored in the previous chapters. With the interchange of goods, the world was brought into the lives of many Scots, and the editor remarked "the world is bound to us and we to the world in a network of arteries through which our very life-blood flows."[2] A similar sense of self-importance could be found in missionary magazines. The UPCoS proudly presented its mission extended to "Jamaica, Trinidad, Old Calabar, Kaffraria, Rajputana, Manchuria, Japan, Livingstonia, Jews," saying "We heard of Great Britain, and of our Empire upon which the sun never sets. Our Denomination, by its missions, girdles the globe and includes Churches within its sphere."[3] Yet, in the second half of the nineteenth century, Britain's global economic pre-eminence was being seriously challenged by the competition of other imperial nations in territorial expansion and by the rise of

[1] [Alexander Michie], "Foreign Affairs," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (12, 1895): 928.
[2] Ibid.
[3] *United Presbyterian Missionary Record,* UPCoS, June 1895, 171.

nationalism in the colonial countries. The situation was getting more complicated, particularly in China, when after 1870 more and more local resistance movements were kindled by resentment against foreigners. Missionaries often became targets for resistance movements, for they penetrated the interiors of counties which no other foreigners had entered, teaching a set of alien values that sometimes stirred up divisions between families, individuals, and even communities. Sir Rutherford Alcock, the British representative at Peking, and principal architect of the British foreign policy in China during the 1870s, wrote that

> the cause of Christianity would be bettered if it did not have the support of foreign governments and that if the missionaries would have more patience and moderation in pushing their enterprise they would be viewed by the Chinese less as political instruments and agents of revolutionary propaganda and more as teachers of religion.[4]

Alcock's intention to hold the missionary zeal at bay was reflected in the historian Jürgen Osterhammel's later analysis of the British principal concerns in the Sino-Anglo relationship in the nineteenth century. Osterhammel pinpointed four main concerns of the British in China. These were "the lives and property of respectable British citizens, the sanctity of the International Settlement at Shanghai, the prestige of Britain as China's senior self-appointed 'foreign friend', and the treaty-based

[4] Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2009), 474.

internationalist free trade regime."[5] All those four concerns were closely tied to the Qing's political stability. Alcock's call for a strict separation of Christian missions from the British imperial state was less acceptable to the British and Scottish at home and by missionaries in China as Europeans faced enmity and sometimes physical assault after the 1870s. The situation grew more complex when the missionary cause became the frequent pretext for imperialist politics. The historian of Christianity and former China missionary, Kenneth Latourette, mapped out the gradual penetration of China by missionaries between 1856 and 1897, focusing mainly on the works of British Protestant missionary societies, including the London Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society, the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, the Church of England Mission, the English Baptist Missionary Society, and the China Inland Mission. Latourette overlooked the Scottish Presbyterian mission, and this might reflect the fact that the three Scottish Presbyterian churches were rather late in entering the China mission field and Scottish missionaries were less directly involved in the Chinese anti-foreigner movements. According to the historian Daniel Bays, the times of greatest tensions were the years between 1880 and 1920, which he equates to both the high imperial era and the high golden age of missions.[6] His study, it must be said, focused mainly on the activity of American Protestants in China.

This chapter will explore how the Scottish Presbyterian missions developed within the increasing tense international environment, what interpretations they provided for the Chinese hostility against the foreign presence in China, and how they

[5] Jürgen Osterhammel, 'Britain and China, 1842-1914', in Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Vol 3*: *The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 157–58.
[6] Esther Breitenbach, *Empire and Scottish Society: The Impact of Foreign Missions at Home, C.1790 to C.1914* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 57.

perceived the use of British power for the missionary cause. Special attention will be given to the UPCoS Manchuria mission and the UPCoS mission publications during the late Qing period. The UPCoS Manchuria mission was famous for its medical service but the other two Scottish Presbyterian Churches were also increasingly active in the China mission: especially after 1900. By that date, the UPCoS had united with the FCoS to form the United Free Church of Scotland.

Riots, Massacres, and Missionaries

The once massive but impenetrable Middle Kingdom, for many Scottish Presbyterians, had been opened to missionary activity in one sense through the Opium Wars and the treaties, but at a deeper level through the mysterious guidance of Providence and "the mighty quickening and regenerating power of the Holy Spirit."[7] Merchants and missionaries claimed the rights of access that they had received by the treaties, and entered China in search of raw materials, markets, and souls. Some Scottish Presbyterians were concerned that "if Protestants neglect this boundless field, and do not furnish able men for the work, Rome has her Jesuits training in the Propaganda, and will soon occupy the ground."[8] In the mid-1840s, some in the Church of Scotland suggested that medical missionaries should lead the way since such work in some provinces of China showed "much promise of success."[9] Should not Scottish Presbyterians seize the chance to join the work of saving Chinese souls? "Might not Scotland, with her distinguished Schools of Medicine, furnish one such

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[7] Mrs. Duncan M'Laren, *The Story of Our Manchuria Mission* (Edinburgh: Offices of United Presbyterian Church, 1896), 5.
[8] *HFMR, FCoS*, October 1853, 804.
[9] *HFMR, CoS*, June 1844, 414.

embassy for healing the spiritual maladies of the perishing millions of China?”[10] Decades later, Scottish medical missionaries in Manchuria managed to operate despite Chinese hostility to foreigners and local warfare; indeed the medical missions were the most influential methods of the Scottish Presbyterian mission in northern China. However, medical missionaries did encounter serious local hostility. Western doctors were frequently charged with child snatching, poisoning the wells, stealing body organs, murders, and abduction. The most often heard rumor was that Chinese victims were hypnotized or drugged first, then their eyes, livers, hearts, and all organs were scooped out to make medicines. The missionaries’ free medical consultations and distribution of medicine inevitably disturbed local health-related businesses and stirred up jealousy among local doctors. Uneasiness and rivalry were further enhanced when the missionaries meddled in local conflicts and raised lawsuits in order to protect native converts. Although research indicates that the Protestant missionaries were involved in fewer lawsuits and local conflicts than the Roman Catholics,[11] hostility and suspicion of Chinese towards Western missionaries in the late nineteenth century found no theological or denominational differences, as Brian Stanley has observed.[12]

In the second half of the nineteenth century, China witnessed a series of regional conflicts, which were not unrelated to the interference of the Great Powers in Chinese politics, society, culture, and religion. Cohen has observed that missionaries were not

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[10] Ibid.

[11] Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, 467.

[12] Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Leicester: Apollos, 1990), 137.

always involved in these conflicts.[13] However, among the Chinese, these conflicts were all named "Chiao-an" (missionary cases), which reflected their understanding that the causes of the conflicts related to the spread of Christianity and the conduct of European missionaries in China. When the Western government powers became involved in mediating missionary conflicts, especially in demanding signed concessions that were not always acceptable to local Chinese, it was not hard to imagine why some Chinese saw missionaries as foreign political agents. Meanwhile, the British described the conflicts as riots and massacres, even though the British casualties were a mere handful compared to the much higher Chinese death toll. The British naming of the conflicts implied that the Chinese were ever ready to commit atrocities directed against British subjects, who needed British imperial protection. A series of conflicts from 1868 in Yangchou and Pi-tou, Formosa, 1870 in Tienjin, 1875 in Yunan, 1891 in Ichang, Anhui Wuhu, and Kirin, 1894 in Liaoyang, 1895 in Chaengdu and Kucheng, and 1897 in Juye Shandong, were portrayed by the Western Forces as signs that the Qing government was unable to control local situations. Thus "Western diplomats had to keep their gunboats at hand as a second-best alternative" to ensure protection of Western subjects living and working in China.[14]

In the summer of 1870, an angry crowd in Tientsin, excited by rumors of kidnapping and murders, plundered and burned down the French consulate, a Catholic orphanage, and the Catholic Cathedral. Demolishing Catholic property was not enough to quench what was a long-brewing resentment of Westerners. Catholic nuns

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[13] Paul A. Cohen, *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860-1870*, Harvard East Asian Series 11 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1963), x–xi.

[14] John K. Fairbank, 'Patterns behind The Tientsin Massacre', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 20, no. 3/4 (1957): 489.

and priests were gruesomely killed and mutilated, while the French Consul, Henri-Victor Fontanier, and his assistant, M. Simon, along with some native converts to Christianity were also murdered. The historian Paul A. Cohen believed that the Tientsin Massacre “represented the culmination of a decade of Sino-foreign friction revolving around Christian missionary activities.”[15] The crimes in Tientsin were thoroughly investigated. Indemnities were paid for the property lost, the leading perpetrators of the atrocity were apprehended, and several Chinese officials were demoted and exiled for their failure to act more decisively.[16] The Qing government acted in accordance with the foreign representatives’ requests, and Chinese officials realized they should act more actively to prevent similar events from happening again. In the spring of 1891, the Tsungli Yamen (Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Qing dynasty) composed a circular letter with eight draft regulations, and this was sent to the representatives of each foreign power. Based on the Tsungli Yamen’s investigations, resentments over the extraterritoriality privileges enjoyed by foreign missionaries were a major cause of the conflicts. Foreign ministers intervened on behalf of their Chinese converts from time to time. In the eyes of Chinese patriots, such interventions were disrespectful of the Qing legal system and took advantage of power gained over the Chinese through the two Opium Wars. Behind the hostility towards missionaries was the distrust, resentment and suspicion of many Chinese toward Western Christianity and everything it represented. To ease the widespread popular suspicions of missionary activities, the Yamen asked that Catholic

[15] Cohen, *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860-1870*, 233.
[16] Ibid., 246.

orphanages be abolished entirely, that Chinese women be prohibited from entering foreign churches, and that female missionaries not be permitted to work in China (to avoid upsetting Chinese customs), and that all foreign missionaries come under the control of local officials. Foreigners and their converts should all be equally under the judicial authority of the local authorities and conform to all local laws and regulations. Also, the passports of the French missionaries should clearly indicate their destinations and not be transferrable to other destinations.[17]

When news of the Chinese circular reached Scotland, some Scots maintained that the circular only affected the French Catholics and had nothing to do with British Protestants. The editor of the *Scotsman* took a positive attitude toward the Qing's attempt to reorganize its foreign policy and internal affairs, reading the circular and its proposed regulations in a positive light. He noted that

> if China is to be dealt with on the same footing as other nations with which we keep up diplomatic relations, and if her case is to be judged on similar conditions to those on which we should judge our own, this Circular deserves respectful attention.[18]

In a letter to the editor, the Rev. Douglas Carstairs, a Scottish missionary serving with the English Presbyterian Mission in China, took a more negative view of the situation, insisting that China was not to be treated on "the same footing as civilized

[17] Cohen, 252–55; Pat Barr, *To China with Love: The Lives and Times of Protestant Missionaries in China, 1860-1900* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1972), 70–71.
[18] Douglas Carstairs, "Missions in China," *The Scotsman*, 12 July 1871.

nations." At the same time, Carstairs stated that "Protestant missionaries have never claimed for their converts exemption from Chinese law, and would not accept such a privilege if offered."[19] Alexander Williamson, Scottish missionary serving in North China with the National Bible Society of Scotland, wrote that he had encountered a prevalent hostility to Roman Catholics on his journeys in North China, but added that "no charges…[can] be brought against Protestant missionaries."[20] Such Scottish observers claimed that it was not fair for the Qing government to cancel established rights of extraterritoriality without further negotiations with the representatives of the Western powers, and they also maintained that it was the French Catholics, not the British Protestants, who bore the main responsibility for disturbances in China. Extraterritoriality rights were concessions granted after Western military victories over China. All foreign residents in China, "whether merchants or missionaries, travellers for pleasure or scientific explorers," should enjoy protection "from the cruel and arbitrary rule of the mandarins." Carstairs believed that the Qing's government's measures to punish French Catholics were not only unjust and illegal, but could also be directed against Protestants, and "we feel certain that, if enforced against them, we cannot escape."[21]

Secondly, in his letter to the *Scotsman*, Carstairs maintained that the Tientsin riot and its aftermath should not be treated as a missionary case. "The attack, while apparently directed against missions, is really against all foreign interests."[22] If the British government gave in and granted what the Qing government asked for,

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[19] Ibid.
[20] Alexander Williamson, *Journeys in North China, Manchuria, and Eastern Mongolia; with Some Account of Corea*, vol. 1 (London: Smith, Elder and Company, 1870), vi.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.

> as the result (be it observed) of systematic misrepresentation and organized opposition on the part of the Chinese governing classes, this would certainly encourage them to use the same policy to nullify the other clauses of the treaty.[23]

If the Qing government's circular on extraterritoriality were accepted, it would send a message to the Qing dynasty that "England is weak and is afraid of China," and this would jeopardize British interests in China. The Tsungli Yamen's effort to rebuild the power and reputation of Chinese local authorities and to curtail the Chinese enmity toward Western missionaries failed, for foreign powers saw no reason to co-operate. Meanwhile, the Qing dynasty lacked the military or political power to impose their demands, leaving the resentments to fester over the coming thirty years.[24] Still, in the 1870s, the Western powers watched the movements of China, the sleeping giant, cautiously, as Carstairs advised they should

> Let it be remembered that the Chinese have now got a great many rifles and trained soldiers, some arsenals, gunboats, and even rifled cannon; the Taku forts are now very strong.[25]

Concerned that the door "by which Christianity had at last found an entrance to one-third of the human race, after long centuries of exclusion,"[26] could be shut and

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[23] Ibid.
[24] Barr, *To China with Love: The Lives and Times of Protestant Missionaries in China, 1860-1900*, 71.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Mrs. M'Laren, *The Story of Our Manchuria Mission*, 15–16.

bolted again, missionaries anxiously prayed for divine intervention to thwart any efforts by Chinese officials to restrain missionary activity. Protestant missionaries who were supposed to preach the gospel of peace believed their mission enterprise required the protection of treaty rights and that "nothing but a firm policy on the part of the treaty Powers can prevent the Chinese from the mad attempt to make a trial of strength."[27]

In the 1890s, several articles in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* were dedicated to discussing the repeated anti-foreigner riots in the Qing dynasty. In the first of these, "The Riots in China", the English diplomat and scholar of China, Robert K. Douglas noted that the Qing dynasty attributed the riots to its people's ignorance and the central government's inability to control the mobs in the remote provinces completely.[28] For Douglas, these explanations were unsatisfactory, and indicated that the Qing government was hostile to the foreign powers and made no genuine efforts to suppress the harmful rumors that stirred popular fury against foreigners. They were not sincere in their claims to seek to maintain peaceful relations between their Chinese subjects and Western inhabitants.[29] The Qing dynasty's envy, rivalry, and hatred of British power had quietly fed the conflicts for decades.

> The ruling powers were hostile to us then, and they are hostile to us now; and unless the foreign Governments adopt a firm and decided policy in dealing with this great octopus in the East, they will at the

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[27] Barr, *To China with Love: The Lives and Times of Protestant Missionaries in China, 1860-1900*, 71.
[28] [Robert K. Douglas],"The Riots in China," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (11, 1891): 744.
[29] Ibid., 736-45.

end of the next twenty years be hostile to us still.[30]

In Douglas's opinion, exercising consular jurisdiction and enforcing treaty rights was the right thing to do since they have earned the rights fairly "by *vi et armis* [by force of arms]." The British possessed the right of extraterritoriality and "we mean to use it, not in any blustering or encroaching spirit, but as our legitimate privilege."[31] The British Empire, Douglas insisted, had been wasting time in diplomatic negotiations with China: a soft, polite, and passive approach to China would not be effective. In light of China's long period of inactivity, its excuse of "non possumus [we cannot]" was no longer unacceptable. Douglas believed that "it is now high time that we resorted to a stronger policy…to demand the strict fulfillment of our treaty."[32] Great Britain should end this long political impasse, which endangered British interests and British subjects in China.

In advocating a more forthright approach to British foreign policy, Douglas gave two suggestions. First, the most conservative and xenophobic cities of China, Hunan and Hupeh, should be opened for trade. Situated in the middle and lower Yangtze River, both Hunan and Hupeh were wealthy potential trading partners, and access to these cities had long been coveted by the Foreign Powers. Whoever successfully opened up those two cities would have the key to pushing further into the interior of China along the longest river in Asia and would enjoy promising commercial opportunities with the dense population and prosperous cities along the river. Opening

[30] Ibid., 745.
[31] Ibid., 736.
[32] Ibid., 746.

these areas to commerce would bring mutual benefit; while at the same time, continued isolation would leave their populations in ignorance and arrogance. The fear and resentment of the Chinese was "an antipathy which is begotten by darkness, and which can only be dispelled by the admission of light. Our experience at the treaty ports has invariably been that the more the people know about us the less opposed they are to us."[33] The Church of Scotland missionary in Ichang, the Rev. William Deans, shared a similar view. Commenting on the Ichang riot of 1891, Deans noted "if Hunan were only opened for trade, and foreigners guaranteed protection, no further trouble would occur in China. Let Hunan be quelled, and a new China will be the result."[34]

Further, according to Douglas's article in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, gunboat diplomacy did prove effective. "The arrival of a war-vessel or a handful of troops has always produced perfect peace…either by the presence of gunboats, or by … the … small escorts of marines."[35] Military muscle flexing in China was "far from being productive of evil" but "had a most salutary effect. Instead of giving rise to disturbance, it preserved peace."[36] Two years later, two Swedish missionaries were killed at Hankow in Central China, bringing again the unsolved problem of the safety of European missionaries to the forefront. Indignant merchants called for the dismissal of the Swedish consul-general for negligence and the punishment of those Chinese officials whose alleged connivance led to the missionaries' deaths.[37] Some

[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.; *HFMR, CoS,* December 1891, 310.
[35] [Douglas], "The Riots in China," 748.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Edmund S. Wehrle, *Britain, China, and the Antimissionary Riots, 1891-1900* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1966), 74.

Christian ministers suggested that the two missionaries would still be alive had they had Gatling guns for self-defense. However, such controversial views were not welcome by all missionaries.[38] Robert Douglas contributed a strongly argued article on the murders in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* of October 1893. Douglas pointed his finger at the Chinese Government's slackness. "How are you to deal with a Government which persistently endeavours to nullify the rights of foreigners, and by underhand methods to counteract the spirit and conditions of the treaties?"[39] The Chinese, Douglas insisted, "are not such men as ourselves."[40] Britain's attempt to employ diplomatic methods in its relations with people "who are not sufficiently advanced" has proved futile.[41] Britain should continue seeking to bring the light of innovation and civilization to China. But to do so, Britain needed to win "the respect and friendship of China" through strong measures.[42]

Amid the era of the new imperialism between the 1870s and the 1910s, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*'s view of British foreign policy in Asia supported British commercial and military expansion in the world. An aggressive narrative can be discerned in *Blackwood's* discussion of Asia issues, with the journal vigorously defending Britain's ambitions and interests at the cost of other countries' sovereignty. In an article in *Blackwood's* of January 1890, the Scottish journalist and historian, Alexander Allardyce, described Britain's annexation of Upper Burma in the 1880s as a "new and most important chapter … in the history of the British Empire in the

[38] Ibid.
[39] [Robert K. Douglas], "Murders in China," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (10, 1893): 593.
[40] Ibid., 594.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid., 596.

Further East."[43] The invasion inevitably disturbed the local peace and order; however, Allardyce brushed the local people's resistance aside. Great Britain, he insisted, could expect prosperity order in Burma "once the insurrectionary elements in Upper Burma have been fully put under, and civil administration has been brought into perfect play."[44] The acquisition of Upper Burma was vital for "a commercial nation like ourselves."

> The main advantage of our new position is the power which gives us to tap the flourishing provinces of Western China, and to secure their overflowing trade for British-Indian seaports.[45]

Following the 1870 Tientsin Riot, the Chinese boiling anger and resentment against foreigners was not quenched. The year 1891 witnessed a series of anti-foreigner riots in many Chinese cities, including Wuhu, Nanking, Ganking, Wusueh, Kiukiang, Wusieh, Tang-yang, and Ichang.[46] One thing in common was those cities were all linked together by the Yangtze River. But the disaffection also extended to Kirin, Manchuria. Historian Edmund S. Wehrle thoroughly examined the nature and the consequences of the riots of 1891 in the second chapter of his book on *Britain, China, and the Anti-Missionary Riots, 1891-1900*. Drawing on a wide range of historical resources, Wehrle mapped out the intricate political calculations among

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[43] [Alexander Allardyce], "Opening up Indo-China," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (01, 1890): 80.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.
[46] *Donald Macgillivray, A Century of Protestant Missions in China (1807-1907), Being the Centenary Conference Historical Volume* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1907), 202; North China Herald, *The Anti-Foreign Riots in China in 1891, With an Appendix* (Shanghai: North China Herald, 1892).

the Western powers involved in China, including Great Britain, French, Germany, the United States, Russia, Japan, Spain, Italy, and Belgium. The Western states watched the China situation, and each other, cautiously, ensuring that they could act promptly for their best interests. They allied to enlarge the naval force to enforce treaty agreements and also united to halt some countries from seeking to monopolize trade in China. Most importantly, Wehrle's work showed the British Empire's gradual transformation from limited, informal influence in China to more aggressive claims of authority, claims that were largely motivated by a commitment to safeguarding British lives in response to the anti-missionary events of the 1890s. British consuls, foreign ministers, prime ministers, the Whitehall, merchants, and Protestant missionaries all played their role, harboring sometimes competing agendas but together forming a intrusive British power in the late Qing regime. Nevertheless, in Britain information regarding the China riots and the Western Powers' diplomatic wrestling was limited and there was surprisingly little coverage of the events in the *Scotsman* and *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. The three Scottish Presbyterian Churches' missionary magazines, official publications, and meeting proceedings contained some discussion of events in China, but their responses were largely limited to requests for British demands for religious freedom or the protection of Protestant missionaries in China.

The first of the series of anti-foreigner riots occurred in early May 1891, but it attracted little attention from the British Foreign Office since there were no casualties. In June, two British subjects were killed by rioters at Wu-hsueh. At Kuikiang, three Wesleyan women missionaries were attacked and beaten but fortunately escaped with

their lives. However, a Wesleyan male missionary and a British official of the Chinese Imperial Customs Service were killed.[47] A request to send half the North China Squadron up to the Yangtze to guard the treaty ports was published in Shanghai's *North China Daily News*. But Vice-Admiral Sir Frederick Richards' options were limited, as there were only five to six gunboats at hand, while there were nine treaty ports on the Yangtze.[48] Correspondence relating to the riots in China was published in the *Scotsman* in August. Sir Thomas Sanderson, the permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, acknowledged that "The strength and importance of the feeling in favour of missionaries in this country" was an undeniable force in Great Britain.[49] Protestant feeling, the superiority of British industrial development, confidence in the Empire, and the sense of its divine mission were powerful factors in shaping public opinion. Several French Catholic mission stations were also adjacent to where the riots happened. Since "the French Government and Chambers were very zealous in the protection of French religious influence and missionary enterprise in the East," they were ready to act "if public opinion once became alarmed and indignant in France and England." In that case, in France "a cry for intervention might arise, which might have very embarrassing, and even serious, consequences" for Britain.[50]

Britain remained on relatively good terms with the Qing government after the two opium wars. Strategically, China looked to Britain to keep Russia and France in check

[47] Wehrle, *Britain, China, and the Antimissionary Riots, 1891-1900*, 29.
[48] Ibid., 30.
[49] "The anti-foreign agitation in China," *The Scotsman,* 5 August 1891.
[50] Ibid.

along its borders. Britain enjoyed “not only a large area open to the inroads of commerce but a solid block opposing Russia’s extension to the north.”[51] In light of these good relations, Britain was careful not to endanger the fragile peace in China, especially when the British Empire deployed only a limited number of men-of-war in that area. Although the late nineteenth-century French Third Republic was initially “suspicious of and then hostile to the Church,” French representatives in China gave French Catholic missionaries much more vigorous and direct aid than the British state gave to its Protestant missionaries.[52] However, the motivation of the French Republic was “not so much zeal for the Faith as a desire for prestige and power.”[53]

Last but not least, Sanderson observed that “British interests in China were larger than those of any other European country.”[54] The Chinese popular hostility needed to be handled delicately, including the growing tendency amongst the Chinese population to resort to open violence to drive out foreigners. Rioters frequently believed that committing atrocities would have “no unpleasant result to themselves, and would merely entail payment of a certain pecuniary indemnity by the Government.”[55]

The Church of Scotland missionary, the Rev. George Cockburn, was stationed in Ichang when in 1891 anti-foreigner rioting broke out in that city. His reports to the convener of his Church’s Foreign Mission Committee revealed his disdain for Chinese xenophobia. For him, the present troubles were instigated by the nationalist literati and educated classes, and continuously excited by “an extensive literature

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[51] Wehrle, *Britain, China, and the Antimissionary Riots, 1891-1900*, 38.
[52] Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, 306.
[53] Ibid.
[54] “The anti-foreign agitation in China,” *The Scotsman,* 5 August 1891.
[55] Ibid.

whose scurrility baffles description."[56] The editor of the CoS mission magazine commented that "it is clear that the riot at Ichang was not the work of the populace, but of Hunan soldiers, official underlings, and known criminals, their procedure being connived at by the official authorities."[57] Cockburn's missionary colleague in Ichang, the Rev. William Deans, claimed the secret society, the Ko-lao Hui, which was dedicated to overthrowing the Manchu regime and restoring the Ming dynasty, was the culprit of the riots of 1891.[58] Sensing the rising tension, Cockburn warned that "if the British Government does not make a firm stand, it will lead to much bloodshed at no distant date."[59] Although some houses were set on fire, no Scottish missionaries were killed in the Ichang riot. Cockburn's house was only looted, and the mission buildings were untouched. This was seen as evidence that the crowd was "anti-foreign, not anti-missionary."[60] To Cockburn's disappointment, Britain did not take firm action: it was, he maintained, "the only country having any material interests involved, [which did] not step in and settle her own affairs."[61] Chaos, terror, and unrest continued in the current situation, and Cockburn worried that China would become "as much as a sealed country as before the war of 1840."[62] Would Britain allow its efforts over the previous decades to go to waste? Would Britain watch the massive Middle Kingdom seal itself up again, when it was the great power which had the greatest power and influence in China to prevent it from happening?

Not long after the Ichang riot, a medical missionary of the Presbyterian Church of

[56] *HFMR, CoS*, October 1891, 266.
[57] *HFMR, CoS*, December 1891, 307.
[58] Ibid., 309.
[59] Ibid., 307.
[60] Ibid., 308.
[61] Ibid., 310.
[62] Ibid.

Ireland, the Rev. Dr James Greigs, was nearly beaten to death in Manchuria.[63] Scottish Presbyterian Churches called for prayers from subscribers to its mission publications. There was growing discontent over the Qing government's inaction regarding the anti-foreigner riots. Britain's disappointment and frustration in its diplomatic negotiations with the Qing government gradually transformed into open hostility. A conspiracy theory was circulated that the anti-foreign movements were planned by the literati, fostered by the Qing dynasty, and executed by the ignorant mobs. An anonymous contributor to *The Scotsman* observed that

> I believe also that there are thousands of Chinese officials and retired officials throughout the country who are persuaded that by constantly harassing Europeans and making their position uncomfortable they will finally get rid of them altogether.[64]

The anti-foreigner placards in China reminded some Scots of the lead-up to the 1857 Indian Mutiny, "We were", *The Scotsman* observed, "at one time only too familiar with the native secret literature that preceded and accompanied the India Mutiny of 1857."[65] *The Scotsman* hoped that Great Britain's public was well informed about the situation in China and would put pressure on the British State to "insist on the execution of treaty rights with a firmness that has never yet been

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[63] The Irish Presbyterians collaborated with the United Presbyterian mission in Manchuria from 1869. See Austin Fulton, *Through Earthquake, Wind and Fire: Church and Mission in Manchuria* (Edinburgh; St. Andrew Press, 1967), 30-1. Oddly, Fulton does not mention Greigs. His book focuses mainly on the 20th century.

[64] "The Situation in China: The Outrage on the Rev. Dr. James Greig," *The Scotsman*, 14 October 1891.

[65] "The Anti-foreign Movement in China," *The Scotsman*, 19 March 1892.

shown."[66] For *The Scotsman,* the educated, the gentry class, and the literati in China were "the pests of Chinese administration;" from the negligent mandarins to the superstitious populace; no one in China should "go scot-free" after attacks on foreigners.[67] Peking eventually acted against the anti-foreigner riots, in part due to pressure from the Western Powers and in part because the riots threatened the internal peace of the Manchu regime. But the process of restoring order "was of a slow and halting nature."[68] The Manchu regime needed to prove that it could maintain domestic peace and order and simultaneously preserve its dignity and sovereignty. This was undoubtedly the most severe challenge imposed on the Qing dynasty, during a time when it was surrounded by rapacious neighbors.

"When a Chinaman is converted, a power is gained"： The United Presbyterian Church of Scotland Manchuria Mission

When the UPCoS foreign mission proposed to establish a new mission in Manchuria, they could not have foreseen that the region would become the scene of confrontation between the rising power of Japan and the Western imperial states. Japan had made Korea its first imperial province. The historian Paul Knaplund has argued that it was largely China's indifference to Korean affairs that "led to Japanese intervention in that country."[69] There were two main reasons for China's inattention to Korea at this time. First, the threat of French expansion in Southeast Asia served to

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[66] Ibid.
[67] "The Situation in China: The Outrage on the Rev. Dr. James Greig," *The Scotsman*, 14 October 1891.
[68] Wehrle, *Britain, China, and the Antimissionary Riots, 1891-1900*, 43.
[69] Paul Knaplund, 'Great Britain and the British Empire', in *The New Cambridge Modern History: Material Progress and World-Wide Problems, 1870-1898*, ed. F. H. Hinsley, vol. 11 (Cambridge; London; New York; Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 450.

focus China's concern on its southern border. Second, China's overconfidence in its status as the heavenly kingdom led it to turn a blind eye to Japan's rapid industrialization and imperial ambitions.

How did Scottish Presbyterians perceive their mission in Manchuria? According to the *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, the conversion of Chinese individuals had a special importance, given the powerful influence of China's ancient and sophisticated civilization: it observed that "when any other heathen is converted, a soul is saved, but when a Chinaman is converted, a power is gained."[70] This suggested that the conversion of each Chinese person was not simply a matter of saving an individual soul, but was a step towards the final victory over China's traditional teachings, which had so much influence across East Asia. Many missionaries expected that through the triumph of the Gospel the Middle Kingdom would become a westernized Christian nation. Missionaries had no commitment to preserving any political, social or cultural institutions in China. Their concern was to carry on the mission enterprise with the least amount of hindrance, and if any Chinese institution stood in the way, they were willing to see it removed, by force if necessary. Needless to say, such attitudes did not endear them to Chinese patriots.

This section will explore how the UPCoS Manchuria mission operated amid China's growing political turmoil. We will consider how the UPCoS missionaries in Manchuria interpreted the surge of Chinese xenophobia. The medical mission became the most solid pillar of the Scottish mission and created an amicable relationship between the local Chinese authorities and missionaries.

[70] *United Presbyterian Missionary Record,* UPCoS, November 1880, 359.

Scottish Presbyterian missionaries, to a great extent, held negative attitudes towards non-Christian societies. Infused with belief in Western social and economic superiority, missionaries frequently described Asian society as backward and uncivilized. Yet, some individual missionaries perceived Asian culture more positively, influenced by personal encounters, interest in the study of other cultures, and broader understandings of human history. The Rev. John Ross of Manchuria was a United Presbyterian missionary who sympathized with the Chinese and called for less Western intrusion in Chinese political and religious matters. Ross believed that the 1870 Tientsin riot had resulted from undue interference by foreigners in local affairs, and he believed that the Chinese government had made earnest efforts to bring the strife to an end. The progressive Chinese minister Wen Shiang, who believed that China needed to be gradually modernized, had pleaded for a change in the conduct of missionaries to avoid similar riots in the future.[71] The Qing's government's efforts, however, had been "nullified by the indifference of European Governments."[72]

To illustrate the origins of the Chinese' resentment against foreigners, Ross produced a pamphlet entitled *Chinese Foreign Policy*. This small pamphlet consisted of four sections, including the early history of the encounter of Jesuits in China, the Parliamentary Bluebook of 1871 on Mission, how Roman Catholic priests influenced Chinese officials, and how Roman Catholic Chinese converts colluded with the priests to influence the administration of justice in China. Ross maintained that the hatred of the Chinese for foreigners originated from their fear that foreigners were

[71] John Ross, *Mission Methods in Manchuria* (London; Edinburgh: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1903), 175–76.
[72] Ibid., 175.

undermining China’s sovereignty, by gaining an undue influence over the Chinese judicial system. Many Chinese people believed that foreign missionaries, especially French Catholic priests, were active in “defying Chinese law, in overruling Chinese magistrates, in shielding Chinese criminals and imprisoning the victims of those criminals.”[73] The seeds of the mistrust of missionaries, Ross believed, had been sown when Emperor Yongzheng, believing that Roman Catholic priests were plotting against him, proscribed Christianity in 1724. The Emperor had also believed that Chinese subjects, once converted to Christianity, would become subjects of the foreign priests, and not of the “Son of Heaven.”[74] Now, Ross suspected that some Chinese converted

> in order to escape the just penalty of their crimes, and the contemptuous defiance of all law and justice, which have taught the sharp-sighted Chinese to believe that the object for which the priests are in China is, not to teach a higher and better morality or establish a nobler and purer religion which would sift applicants and reject all who had given no sign of a change for good, but the “creation of a foreign party,” to which men of any character and all conditions are welcome.[75]

Three statements in Ross’ *China Foreign Policy* distinguished his stance from

[73] John Ross, *Chinese Foreign Policy* (Shanghai: Printed at The ‘Celestial Empire’ Office, 1877), 48.
[74] Ibid., 15–16.
[75] Ibid., 10.

many other British and Scottish commentators. Firstly, Ross did not see the Chinese as devious, barbarous, superstitious, or arrogant. Many claimed that the Chinese resistance to Western trade, technology and religious teachings was caused by their defective moral character and flawed society. Ross rejected such explanations of the antiforeigner riots. Rather, the rioting was an expression of understandable anxieties in the face of Western aggression. For a long time, Ross noted the Chinese

> believe, and all their bitterly conservative and exclusive foreign policy is based on the belief, that western nations are bent on seizing the treasuries of their cities and the lands of their beautiful valleys.[76]

For Ross, the killing of the British diplomat, Augustus Raymond Margary, and his expedition team in Yunnan in 1875 served as an example of the tragic results of such long-term distrust. The expedition team was exploring overland trade routes between British India and China; however, the presence of the team in inland China prompted angry speculations among the locals, and Margary and his team were murdered on their way back to Shanghai. Ross did not condemn the Chinese for not seeing the benefits that the British trade would have brought to them. He believed that

> it is almost certain that the Yunnan people believed him [Margary] to have gone to and returned from India, not to open a trade route, but to discover the best road for an army, and his small military escort would

[76] Ibid., 4.

lend colouring to such a belief.[77]

Ross' UPCoS missionary colleague, the Scot James Miller Graham, when discussing the anti-foreigner movements, took a very different position, one which was widely supported by other Scots during the 1890s. Graham was sent to Manchuria in 1896 with private financial support from Duncan McLaren, the chairman of the Foreign Mission Board, who wished to have Graham as his personal foreign field representative in China and who hoped that this example "might well be followed by more of our wealthy members."[78] Graham believed the anti-foreigner riots reflected the intrinsic defects of Asian people. For him, it was clear that a Chinese person "does lie and is cruel," but he insisted that "these are not attributes of the Chinese alone but of all Asiatics, of all semicivilised races that have not come under the humanizing touch of Christianity."[79] The murders of foreigners were the acts of semi-civilized people with no respect for the value of human life. The only way to change Asian societies was through the enlightenment of Christianity, and the example of Western Christian civilizations.[80]

The Rev. Alexander Williamson, a missionary with the National Bible Society of Scotland,[81] claimed that many Chinese, influenced by the ancient Fengshui philosophy with its striving to maintain a balance of the natural elements, rejected the building of Western-financed railways as disturbing that natural harmony. Alexander

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77 Ibid., 6.
78 *United Presbyterian Missionary Record,* UPCoS, February 1896, 41
79 James Miller Graham, *East of the Barrier: Side lights on the Manchuria Mission* (New York; Chicago; Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1902), 36.
80 Ibid.
81 Alexander Williamson was first an LMS missionary, and then from 1863 the first overseas agent of the National Bible Society of Scotland.

ridiculed the Fengshui beliefs, which he dismissed as barriers in the way to progress.[82] Missionaries believed that Fengshui philosophy had "a very firm hold on the people in all places and of all classes,"[83] and that Fengshui practices severely hampered China's path to modernization, while also sowing the seeds of discord. Ross offered another explanation for the Chinese opposition to Western technology and industrialization. The fear that foreign nations would partition China had long troubled their minds, and Westerners needed to recognize this fear and strive to "remove the belief in the aggressive designs of foreign nations on the freedom of China."[84] Once that could be done, "coal mines may be opened by the hundred, railways laid down in the richest portions of the land," and "you will see changes which will forever remove the old cry of conservatism."[85] In Ross' observation, conservatism in the Middle Kingdom was not based on stupidity, but patriotism.[86] He maintained the same idea when discussing the 1900 Boxer Uprising when the cry for gunboat policy was rising even from some missionaries. According to Ross, "China will never be won to the gospel by our appeals to the secular power to intervene in every little trouble we may experience."[87]

Ross was also more moderate than other Scottish missionaries when discussing treaty rights and the advance of trade in inland China. This is not to say that Ross did not value treaty rights in protecting the freedom to preach and religious toleration. Neither did he reject the notion that commerce would eventually elevate a country.

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[82] Williamson, *Journeys in North China, Manchuria, and Eastern Mongolia; with Some Account of Corea*, 1:9–17.
[83] Williamson, 1:15; George Cockburn, *John Chinaman: His Ways and Notions* (Edinburgh: J. Gardner Hitt, 1896), 28–36.
[84] Ross, *Chinese Foreign Policy*, 7–8.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid., 8.
[87] United Presbyterian Missionary Record, UPCoS, December 1893, 350.

However, while many were jubilant over concessions that granted Westerners more privileges, Ross worried that further concessions would cause either the collapse of the Manchuria regime or a more fierce Chinese antipathy against the foreigners. Believing that "the Manchu dynasty has lost enormously in native esteem because of the numerous concessions made to the ever increasing demands of foreigners," Ross asked whether the foreigners were ever aware that "it is as impossible for a government to stand in China as it is in England, without the good will, based on the respect of the people?"[88]

While many Scots believed that the spread of Western commerce and civilization would enrich the Chinese people and end Chinese distrust of Western influence, Ross was more cautious. As a missionary committed to gaining converts, Ross understood that opening more treaty ports meant more opportunities to reach the inland provinces, but he also recognized the danger of fomenting more anti- foreigner sentiment. He worried that if foreign powers rode roughshod over the Chinese fears, pressed for more open ports for trade by humiliating the Qing government, this would signal to the Chinese that "the foreign ministers think all of trade and nothing of justice."[89] The anti-foreigner movement, he maintained, "is itself a political not a religious one, it has political not religious issues, and the remedy must be consummated by the politician not by the missionary."[90] Ross insisted that

> the sooner the politician sets to grappling with and removing the

[88] Ross, *Chinese Foreign Policy*, 5.
[89] Ibid., 26.
[90] Ibid., 48.

> difficulty the better, for he will remove what is a disgrace to western civilisation, and what is irritating the Chinese people in every province so constantly and increasingly that murder is sure and consequent war probable.[91]

Finally, Chinese officials' corruption and the Qing government's weakness were frequent pretexts for Western interference in China. Late nineteenth-century Chinese instability convinced some Western imperialists that the partition of China among the major powers would not only benefit the occupying powers but also save the Chinese people from the damaging effects of weak government. Missionaries from all denominations also believed that Christianity could be the antidote for China's stagnation. Sir Robert Hart, the second Inspector-General of China's Imperial Maritime Customs Service from 1863 to 1911, commented with reference to the 1891 riots that "nothing but partition or a miraculous spread of Christianity in its best form – a not impossible but scarcely-to-be-looked-for religious triumph – will avert the result [of further Chinese unrest and decline]."[92]

Ross, however, observed that bureaucratic corruption was prevalent in many countries: even the British government in India had not been immune from scandals. Malfeasance and dishonesty among Chinese officials were, to be sure, undeniable, although this was often the result of their "miserable salary, which is in many cases insufficient to clothe them."[93] Yet, it was not a proper reason for foreigners to

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[91] Ibid.
[92] Sir Robert Hart cited in Graham, *East of the Barrier: Side Lights on the Manchuria Mission*, 37–38.
[93] Ross, *Chinese Foreign Policy*, 45.

threaten the survival of China's current regime. Ross insisted that "if the Magistracy is corrupt, it is, for the Chinese people to change it, unless you are prepared to make China a second India. It is no reason for establishing another corrupt Magistracy besides it."[94]

It was evident that Ross' assessments were influenced by his personal affection for the land and people of China. He believed the Chinese to be more civilized than the peoples of India, insisting that every statesman who had official dealings in India and China agreed unanimously "our East Indian subjects are not to be compared to the Chinese in intellectual endowments and mental vigour."[95] Such language could have been intended to persuade his Church's Foreign Mission Committee that the effort and money invested in the China mission were not wasted: it could also have been aimed at convincing potential future missionaries that, despite the unrest in China, it was a promising mission field. But John Ross was unusual in his defense of China's political sovereignty and his sympathy for Chinese opposition to foreign influence. He appealed to "the politicians in power" to be interested "in the preservation of peace, in the integrity and future prosperity of the Chinese empire and in the establishment of more cordial relations between her and the west" and for each British agent in China to make efforts to assure Chinese local authorities that "he is bound by the written Treaty and not by the deceptive words of a [Roman Catholic] priest."[96] Ross's negative views of Catholic missionaries in China did, to be sure, reflect the traditional Scottish Presbyterian hostility towards Roman Catholics in

[94] Ibid., 46.
[95] *United Presbyterian Missionary Record,* UPCoS, November 1880, 359.
[96] Ross, *Chinese Foreign Policy*, 50.

which he had been raised and indicated that he was not free from prejudice. However, he was a rare figure among Scots in his highly sympathetic approach to China's political difficulties.

The UPCoS Manchuria mission applied strategies that were widely used by other denominational missions, including public preaching, the publication and distribution of Chinese literature, primary education for boys and girls, female work, medical service, and training of native leaders. It was the special political and social circumstances of Manchuria in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that enhanced the influence of the UPCoS Manchuria mission in medical service and the establishment of self-supporting native churches. Education, without question, was one of the pillars of the Scottish mission. However, the Scottish education mission in China did not have the impact that it did in India, because in China the educational system was closely connected to the Imperial examination system and the training of Chinese officials. An imperial decree abolished the so-called "a-thousand-and-three-hundred" civil-servant test in 1905, yet it was not replaced with a well-defined new educational system. None the less, there was little opportunity for Scottish missionaries to change the whole education system in China as they had in India, especially when some provinces held a deep-rooted enmity against foreigners.

Many early anti-foreign disturbances in China were related to medical missions, but the Manchuria medical mission managed slowly to earn local trust. In 1882, the Edinburgh-educated Scottish physician, Dr Dugald Christie, UPCoS medical missionary in Moukden, initiated the medical mission work. According to the Scot

Elizabeth Inglis, Dugald Christie's second wife, their medical mission initially attracted little response, but a severe cholera epidemic in the summer of 1883 miraculously turned the table. "Hundreds of lives were saved, and the news of the free treatment and genuine recovery of these sufferers shut the mouths of many blasphemers."[97] Later a flood and famine in 1888 further strengthened the importance of their medical mission and gained them support from the local community. Their medical service also formulated an amicable relationship between the UPCoS missionaries in Manchuria and the Chinese local authorities. "This friendship with officials," Mrs Christie later recalled, "was a great help in living down suspicion and evil reports."[98] The achievements of the medical mission were applauded by the British Consul at Newchwang, the diplomat and author Christopher Thomas Gardner. In a paper on Christian Missions in Manchuria, Gardner highlighted the "general toleration of the Christian religion throughout the whole district, while the attitude of the people towards Christianity is on the whole friendly." Gardner attributed this good feeling in large part to how "the labours of the missionaries indirectly benefit our merchants, manufacturers, and artisans." Through the work of the UPCoS mission,

> the tone of morality among the Chinese people has, during the last twenty years, perceptibly attained to a higher platform; and that to the same cause may be attributed the improved public spirit and greater solicitude for the welfare of the people now to be found among the

[97] [Elizabeth Inglis] Mrs. Dugald Christie, *Jackson of Moukden* (Edinburgh: Hodder & Stoughton, 1911), 42.
[98] *Ibid.*, 43.

officials.[99]

The Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95 broke out over the question of influence over Korea, and the area of conflict covered Wei-hai-wei of the Shandong promontory, three Northeastern Provinces, and the Korean peninsula. The Sino-Japanese war rekindled the regional anti-foreign movement, which resulted in the death of the Scottish missionary, James A. Wylie, at the hands of Chinese soldiers. In light of the unrest in Manchuria and the killing of Wylie, the United Presbyterian Foreign Mission Committee decided in November 1894 that "the departure of the five new missionaries appointed to that field is indefinitely postponed."[100] The Chinese Government worried that the local hostility towards missionaries and foreigners would result in making more enemies for China, at a time when it needed to focus on its struggle against Japan. A proclamation was therefore issued from Peking after the attack on Wylie, urging Chinese subjects to protect missionaries and their property. However, the Chinese government also urged the Scottish Presbyterian chapels at Moukden and Liaoyang to avoid any incitement to disturbance.[101] The strong Chinese anti-foreigner sentiment terrified Chinese Christians and other Chinese people who had any interaction with missionaries. In his report, the United Presbyterian missionary, Rev. James W. Inglis of Kaiyuan, wrote that the mission operation in his locality was halted: "inquirers are afraid to declare themselves, and we have to restrict our efforts to hold the ground we possess."[102] However, the

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[99] *United Presbyterian Missionary Record,* UPCoS, November 1885, 350.
[100] *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, UPCoS, November 1894, 308.
[101] *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, UPCoS, November 1894, 313; December 1894, 351.
[102] *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, UPCoS, December1894, 351.

United Presbyterian hospital at Moukden remained open and received patients every day, including soldiers: according to Dr Dugald Christie, "numbers of soldiers come to us for treatment almost every day. Most of them are Chinese, but there are also many Manchus among them, and all seem very friendly."[103] In January 1895, it was noted that the Liaoyang mission was too dangerous to maintain. The station was, accordingly, closed, and missionaries were asked to leave that city for "both the mandarin and the members agreed that there would be less risk of any outbreak if all the foreigners were absent."[104] To everyone's surprise, the situation at Moukden was very different. The news of war did excite anti-foreigner sentiment and the mission work was hindered, yet, the hospital and dispensary continued to operate. Dr Christie wrote, "there has been wonderfully little diminution in the number of out-patients." The hospital also received and treated many wounded soldiers from the battle of Ping-yang, on the border of Moukden and Korea.[105]

Another wartime public proclamation issued by the Chinese government, drawn up by the Military Governor of Shing-King, Viceroy of Manchuria, and other officials, was visibly tailored to meet British demands after Wylie's killing by Chinese soldiers. The proclamation insisted that the current war was "confined to Japan alone, while all missionaries and travellers of every land who sojourn in the Flowery Kingdom must be securely protected, according to the treaty." With stern words, it commanded that all Chinese subjects, whether civilians or soldiers, refrain from harassing the Scottish medical missionaries and the mission hospital in any forms, including spying or

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[103] Ibid.
[104] *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, UPCoS, January 1895, 20.
[105] Ibid.

creating annoyance, circulating rumors, or violating the peace. It noted that Dr Christie and the mission hospital had nothing to do with the current war:

> they did not grudge coming many thousand miles to bestow healing, dispense medicine, cure disease, and save men, tending them with all their heart, without remuneration; and during a residence of over ten years their reputation has been unquestioned.[106]

The proclamation observed that wounded soldiers were attended to in the mission hospital, recognizing that the Scottish medical mission was crucial for "cementing friendly relations between nations."[107] In 1897, Dugald Christie was awarded the Imperial Order of the Double Dragon, an award established in 1882 by the Guangxu Emperor for outstanding services and was originally only granted to foreigners in China.[108] The award was presented in recognition of his service during the recent war with Japan.

Still, the geopolitical situation in Manchuria in the late Qing era unexpectedly redefined the UPCoS mission strategy in Northeast China. The challenges of general mission station operation were discussed in the previous chapter. The difficulty of language acquisition, financial stringency, scarcity of mission agents, and the high mortality rate of foreigners in Asia all pointed to the urgent need to train local leaders. But it was wars, the Sino-Japanese battle of 1894-95, the Boxer Uprising of 1900, and

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106 *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, UPCoS, January 1895, 22.
107 Ibid., 20.
108 United Presbyterian Missionary Record, UPCoS, July 1897, 257.

the Russia-Japanese war of 1904-05, which speeded up the process of power devolution from the Western missionaries to the native Christians. The Chinese Presbytery of Manchuria was established in 1891 under the joint supervision of both the UPCoS and Irish Missions. Later in 1907, the Presbytery of Manchuria was divided into three: Danish Lutherans in the Liaotung Peninsula and to the Korean frontier, the Irish to the west of the River Liao, and the Scottish Presbyterians to the east of Manchuria.[109] The first Presbytery of Manchuria in 1891 was under the full charge of the foreign missionaries, hence its proceedings were conducted in English. However a year later, a native Presbytery meeting was held, in which "all the measures bearing on the native Church were again brought forward to be discussed in Chinese, and decided by the Presbytery."[110] During the Sino-Japanese war, missionaries in Manchuria were ordered to leave their stations and retire to the Port of Newchwang, where the nearest British Consul was situated. When after the return of peace in 1895 they returned to mission sites, they surprisingly found that their absence had not halted the mission work, which was being conducted by Chinese Christians.[111] The goal of establishing self-preaching native churches was unexpectedly realized in Manchuria. At the same time, missionaries in other countries worried that local Christians were not disciplined and well-trained enough to shoulder the responsibility of mission, or that their Christian knowledge was inadequate. The independent actions of Chinese congregations in Manchuria became a clear indication to the Scottish missionaries they had no need to exercise political influence in China.

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[109] Hewat, *Vision and Achievement*, 258–59.
[110] Ross, *Mission Methods in Manchuria*, 124–27.
[111] *United Presbyterian Missionary Record,* UPCoS, June 1896, 181.

Rather, such influential Scottish missionaries as John Ross perceived their mission as promoting an independent Chinese Protestant Church: “We compel them to learn self-reliance…a policy exactly the reverse of the Roman Catholic Church, which insists on absolute dependence on the priest.”[112] For Ross, the retreat of the missionaries during the 1894-95 war demonstrated that “the safest way is to let the Chinese decide their own affairs from their own sense of right.”[113] In retrospect, Ross believed that it was a “good providence that we had to leave during the Japanese War.”[114]

Given the struggle for control of Manchuria and the prevalence of Chinese anti-foreigner sentiment, Scottish Presbyterian missionaries put special effort into avoiding political engagements. Founding self-governing native churches was the goal of most Protestant Christian missionaries. The success of Scottish Presbyterian missionaries among the people in Manchuria, moreover, was viewed as evidence that they were not promoting any Western political agenda, but simply teaching and acting according to the gospel of Christ. In 1902 the Scottish missionary J. Miller Graham specified several advantages of training local leaders in Manchuria. First, he maintained, it was economical, as local Chinese leaders were less expensive to train and support than Western missionaries. Secondly, “it neutralises the anti-foreign antipathy of the people. Friction is reduced to a minimum.” Graham argued that native leaders would form a “buffer territory” between the foreign teachers and the Chinese population. In short, he insisted, “the fewer foreigners, who can overtake the

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[112] Ross, *Mission Methods in Manchuria*, 125–26.
[113] Ibid., 131.
[114] Ibid., 125.

work, the better."[115] Thirdly, reliance on local Chinese Christian evangelists "is likely to ensure a more purely native type of Christianity." Graham warned Western missionaries that "everything in our teaching which tends to denationalise must be rigorously avoided" and that they should not expect the development of Chinese Christianity to emulate the development of Western Christianity. Seeking to promote Western versions of Christianity in China would only "end in creating a Western cult on Chinese soil."[116] Graham's idea was that Christianity should grow within the Chinese context. This was, to be sure, politically expedient in 1902 in Manchuria. But Graham's ideas can also be seen as an early expression of the importance of a contextualized theology. Taking the massive Chinese population and Chinese territory into consideration, Graham rightly observed that a "sprinkling of foreigners scattered over the Empire" would never achieve "the dream of evangelizing the four hundred million Chinese people,"[117] especially when many Chinese people resented the very presence of foreign missionaries.

We have explored how the Chinese mission context reshaped Scottish Presbyterian ideas of mission, and these new conceptions of Scottish mission contributed to more conciliatory and respectful interactions between Westerners and the Chinese. But from the late nineteenth century, violent conflicts became increasingly prevalent: how did Scottish missionaries and their supporters at home understand the violence, and to what extent did Scottish missionaries in China seek protection from British imperial power? How did they understand the warfare in

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[115] Graham, *East of the Barrier: Side Lights on the Manchuria Mission*, 82–83.
[116] Ibid., 83.
[117] Ibid., 84.

China, and how did their Christian faith influence their attitudes concerning what should be done?

During the Sino-French War of 1884-85, reports from the UPCoS missionary, the Rev. John Macintyre, to his Church's Foreign Mission Secretary recorded some interesting conversations with the locals. According to Macintyre, France "in the pure spirit of aggression" had launched an undeclared war against China "without observing the common courtesy amongst nations." Macintyre had just opened a new mission chapel in Manchuria: while he was trying to teach geography to the crowd, people asked him about war news. He was first hesitant about whether he should discuss politics, but he then administered "a taste of politics as a very healthful antidote to the present fever." Macintyre believed there were no set boundaries for the territory belonging to any given state. Korea, for example, "was once Corean territory, it then became a Chinese conquest, and thereafter was left from the Chinese by the Manchus, who proceeded from that victory to swallow up all China."[118] The current territory being contested between China and France, Tonquin (Tonkin) or Northern Vietnam, had also been under the control of different states at different times. Macintyre reminded his Chinese congregation that China "had originally no more business in Annam than the French have and that the quarrel on both sides is a fight for other people's territory," and "there should be no grumbling, therefore, if the country should fall to the stronger arm, not at least among soldiers."[119] When a country was on the track of progress, it grew more robust, and expansion was unstoppable. History taught the lesson, as Macintyre put it, that "as things are, the

[118] *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, UPCoS, January 1885, 8.
[119] *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, UPCoS, August 1885, 265.

world belongs to the strong, and conquest belongs to those who can keep it."[120]

In their conversation, the locals asked how Great Britain was so close to France and yet did "not suffer from their piratical depredations." Macintyre replied that if China "had a navy worthy of your extensive seaboard, you would not have been troubled with the French at this time."[121] Macintyre and his Scottish missionary friends of Manchuria were sympathetic for China's current vulnerability. Had the Chinese learned about the production of modern weapons and the art of conducting modern war from Great Britain, the French would not dare to threaten China. However, China had been too proud to see the wisdom of learning from others:

> What have you been doing these forty years since foreigners first taught you that one man of theirs is equal to a hundred of you? You go on practicing (sic) with the bow and arrow, while we excel with the rifle. And now you have bought or built a foreign fleet, you have not, to your disgrace, a single man to lead it into action, nor even a man who can handle a single ship against a foreigner.[122]

Before the 1900 Boxer uprising, as we have seen, Scottish missionaries in Manchuria enjoyed a relatively peaceful relationship with Chinese officials and inhabitants, especially when compared with the experience of missionaries in the disturbed Yangtze River area and southern treaty ports. In the 1894-95 war against

[120] *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, UPCoS, January 1885, 8.
[121] *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, UPCoS, August 1885, 265.
[122] Ibid., 66.

Japan, Manchuria was the battleground, but it was claimed that foreigners in the region were largely immune from Chinese hostility due to the humanitarian work of the Scottish medical mission. At the same time, frictions between missionaries and the crowd turned into conflicts in Chengdu and Szechwan. The reasons behind the violence of 1895 against missionaries in Chengdu are beyond the scope of this study, but it happened at the time of the Sino-Japanese war. In the UPCoS mission magazine, the Chengdu riot was portrayed as being fomented "under the provocation of the feelings created by the recent war."[123] This was therefore used as strong incentive for Scottish Protestants to promote the importance of their work in improving conditions for the people of China. They "must never seek to establish the kingdom of Christ among the nations by other methods than those which proclaim it to be a kingdom of love and peace."[124]

The UPCoS *Missionary Record* of March 1896 directed its readers' attention to the rising British defense expenditures. These expenditures were growing, "even in times of peace, by leaps and bounds."[125] All the great powers were devoting more and more of their national wealth to military spending and this was "antagonistic to the spirit of Christ, while it sorely cripples the industries and commerce and well-being of the nations."[126] The arguments for expanding the budgets of the army and navy were "based on materialistic views of a nation's strength, and the exclusive prominence given to these is a sad omen."[127] Speaking of the former British Prime Minister, the Liberal William Ewart Gladstone, who had retired in February 1894,

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[123] *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, UPCoS, July 1895, 197.
[124] *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, UPCoS, October 1893, 281.
[125] *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, UPCoS, March 1896, 68.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid.

because he opposed a further increase in the naval budget, the editor observed that despite Gladstone's retirement, the expenditure on armaments during the Liberal government of 1892-95 had been "wild, wanton, and most perilous."[128] The editor of the UPCoS *Missionary Record* criticized advocates of increased British military expenditures for playing down the spirit of Christianity in national politics. Christianity, as the national faith of the United Kingdom, should cultivate in its people a commitment to justice, peace, and love of God, and the government should invest greater resources in Christian instruction of the population at home and in bringing the benefits of the Christian faith to the wider world. Military preparedness was essential for a strong nation, but for Christians, secular power should a means to serve a higher good, and not an end in itself. Worldly power should serve the goal of spreading Christian civilization. In practical terms, Scottish missionaries working in China benefited from the presence of the British Consulate in China for timely assistance, especially when they got involved in conflicts with Chinese inhabitants. When missionaries were asked to retreat to Newchwang during the 1894-95 war, a missionary responded, "we are safe as long as the Governor-General is safe."[129] During that war, the CoS missionary, William Deans, felt more secure when the British government demonstrated its military power by sending a gunboat to his district. When writing home to inform subscribers that he and other CoS missionaries were safe during the 1894-95 war, Deans observed that "the gunboat Esk is expected back in a few weeks to remain all winter. As long as she is here, we are safe."[130] The

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[128] *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, UPCoS, August 1896, 240.
[129] *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, UPCoS, December 1894, 350.
[130] *HFMR, CoS*, January 1895, 6.

historian of Christianity Kenneth Latourette noted the Protestant missionaries' readiness to appeal for military force to protect their interests. Protestant missionaries, "while loath to interfere in lawsuits between Chinese, were, as a rule, quite willing to ask representatives of their governments for protection against riots and for redress of injuries."[131]

How did Scottish missionaries and their supporters perceive the rivalry between the great powers in seeking to exercise control in China? The rapid rise of Japan from a former tributary state of China to an industrializing imperial power with its own Asian empire, captured the attention of many Westerners. Mrs Christie commented that the Japanese, once "mere savages, who had borrowed Chinese civilization, the Chinese written character, Chinese literature,"[132] now had learned and emulated Western military methods: "their soldiers were dressed in Western clothes, drilled Western drill, understood Western guns, followed Western ways."[133] As a result, in the war of 1894-95 China was shamefully beaten by the "neighbouring people who had always been their inferiors."[134] Scottish Presbyterian magazines and missionary accounts portrayed the war of 1894-95 between China and Japan as God's action to humble the secluded Kingdom and prepare it for the advance of the Gospel.[135] China's golden age was in the past, but it still dwelled in a complacent belief in its superiority, and this had led to its humiliating defeat.[136] Still, Scottish Presbyterians believed that China's defeat would be a turning point, that would see the Middle

[131] Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, 472.
[132] Mrs. Christie Dugald, *Thirty Years in Moukden: 1883-1913* (London: Constable & Robinson Ltd, 1914), 109.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Ibid.
[135] *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, UPCoS, November 1894, 301; *HFMR, CoS,* January 1895, 6.
[136] Graham, *East of the Barrier: Side Lights on the Manchuria Mission*, 36.

Kingdom become open to Christianity. In God's providential ordering of the world, wars were not meant to bring destruction but a chance for rebirth. With such a faith in divine providence, the UPCoS expressed confidence that China would "abandon her standpoint of contemptuous antagonism to the foreign world" and seek wisdom and collaboration with the nations.[137] Through providence, "we may expect to find a freer opportunity for Christian missions, and a brighter hope for the ascendency of Christian faith in the thought and life of the nation."[138]

The victory of Japan in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95 was also portrayed as the most convincing proof that Western civilization was the critical ingredient for the progress in human society. For Scottish Presbyterians, opening China had a higher purpose: the furtherance of the Christian mission. Westernization would be incomplete without Christianity to rule human passions and cultivate character. Japan's Westernization was an ongoing project. The UPCoS *Missionary Record*, observed, with reference to Japan, that "certainly we have no reason to be proud of the teaching of our Western civilization."[139] Japan had learned from the West "neither the good government nor Christian morality" but rather "how to spend millions in forging and using the Western machinery of war."[140] Japan had embraced the goal of national expansion that drove it to wage war. Japan's trajectory was a warning sign for Scottish Presbyterians, summoning them to remember their evangelistic calling when they introduced Western ideas to foreign nations; otherwise, "the criminality and folly and wastefulness of war" would sacrifice all benefits of

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[137] *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, UPCoS, December 1894, 334; HFMR, *CoS*, February 1895, 35.
[138] *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, UPCoS, December 1894, 334.
[139] *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, UPCoS, October 1894, 271.
[140] Ibid.

spreading Western civilization.[141] However, this critical reflection on Western influence in Asia was not shared by all Scottish observers. Soon after the Sino-Japan War, Manchuria witnessed a wave of Christian conversions: many in Manchuria embraced Christianity and asked for baptism, which led some Scottish Presbyterians to speak again of a providential purpose behind wars. Graham observed that "in the providence of God it was the war with Japan that applied the igniting spark. The effects of that war, in Manchuria at least, were far-reaching."[142] God had, through Japanese arms, shaken the Chinese state, and the Chinese now "turned in their helplessness, therefore, to the Christian Society for social and political salvation."[143]

War and Peace: Scottish Views of the Rivalry between Great Powers in China

In this section, we move into a period when foreign powers were no more trying to conceal their ambition to carve up Chinese territory. Korea and northeast China were at the center of the territorial aggrandizement ambitions of many countries, especially Russia and Japan. How did Scottish observers respond to this changing situation? In answering this question, we will consider discussions of Asia, including discussions of competition among the great powers, in Scottish newspapers and magazines. Further, the wave of Chinese anti-foreigner sentiment reached a crescendo with the 1900 Boxer Uprising. How was this violent episode understood by people in Scotland?

[141] Ibid.
[142] Graham, *East of the Barrier: Side Lights on the Manchuria Mission*, 154.
[143] Ibid., 153.

The issue of China's future certainly worried some nineteenth-century Scots. In a letter to *The Scotsman* in December 1897, a Scottish commentator recognized that claims of moral concern for "the wellbeing of the Chinese people – one-fourth of the human race" could be simply a pretext for British imperial intervention.[144] By the end of the nineteenth century, other great powers were also embracing an imperial mindset, deluding themselves into perceiving that their pursuit of territorial expansion was a means of morally elevating the world. Great Britain, which once regarded itself as a leader in bringing the benefits of Western civilization to the world, now faced like-minded, powerful imperial competitors. The challenge was how to evaluate the British presence in China fairly and objectively. In addressing this challenge, Scottish newspapers followed two forms of discourse. The first form of discourse, which "chiefly prevails in the home Press and with the home public," viewed China as the sleeping giant, whose "power of offence has never yet been fully and fairly tested," but which could, if sufficiently provoked, rise up and overwhelm Western interests in East Asia. The incalculable strength of the sleeping giant could bring a devastating outcome of "a great outburst of Yellow barbarism, which will break against and go far to overthrow the Christian civilization of the West."[145] This discourse paralleled the idea of Yellow Peril, with its fear that an aroused China could threaten the very existence of Western civilization. The second form of discourse portrayed China as a stranded whale, "which may be pricked or prodded with little danger by whoever feels so inclined." China was undoubtedly enormous in terms of geographical territory, but the ancient Chinese empire seemed to be almost dying. Taking the

[144] Ibid.
[145] Ibid.

current European interventions into consideration, "China can in no way defend itself, and it is the consciousness of this fact which has at length dawned upon the minds of Continental Powers."[146] Yet, what concerned many Scots was that Britain must not be left out of this great game unfolding in the waning Chinese state.

Britain, according to this correspondent to *The Scotsman*, could not "stand aside and allow Continental Powers to obtain control in China" because to do so would hamper British trade and enterprise throughout East Asia.[147] Opposing Germany and Russia in China, to be sure, might lead to "a second edition of the Crimean war."[148] However, the correspondent was certain that the British presence in China was on the whole a moral one. Britain took on the role of

> giving to a long-suffering and oppressed people peace, justice, and security, protection from famine and other calamities; of giving them the right to develop their own country, to acquire knowledge, to accumulate wealth, and to enjoy without fear the fruits of their labour.[149]

When Britain intervened with force in China, it was similar to a strong person seeing "a lunatic engaged in the destruction of his own property, to the endangering of all his neighbours" or "a drunken driver who is impelling the coach to ruin." In such

[146] Ibid.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid.
[149] Ibid.

cases, it was justifiable to step in for the good of both communities.[150]

Concerned over Russia's growing encroachment in northeast China in the 1890s and 1900s, the Scottish writer and explorer, Alexander Michie, writing in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* of May 1898, criticized the British government's inaction in China.[151] This inaction was leading to "the ascendancy of Russia over China."[152] Although China never was part of the British Empire (with the exception of Hong Kong), China's massive resources were vital for British trade. Britain's position in China was not only a matter of its reputation as a great power, but trade with China was also important for continued British control of India, the crown jewel of the British Empire. Nevertheless, unlike Africa, the partition of China among the great powers was not in Britain's interest and there Britain should not respond to Russian territorial claims in China with territorial claims of it own. "The case is clear that to take province for province would precipitate the dismemberment of China, the very catastrophe which it should be our primary object, as it is our primary interest, to avert."[153] But Michie did see China as a crucial commercial field, "which it is our duty to possess." And to do so, British power needed to protect its commercial interests in China.[154] British merchants and residents had long labored "under disadvantages such as no other nationality have had to endure" for no British consul acted to protect his nationals, when compared to Germans or French consuls, who were always ready to protect their citizens who lived and worked in China. "Blind

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[150] Ibid.
[151] [Alexander Michie]. "British Interest in the Far East," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (05, 1898): 719.
[152] Ibid.
[153] Ibid.
[154] Ibid.

reliance on Providence and a passive policy" will never secure Britain's place in Chinese commerce: only prompt and direct actions could.[155]

Articles in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* were inclined to complain about Britain sitting idly during the Sino-Japanese war, which pushed China into Russia's arms. According to Alexander Michie's article in April 1898 on "The Chinese Imbroglio," Russia stepped into "the vacated place; and China, in order to get rid of the Japanese invaders, was fain to accept Russian as her friend and protector."[156] In defense of Britain's foreign policy, Michie acknowledged that Britain's inactivity was intended to protect China's political integrity. Britain's China policy was "based on the preservation of China as an independent State, on the strengthening of her defensive power, and on the reform of her administration."[157] Britain's main concern was always trade with China, and the foundation of this trade was seen as "an orderly government in China, facilities of communication, moderate tariffs, freedom of intercourse."[158] Michie believed Britain had done much to secure those conditions, but that to continue to do so would require a British military presence in the region and a willingness to act to ensure British commercial interests for the mutual benefit of both Britain and China.[159]

Britain's formal commitment to the independence of China during the turbulent years between the 1890s and the First World War was often used to explain how British imperialism differed from that of other great powers. By helping to maintain the political stability and integrity of the Qing dynasty, Britain would have the

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[155] Ibid.
[156] [Alexander Michie]. "The Chinese Imbroglio," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (04, 1898): 557.
[157] Ibid.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Ibid., 558.

benefits of what was effectively an informal imperial presence in China. As long as the Qing dynasty retained the treaty ports for British trade, preserving the status quo was the best way to protect the British Empire's advantages in China. Wehler agreed that in the late Qing dynasty, "it seemed that the best hope for the stability was for Britain to assert herself as the firm friend of the dynasty."[160] Nonetheless, Germany and Russia pushed into the Shandong headland and Manchuria, forcing Britain, according to a Scottish observer, to take action by seizing Weihaiwei in the name of "maintaining the balance of power in the Gulf of Pe-chi-li."[161]

The decision to occupy Weihaiwei, according to a dispatch which Sir Claude MacDonald, British Minister at Peking, sent to the Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, was to establish a new naval base "as a counterpoise to Port Arthur."[162] MacDonald insisted that China had had many proofs that Britain had no desire to annex Chinese territory, and they would understand that Britain was "driven to ask for Weihaiwei by plain necessity."[163] By doing this, Britain demonstrated a determination "not to allow the predominance of any one Power in the North, and in that determination lay China's own best hope of safety and protection."[164] However, some had ambivalent feelings regarding Britain's occupation of Weihaiwei. This included Scottish missionaries. They observed that local Chinese authorities often channeled their resentment over foreign intervention in northeast China to the missionaries, and Scottish missionaries worried that this would eventually lead to a catastrophe for their missions. The UPCoS missionary James Miller Graham highlighted the words of the

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[160] Wehrle, *Britain, China, and the Anti-missionary Riots, 1891-1900*, 118.
[161] "Great Britain and China: Important Correspondence," *The Scotsman*, 15 March 1899.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Ibid.

Shandong governor, Yu Hsien, who said that "if there had been no German missionaries, nor Christians ruled by them in Shantung, Kiaochow, Port Arthur, etc., had not fallen into the hands of foreigners. Thou art guilty of all that."[165] Scottish missionaries were worried that such expressions would worsen the anti-foreign sentiment, which would fatally compromise their mission enterprise in China. However, for the most part they avoided public political discussion, and instead concentrated on maintaining an amicable relationship with local Chinese magistrates through their missions' philanthropic work. Some pragmatists, including Rear-Admiral Charles Cooper Penrose-Fitzgerald, second in command of the China station, insisted that Britain would hold Weihaiwei unwillingly only "as long as Russia continues to hold Port Arthur."[166] What was the use of Weihaiwei for Britain? In an article in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* Fitzgerald maintained that the answer was "it is worse than useless."[167] Yet, he further asked,"can we withdraw? certainly not. As well talk of withdrawing from Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, and Singapore. Honour and interest alike forbid a cowardly policy."[168] Weihaiwei "cannot be held as a secondary naval base in time of war," but it must be held in Britain's hand. They could try to make that place "a paradise, a sanitarium, and a fortified harbor," meanwhile, Britain should avoid another war in the East and "endeavour to come to a friendly agreement with Russia about China."[169]

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165 Graham, *East of the Barrier: Side Lights on the Manchuria Mission*, 198.
166 [C. C. Penrose-Fitzgerald], "Wei-hai-wei: Its Value as a Naval Station," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (01, 1899): 1069.
167 Ibid.
168 Ibid.,1075.
169 Ibid., 1077.

Rebellion and Reform: Scottish views on the 1900 Boxer Uprising and the Future of the Sino-Anglo Relationship

Joseph Esherick's pioneering study in 1987 of the Boxer Uprising provided an effective analysis of the socio-economic background behind that movement. The Boxer Uprising was started by a group of athletic young men known as Boxers in the North China province of Shandong (east of the Taihang Mountains). They practised martial arts and weapons training and later claimed to have the spirit possession that would make their bodies bullet-proof, giving them the strength to fight against their arch-enemies – foreigners with Western weapons. Why Shandong? Years of distrust and grudges against foreign encroachment in North China were worsened by rumors that missionaries were poisoning the wells. Moreover, overpopulation, widespread famine, and the extreme climate conditions all added fuel to the fire.[170] Harrison's and Tiedemann's studies revealed that the Boxer movement also emerged in Shanxi (west of the Taihang Mountains) and inner Mongolia: this fact was not catching the attention of academia since it was long believed that Shandong was the sole birthplace of the Uprising. Amid continuous drought and crop failures, the Boxers gathered to settle inter-village conflicts over taxes and over the resourcing of temples, where rituals and sacrifices were held to give offerings to the deity and which were also centers of local economic power.[171] It was not unique to have local, small-scale self-defense forces emerging to provide security. Elizabeth Perry identified two forms

[170] Paul A. Cohen, *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); Joseph Esherick, *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising* (California: University of California Press, 1987); Henrietta Harrison, 'Village Politics and National Politics: The Boxer Movement in Central Shanxi', in *The Boxer, China, and the World*, ed. R. G. Tiedemann and Robert A. Bickers (Lanham; New York; Toronto; Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007), 27–40.
[171] Harrison, 'Village Politics and National Politics: The Boxer Movement in Central Shanxi', 33.

of local militants in her analysis of the cultural violence on the North China Plain: a predatory form and a protective form. The former saw militant groups aggressively conducting feuding, banditry, and salt smuggling; and the other saw them defensively engaging in crop watching, community fortification, and village self-defense.[172] But the Boxer Uprising distinguished itself from these usual patterns of violence in North China, becoming a powerful force at the beginning of the twentieth century, one that received the recognition from some Chinese magistrates and, eventually from the Dowager empress. The Boxer Uprising extended rapidly from Shandong to Beijing, accompanied by mass killings and looting, and alarming the Foreign Legations in Beijing. In early June 1900, an international relief force was dispatched to Beijing to quell the riot. This led Empress Dowager Cixi to allow the Boxers to kill all foreigners in Beijing. Amidst the massacres, missionaries, their native servants, Chinese converts, and foreigners, were besieged in the legation quarters and in churches in Beijing. The international relief force known as the Eight-Nation Alliance rescued the besieged foreigners in Beijing. The Dowager Cixi fled westward to Xian, and a Protocol was signed in September 1901, providing for reparations to be paid to the foreign powers.

The early images of the Boxer Uprising were full of Western stereotypes of Chinese backwardness and superstition. For years, foreigners eager to open China to overseas trade held a negative impression of Chinese bureaucratic inertia and corruption; they blamed Chinese reactionaries, led by the Dowager Empress, for

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[172] Elizabeth Perry cited in R. G. Tiedemann, 'The Church Militant: Armed Conflicts between Christians and Boxers in North China', in *The Boxer, China, and the World*, ed. R. G. Tiedemann and Robert A. Bickers (Lanham; New York; Toronto; Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007), 43.

planning the appalling atrocities committed against foreigners. Robert Bickers has noted that the South African War in 1900 "certainly gripped the attention of Britain's domestic audience more completely, but the China episode garnered a full share of international attention."[173] Still, wide international attention did not necessarily mean an adequate understanding of the Boxer Uprising. In Scotland, *The Scotsman*, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, and Scottish missionaries' reports shared a very similar interpretation of the Boxer Uprising, which had no significant differences from other British views. The reasons are several: *The Scotsman* relied heavily on the correspondents of *The Times*, *Reuter's*, and *The Daily Telegraph*, and sharing the same sources as other British periodicals affected their analysis. The prevailing imperialism conjured up flat, dull, and uncivilized images of many non-western countries, as has been illustrated in the previous chapters. Anglo-centered periodicals, including Scottish periodicals, did not read local resistance movements as liberation struggles against domination by outside powers or as struggles to define national identity. Interestingly, while most Scottish missionaries blamed the Chinese Government for allowing the Boxers' atrocities, some pointed out that that episode was not simply a blind, and violent act. According to the UPCoS missionary colleague, James Miller Graham, "there was a real element of patriotism at the root of the movement no one can deny."[174] John Ross, another UPCoS missionary, believed the German military operations had stirred the Boxer Uprising in the port of Kiaochow, Shandong. "The Chinese are essentially a peaceable, peace-loving people,"

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[173] Robert A. Bickers, 'Introduction', in *The Boxer, China, and the World*, ed. R. G. Tiedemann and Robert A. Bickers (Lanham; New York; Toronto; Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007), 21.

[174] Graham, *East of the Barrier: Side Lights on the Manchuria Mission*, 206.

Ross noted, “they are not a patriotic people in the ordinary European sense of the term.” Yet, the land was their soul, and in their attachment to their land Chinese “patriotism is unbounded.”[175] The victory of Japan over China in 1894-95 had led the European powers to believe that “the Chinese would suffer any indignity rather than go to war.”[176] Several European countries publicly recommended the option of partitioning China, and such calls for partition aroused deep resentment among all ranks of Chinese.[177] Scottish missionaries recognized that the Chinese patriotism expressed through the Boxer Uprising was more than a response to the challenges the Chinese faced in world politics; it also reflected a consistent discourse animating all the anti-foreign movements in late nineteenth-century China. Territory encroachment launched by European powers and the interference of Roman Catholic priests in local law enforcement[178] were long hated by the Chinese. Christian missionaries became targets of the Boxers, leading many to believe that it was a revolt against Christianity, but in fact, such uprisings were anti-foreign, not anti-missionary. According to the United Presbyterian *Missionary Record*, “The missionary is the first victim because he is the only foreigner living intimately with the Chinese.”[179]

In an article in *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* of September 1900, the Scottish author Alexander Michie took a more negative view of China, when he argued that the Boxer Uprising reflected the chaotic nature of the Qing dynasty: for Michie, the lawless Chinese and secret societies, a deep-rooted dynastic feud among legitimate heirs in court politics, and years of popular hatred and envy of foreigners

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[175] *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, UPCoS, September 1900, 264.
[176] Ibid.
[177] Ibid.
[178] Ibid., 266.
[179] Ibid., 264.

had combined to foment the atrocities.[180] At the same time, years of consecutive anti-foreign riots and killings since the 1870s probably caused some Scots to see Chinese violence as normal, leading them to play down the seriousness of the Boxer Uprising. Recent historians have interpreted the 1900 Boxer Uprising as more than a traditional local violence, but rather as a revolt that showed “China in 1900 was a field of action fully incorporated into a globalizing world.”[181] The involvement of missionaries and Chinese converts also gave this violent episode martyrs and thus served to “incorporate their Chinese story into the history of Protestant Christianity.”[182] Yet, the three Scottish Presbyterian Churches provided no distinctive interpretations of the Boxer Uprising, and their mission stations were, fortunately for them, at some distance from Shandong, the epicenter of the movement.

For some Scottish missionaries, the Boxer Uprising was a power struggle between conservatives and reformers of the Qing dynasty. They saw the conservatives, that is, “the old experienced officials, especially the Manchus, emphatically opposed to all reform. They secure the empress-dowager as their willing leader.”[183] The reformers, on the other hand were “openly in favour of reform, embraced not a few of the best and most intelligent of the provincial officials, as well as many in the governing Boards in Peking.”[184] Scottish missionaries, including such figures as John Ross, tended to feel “the large class of reformers in China are not actively hostile to the foreigner.”[185] The violent episode of the Boxer Uprising embodied a conflict between

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[180] [Alexander Michie], “China,” *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* (09, 1900): 406.
[181] Bickers, ‘Introduction’, 15.
[182] Ibid.
[183] *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, UPCoS, September 1900, 262.
[184] Ibid.
[185] Ibid., 263.

Western ideas of progress and civilization and the traditional Chinese commitment to isolation and conservatism. Although the reactionary party opposed to progress in China might have the upper hand with the support of the Dowager Empress, and although the current situation in China appeared bleak, the Scottish missionaries' confidence in the power of Christianity and Western civilization prevailed and gave them strength to carry on the mission. The victory of the Eight-nation alliance over the Boxers won the gratitude of the "Church Universal" for restoring a degree of order;[186] furthermore, the victory fortified the conviction that Western progressive ideas were destined to prevail.

Over the decades, two things most concerned the Scottish Protestants. First, they wanted China to remain open for trade and they wanted to ensure that China's massive market would never fall into other nations' hands, to the exclusion of British commercial interests. Committed to the ideals of free trade from the 1840s, most Scottish Presbyterians believed that free trade would foster mutual respect and peaceful relations between nations. Free trade would promote the ideals of a unified world with shared moral values, in which all people might prosper. Second, Scottish Protestants expected, with the aid of divine providence, to convert the Chinese from heathenism and also Roman Catholicism. Faith that God would turn all the bad things into good for the spread of the Gospel caused Protestants to play down the violence often used to impose free trade, and the suffering as a result of unequal trading relations. They played down how unequal trade relations could lead to exploitation, poverty, and undeserved suffering for many Chinese people. However, some Scottish

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[186] Daniel T. Robertson, *The Story of Our Mission Manchuria* (Edinburgh: The Foreign Mission Committee, the United Free Church of Scotland, 1913), 57.

missionaries, such as John Ross, gave respect to Chinese patriotism, attributing the germination of Chinese nationalism to the imparting of Western civilization through Christianity. Many Scottish missionaries and their supporters in Scotland looked favorably on the reform movements in China, whether the Hundred Days' Reform in 1898 or the 1911 Revolution, as they expected a renewed China would, under the guidance of providence, willingly receive both Christianity and the positive aspects of Western civilization. Such Scots were glad to see China experience a wave of reforms and expected that China would follow the successful modernization of Japan. Modernization would mean that China would no longer resist Western trade and Western ideas, but would join the community of civilized nations. In a discussion of China's new republic after the 1911 Revolution, *The Scotsman* observed that

> We British have played a great and leading part in the Far East. We were the first to recognize the rise of Japan, the first to help Siam. We are naturally expected to take the same sympathetic and helpful interest in the efforts of the Chinese race to regenerate their position in the world.[187]

Conclusion

The historian Paul Cohen described changing attitudes in Great Britain from the 1860s, a change from thinking that "war was too expensive" to a greater willingness to use military force, despite concerns that this "might well lead to colonial

[187] "China's New Political Adviser: Future of the Youngest Republic," *The Scotsman*, 17 September 1912.

responsibilities that Britain was simply unwilling to shoulder."[188] During the 1860s, the principle of limited intervention guided the policy of such British diplomats in China as Sir Rutherford Alcock. Encountering continuing Chinese local resistance movements after two Opium Wars, Scottish merchants and missionaries asked the British consular authorities to call in British military force, if need be, to "intimidate the local official and obtain quick settlements."[189] According to Cohen, "this British policy evolved originally in response to merchant demands and not to a so-called missionary problem."[190] However, both Scottish merchants and missionaries found, to their disappointment, that the riots did not die down. With more and more riots breaking out and other great powers seizing Chinese territory, Scottish merchants, missionaries and the public began calling for more aggressive military demonstrations for the protection of commercial and missionary interests.

Over the last half of the nineteenth century, Scottish attitudes toward the Chinese Empire oscillated between policies emphasizing free trade and limited intervention, and policies representing a more overt and assertive imperialism. Worried that China might manage to mobilize its huge population to oust Britain from the favorable trading relations imposed on China after the Opium Wars, many Scots became ready to call for more aggressive British military interventions in China. Russia, Germany, France, Japan, and later Italy, invaded Chinese territory under various pretexts in the last decades of the nineteenth, and early years of the twentieth century. This convinced many Scots that Britain would need to take military action both to protect

[188] Cohen, *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860-1870*, 187.
[189] Ibid.
[190] Ibid.

British interests in the Far East and to preserve the integrity of the Chinese state. Many Scots no doubt genuinely believed that British military interventions in China served a moral and even a Christian purpose. However, Britain was heavily engaged in defending its far-flung Empire, and it could seem by the 1890s that Britain was involved in endless warfare – on the northern frontiers of India, in Afghanistan, in the Sudan, and, from 1899 in South Africa. Many in Scotland, while concerned to protect their commercial and missionary interests, were wary about Britain becoming involved in a major war in China, which might fatally undermine British trade and missions in Asia, cost vast numbers of lives, and greatly increase the national debt and tax burden. In the meantime, their claims to act only in a disinterested manner in China, to protect China's independence, and Chinese law and order, were wearing thin. When in 1898 Britain pressured the Chinese government into leasing Britain Weihaiwei, on the northeast China coast, this was equivalent to British participation in dividing up China among the great powers, and it accelerated the speed of the Qing government's collapse.

The story of the Scottish Presbyterian mission in Manchuria unfolded under the tense conditions of the later nineteenth century, including the rise of what has been called the 'New Imperialism', with its aggressive policies of territorial aggrandizement. It was not until the late 1860s that the three Scottish Presbyterian churches sent missionaries to China under their institutional names. The reasons why this was so were discussed in the previous chapter. The relatively late entry of the Scottish Presbyterian missions into China meant that their mission stations were far away from the most contested cities along the Yangtze River and the treaty ports. This

in turn meant that most Scottish Presbyterian missionaries were at some distance from many anti-foreign disturbances: this helped to shape the milder views of some Scottish missionaries towards China's anti-foreign movements. The Scottish missionaries, as we have seen, remained on relatively good terms with the local authorities in Manchuria. Scottish Protestant missionaries were fully aware of the hostility to foreigners in much of China, and they understood the reasons for this hostility. To deflect Chinese hostility from their mission work, Scottish Protestant missionaries and their supporters claimed that, unlike Roman Catholic missionaries, the Protestant missionaries' conduct and teachings in China were far less intrusive in their engagement with Chinese culture. Scottish missionaries and their public supporters believed that the introduction of Christianity would enrich Chinese civilization. Christianity did not reject the moral and communal traditions of China. Rather, by emphasizing universal education and the potential for personal development in each individual, Christianity brought new possibilities for Chinese progress. Scots did sometimes agree with aggressive policies to force more ports to be opened in China so that Chinese trade with the West would expand and the Chinese learn to see value in what foreigners could bring to China. Scottish missionaries, many of them educated in the commercial teachings of Adam Smith and the Scottish Enlightenment, often believed that expanding trade would lead the Chinese to appreciate the benefits of being part of a global economy.

In the 1890s, Japan, after the Meiji restoration, modernized its army and navy, and embraced the imperialist policies of the Western Powers. Scottish observers were greatly impressed with the transformation of Japan and by the victory of Japan in the

Sino-Japan war in 1895. This seemed further evidence of how Western influences, including commerce and Christianity, could support the work of elevating China. Manchuria unexpectedly became a contested ground for the great powers competing for control of Chinese natural resources and for strategic advantages from the 1890s, and Manchuria was also the center of the UPCoS mission. Scottish Presbyterian missionaries often fluctuated between seeing benefits from Britain using military power to leverage more extraterritorial rights and privileges for its citizens, including missionaries, from the decaying Qing state, and their claims to be innocent of encroaching on the integrity and independence of the Qing government . Most of the time, Scottish missionaries and their supporters were reticent regarding overt political activity, and they claimed that their only concern was to have the freedom and security needed to carry on their missionary work in China. Recognizing the unstable political situation in Manchuria, Scottish missionaries avoided taking sides with any of the non-British powers struggling for dominance in Manchuria – China, Japan, or Russia.[191] Their focus was mainly on whether they could save lives through their medical mission or souls through their evangelistic mission. A Scottish missionary such as John Ross was an exception for constantly calling for a more sympathetic understanding of Chinese xenophobia and for being critical of the use of British power to open more ports for trade. Many Scottish Presbyterians viewed the violence of war and unrest in China with a firm belief that God was sovereign over the world and was directing world events for a higher purpose, which included the spread of the gospel to all humankind. As the editor of the UPCoS *Missionary Magazine*

[191] *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, UPCoS, November 1897, 326; March 1898, 74.

commented on the 1895 war,

> if we look back across the wars of the current half century, we can see how every one of them has brought about the opening of new fields to the gospel or the removal of some great hindrance to its progress. This inspiring view of the Divine government of the world makes us hope that, in some way not yet unveiled, the present war may be preparing a further advance of the kingdom of Christ in the East.[192]

[192] *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, UPCoS, September 1894, 242.

Conclusion

This thesis has examined Scottish public views of Christian overseas missions and the growth of the British Empire in India and China between the 1840s and the beginning of the First World War. In the time period covered by the research, the foreign policy of the British Empire experienced a transformation from an emphasis on free trade, informal control, and avoidance of further territorial conquests to a more aggressive and consciously expansive, but often confused and self-contradictory imperialist policy. The nature of the British Empire had multiple meanings for the inhabitants of the British Isles. The United Kingdom state was a constructed community of nations, in which the historical identities of the English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish peoples were subsumed under a larger British identity. This British state was also, from the early seventeenth century, the heart of a world empire. The advancing imperial frontiers to the East and the South created an imperial state, one which colonized other societies. The expansion of British colonies and commerce provided adventurers and fortune seekers with opportunities for self-advancement, enabled merchants and manufacturers to amass great wealth, and allowed politicians, administrators, missionaries, educators and reformers to carry out thought experiments on a large scale in strange, distant lands. The nature of the British Empire, as revealed in this research, was not limited to material gain, military control, and planting of Anglophone colonies, but for many it carried a profound meaning in the moral and spiritual realms. The prospect of using the British Empire to serve God's will inspired many Victorian Scots Protestants to move to distant lands, settle and

spend lives there, and conduct godly works according to the vision that their religion had imparted to them. This research has shown that many Scottish Protestant missionaries in India and China, and their large body of Scottish supporters, hoped to see a fundamental transformation of the societies of Asia, and mass religious conversions of the peoples of India and China to Protestant Christianity. They believed that the conversion of large numbers in India and China would serve to elevate those Asian societies to a higher moral level of civilization, as well as helping individuals to gain eternal salvation. But as we have seen, the Scottish missionaries and the Scottish mission public did not see their hopes of social and religious transformation fulfilled. This meant that Scottish missionaries and the Scottish public had to revisit their visions time and again, they had to re-evaluate their work, and at the same time, expand their theological understanding of the societies of India and China.

Visions from the Scottish Enlightenment: Improvement, Commerce, and Civilization

Christopher J. Berry, Professor Emeritus of Political Theory at the University of Glasgow, quoted with approval in *The Ideal of Commercial Society in the Scottish Enlightenment* Richard Sher's view that the idea of improvement had so permeated Scottish society that "Scots inhabited an 'environment of mutual support and common cause on behalf of economic and moral improvement, polite learning [. . .] and enlightened values.'"[1] According to the Scottish moral philosopher Adam Smith,

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[1] Richard Sher cited in Christopher J. Berry, *The Idea of Commercial Society in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 17.

Scotland's commercial society promised to bring "a universal opulence which extends itself to the lowest ranks of the people"[2] ensuring that Scotland became a progressive commercial, manufacturing, and urban society – advancing from the previous human stages of (1) hunting, (2) pasturage, and (3) settled agriculture. Not only did the fourth stage of social development, commerce and manufacturing, bring opulence, but "commerce and manufactures gradually introduced order and good government and with them the liberty and security of individuals among the inhabitants of the country who had before lived almost in a continual state of war with their neighbours and of servile dependency upon their superiors."[3] Berry noted that questions of "how commercial society functions, its operating principles, motivations," and consequences formed the backdrop to the Scottish Enlightenment and the distinctive Scottish moral philosophy that was shaped by that movement.[4] The Scottish ethos of commerce and social improvement was not simply an intellectual project. To be sure, Scottish intellectuals – among them Francis Hutcheson, David Hume, Adam Smith, and William Robertson – contributed to refining ideas of how commerce brings prosperity to the nation and society. But these ideas also found expression in Scottish religious life, and many Scots believed that the industrial and commercial expansion which their country experienced was part of God's providential purpose. Notions of hard work, self-discipline, independence and saving were inculcated through Scottish schools and pulpits. Nineteenth-century Scotland was a religious society, and the influence of Reformed theology was widespread and significant. Although the

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[2] Adam Smith cited in Berry, *The Idea of Commercial Society in the Scottish Enlightenment*, 66.
[3] Adam Smith cited in Berry, *The Idea of Commercial Society in the Scottish Enlightenment*, 96.
[4] Berry, *The Idea of Commercial Society in the Scottish Enlightenment*, 124.

Scottish Education Act of 1872 had significantly diminished the authority of the Established Church in Scottish primary schools, Protestant religious instruction remained important in the curriculum of the new board schools. The older Scottish universities all had Faculties of Divinity and educated ministers and missionaries. Most Victorian Scots attended church at least occasionally and the large majority were Presbyterian – adherents of the Church of Scotland, the Free Church, of the United Presbyterian Church. While the religious commitment of individuals varied and there was growing secularization from about 1880, the Scottish churches retained an influential public presence and promoted a strong Protestant ethic that included the idea that Christianity, commercial success, civic ethics, and social progress were inextricably linked.

We have seen how during the 1840s, with free trade ideas gaining increasing influence throughout Britain, articles in Scottish newspapers and magazines highlighted the gains from Indian trade, claiming that British trade with India benefited both countries. The view of the Scottish Enlightenment that commerce and manufacturing were expressions of higher civilization encouraged many Scots to believe that it was legitimate to impose free trade on less developed societies by force. If necessary, military action could suppress local resistance to the imposition of free trade. Many Scots believed that the long-term benefits of free trade for the peoples of India – bringing them material goods, employment, new forms of economic organization, growing towns and cities, and the rule of law – would more than compensate for the short-term costs of war, especially as such wars were likely to be brief. Such attitudes shaped what has been termed the mid-Victorian free trade

imperialism, characterized by policies of minimal military action to impose free trade and respect for commercial contracts, but avoiding the imposition of direct British administration over more territory (beyond the massive territory that mid-Victorian Britain already controlled in India). However, this ideal of informal commercial influence was challenged by reality. First, could the representatives of British commercial interests avoid changing local laws, local moral codes, and local cultures? Second, while most merchants were focused on making a profit from commerce, some Scots believed that commerce had a higher purpose; they viewed commerce as simply "a means to an end rather than an end in itself." Many Scottish Protestants believed that free trade in commerce and the spread of Western civilization were inextricably linked, and that Britain, as a more advanced civilization, had a responsibility under God to provide education in Western values and science, to promote social reforms to end such abuses as suttee, child sacrifice or the oppression of lower castes, and to promote benevolent service, including hospitals, medical dispensaries, and care of lepers. The moral philosophers, political economists, medical researchers, and theologians of the eighteenth-century Scottish Enlightenment helped to form the Scottish understanding of the British Empire and its responsibilities during the following decades. As we noted in the first chapter, such Enlightened Scots as Francis Hutcheson, Adam Smith, Hugh Blair, William Robertson, and Lord Kames sought to explore the social conditions that led to the permanent elevation of human life, in both its material and spiritual aspects; they were concerned with the improvement of individuals, and also with the improvement of society as a whole. Their vision of improvement took on a more cosmopolitan

aspect as a later generation of Scots contemplated how the expansion of free trade could unite the peoples of the world, showing them their shared human values and aspirations. Although not without dissenting voices, most Scots perceived the British Empire through a pervasive faith in the benefits of free trade and the superiority of Western civilization.

The Contributions of Scottish Presbyterian Missions

One of the distinct features of Scottish attitudes towards Empire and missions was their commitment to the benefits of education. As the distinguished historian of world Christianity, Brian Stanley, has observed, Scottish Presbyterian missionaries were "even more likely than their English counterparts to insist that education was integral to the task of seeking the transformation of individuals and entire communities into the image of Christ."[5] In early modern Scotland, universal literacy had been viewed as the principal means to achieve the aims of the Scottish Reformation, and from the eighteenth century, both Evangelicals and Moderates in the Church of Scotland shared a commitment to the spread of popular education in Scotland. They believed that through the combined study of philosophy, science, the fine arts and literature, and the Bible, minds would be prepared to recognize the wisdom and benevolence of God in all His creation. The social historian R. A. Houston studied Scottish literacy between 1600 and 1800 and called the phenomenon of Scottish literacy "legendary."[6]

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[5] Brian Stanley, 'The Theology of the Scottish Protestant Missionary Movement', in *History of Scottish Theology*, ed. David Fergusson and Mark W. Elliott, vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 57.

[6] R. A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and Northern England, 1600-1800* (Cambridge; London; New York; Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 11.

According to Houston's research, from the Scottish Reformation onwards, education and the ability to read were "considered to have been key factors in civilizing and improving both individual and society by opening up new horizons of thought and wider opportunities for social mobility."[7] The post-Reformation establishment of a national system of Scottish parochial schools was an expression of this vision in brick-and-mortar, and became an enduring source of Scottish national strength. "There is," according to Brian Stanley, "no doubting the manifest superiority of the Scottish system of parish education over its English equivalent in the period before 1870."[8] Scottish education "reached the status of a myth, a story which people tell about themselves "first, to explain the world, and second, to celebrate identity and to express values."[9] Scottish Protestant Reformers of the sixteenth century had intended to create "a national, universal and religiously-oriented system which would be compulsory."[10] Education was seen as fundamental to transmitting the ideals of the Reformation, although, according to Houston's research, the spread of Scottish education was uneven, especially in the Scottish Highlands and Islands. Nevertheless, the unfinished educational plans of the Scottish Reformation profoundly informed the Scottish mission at home and also in foreign lands during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Because education was regarded as vital for individual and social improvement, Scottish Presbyterian missionaries believed that primary education (although not necessarily higher education) should be open for anyone, without the hindrance of

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[7] Ibid., 18.
[8] Stanley, 'The Theology of the Scottish Protestant Missionary Movement', 57.
[9] John Gary cited in Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity*, 11.
[10] Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity*, 112.

gender, social class, and poverty. Scottish aims for female education in India shared this egalitarian spirit, while it also reflected Scottish Victorian ideals of gender and family. Thus, the female education promoted by Scottish missions taught reading, writing, and practical home economic skills such as sewing and housekeeping. The original intention was to educate women to be good wives and mothers. However, later Scottish mission education included higher education for women, enabling Indian females to partake in some careers, empowering lower caste women and providing a degree of social mobility.

Scottish Presbyterian missionaries, as we have seen, valued the importance of education. They were, moreover, often better educated than their English counterparts: their education normally included a four-year arts program at university followed by another four years of study of divinity.[11] It was noteworthy that their extensive ministerial training meant that many Scottish missionaries combined their evangelistic work with ethnographic or scientific research. Most Scottish Presbyterian missionaries were diligent language learners, achieving fluency in local languages in order to support their pastoral work and preaching. Some Scottish missionaries, including John Wilson of Bombay, John Ross of Manchuria, Alexander Williamson of Shanghai, and Robert Morrison and William Milne in China, became significant translators and linguists. Also, some became great educationists, sinologists, physicists, and doctors – among them Alexander Duff of Calcuttta, John Anderson of Madras, William Miller, Stephen Hislop of Nagpur (who was also a geologist), and Dugald Christie of Manchuria. Scottish Presbyterian missionaries demonstrated an

[11] Stanley, 'The Theology of the Scottish Protestant Missionary Movement', 57.

openness to the natural and social sciences. The mission schools they founded in nineteenth-century India and China sometimes developed into notable colleges of higher education, such as Scottish Church College in Calcutta founded by Alexander Duff, the Madras Christian College founded by John Anderson, Hislop College established by Stephen Hislop, and Mukden Medical College founded by Dugald Christie.

Another contribution of the Scottish Presbyterian mission was its theology and practical work. In an address to Scottish students at King's College Aberdeen, the Scottish theologian David Cairns discussed what he viewed as the distinctive characteristics of the Scottish missions. The first of these was a concern for the coming Kingdom of God in the world, which Cairns believed was "derived from the theocratic tradition in Scottish religion."[12] The historian Brian Stanley shares Cairns' view, noting that the theology of Scottish missionaries "as a whole bears the distinctive stamp of Calvin's desire to see the entire life of Christian communities – including their political and economic affairs – brought under the theocratic rule of Christ."[13] This belief that God was sovereign over every aspect of human life and activity informed the practical work of Scottish Presbyterian missionaries and deepened their theology when encountering other faiths and cultures. The historian of world Christianity, Andrew Walls, stated that Scottish concern with the coming Kingdom of God contributed to the development of the "fulfillment theology," which

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[12] David Cairns cited in Andrew F. Walls, 'Three Hundred Years of Scottish Missions', in *Roots and Fruits : Retrieving Scotland's Missionary Story*, ed. Kenneth R. Ross (Oxford: Regnum Books International, 2014), 29.

[13] Stanley, 'The Theology of the Scottish Protestant Missionary Movement', 57.

was related to “the completion in the fullness of God’s time.”[14] This was closely related to another characteristic of Scottish missions that Cairns discussed in his address to his Aberdeen students: Scottish Presbyterian missionaries possessed a habit of rigorous theological thinking.[15] As we have seen in previous chapters, in times of crisis, such as the Mutiny of 1857 in India and the wave of violence against foreigners in China during the 1890s, Scottish Presbyterian missionaries worked for an enhanced theological understanding of non-Christian religions and of the relationship of culture and religion.

Believing in God’s omnipresence and divine direction of every aspect of human society, Scottish Protestants worked to remove or diminish social and cultural obstacles to Christian conversion. They devoted themselves to bringing knowledge of God to individuals, expecting that personal transformations would in time to lead to social transformations, permeating the societies of India and China with improved moral standards. Inspired by the biblical narratives of Jesus’ healing ministry and drawing upon Edinburgh's distinguished medical teaching, the EMMS was founded in 1841. It aimed to address physical ailments in the mission fields and to proclaim the healing power of God. The establishment of the EMMS was an exemplar of how the scientific commitments rooted in the Scottish Enlightenment could combine with a Scottish Presbyterian theological commitment to achieving the godly commonwealth.

The Manchuria mission, as demonstrated in the fourth chapter, provided a clear example of the distinctive strengths of the Scottish Protestant traditions in medicine and education. Amid the warfare of the 1890s and early 1900s in Manchuria, the

[14] Walls, ‘Three Hundred Years of Scottish Missions’, 28.
[15] David Cairns cited in Walls, ‘Three Hundred Years of Scottish Missions’, 29.

medical mission was the only mission work that could be carried out as usual. The Qing government recognized its significant contribution to the local inhabitants and the community. Stanley has discussed the many close connections between Edinburgh and China from 1850, when the first Chinese medical student, Wong Fun, commenced his medical training at Edinburgh under the auspices of the EMMS. Edinburgh's "unrivalled reputation as a pioneer of professional medical education, coupled with the keen interest that Scottish Protestant Christians took in overseas missions, especially to Asia",[16] forged a connection that survived the challenge of the Chinese anti-foreign wave. Even after the Communist revolution of 1949, the Scottish legacy in medicine and education continued, and the Mukden Medical College has remained operational to the present day.

The heirs of the Scottish Reformation

As we have seen, many Scottish Protestants expressed deep animosity toward the Roman Catholic Church, and this was evident in the mission fields. This intense hostility was rooted in the Scottish Reformation. They fiercely criticized Roman Catholic institutions, including the Papacy, priesthood, and use of images in worship. The Scottish mission movement, according to Stanley, exemplified "with peculiar sharpness a tension that was endemic in both Catholic and Protestant missions from their very inception."[17] Scottish Protestant missionaries believed that both the Catholic ecclesiastical system and Catholic theological teachings were fundamentally

[16] Brian Stanley, 'Edinburgh and China: The History of Medical, Educational, and Missionary Connections', *University of Edinburgh Journal* 50, no. 2 (2021): 104.
[17] Stanley, 'The Theology of the Scottish Protestant Missionary Movement', 55.

corrupt and steeped in error. Scottish Protestants also believed that Britain's rival France used Roman Catholic missionaries to gain political power and control over resources in foreign lands. Their anti-Catholicism can be discerned in Scottish Protestant missionaries' explanation of Chinese xenophobia. For many Scottish missionaries, Catholicism joined with Taoism and Buddhism as the major causes of Chinese superstition and intellectual blindness. They were false religions and their priests selfishly preserved their self-interests at the expense of the spiritual and material well-being of the Chinese people.

In the chapters on India, we saw how Scottish Presbyterian missionaries blamed such cruel ritual practices as suttee or human sacrifice on the Hindu priests. Believing that the cruel ritual practices were preserved by familial and communal customs, the Scottish Presbyterian missionaries insisted that each individual should have the freedom to choose their faith, regardless of the views of their family or community. This bold claim, however, could be seen as an assault on the traditional communal beliefs that had defined societies in India for centuries. The Scottish insistence on freedom of religion, moreover, like their insistence on free trade, had the power of the British imperial state behind it, and it could seem to mean accepting the superiority of Western religion and Western civilization. During the nineteenth century, many Scottish Protestants viewed their faith as the true faith, and they believed that they had a responsibility to convert Jews and Catholics, as well as heathens. This gave a heightened moral responsibility to the Scottish missionary movement, with its belief that only Protestantism would bring people real liberation, true faith, lasting social advancement, and eternal salvation. Nineteenth and early twentieth-century Scottish

missionaries were the heirs of the Scottish Reformation. The spiritual authority of Scripture (*sola scriptura*) was fundamental to the Scottish missions, which emphasized bible study and the divine authority of Scripture. The doctrine of the priesthood of all believers meant a shared responsibility of all Protestants to spread the good news of the Bible and live out a good Christian example. It encouraged all Scottish Christians to become involved in the project of spreading the gospel to the whole world, if not as missionaries themselves, then through their financial contributions, fund-raising activities, and prayers.

The Influence of the Scottish Mission Movement

The Scottish mission movement was largely shaped by both the Scottish Enlightenment and Scottish Reformation, as discussed in the previous sections. Yet, it also reflected Victorian Scotland's unique social and economic conditions. The eminent historian Tom Devine has described Scotland as "a nation of emigrants." The country's uneven economic development led many Scots to migrate to foreign lands in search of a better life.[18] From the beginnings of the British Empire, Scots moved to Europe, the Caribbean, the West Indies, North America, South Africa, India, and Australia as merchants, traders, soldiers, teachers, civil servants, journalists, farmers, and even criminals in penal colonies. Scotland, a strong emigrant state, made a contribution to both the development of the British Empire and to the missionary movement that was out of all proportion to the size of its population. As shown in chapter two, the nineteenth-century Scottish missionary movement was dominated by

[18] T.M Devine, *Scotland's Empire: The Origins of the Global Diaspora* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), especially Chapter 1.

the three Scottish Presbyterian Churches. The English Presbyterian Church mission of China in 1847 was also conducted mainly by Scottish missionaries. In 1865, the English Presbyterian Church mission started a mission station in Formosa, the pioneer missionaries, James Laidlaw Maxwell, Hugh Ritchie, William Campbell, Thomas Barclay, Duncan Ferguson, Peter Anderson, Campbell Naismith Moody, and Andrew Bonar Nielson, were either Scots or had been educated in Scotland. Scottish missionaries sent out by the London Missionary Society, including Robert Morrison, William Milne, William Muirhead, James Legge, Alexander Williamson, and James Gilmour of the Mongolia, had a great impact on the missions to China.

Many Scots found the larger conception of the British Empire to be relatively vague. It was easier to comprehend the Empire in its varied parts – as countries and societies with natural resources, distinctive manufactures, markets, opportunities for wealth and status, adventures, and chances of glory and fame. When Protestant missionaries joined the Scottish diaspora, they also intentionally "brought the Empire home" to Scotland, through the circulation of missionary reports, correspondence with family members, public speeches, and missionary publications. The historian Susan Thorne, in considering the British context more widely, has maintained that the mission movement ensured the "Empire's vital importance in popular Victorian worldview" and "helped to keep the Empire in public view."[19] This thesis has argued that Scottish Presbyterian missionaries and mission supporters helped Scots to maintain a strong awareness of the British Empire. The Scottish Presbyterian identity

[19] Susan Thorne, 'Religion and Empire at Home', in *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, ed. Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 147.

was interwoven with the process of cultivating a moral, responsible Empire, which meant bringing religious and moral instruction and introducing visible social improvement to the inhabitants of the expanding Empire. Scotland's imperial identity provided an alternative to the religious divisions that had long plagued Scottish society[20] and it helped Scottish Presbyterians to reconnect with the Scottish Enlightenment tradition in pursuing a mission that emphasized education, medical work and social reform, as well as evangelizing. The Scottish missionary movement, and especially the missionary supporters at home, helped to keep the British Empire and its prospects before local congregations, while the mission movement also served to preserve a Scottish national identity based on active participation in the Empire's perceived moral and spiritual contributions to the world.

During the nineteenth century many Scottish Presbyterians combined conceptions of the British Empire with the biblical vision of the coming Kingdom of God on earth. For much of our period, conceptions of the British Empire were vague and ill-defined. As we have seen, articles and publications in the Scottish press variously referred to India as the Indian Empire, Our Indian Empire, or the Eastern Empire. The historian of empire, Bernard Porter, has argued that "it was only towards the end of the nineteenth century that the word [empire] became clearly attached to Britain's exploits abroad."[21] But as this research showed, some Scots were prepared in the 1840s to embrace notions of empire, and to maintain that the British Empire was a sacred trust. Early in 1844, the Scottish Presbyterian missionary, John Wilson, wrote

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[20] Ryan Mallon, 'A Church for Scotland? The Free Church and Scottish Nationalism after the Disruption', *Scottish Church History* 49, no. 1 (2020): 1–24.

[21] Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists : Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 8.

of “the moral debt that Scotland owed to its Indian people”, and insisted that the British Empire should give more attention to uplifting the material and spiritual life of its subjects in India. For such Scots, the idea of empire included a distinctive mix of Scottish Enlightenment ideas of progress and Scottish Reformation conceptions of salvation by divine grace and the imperatives of spreading the gospel. Many Scottish Presbyterians drew from the biblical vision of the coming Kingdom of God, seeing the expanding British Empire as a means to spread the gospel and a Christian morality to the wider world.

Four years after the publication of his influential *The Absent-Minded Imperialists* (which had stirred a fierce debate about the real impact of the British Empire), Bernard Porter published a journal article entitled “Further Thoughts on Imperial Absent-Mindedness”, in which he defended and expanded upon his arguments. Porter maintained that claims that the British Empire had helped to shape a British national identity – which in turn further encouraged imperial expansion – was an exaggeration. “It is at least arguable that ‘national identity’ has very little to do with the *realities* of national life.”[22] Porter maintained that only a small body of Britain’s social elite felt much real commitment to the British Empire. Further, commitment to the Empire never had much impact on the lives of the majority in Britain, and the breadth and depth of imperial impact in Britain “had been generally overrated.”[23] Richard Price agreed with Porter’s point that the empire was not ubiquitous in any of Britain’s cultural institutions, noting that “even the House of Commons in the mid-nineteenth

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[22] Bernard Porter, ‘Further Thoughts on Imperial Absent-Mindedness’, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 36, no. 1 (2008): 101.
[23] Ibid., 102.

century spent only 10–15 percent of its time on colonial issues."[24] Articles on the British Empire were not as high profile as imagined, Price maintained: "between 1868 and 1910 there were only thirty articles on Indian women in the *Englishwoman's Review*, for example, which has been used as a main source to argue the centrality of empire in feminist consciousness in the late nineteenth century."[25] Price's main criticism of Porter's thesis was that it gave too little attention to voices outside Britain. "The metropolitan gaze is insufficient to properly scan the links of Britain's history to its empire."[26] For Price, Porter's research was too Britain-centered.

This thesis has argued that supporters of the Scottish missions promoted paternalistic policies aimed at improving social conditions in India and China. They believed they had a moral obligation to educate, evangelize and provide needed social services to people within the British Empire or the British sphere of influence. God, they believed, gave the British people unprecedented wealth, military and industrial power, and global influence through their Empire, and this was for a divine purpose. God, who was sovereign over all of creation, had established the British Empire as a means to promote the spread of commerce, civilization, and Protestant Christianity to all the world.

While the British Empire was expanding and European imperialism was at its height in the decades after 1880, many colonized peoples embraced nationalism, with its promise of national independence and national self-determination. The two Asian countries that have been examined in this study, India and China, both experienced

[24] Price, 'One Big Thing: Britain, Its Empire, and Their Imperial Culture', *Journal of British Studies* 45, no. 3 (2006): 618.
[25] Ibid., 619.
[26] Ibid., 626.

nationalist movements in the 1880s and 1900s, with activists, often educated in mission colleges, leading efforts to reclaim their countries' fate and future. As we have seen, some Scottish Protestants, recalling their own history of resistance to English dominance, viewed the rise of nationalism in India and China in a relatively positive light. Dugald MacKichan, in his 1926 series of Chalmers lectures, pointed out that "the awakening of a national consciousness among peoples from which it had long been absent is a conspicuous feature of the present time." This national consciousness "first awakened in India" and "has arisen almost simultaneously in the political and in the religious sphere."[27] MacKichan attributed the awakening of Indian national consciousness to the power and the work of Christianity

> for the Christian doctrine of man prepares the way for the rise of this self-consciousness in the nation. It inculcates the principle of self-determination in the individual consciousness and there can never be a sound national consciousness that is not rooted in a deep sense of individual responsibility.[28]

In the view of such Scottish observers as MacKichan, those who received Christian education often became people prepared to accept civic responsibility and embrace independence of mind. Such individuals would contribute to the rebirth of their society. We have seen how Scottish missionaries in Manchuria viewed the rise

[27] Dugald MacKichan, *The Missionary Ideal in the Scottish Churches: The Chalmers Lectures Delivered in 1926* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1926), 139.
[28] Ibid.

of Chinese patriotism in a positive light. Japan was frequently used as an example to show that an Asian country was capable of modernizing and becoming a great world power. Western civilization and knowledge, especially scientific knowledge, were crucial for bringing a nation industrial and military power, a new sense of social cohesion, and belief in a shared destiny: a small Asian nation like Japan has demonstrated such a transformation. Many Scots believed that attachment to one's own nation and a shared commitment to improve their own society were imparted through education and Christianity. Then the sense of moral duty and compassion for others in their society encouraged the beneficiaries of Christian education to think about the renewal of the whole nation. Scottish Protestant missionaries believed that such "enlightened" patriots would help to bring their countries to embrace the benefits of free trade and aspects of Western civilization. Therefore, most Scottish Presbyterians did not consider the rise of nationalism as a threat: rather, for them Asian nationalism might draw the peoples of India and China into global networks of commerce and scientific communication, drawing the Eastern and Western civilizations more closely together.

Suggestions for Future Research

In its analysis of Scottish attitudes to missions and empire, this thesis has drawn upon an extensive exploration of Scottish newspapers, magazines, missionary biographies and autobiographies, and the published records of the three main Scottish Presbyterian Churches, including their foreign mission reports and magazines, and their mission publications, from 1840 to 1910. This said, it must also be observed that

a noticeable silence exists in these materials – that is, the views of women have largely (but not entirely) been absent. The three Scottish Presbyterian Churches' General Assemblies and Mission Committees were dominated by male ministers and elders. Nearly all the writers in the Scottish press were male. It was difficult to discern how women would have discussed the unequal British-India trade, the two Opium Wars, the pros and cons of the free trade, the 1857 Mutiny, the Chinese anti-foreigner movement, the Sino-Japanese war, and the Boxer Uprising. We have, to be sure, considered some publications by women. However, the female voice was relatively hard to find in the public records. Their views and emotions were mainly conveyed in their private correspondence with family and relatives, and close confidants. Rosemary Seton has pointed out the challenges in researching the life of female missionaries and the works in foreign lands, "particularly those of married women."[29]

The lack of formal records and the loss of private letters has made researching the role of women in the Scottish mission difficult. Moreover, in some cases documents relating to women have been poorly catalogued in the archives. An example can illustrate this difficulty. The Glaswegian Thomas Barclay, a University of Glasgow graduate, was ordained and sent by the English Presbyterian Church mission to Formosa in 1875. He and his wife, Elisabeth A. Turner, a Scottish nurse, married in 1892, and both served in Formosa until they died. Thomas Barclay focused on theological education and founded Tainan Theological College and Seminary in 1876; meanwhile, Elisabeth assisted other Scottish missionaries in medical missions near the seminary and actively participated in teaching young pupils and organizing

[29] Rosemary Seton, *Western Daughters in Eastern Lands: British Missionary Women in Asia* (Santa Barbara, California: Praeger, 2013), xxiii.

worship and service for other missionaries, patients, and converts. In 1908, Thomas and Elisabeth Barclay finished a short leave in England. Thomas travelled alone to Shanghai to oversee the printing of a newly translated Taiwanese Bible, while Elisabeth, who had received surgery for encephalitis, travelled later. Elisabeth decided to take the route from England through Siberia to Shanghai to join her husband, and they then intended to return to Formosa together with the newly translated Bible. Unfortunately, Elisabeth's health failed in Mukden, where she died, and she was buried in Shanghai in 1909. Her writings were collected as *Letters from Far Formosa to Boys and Girls*, published privately in 1910. This became a "legendary" book. For many years, researchers tried to find it everywhere in vain. In 2022, this book was finally found. It was located in boxes of foreign missionary documents, categorized as small "addenda individuals" of "Overseas Formosa T. Barclay Letters 20 Boys-Girls." This example revealed the challenge of locating materials written by female mission workers. However, if more female mission workers' writings could be studied, no doubt it would enrich our existing understanding of public attitudes, missions and the British Empire, including the account provided in this thesis.

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