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the important question is not whether or not change, even radical change, can take place without destroying a culture and consequently dehumanizing those who had it as their own. Perhaps the important question is how the change takes place. If it is forced on a people from outside, intentionally or unintentionally, it is likely to be destructive of human values. However, if it takes place from inside, as something embraced and promoted by the people themselves as both necessary and desirable, it is likely to strengthen, not weaken, a culture. This is the role that Christianity has played in its best moments. It brings God as revealed in Jesus Christ within a culture, helping people to see a new liberating, changing possibility for them.

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Baptists and the Transformation of Culture: A Case Study from the Career of William Carey

John D. W. Watts

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The interaction between cultures which is involved in the very acts of mission may be presumed to affect the cultures of both the sending and the receiving countries. It certainly has an effect on the missionary and the missionary family. The extent to which missionaries consciously involve themselves in the support and development of the culture in which the mission work is done, of course, varies. Many missionaries have held themselves apart from the cultures in which they worked, sometimes taking on the attitude of the occupying powers, where the work is done in a colony. Sometimes missionaries have used their preaching to teach the inferiority of 'heathen' cultures while magnifying their own home culture as synonymous with 'Christian' values. But a few, like William Carey and his colleagues at Serampore, West Bengal, involved themselves in the revival of a native culture and left a lasting contribution to the culture they served in addition to the churches they founded.

The monuments and testimonies to the contribution that Carey made to Bengali culture and education are impressive even today. This article grows out of my brief stay of three years as professor in the theology department of Serampore College, 1972–75. The cordial welcome and hospitality accorded me and my family at Serampore have left a lasting impression. An even deeper impression was left by the experience of walking on the ground of the college campus and surrounding areas, hallowed as the place where the Serampore trio, Carey, Ward and Marshman, laboured so productively. This article represents another enduring impression from those years, supported by many conversations with Indian people, Christian and Hindu alike, who spoke in reverent tones of what Carey had done for India and for Bengal particularly.

What Carey meant to the course of Christian missions is recorded elsewhere. This article will try to point to the remarkable way that Carey and his colleagues related to Bengali culture. p. 330

CAREY'S GIFTS AND ATTITUDES

Though we write of Carey, what is described applies to all three of the Serampore pioneers and to those who followed them, like John Marshman and John Mack. Unfortunately they were not typical of all the missionaries of that time, even those sent from the Baptist Missionary Society. The difference in attitude toward their task and toward their cultures both at home and in India led to severe disagreements concerning missionary methods and even to complete division. Serampore stood, and stands, as a monument to a view of missions and to the relation of faith to culture that is unique.

Carey and his co-workers were multi-faceted persons. John Marshman writes of Carey: His 'herculean labours he was enabled, even in the climate of Bengal to accomplish without any strain to his constitution by that methodical distribution of his time to which he rigidly adhered through life, and that cheerfulness which was the spring of exertion. His relaxation consisted simply in turning from one occupation to another'.¹

Carey was not only a preacher and Christian apologist. He was also a cobbler, a linguist, a scientist, anthropologist, and orientalist, specializing in ancient Indian literature and religion. He was concerned for and interested in practical matters such as agriculture.

The achievements of these missionaries included translations of portions of the Bible into 22 Indian languages. Marshman learned Chinese and published a rudimentary translation into Chinese. They set out to translate sacred Hindu literature into Bengali from the Sanscrit, making it accessible to ordinary people. They published dictionaries, and Carey served for a time as the official government translator of important laws and decrees.

Carey's interest in science was related to his love of plants. In 1923 he was elected a fellow of the prestigious Linnaean Society as well as a member of the Geological Society and the Horticultural Society of London. We do well to remember that this predated Darwin's era. This science was still Newtonian in form and method. But Carey saw no conflict between his science and his faith. He regarded Western science as one of the gifts that he could help to bring to India. Marshman was a teacher of chemistry in the college.

Beyond their specific occupations, the Serampore missionaries brought certain values and attitudes which set them apart. Their p. 331 concern for the status and dignity of women not only allowed the women missionaries a wide range of activities, but led to the establishment of schools for girls and to forthright efforts to have laws against the immolation of widows (sati) enacted. Their broad sympathies led to opening the college to Christians from all denominations as well as to Hindus. The attitude toward other denominations has led to recognition of their being one of the first to lay the foundations of the 20th century ecumenical movement.

In these things the missionaries worked better than they knew. John Marshman wrote of them: 'The influence of Hindooism (sic) has been sapped, not, as the missionaries supposed, by learned argumentation, but by the introduction of higher and nobler

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¹ John Clark Marshman, *The Life and Labours of Carey, Marshman & Ward* (New York: U. D. Ward, 1867) p. 321.

sentiments. If they could have foreseen this revolution, they would, doubtless, have accommodated their plans to it'.²

CAREY'S CAREER

Stephen Neill recounts the beginnings of Carey's stay in India: 'The beginnings of Carey's Indian career were inauspicious. He had no permit to reside in India. For five years the only way in which he could escape arrest and find means to maintain his family was to take service as manager of an indigo plantation in the interior of Bengal. Here little missionary work was possible; but Carey was able to lay the foundations for his *spendid knowledge of the Bengali language'*. In 1800 Carey was joined by two other missionaries: Joshua Marshman, a teacher, and William Ward, a printer. They decided to place their mission in the Danish commercial enclave of Serampore where they would be safe from the strictures of the British East Indian Company under the protection of the Danish flag.

Neill continues the story: 'Carey and his colleagues had clear ideas as to to the lines which missionary endeavour should follow. The first step must be the translation, printing and dissemination of the Scripture in all the main languages of the East. Carey himself performed the astonishing feat of translating the entire Bible into Bengali, Sanscrit and Marathi. In a little over thirty years parts of the Scriptures had been printed in no less than thirty-seven languages, including Chinese'. Neill goes on to note that the translations were 'rough and in need of p. 332 revision ... Nevertheless, the achievement stands unequalled in the whole history of Christian missionary work'.⁴

Neill then goes on to note that the second line of missionary work conducted by the Serampore trio was preaching. And that 'if this was to be effective, the preacher must be armed with good knowledge of the manners and customs of his hearers. To this end the missionaries devoted themselves to a careful study of Hinduism, *and to the translation of some of the Hindu classics*'.⁵

Thus, the missionaries were involved in a two-way traffic of ideas and understanding between their own Western education, cultures, and concepts and those of their host country. Marshman and Carey brought instruction in science and scientific methods to their teaching in Serampore and Calcutta.

Carey was a founding member of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of Bengal which continues to flourish to this day. He is commemorated by a bust near the entrance to the Botanical Gardens. He planted a botanical garden in Serampore which was considered to be one of the finest in the East. A few trees from that garden can still be seen on the Serampore campus. Marshman introduced the teaching of chemistry to the curriculum of the college. Neither he nor Carey found any basic problem in combining the study of science and the Christian faith.

Carey as a Teacher of Bengali Language and Literature

'In 1801 ... Carey was appointed Professor of Bengali and Sanscrit in the College newly formed at Fort William for the training of European employees of the East India Company.

² Ibid. p. 284.

³ Stephen Neill, *The Story of the Christian Church in India and Pakistan* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970) p. 74. Italics are mine.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 74-75.

⁵ Ibid., p. 75. Italics are mine.

Carey held the appointment for thirty years, and the results accruing from this can hardly be overestimated'. This appointment enabled Carey to come into contact with prominent persons of that time, including educated Indians from many provinces. These contacts brought many benefits for Carey who was largely a self-taught man in other respects.

Carey's teaching appointment led to his writing a Bengali grammar and a work in Bengali called the 'Colloquies'. 'In collaboration with p. 333 Ram Basu and other teachers, (he) wrote books in Bengali prose to be used as textbooks in his classes. He also started work on his *Bengali Dictionary*, published in 1815, a work which has been of the greatest service to subsequent makers of dictionaries.

'Carey and Marshman together translated and edited a large part of the great Indian epic, the *Ramayana*. Marshman, moreover, not content with working in a number of Indian languages, turned his attention to Chinese, and for many years devoted much of his spare time to this task. He published an introduction, and in 1822, a complete translation of the Bible (in Chinese)'. Carey and Marshman were at work on a great polyglot dictionary of the Sanscrit family of languages when a fire destroyed the printing press in 1812 along with this manuscript and portions of the translation of *Ramayana*.

The first book published in Serampore in 1801 was the complete New Testament in Bengali. 'This was the first book of any size ever printed in Bengali prose, and the first complete printed copy of the New Testament in any Indian tongue'. The importance of this printing in Bengali, along with the subsequent teaching and printing in that language, cannot be appreciated without the knowledge that the Bengali language and the culture it represented were despised and denigrated in India by the Brahmin elite who considered Hindi the only proper language for the educated people to use and of course Sanscrit the only language for religion.

Carey's writing and printing of Bibles and other books in Bengali, as well as his dedicated teaching of this language in the Fort William College, gave the language and the culture a standing both in the eyes of the British and in the eyes of the Bengalis themselves which they had never had from their Hindi overlords.

In a letter to Dr. Ryland of the Baptist Missionary Society in 1799, Carey wrote: 'I am forming a dictionary—Sanscrit, Bengali and English—in which I mean to include all the words in common use. It is considerably advanced; and should my life be spared, I would also try to collate the Sanscrit with the Hebrew roots …'. In December of 1811, Dr. Ryland was sent the news: 'I am now printing a Dictionary of the Bengali which will be pretty large, for I have got to page 256 and am not near through the first letter'. But by 1815 the first edition was published. A second edition folowed in 1818. The second volume was finally available in 1825. The polyglot dictionary was never published, p. 334 as noted above. But Dr. Kalidas Nag writes: 'The publication of this Bengali Dictionary stands even today as a *magnum opus*'.⁹

Carey contributed to the development of a Bengali prose style. Sajani K. Das wrote, in 1942, explaining, the great progress in Bengali prose that took place between 1800 and 1812: 'If we understand this fully, we must remember the scientific directions of Professor Carey and the combined efforts of his "Punditmunshis" (of the Fort William College)'.

⁶ Mrs. E. L. Wenger, 'The Serampore Mission and Its Founders', *The Story of Serampore and its College* (Edited by Wilma S. Steward. Serampore: The Council of Serampore College, rev. ed. 1961) p. 8.

⁷ Ibid., p. 9.

⁸ Ibid., p. 8.

⁹ Kalidas Nag, 'Carey's Contribution to Bengali Literature', in *The Story of Serampore & Its College*, edited by Wilma S. Stewart (Serampore West Bengal: The Council of Serampore College, 1961), p. 94.

'In his *Itihasamala*, Carey gave an anthology of prose tales from the East and the West, starting with Hitopadesa, Panchatanta from Sanscrit, Rupa Sanatan Goswami of the age of Sri Chaitanya (born 1485) and Dhanapat-Khullana and Lahana episodes from middle Bengali collections; as well as Islamic stories of the age of Akbar, his Hindu jester Birbal, and Brahmin Pandits. The translation in Bengali prose were remarkably lucid and logical in syntax'. Nag continues, 'As early as 1802 Carey completed in four volumes the Bengali *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* in five volumes ... William Ward in 1818 produced in English *A View of the History, Literature and Mythology of the Hindoos* in 2 volumes 'which even today is read as "a monument of patient thought, observation and inquiry" '.11

Dr. Kalidas Nag concludes his commemoration of Carey: 'Our gratitude to Dr. William Carey is profound. From his colloquies of *Kathopakathan* of the common men and women (first recorded, 1793–1801) to the publication of the vulgates of the Bengali *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* (1802), his Bengali Grammars (1801–1805, 1818), his Historical Tales or *Itihasamala* (1812) and above all his Bengali-English Dictionary (1812–23) entitle Rev. Carey to immortality among the workers in the field of Bengali language and literature. The subject will be studied by the Teutonic and Latin races with as much thoroughness as the Soviet State and nations are doing ... I salute him, with thousands of my countrymen, on his Bicentenary (1761–1961)'.¹²

The Periodicals

Wenger's words speak of the periodicals and their impact more eloquently than mine ever could.¹³ 'The growth of education, resulting p. 335 in a widening interest in the world around, led the missionaries to turn their attention to the production of periodicals. At this period even the English journals were under severe censorship, and the prospect of being permitted to publish such material in the vernacular did not appear bright ... Under the leadership of Marshman, the attempt was made. *Dig-darshan* appeared in February, 1818, and contained articles of general interest together with a few brief notes on current affairs. This production, so far from incurring censure, met with active approval from members of the Government, and the missionaries were thus emboldened to proceed further. In May, 1818, the first number of Samachar Darpan (Mirror of the News) was issued, being the first newspaper ever published in an Indian vernacular. This weekly newspaper met with great approval in the Hindu community, and high on the list of subscribers is the name of Dwarkanath Tagor' (the famous Bengali poet and Nobel prize winner). In April 1818, also appeared the first number of the Friend of India, a monthly magazine in English. This paper continued to be published in various forms until 1875, when it was amalgamated with *The Statesman*, and in that form is still extant today.

'The publication of the periodicals shows how keenly interested the missionaries were in all current social questions, and references must also be made to the vigor with which they prosecuted their protests against the evils of the time, such as suttee (the burning of widows on the funeral piers of their husbands) and infanticide. Great was their joy when by gradual degrees public conscience was aroused on these matters, and laws were enacted prohibiting such practices.' The periodicals documented the great needs for

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 98.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid., p. 100.

¹³ Wenger, 'The Serampore Mission & Its Founders', pp. 9–10.

¹⁴ Ibid.

reform that they and others saw around them. The very publication of the facts helped to hasten action by the government and by mission efforts.

One of these evils was the Hindu custom of having a man's widow throw herself or be thrown onto the funeral pyre of her husband. The custom is called *suti* (or *suttee* or *sati*). Between January and September, 1920, *Samachar Darpan* reported such incidents sixteen times. In an interesting turn of history, Carey was serving as an official government translator in 1828 when a regulation was passed which declared the act of *suti* illegal and punishable in the criminal courts. He was called upon to translate the intricate legal wording of p. 336 the regulation. He rushed the translation in order that no time be lost in promulgating the regulation lest more deaths should take place. 16

A second example of missionary concern and action related to lepers. It was common practice for lepers to be burned alive. This practice was also reported regularly in *Samachar* and *Friend of India*. It was said that 'Carey never rested till a leper hospital was established in Calcutta'.¹⁷

Serampore College

The idea of involving the missionaries in developing and running schools was a part of their strategy from the beginning. Among other things, it was a means by which they could earn their living. Their earliest work was in schools that taught English, but this was expanded to schools using the Bengali language and came to include schools for girls as well as for boys.

By 1815 the idea of providing schooling for the Indian population was finding support from a more liberal direction of the East India Company despite opposition that pronounced it 'the most absurd and suicidal measure that could be devised'.¹⁸

The Serampore missionaries had previously proposed such measures. They now moved to exploit these new opportunities. 'Dr. Marshman accordingly drew up "Hints relative to Native Schools, together with an outline of an Institution for their Extension and Management" '.¹9 It insisted that this must be done in their native language. The curriculum should include 'a knowledge of orthography and of grammatical structure of the Bengalee (sic) language; a vocabulary of three or four thousand words in general use, and a simple treatise on arithmetic. These were to be followed by an outline of the solar system, couched in short axioms in accordance with the mode in which instruction had been conveyed by the Hindoo (sic) sages from the most ancient period; then a compendium of geography, and a popular treatise on natural philosophy. This was to be followed by a historical and chronological treatise; and, lastly, by a compendium p. 337 of the doctrines, ethics, and morality of Christianity'. These schools prospered and multiplied both for boys and for girls.

These developments led naturally to the idea of an institution which could prepare native preachers for evangelism and the churches, as well as schoolmasters for the

¹⁵ S. Pearce Carey, *William Carey, D. D. Fellow Linnaean Society* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1923) p. 336.

¹⁶ Marshman, *The Life & Labours of Carey, Marshman & Ward*, pp. 354–55.

¹⁷ S. P. Carey, William Carey, DD ..., p. 335.

¹⁸ Marshman, The Life & Labours of Carey, p. 263.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 264.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 265.

schools. In 1918 they issued a prospectus for a 'College for the Instruction of Asiatic Christian and other youth in Eastern Literature and European Science'. Marshman envisaged the school as 'the handmaiden of evangelism'. The prospectus 'stated that those who were to be employed in propagating the gospel in India should obtain a thorough knowledge of the doctrines then held sacred in the country, and that this could not be gained without a knowledge of the Sanscrit language in which they were enshrined ... In pursuance of these views, it was proposed to give the students a thorough knowledge of Sanscrit, the sacred language of Hindooism (sic), and of Arabic, the canonical language of Mohammedanism. The students were, moreover, to be well grounded in European science and knowledge'. At an advanced stage students were to study English and gain access to all the knowledge available in English books. The college should include a normal school for teachers, but be preeminently a divinity school.

Significantly, despite these narrow goals, the course of instruction was to be open to native youths from all parts of India *without distinction in caste or creed*. The missionaries soon learned that Indian youths were much more interested in that period in learning English than in learning Sanscrit, so they adapted their cources accordingly. But the openness to all, whether Christian, Muslim, or Hindu was maintained. Living and eating facilities were available in the College for Christians, but arrangements for Muslims and Hindus to live and eat according to their own custom was arranged. Eleven Brahmin students enrolled in the first session.²² The college proposed to introduce its students to the best knowledge of the East and the best knowledge from the West. It was to be an open, free, liberal arts course at its best. This has continued through many changes to the present day. Now the college uses Bengali as its basic language for the arts course, but English for theology because students are enrolled from all over India, not just from Bengal.

The ambitious plans called for the erection of buildings on a campus p. 338 fronting the Hooghly River in Serampore. With help from many people including the Danish king the project was carried out. The buildings still stand and are used in higher education.

The Danish king also granted the college a royal charter giving it the right to grant degrees. This charter continues to be used to legitimate the granting of B. D. and Ph.D. degrees in theology through a system of theological colleges. The college and its system of theological education is the most obvious monument to the vision and achievements of the Serampore trio that is extant today.

Higher education in many forms has spread across India. Serampore has made its peculiar contribution to make that accessible to all Indians. But its most lasting contribution has been to set a standard of higher education for the training of Christian ministers in the seminaries of all denominations across India.

Serampore symbolized so much of the missionary philosophy. It provided higher education in English or in the vernacular. It provided access to their own Indian scriptures, to the best of Western education including science, and to the Christian Scriptures. It was catholic, open to all Christian denominations, and was all Indian, open to persons of all castes and from all parts of India. Its first examinations were held publicly with some thirty Brahmins present to witness the event.²³

²² S. P. Carey, William Carey, DD p. 330.

²¹ Ibid., p. 282.

²³ Ibid., Carey, p. 333.

OPEN CHURCH AND OPEN SOCIETY

In contrast to the hierarchies of Hinduism, everything the missionaries established was open to the lower castes and the 'outcastes', to women as well as men. This was true of the gospel, the churches, the schools, and the college. It applied to the basic rights for life and wellbeing, even for widows, for lepers, and for children. In the openness to all Christians one may note the first stirrings of ecumenism which would flourish in India and in the world a century later.²⁴

INDIGENIZATION

In a Commemoration Address given on February 2nd, 1974, in St. Olave's Church in Serampore, Reverend C. V. John refers to principles which Carey laid down for the Mission. 'Two principles regulated the conception, the foundation and the whole course of the mission which P. 339 Carey began. He had been led to these by the very genius of Christianity itself, by the example and teaching of Christ and of Paul, and by the experience of the Moravian Brethren. He laid them down in his pamphlet called 'The Enquiry'. His daily life during forty years in India confirmed him in his adherence to these two principles. They are that (1) a missionary must be a companion and equal of the people to whom he is sent. (2) a mission must as soon as possible become indigenous, self-supporting, self-propagating'. The Reverend John remembers the principles well. Carey lived out both of them and thereby achieved the possibility for influencing culture to the extent that he did.²⁵

Nag writes: 'Within 20 years of Rev. Carey's death, his devoted labor for 40 years (1793–1834) was developing the field of Bengali literature which, in the next century, produced so many important works, essays and plays, stories and novels, as to rouse the sister languages of India from their slumber. Hindi drama was directly influenced by Bengali dramatists; and many essayists, novelists and playwrights of Maharashtra, Gujerat and even the Dravidian South translated and adapted freely from Bengali originals'.²⁶

Professor Susil Kumar wrote: 'To Carey belongs the credit of having raised the (Bengali) language from its debased condition as an unsettled dialect to the character of a regular and permanent form of speech, capable, as in the past, of becoming the refined and comprehensive vehicle of a great literature in the future'.²⁷

SUMMARY

Some of the supporters of the Baptist Missionary Society probably felt Carey and his colleagues spent too much of their time on study and publications in Bengali. But the spiritual and missionary harvest of their labours lay in Bibles that could be read in the vernacular and sermons that could be preached and heard in the language of the people.

What Wycliffe did for the English, Carey did for the people of south Asia. 'Wycliffe had first done this for the English-reading races of all times, translating from the Latin.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 333.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 331.

²⁶ Nag, p. 96.

²⁷ Quoted by Nag, in 'Carey's Contribution to Bengali Literature', pp. 97–98.

Erasmus and Luther followed him. Tyndale first gave England a Bible from the Hebrew and Greek. And p. 340 now one of these cobblers was prompted and enabled by the Spirit to give to the South and Eastern Asia the Holy Bible'. ²⁸

The Serampore trio left their mark and are recognized in India today for so much more than can be described here. They appreciated the best of Indian culture and they freely offered India the best of their own, including both Science and Christianity. They contributed so much to the 'moral, religious, and intellectual improvement of India'.²⁹

Carey embraced Bengali and Asian culture in the name of Christ and accomplished much more for the Kingdom and for humanity than he could ever know. And generations rise up to call him blessed. 'The influence of Hindoo (sic) has been sapped, not, the missionaries supposed, by learned argumentation, but by the introduction of higher and nobler sentiments. If they could have foreseen this revolution, they would, doubtless, have accommodated their plans to it'.³⁰

One should not assume that these things were accomplished without cost to the missionaries and to the enterprise. The missionary families paid their own heavy price in health and in deaths of children. But they also celebrated their triumphs in children who grew up to work directly in the mission and shared the dreams and ideals of their fathers. Felix Carey and John Marshman may be counted among these.

Disagreements and divisions with missionaries who were appointed to join them, sadly, including Carey's nephew, Eustace Carey, led to Serampore's isolation and to sharp disagreement within the society that marred more than two decades of their lives and left its marks on the mission to this day. Not everyone drawn to mission work shared the broad sympathies and vision of the Serampore trio. Yet, at this point two centuries later, it is that very vision and its application that challenges continuation of mission work everywhere to be its best, to give its best, and to see the best in every culture that it serves.

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²⁸ C. V. John, p. 3.

²⁹ The words were used to describe an enlightened director of the East India Company named Charles Grant by John Marshman, p. 326. But they also summarize the broad result of Carey's enlightened understanding of the place of missionary activity.

³⁰ Marshman, The Life & Labours of Carey p. 284.

Mrs. E. L. Wenger, 'The Serampore Mission and Its Founders', *The Story of Serampore and its College*. Edited by Wilma S. Stewart. Serampore, West Bengal: The Council of Serampore College, rev. ed. 1961 (pp. 1–11).

Research at Serampore College or in other missionary files in India or at Regent's College in Oxford, England would undoubtedly turn up much more documentation for this subject.

Dr. Watts taught for several years in the Theological Faculty of Serampore College. p. 342

Aspects of William Carey's Missionary Policy

Waiter B. Davis

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In this carefully researched article the author analyzes the strengths and weaknesses of Carey's missionary policy in his relationships with the officials of the British government and the East India Company and with younger missionaries and the home board of the Baptist Missionary Society. Conflicts over the control of work, money and property, and confusion over accountability, have been endemic to the missionary movement since Carey. The cause may be other than theology and spirituality. Editor

August 17, 1961 was the 200th anniversary of the birth of the famous English missionary, William Carey; and commemorative services were held in many places in Great Britain, India and East Pakistan. The facts of Carey's life are generally well known to British Baptists, but not so well known to American Baptists. The best biographies of Carey are by John Clark Marshman,¹ Pearce Carey² and Deaville Walker.³ A small, popular edition of Carey's life by J. B. Middlebrook, the home secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, was published in 1961.⁴

Carey's greatness as a missionary statesman is unquestioned. Some missionary historians and biographers such as George Smith,⁵ Robert p. 343 Glover,⁶ Miller,⁷

¹ John Clark Marshman, *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward* (London, 1859).

² Pearce Carey, William Carey (George H. Doran, New York).

³ Deaville Walker, William Carey, Missionary Pioneer and Statesman (Chicago: Moody Press, 1960).

⁴ J. B. Middlebrook, *William Carey* (London: John Murray, 1885), p. 437.

⁵ George Smith, *William Carey* (London: John Murray, 1885), p. 437.

⁶ Robert Glover, *The Progress of World Wide Missions* (revised by Kane), (New York: Harper, 1960), p. 59.

⁷ Basil W. Miller, William Carey (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1952), p. 5.