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Factors behind the Modern Religious Movements in India:

A Study of J. N. Farquhar's Thesis with Special Reference to Arya Samaj

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APPROVAL SHEET

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Dedicated

To

My Parents and Teachers

CERTIFICATE

It is certified that M.S dissertation titled "*Factors behind the Modern Religious Movements in India: A Study of J. N. Farquhar's Thesis with Special Reference to Arya Samaj*" penned by Usman Ali Sheikh is approved for submission.

Dr. Muhammad Akram

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STATEMENT OF UNDERSTANDING

I, Usman Ali Sheikh, Reg. No. 400-FU/MSCR/F11, student of M.S. Comparative Religion, International Islamic University Islamabad, do hereby solemnly declare that the thesis titled Factors behind the Modern Religious Movements in India: A Study of J. N. Farquhar's Thesis with Special Reference to Arya Samaj submitted by me in partial fulfillment for the requirement of M.S. degree is my original work, except where otherwise acknowledged in the text, and has not been submitted or published earlier and so will not be submitted in future for any degree from a university or an institution.

Signature:_____

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Abstract

The subcontinent of India had witnessed a plethora of socio-religious movements during the nineteenth century. Going backwards in history from that time, the scholars are not able to find out instances of such activity on religious and social grounds of India. This phenomenon has incited interest among students of religious history of India which is illustrated through the fact that the scholars have conducted a number of studies on socio-religious movements which originated during the nineteenth century India. Some of them have carried out a broad survey of these movements with an overarching scheme of interpretation and tried to find out the reasons which caused the social and religious activity observed during this period.

Probably the most influential work from this aspect is done by J. N. Farquhar titled *Modern Religious movements in India.* He has contended that the emergence of these socio-religious movements, which he calls "the great awakening", was chiefly because of three forces. Two of them started their activity almost at the same time; these were the British government in India and the Protestant missions. The third one, which started affecting the Indian mind a little later, is described by the author as the work of the great Orientalists.

Among the great socio-religious movements of nineteenth century India was the Arya Samaj. The movement was founded by a wandering *sannyasi*, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, in 1875 in the city of Bombay. For many historians of India, this movement constituted a reaction towards the prevailing circumstances of that time, which includes the forces named by Farquhar as being responsible for emergence of modern socio-religious movements during the nineteenth century India. The problem here, nevertheless, is that the Arya Samaj is often taken as a reaction against the very forces named by Farquhar as cause of emergence of the modern socio-religious movements. Hence, in what terms did these forces impact the emergence of Arya Samaj which apparently stood as a reaction against them?

This study aims to delineate the working of the forces mentioned by Farquhar in emergence of modern socio-religious movements of nineteenth century India, with particular focus on the Arya Samaj. It also proposes an illustration of how the Arya

Samaj, which is supposed to be a reaction against the British influence and the Christian missionaries in India, is also impacted by them in turn.

For this purpose, this study is divided into four chapters: Chapter one chronologically delineates the expansion of British power in India, the rise of modern religious movements in India, biographical sketch of Dayananda Saraswati and the genesis of Arya Samaj. This chapter serves as an introduction for the next three chapters by setting the forces mentioned by Farquhar in the backdrop of the eighteenth and nineteenth century India.

The second chapter elaborates the impact of the first force regarded by Farquhar as being responsible for the socio-religious awakening in nineteenth century India, namely the British government in India. Farquhar has particularly focused on two aspects of the activity of the British Indian government in this regard: education and the introduction of socio-religious reforms in India. This chapter introduces the two along with their impact on modern Indian socio-religious movements, especially the Arya Samaj.

The third chapter covers the second force mentioned by Farquhar in this context, which is the Protestant missions in India. In this regard, he has specially focused on the work and method of William Carey and his colleagues in Serampore, and Alexander Duff. This chapter begins by introducing Protestantism in India while focusing on the rise of Protestant mission in India and the methods employed by Protestants in their missionary endeavor. It then proceeds by analyzing the impacts of Protestant missions on the Arya Samaj, both in shaping its ideology and methods of work.

The fourth chapter deals with the work of great Orientalists on India, which comes across as third of the three forces mentioned by Farquhar, and its impact on the emergence of modern religious movements in nineteenth century India, especially the Arya Samaj. It is further divided into two parts. The first part discusses the British Orientalism in India by outlining the rise of the Orientalist scholarship in India and key ideas of British Orientalists vis-à-vis India. The second part traces the impact of the works of Orientalists in formulating some of the key ideas of Dayananda Saraswati. It also attempts to establish the relationship of Dayananda with some of the

most prominent Orientalists of his times, the result of which became visible in shaping some central themes of his ideology.

The study, in general, outlines the interplay of the forces mentioned by Farquhar and the Arya Samaj reflecting the process by which a movement like the Arya Samaj is influenced by the very elements against which it is supposed to pose reaction. Thus, it concludes by affirming the thesis of Farquhar for the emergence of modern religious movements in nineteenth century India and its relevance for the movement under study: the Arya Samaj.

Literature review

The nineteenth century witnessed a multitude of religious movements in India. J. N. Farquhar, in his greatly influential work *Modern Religious Movements in India*, investigates the emergence of these plentiful socio-religious movements, to which he terms "the great awakening", between 1800 C.E. and 1913 C.E. in the then India. He inquires into the causes of this awakening and identifies them chiefly in three forces. Two of these forces started their activity almost at the same time; they were the British government in India and the Protestant missions. He also points to a third force which started affecting Indian mind a little later, described by the author as the work of the great Orientalists. This force quickened the rate of "the great awakening."[1]

Unlike Farquhar, Philip H. Ashby considers three principles as essential, but not as unqualified absolute, for understanding the modern trends within Hinduism. These are: firstly, that Hinduism is not borrowing from the outside with the purpose of displacing that which is essential to its indigenous tradition; secondly, that the standards to which Hinduism is appealing are the norms that are central to its own values and traditions; and thirdly, that Hinduism is alive , having social relevance, to the present situation. This implies that the author sees modern Hinduism as having the very basis in its Hindu origin and borrowing very less from foreign elements for its foundation.[2]

Kenneth W. Jones, like Farquhar, surveys the Socio-Religious reform movements which emerged in British India. Jones divides these movements into two: transitional movements which "had their origins in the pre-colonial world and arose from indigenous forms of socio-religious dissent, with little or no influence from the colonial milieu", and acculturative movements, which "originated within the colonial milieu and was led by individuals who were products of cultural interaction." Like

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[1] J. N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India* (Delhi: Low Price Publications, 1999).

[2] Philip H. Ashby, *Modern Trends in Hinduism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974).

Farquhar, Jones identifies the Protestant influences on these movements noticed in terms of what he calls *Protestantization.*[3]

Religion in Modern India is another work which broadly surveys the modern religious movements of India and some of the influential religious thinkers of that era. This one-volume work is edited by Robert D. Baird. The work consists of essays on movements like the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Ramakrishna Movement, the Ahmadiyah Movement, Jamia Milllia, the Parsis, the Singh Sabha, Christianity, and the Hindu Mahasabha. It also includes chapters on some of the key religious thinkers of that time like Rammohun Roy, Swami Dayananda Sarasvati, Swami Vivekananda, Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, Sri Aurobindo, Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, Muhammad Iqbal, and Shibli Nu'mani. Since many authors have collaborated in this volume, there is no such overarching interpretive framework, as admitted by the editor, that one finds in Farquhar's *Modern Religious movements in India.* The editor also admits the influence of Farquhar's work in this area of study.[4]

Kenneth W. Jones, in his highly acclaimed work *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in 19th-Century Punjab*, notes that interaction between British Colonial culture and existent Punjabi society produced a third world of those marginal men who moved daily between the two cultures. This third culture contained seeds of colonial culture which were neither purely traditional Punjabi nor English. He signifies that in 1880's Punjab produced first generation of these marginal men, when earlier there were only loners, who were educated in English language and felt the above-mentioned cultural marginality. These educated young men then sought for new ideas which they found in movements like the Brahmo Samaj, the Dev Samaj, and the Arya Samaj. Jones indicates that these young Punjabi Hindus adapted the vision of *Dayanand's* Arya Samaj to their own particular needs and transformed it to an ideology which could provide the psychological foundation for contemporary life.[5]

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[3] Kenneth W. Jones, *Socio-Religious Reform Movements in British India* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[4] Robert D. Baird, *Religion in Modern India* (New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1989).

[5] Kenneth W. Jones, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in 19th-Century Punjab* (California: University of California Press, 1976).

Research Question

Farquhar's work is mostly held as the most influential work till date, as the review of relevant literature indicates, on the Modern Religious Movements in India. Moreover, Kenneth W. Jones in his survey of the socio-religious movements which emerged in 18^{th}-19^{th} century India also approves some aspects of Farquhar's thesis such as the role which Protestant Christianity played in shaping these movements. So, our primary concern in this work is to check the validity of Farquhar's thesis regarding one of the modern religious movements which emerged in 19^{th} century India: the Arya Samaj. Delineating the problem, the question in front of us is:

Did British government in India, Protestant missions, and works of great Orientalists impact the emergence of Arya Samaj? If the answer is in affirmative, then how and up to what extent (in what aspect/expression/forms) these forces were influential in its emergence?

Research methodology

The study is conducted primarily by using historical methodology. That is to say that we have analyzed the historical events which went on to be the cause of emergence of Arya Samaj movement. The study puts the factors mentioned by Farquhar, namely the British government in India, the Protestant missions, and the work of the great orientalists, in the backdrop of eighteenth and nineteenth centuries while analyzing their activity in shaping the Arya Samaj movement.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Nineteenth century India holds a unique position in the history of India in terms of the multifarious religious and intellectual activity witnessed throughout it. An array of new religious movements sprang out from the existing religious traditions which were quite different from each other in their character. The scholars have generally associated this activity, in one way or another, with the British presence in the Indian subcontinent. Thus, before we delve deeper into these movements, it would be worthwhile to look briefly into the British expansion in India.

1.1 Expansion of the British Power in India:

The Mughal decline in India was the result of a combination of internal and external factors. The internal fault lines of the Empire which lead to the weakening of the centralized authority of Mughals over India paved the way for the foreign elements for their intervention in India. The Metcalfs, viewed among the leading historians of Modern India, have summarized the major internal fault lines of Mughal Empire into three:

1. After the demise of Aurangzeb, the sixth Mughal Emperor, the *zamindars* (landholders), who had gained strength in the seventeenth century, began to rebel against the centralized Mughal authority.
2. Some princely rulers, ruling less accessible or peripheral areas of the Mughal Empire, who had previously accepted the Mughal authority and paid it tribute seized to pay tribute and conflicted with the Mughal administration. The influential Rajputs of Rajasthan render the example of such rulers.
3. The Mughal Emperors had appointed governors over areas where they had no "pre-existing local connections." They became independent with the passage of time, ceasing to contribute in the affairs of Empire under the authority of Mughal

administration, which they had been doing in the first place. *Nizam* of Hyderabad and *Nawabs* of Bengal and Awadh fit the category.[6]

The preexisting weakened centralized Mughal authority was further shaken by the attacks of foreign powers. The Persian Emperor Nadir Shah attacked Delhi in 1739, plundering the region and killing thousands of people across his route. After him, Afghan Ahmad Shah Abdali attacked Delhi in 1748 and 1757.[7] These attacks further jolted the imperial authority of Mughal Empire. However, no foreign assault was more overwhelming in its dimensions than that of British, which not only demolished Mughal Empire in India but had long-lasting impacts on Indian society in the eras to come.

The presence of British power on Indian soils was first realized in the form of English East Indian Company. Having the charter been awarded by Queen Elizabeth on 31 December 1600 C.E, the company was given the monopoly to hold trade in India and Asia in general. After its arrival in India, the company was able to obtain a grant from the then Emperor Jahangir, which allowed the English to establish factories[8] at selected Indian ports.[9] With the weakening of Mughal authority, the emerging Maratha power started invading the factories of the company which lead its officials to build an army of their own to safeguard their economic interests. This act, however, resulted in a clash between Mughal authorities and the company. Nevertheless, the company was able to gain footholds by 1700 in at least three important Indian cities namely Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay.[10] From here on, the company's authority was to expand throughout India. After this helicopter view of the decline of Mughal Empire, we are going to delve a little deeper in the following

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[6] See Barbara D. Metcalf and Thomas R. Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 29-31.

[7] See Ibid, p. 33.

[8] The term factory here stands for a storage warehouse.

[9] See Burton Stein, *A History of India* (West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), p. 200. Also see Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India*, pp. 44-47.

[10] See Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India*, p. 47.

passages into the expansion of British power, focusing on its territorial extension and civil administration in India.

a) Territorial Expansion of the British Power in India:

The first real and remarkable victory for East India Company on Indian soil was that of the conquest of rich province of Bengal. By 1750, the company had started misusing the rights awarded for free trade by the Mughal Emperors in Bengal. In addition, the company had refused to stop the ongoing enhancement of the fortifications surrounding Calcutta. All this had antagonized the Nawab of Bengal Siraj-ud-Daula, who captured Calcutta in 1756. The company was able to recapture Calcutta in February 1757 under the leadership of Colenal Robert Clive. However, not utterly satisfied with the victory, Clive conspired with Mir Jafar, a commander in Nawab's forces, which resulted in company's victory in the famous battle of *Plassey* on 23 June 1757. Mir Jafar was awarded with the throne of Bengal for his conspiratorial services for the company. The outcomes of the Battle were enormous and as *A History of India* states "This battle, at Plassey, is often considered the true beginning of the British empire in India."[11] The battle also brought tremendous financial benefits for the British.[12]

Mir Kasim, substituting Mir Jafar in 1760, however refused to consent the ongoing looting of his domain by the British and made alliances with Nawab of Awadh on one side and Mughal Emperor on the other to regain his authority in Bengal. The result was the battle of Buxar on 23 October 1764, in which the company troops defeated the alliance; hence making itself effectively the ruler of Eastern India, as the Mughal emperor officially granted revenue collection rights (*Diwani*) for the provinces of Bihar, Bengal, and Orissa to the Company.[13] Thus, the Company which once only had the ambitions of trade in India was now in the making of its ruler.

The next most significant conquest of the East Indian Company was that of the state of Mysore in 1799, defeating Tipu Sultan in the Fourth War of Mysore.

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[11] Stein, *A History of India*, p. 202.

[12] See Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India*, pp. 51-53. Also see, John F. Riddick, *The History of British India: A Chronology* (London: Praeger, 2006), pp. 14-15.

[13] See Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India*, p. 53.

Following the war with the Marathas, the Company was able to capture Delhi in 1803. By 1818, as an aftermath of the third Anglo-Maratha war, most parts of Maharashtra and Gujarat, once under the influence of the Marathas, were controlled by the British. With the annexation of Sind in 1843 and defeat of Sikhs of Punjab in 1849, the company had captured, by 1850, almost all the Indian subcontinent.[14]

Apart from these military conquests, the Company developed a system of "indirect rule." The British had made alliances with Nawabs and native princes of different Indian states. In such arrangements a prince was supposed to protect the British from its enemies, accept a British resident at his court who could intervene in the state affairs, and fulfill substantial costs of the Company's troops. For all practical purposes, these alliances made the princes subsidiary and subordinate to the Company, and needless to say, the sole beneficiaries here were the British. The states of Hyderabad, Arcot, and Awadh are examples of such arrangements.[15]

b) East India Company's Civil Administration of India:

Gaining the political power in India, the East India Company, far from being a trading organization, started to exhibit a different character. After the battle of Buxar in 1764, much of Eastern Indian territories came under the influence of the British. For the adequate management of its territories in India, in 1772 the Company nominated Warren Hastings as first Governor on its Indian lands. In the years to follow Hastings established such a structure of Governance which, as *A Concise History of Modern India* states, "laid an enduring foundation for the British Raj in India."[16]

The position which Hastings could be referred to have taken in his governance was the adaption of English regulations according to the customary and traditional practices of the natives, which meant not to impose the British system of Government in its entirety on the Indian subjects due to the obvious cultural differences. This is quite evident in the legal system which he developed during his rule. One of the

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[14] See Riddick, *The History of British India: A Chronology*, pp.28, 31, 34-35. Also see Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India*, pp. 69, 72, 90-91. And Stein, *A History of India*, p. 220.

[15] See Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India*, pp 72-75.

[16] Ibid., p. 56.

fundamentals of Hastings' jurisprudence was to regulate the life of his Indian subjects according to their basic religious texts. Hastings and his team were convinced that there originally existed a body of laws in India which later on became corrupted by means of interpretations, accretions, and commentaries. Hence, he set off the task of "purifying the original texts" from later corruptions. Hastings further believed that the laws for Hindus and Muslims were separate with respect to their own religious texts and that they were to be regulated by their respective codes of law, especially in civil suits. The traditional legal procedure, however, was replaced by the new British case law.[17]

The other innovation made by Hastings in the civil administration of his territories was the introduction of the system of district collector. With the primary mandate of collecting tax, the collector also acted as magistrate. To begin with, experienced Indian officials were deployed for revenue administration, as the company did not have trained British personnel suited for the job. Lord Cornwallis, who became Governor General in 1786, however, as a part of his reform agenda, confined the jobs above certain rank, including district collector, only for the people hailing from the British origin. To fulfill the need of trained British officials accustomed to Indian languages and culture, Fort William College in Calcutta (1802) and a college in Haileybury, England (1804) were built where necessary training was given to the officials.[18]

Another important aspect of British civil administration was initiation of a new educational system for people of India.[19] Even though the Europeans had started establishing educational institutions which were distinct from the traditional educational institutions in pre-colonial India and more akin to modern European

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[17] See Ibid., p. 58-59. Also see Bernard S. Cohen, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 26-29.

[18] See Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India*, pp. 59-60. For a more detailed survey of the origin and historical evolution of collector's office in India, See Jawhar Sircar, "Ruling the District," *India International Centre Quarterly* 15, no. 2 (1988): pp 71-88.

[19] The issue will be dealt with detail in the next chapter; an introductory note, however, is given here.

educational institutions, the British established an educational policy for Indians with a distinct agenda. T. B. Macaulay,[20] in his famous (or infamous, as some would call it) minute on education in 1835, proposed English medium educational system aimed to form an "anglicized class of Indians" which would function as Intermediaries between Indians and British. To quote him

> We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect.[21]

His proposals, in the main, were later endorsed by Lord William Bentinck, the then Governor General of India, on 7 March 1835.[22]

1.2 J. N. Farquhar and the Modern Religious Movements in India:

While the British influence in Indian subcontinent was becoming more and more obvious, another phenomenon was gradually developing. The period expanding from the beginning of nineteenth century onwards is marked by rapidly growing mutually connected religious and intellectual activity as a result of growing social and religious awareness in India. As an outcome, a multitude of new religious movements, modern in their character, sprang from the existing traditions in Nineteenth century India. The earliest of these movements, *Brahmo Samaj,* was founded by *Ram Mohan Roy* in 1828.

These Modern Religious Movements have drawn the attention of scholars of Indian religious history which has produced some monumental studies. Arguably, one of the most significant works on the subject is *Modern Religious Movements in India,*

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[20] Thomas Babington Macaulay was a British historian and politician. Apart from other achievements, he is famous for introducing English medium education in British India. For a detailed study on Macaulay see: Robert E. Sullivan, *Macaulay: The Tragedy of Power* (Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009).

[21] S. Satthianadhan, *History of Education in the Madras Presidency* (Madras: Srinivasa, Varadachari & Co., 1894), p. IX.

[22] See Suresh Chandra Ghosh, "Bentinck, Macaulay and the Introduction of English Education in India," *History of Education* 24, no. 1 (1995): p. 17.

the magnum opus of J. N. Farquhar.[23] Farquhar has carried out a broader survey of the socio-religious movements appearing between 1800 and 1913 and probed into the timing of their emergence. He inquires that why this activity, to which he calls 'The great Awakening', began at that particular time in the history and not before? He responds to the question with the following:

> The answer is that the Awakening is the result of the cooperation of two forces, both of which began their characteristic activity about the same time, and that it was quickened by a third which began to affect the Indian mind a little later. The two forces are the British Government in India as it learned its task during the years at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, and Protestant Missions as they were shaped by the Serampore men and Duff and the third force is the work of great orientalists.[24]

Thus, Farquhar points out these three factors which generally were influential in producing the great uplift in the religious scenario of nineteenth century India, which became evident by emergence of scores of modern religious movements. However, can we specify these factors for a particular modern religious movement? What follows would be an application of Farquhar's thesis on one of the most influential modern religious movements in India, namely the *Arya Samaj*. The study will unfold by taking into account the terms in which these three factors, British government in India, protestant missions, and the work of great orientalists, influenced the emergence[25] of *Arya Samaj*.

1.3 Dayananda Saraswati and the Genesis of Arya Samaj:

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[23] J. N. Farquhar, an educational missionary in India during late nineteenth and early twentieth century, studied these movements and presented it in Hartford-Lamson lectures in October 1913. These lectures were later published under the title of *Modern Religious Movements in India*.

[24] J. N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India* (Delhi: Low Price Publications, 1999), p. 5.

[25] The word emergence here connotes the years in which Arya Samaj took its shape as an organization. Thus we would primarily, but not exclusively, be looking into the years starting from the genesis of the movement in 1875 till the split in its ranks which happened in 1893.

In 1824, a boy was born to a Shaivite Brahmin in Morvi, a town in Kathiawar, Gujarat. The boy was given the name Dayaram Mulshankar, but is known to the world as Dayananda Saraswati.[26] His father, being a devoted Shaivite, was eager for his son's religious upbringing. His education was started at 5 years of age and by the age of 14 he had learned *Yajur Veda*.[27] As an enthusiast, he urged his son to follow his religious convictions. Despite the opposition from Dayananda's mother, his father insisted on his observance of trying rituals associated to *Sivaratri*. *Sivaratri*, on fourteenth of month of *Maagha* of Hindu calendar, is a premier festival of *Shaivism* in which the devotees fast all day long and spend the night in vigil. Young Dayananda, however, accepted his father's will and accompanied his father to the temple.[28] According to the tradition, the devotees had to spend the night in vigil in order to attain fruits of the fast, which otherwise would go in vain. However, after the midnight most of the devotees, who at first were very enthusiastically participating in the rituals of the night, slept. Among them were his father and the priest.[29] The same night, he saw a mouse climbing on *Shiva's* emblem, depicted as the God himself, and feeding itself on the offerings spread by the devotees over it. The incident had blown fourteen years old Dayananda's mind.[30] His autobiography records:

> I awoke my father, abruptly asking him to enlighten me: to tell me whether this hideous emblem of Siva in the temple was identical with the *Mahadeva* (great god) of the scriptures, or something else. "Why do you ask?" said my father. "Because," I answered, "I feel it impossible to reconcile the idea of an

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[26] See Noel Salmond, *Hindu Iconoclasts: Rammohum Roy, Dayananda Sarasvati, and Nineteenth-Century Polemics against Idolatry* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2004), p. 65.

[27] See Dayanand Saraswati, "Arya Prakash: The Autobiography of Dayanand Saraswati, Swami," *The Theosophist* 1, no. 1 (Oct. 1879): p. 10.

[28] See Lajpat Rai, *The Arya Samaj: An Account of Its Origin, Doctrines, and Activities, with a Biographical Sketch of the Founder* (London: Longmans, 1915), p. 7.

[29] See Ibid., pp. 8-9. Also see Saraswati, "Arya Prakash: The Autobiography of Dayanand Saraswati, Swami," p. 10.

[30] See Pandit Vishun Lal Sharma, *Hand-Book of the Arya Samaj* (AllahAbad: The Tract Department of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, 1912), pp 7-8.

> Omnipotent, living God, with this idol, which allows the mice to run over his body and thus suffers his image to be polluted without the slightest protest.[31]

The father tried to give an explanation but was unable to satisfy his skeptical mind. Dayānanda's biographers have conflicted on the originality of the account in terms of any non-Hindu influence or absence of it on him regarding his skepticism about idolatry at such a tender age; nonetheless, they do agree that the incident was truly a turning point in his life.

In the later years, he had to face two moments of grief when his sister and beloved uncle died in close succession, forcing him to think about the instability of the world and attainment of *Mukti*. This probably led him to decide on living the life of a celibate, an idea which he floated among his friend that ultimately got reported to his parents. His parents, for certain, did not like the idea and persuaded him to marry. At first, he tried to resist it by pleading with his parents to let him complete his studies, but when the matter became inevitable he left his home without letting anyone know.

Trying to escape from his father's grasp, he joined a bunch of wandering ascetics and reached the residence of a scholar, *Lala Bhagat*. He then went to *Kartik Mela* held at Siddhpur where he was approached by his father after he was informed of his presence there by a Hindu devotee who was native of Dayananda's neighboring village. The boy, however, was able to escape once again from his father's hold and hastened to *Baroda*, where he spent time with several *Sanyasis* holding discussions on Vedanta Philosophy which left him convinced of *Vedanta* doctrine of non-duality of soul and God.[32]

From Baroda, he then went to *Chanoda Kanyali* where he spent few months with initiated *yogis* and *sanyasis* studying philosophical treatises of Vedanta philosophy. There he also met *Purnand,* an esteemed sanyasi of *Saraswati* order established by *Sankracarya*, who initiated him as a sanyasi on his insistence and gave him the name Dayananda Saraswati.[33]

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[31] Saraswati, "Arya Prakash: The Autobiography of Dayanand Saraswati, Swami," p. 10.

[32] See Ibid.: pp. 10-11. Also see: Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, p. 105.

[33] See Saraswati, "Arya Prakash: The Autobiography of Dayanand Saraswati, Swami," p. 12.

The years after that, we have come to know through his autobiography, were spent by him as a wandering ascetic travelling to Hindu sacred spaces in pursuit of Holy men and Yogis. However, his quest seems to be of no avail as he was not able to find any master practitioners from whom he could learn yoga.[34] During these years, he also grew skeptical about some of the popular Hindu works and beliefs. One instance recorded in his autobiography is quite illuminating in this regard. Dayananda tells us that as a wandering ascetic, he carried with him popular Yoga books on anatomy which he used to read during his travels but doubted the statements in them. Once he found a dead body in the river which he dissected to check the truth of the statements written in those books. Finding the information provided in the books in total disagreement with the empirical evidence at hand, he cast the books into the river. The end result was that "From that time gradually I came to the conclusion that with the exception of the Vedas, Upanishads, Patanjali and Sankhya, all other works upon science and Yog were false."[35]

Meanwhile his quest for an adequate teacher, for whom he had long desired, seemed to end when he found a blind Brahman *Virjanand* in 1860 in ancient city of Mathura. Dayananda spent two and a half years with him learning Sanskrit grammar and literature. Virjanand believed Vedas to be the authentic representative of Hinduism rather than any other text and was a staunch opponent of image worship and popular *Puranic* Hinduism. It was probably under the discipleship of Virjanand where he initially developed his later convictions regarding the supremacy of ancient Vedas and corruption of later Hindu scriptures.[36] This is quite evident from

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[34] For detailed account of his life during this period See Dayanand Saraswati, "Arya Prakash: The Autobiography of Dayanand Saraswati, Swami," *The Theosophist* 1, no. 3 (Dec. 1879): pp. 66-68, ———, "Arya Prakash: The Autobiography of Dayanand Saraswati, Swami," *The Theosophist* 2, no. 2 (Nov. 1880): pp. 24-26.

[35] Saraswati, "Arya Prakash: The Autobiography of Dayanand Saraswati, Swami," p. 25.

[36] See Salmond, *Hindu Iconoclasts: Rammohum Roy, Dayananda Sarasvati, and Nineteenth-Century Polemics against Idolatry,* pp. 68-69. Also see Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, pp. 106-07.

Virjanand's message for Dayananda, while he was leaving him after completing the studies. Dayananda's biographer quotes Virjanand:

> The Vedas have long ceased to be taught in Bharatvarsha, go and teach them; teach the true Shastras, and dispel, by their light, the darkness, which the false creeds have given birth to. Remember that, while works by common men are utterly misleading as to the nature and attributes of the one true God, and slander the great Rishis and Munis, those by the ancient teachers are free from such a Blemish. This is the test which will enable you to differentiate the true, ancient teachings from the writings of ordinary men.[37]

Dayananda began his wanderings once more after he left Virjanand in 1863, though with an agenda of reform now. He would hold discussions with Hindus and even missionaries in Sanskrit preaching primarily against the image worship, a conviction he had grown even more after becoming student of Virjanand. This continued till 1868 when he took a shift from being a wandering ascetic to public preacher. To begin with, he held debates with Pandits persuading them to accept his ideas. However, failing to convince traditional Pandits he turned now to general public through writing books and delivering lectures. In the later years, probably influenced by Brahmo Samaj's preachers, he left dress code of sanyasi and began wearing full clothes. Moreover, he began lecturing and conversing in vernacular Hindi realizing that Sanskrit would not yield the results he was conscious to attain.[38]

Between the years 1868 and 1875 one finds Dayananda travelling to some of the major cities of India as a public preacher.[39] During this period, he also tried to run

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[37] Bawa Chhajju Singh, *The Life and Teachings of Swami Dayanand Saraswati* (Lahore: Addison Press, 1903), p. 77. Quoted in Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, P. 107.

[38] See Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, pp. 107-09. Also see Salmond, *Hindu Iconoclasts: Rammohum Roy, Dayananda Sarasvati, and Nineteenth-Century Polemics against Idolatry*, pp. 69-70.

[39] After leaving Vijananad, Dayananda also remained in contact with Protestant missionaries and Orientalists. The detailed discussion on this aspect of his life can be seen in third and fourth chapters of this work.

some Sanskrit schools as a means of propagating his ideas. However, this experiment could not yield the desired results for him.[40]

While his fame was spreading ever faster, in 1875 he finally established the organization of Arya Samaj in Bombay to actualize his scheme of reform in full. The following years were spent by him touring throughout the North India, trying to expand the newly founded organization. The place, however, where his *Samaj* found a lot of success was Punjab and its capital Lahore in particular, which became its epicenter in short order.[41] Since Dayananda, after the inception of Arya Samaj, was continuously travelling through India, establishing branches of the Arya Samaj in different cities, he had no time for providing guidance to the newly established movement. Therefore, every Samaj was inclined to act independently, corresponding to its own interpretations of Dayananda's vision.[42]

Dayananda died on October 30, 1883 at the age of 59 after living a life of sustained struggle and continuous seeking; only a year after he had completed revised edition of his magnum opus *Satyarth Prakash.*[43]

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[40] See J. T. F. Jordens, *Dayananda Sarasvati: His Life and Ideas* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 65-67.

[41] See Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, pp. 109-10.;Kenneth W. Jones, "The Arya Samaj in British India, 1875-1947," in *Religion in Modern India*, ed. Robert D. Baird (New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1989), p. 30.

[42] See Jones, "The Arya Samaj in British India, 1875-1947," p. 30.

[43] Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, p. 111. Also see Salmond, *Hindu Iconoclasts: Rammohum Roy, Dayananda Sarasvati, and Nineteenth-Century Polemics against Idolatry*, p. 71.

Chapter 2: British Government in India and the Arya Samaj

The first, and arguably the foremost, force named by Farquhar which gave rise to what he terms as the "great awakening" in Indian history is the British government in India. In this regard, Farquhar particularly focuses the activity of British government in two fields: education and socio-religious reforms. For him, the introduction of modern education transmitted through the medium of English proved revolutionary for India. It was the English educated Indians who were influential in creating or at least running the modern religious movements. Similarly, the socio-religious reforms enforced by British government were of long-lasting impact. Farquhar particularly credits William Bentinck for the reforms, both in education and socio-religious life of Indians.[44] This chapter will unfold by outlining the efforts of British government in the fields of education and socio-religious reforms in India and their subsequent effect on the Arya Samaj.[45]

2.1 The Introduction of English Education in India:

The systematic involvement of the British in the matters of natives' education first started when the British Parliament passed the Charter Act of 1813. The Charter had given two distinctive directions: One was to allocate an amount of no less than a hundred thousand rupees per annum for education that would include the revival of oriental knowledge and promotion of western sciences amongst the natives. The other

[44] See, for instance Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, pp. 8, 17-18, 21, 25-26.

[45] It is pertinent to note here that at many instances the British government and Christian missionaries worked side by side. However, in this chapter education and socio-religious reforms are discussed in relation to British government as they were enforced by the government, even though missionaries had played their part in both of them.

part of the Charter included the terms which allowed the Christian missionary activities on Indian soil.[46]

At that time, and for that matter during much of British presence in India, there existed two distinctive British views on Indian education: The Orientalists' view which glorified ancient Indian history and tried to promote and preserve traditional knowledge and indigenous culture of Indians. Thus they were the opponents of the introduction of modern western education in India. The other view was of the Anglicists who championed western education instructed through the medium of English.[47]

Orientalism and "Anglicism", however, were not only educational movements; rather they denoted two different political and administrative tools for the British rulers. The Orientalist movement got stimulus from the concern of the then governor general, Warren Hastings, that because of the alienation from the native culture the rulers were unable to engage properly with their native subjects. Thus, he encouraged the learning of Indian languages and customs for the British

[46] See, M. S. Sundaram, "A Century of British Education in India 1857-1957," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 107, no. 5053 (1959): p. 495. Also see, Clive Whitehead, "The Historiography of British Imperial Education Policy, Part I: India," *History of Education: Journal of the History of Education Society* 34, no. 3 (2005): p. 318. There is, however, difference of opinion amongst the historians as to why the British initially took keen interest in the education of the natives. Gauri Viswanathan, for example, has argued that the beginning of British policy for educating Indians was not because of the immorality of the natives, as the later discourse might suggest, but because of the bad moral character of the British servants of East Indian Company. The British tried to revive the oriental learning and culture to make the natives strong for combating the oppression of Company's servants. For the complete narrative, see Gauri Viswanathan, "Currying Favor: The Politics of British Educational and Cultural Policy in India, 1813-1854," *Social Text* 19/20 (1988): p. 85-104.

[47] Some scholars have classified these views into three, the third one of the Christian missionaries. However, the missionaries had views similar to that of the Anglicists on educating Indians, to promote western education and English literature amongst natives, though with different agenda in their minds. See, Whitehead, "The Historiography of British Imperial Education Policy, Part I: India," pp. 318-19.

administrators in order to assimilate them with the native culture and to gain the sympathies of the Indians for the foreign rule. Anglicism, on the other hand, rose as a movement which opposed the promotion of oriental learning and sought to promote western literature and education for the natives. Gauri Viswanathan, a prominent post-colonial scholar, has traced the earliest steps of Anglicism back to the policies of Lord Cornwallis, the Governor General who succeeded Warren Hastings. When Cornwallis became the Governor General of British territories of India he had to deal with prevailing corrupt character of British servants of East Indian Company. Cornwallis saw this corruption rooted in the contact of British administrators with the "corrupt natives." So he sought to improve the character of his British officials in India by reversing the initiative of Warren Hastings, which included the maximum possible engagement with the natives, and excluded all the Indians from key official posts, reserving them solely for the British nationals. This meant that his reform was strictly based on the English norms of governance and non-accommodation of natives. Some historians have even traced the later Anglican views back to this stance of Cornwallis.[48]

Although the Charter Act of 1813 granted an amount of at least a hundred thousand rupees for public instruction but no real educational development was seen in the decade following the passing of the Charter because of the unrest caused by the wars in different parts of India and the sums they consumed. The first real step was taken by John Adams, the acting Governor General at that time, when he established a General Committee of Public Instruction (GCPI) which would manage the distribution of one hundred thousand rupees for educational purposes under the terms of 1813 Act. This committee was also given control of the two colleges established in the late eighteenth century: Arabic College of Calcutta and the Sanskrit College of Benares. In the beginning both types of learning, the oriental and the English, were promoted side by side, which also meant that both the Orientalist and the Anglicist

[48] See, Viswanathan, "Currying Favor: The Politics of British Educational and Cultural Policy in India, 1813-1854," pp. 87-89. Also see, Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India*, pp. 59-60.

views were incorporated in it. This practice continued for some time until the differences sharpened in the 1830's.[49]

The Orientalists had remained dominant in shaping the educational policy of the British in India in general and in the GCPI in particular until 1833 when the Governor General of that time, William Bentinck, replaced H. H. Wilson, a prominent Orientalist, with the enthusiastic Anglicist Charles Trevelyan as member of the GCPI. The controversy exacerbated in 1834 when the Anglicists in the committee tried to make English-language instruction mandatory at Agra College by replacing the Arabic and Sanskrit studies with it. The committee was unable to reconcile on the issue and divided into two equal opposing groups. Since the committee failed to resolve the issue itself, the matter was put forward before the Governor General Bentinck with submission of the policy statements from both the sides. The Anglicists, in their submission, had argued for the introduction of English language as the medium of instruction for imparting western knowledge whereby maintaining the superiority of western learning over the oriental one. Therefore, they sought to draw the allocated funds for public instruction for the promotion English language and literature. The Orientalists, on the other hand, saw the case of the Anglicists in disagreement with the terms of 1813-Charter and the strategy that the GCPI had been following for the promotion of both types of learning.[50]

At this stage we see the entrance of highly influential figure of Thomas Babington Macaulay into the British Indian educational scene. The then Governor-General, William Bentinck, referred the matter which was raised by the GCPI for his consideration to Macaulay, the President of the GCPI and law member of the Governor-General's council, who penned his famous Minute on education and presented it on 2nd February 1835. The Minute gave a definite direction to the British educational endeavor in India.

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[49] See Percival Spear, "Bentinck and Education," *Cambridge Historical Journal* 6, no. 1 (1938): pp. 79-81.

[50] See Stephen Evans, "Macaulay's Minute Revisited: Colonial Language Policy in Nineteenth-Century India," *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 23, no. 4 (2002): pp. 267-68.

Apart from the assertions of superiority of English language and western knowledge, the main features of the Minute were: a) replacement of Persian with English as official language of India; b) introduction of English as medium of instruction in educational institutions; c) cultivation of western learning to a class of Indians who not only would be able to act as intermediaries between the ruling British and the natives but would also be able to transmit the western knowledge in vernaculars; d) since the funds allocated for education of the natives were scarce, another assumed benefit of the Indians taught through the medium of English was that they would be able to take care of the education of their fellow countrymen afterwards. [51] [52]

It is obvious from the main themes of the Minute that Macaulay had favored the stance of the Anglicists over that of the Orientalists. His Minute advocated for the unilingual educational policy and demeaned the ongoing policy, which was giving an upper hand to the oriental and vernacular studies. The Governor-General approved Macaulay's proposals, though with some modifications, and issued an order in favor of it on 7 March 1835. The orders affirmed that the main objective of British educational endeavor would be the promotion of European learning and English language among the natives.[53]

The Minute by Macaulay and the orders of Lord Bentinck for its approval, however, did not resolve the controversy between the Orientalists and the Anglicists, since both the factions had their sympathizers amongst the higher authorities in

[51] See Ghosh, "Bentinck, Macaulay and the Introduction of English Education in India," p. 1.; Evans, "Macaulay's Minute Revisited: Colonial Language Policy in Nineteenth-Century India," pp. 269-71.

[52] It seems worthy to note here, however, that the proposals that Macaulay had put forward in his minute were not given for the first time in the history. Such, and pretty similar proposals were made by Charles Grant, for example, in 1790's. See, for instance, Ghosh, "Bentinck, Macaulay and the Introduction of English Education in India," pp. 17-18.

[53] See Evans, "Macaulay's Minute Revisited: Colonial Language Policy in Nineteenth-Century India," pp. 272-73.

London.[54] The definitive statement, however, came from the Wood's Education Despatch of 1854, which not only gave the broad scheme for British educational endeavor in India but also tried to resolve the controversy over the language used as medium of instruction. Wood's Despatch agreed with Bentinck's order insofar that it recognized that the main objective of British educational efforts in India should be the dissemination of European knowledge to the Indian masses but departed from the Bentinck-Macaulay unilingual scheme and opted for a dual-language scheme in which the European knowledge would be imparted in the vernaculars at primary level of education while at the secondary and higher levels English would be used as the medium of instruction.[55] Although the Despatch affirmed emphasis on both English and vernaculars, however the focus on English which was initiated by Macaulay's minute overshadowed the learning of vernaculars. This claim is evidenced by the rapid growth of English-medium institutions after the Bentinck-Macaulay scheme which continued even after the Wood's Despatch.[56]

This British educational policy in India resulted in rapid growth of English education on one hand and decline of the indigenous educational system on the other. The magnitude of this growth is illustrated by some figures here. The primary schools under the governmental department, excluding those run under the private ownership, in 1855 were 1202 having 40,401pupils enrolled in them which rose up to 13,882 schools with 681,835 students in 1882. The total number of primary schools grew to 140,794 in 1947 having enrollment of 11,068,273 students. Likewise, the secondary schools purely under the control of government in 1855 were 169 with 18,335 students enrolled in it which increased to 1363 schools with 44,605 enrollments in 1882. The total number secondary schools at the year of partition had risen up to

[54] For a good look on the aftermath of Bentinck's 1835 orders in London which included reversal of some of his initiatives, see Ibid.: pp. 273-75.

[55] See Ibid.: p. 276.

[56] See Whitehead, "The Historiography of British Imperial Education Policy, Part I: India," p. 319.; Evans, "Macaulay's Minute Revisited: Colonial Language Policy in Nineteenth-Century India," p. 277.

12,899 with 3,020,598 students enrolled in them.[57] The institution of university in India arose with the establishment of universities at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay in 1857[58], the number of which had increased to 18 in 1939 with 130,000 fulltime students enrolled in different programs.[59]

2.2 British Educational Policy and the Arya Samaj:

There is a considerable difference of opinion amongst the historians of British India over whether the British intended to effect or change the Indian culture through their educational policy. Clive Whitehead, a contemporary historian of colonial education, has given a glimpse of this disagreement in his critical review of historiography of imperial education policy in British India. Henry Whitehead, former Bishop of Madras, for example, criticized the introduction of English medium schooling and consequent decline of vernacular education. In Clive Whitehead's words, "Whitehead was adamant that the object of a sound national system of education in India should be to turn out good Indians, not good brown Englishmen."[60] Similar views were expressed by the Indian nationalists like B. K. Boman-Behram, albeit with a more enthusiastic tone, arguing that "British education policy in India was part of a strategy of *cultural conquest*—a deliberate attempt to change Indian life and thought to a Western pattern."[61] On the other hand historians like D. K. Fieldhouse have asserted that the British did not primarily want to change the Indian culture and force them to assimilate to European culture. The introduction of English

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[57] See Syed Nurullah and J. P. Naik, *History of Education in India During the British Period* (Bombay: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1943), P. 190.; Sundaram, "A Century of British Education in India 1857-1957," p. 504.

[58] See Robin J. Moore, "Imperial India, 1858-1914," in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. Andrew Porter (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 431.

[59] See Sundaram, "A Century of British Education in India 1857-1957," p. 503.

[60] Whitehead, "The Historiography of British Imperial Education Policy, Part I: India," p. 322.

[61] Ibid.

education, in principle, was to prepare the natives for subsidiary roles in government.[62]

While there remains contention on whether the British wanted to change the native culture through education or not, it is quite obvious that this educational system produced a class of people who worked as intermediaries between the British and the natives. The English educated[63] natives formed a class which was tangled between the native and foreign culture, a class neither fully Indian in character nor fully English in their behavior, which created a sort of identity crisis for them. In order to solve that identity crisis they embraced new socio-religious movements which arose as a response to the new situation created by British colonialism. To put it in the words of Kenneth W. Jones:

> They were individuals caught between their heritage and British colonial society. The socio-religious movements they led created a cultural and psychological world in which they could find a place for themselves, one that was acceptable to them and one they could defend against the attacks of western critics, both secular and religious.[64]

As hinted above, the new class which received English education was alienated from their indigenous culture and could not entirely become the part of the culture of English rulers too. These English educated people faced a situation in which they had to confront new questions regarding their faith and their identity, which arose in the context of British culture and missionary activity. Since they were unable to find the answers from the orthodox religious and social classes, they sought for new socio-religious movements which provided a variety of new visions for religious and cultural adjustments.[65]

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[62] See Ibid.

[63] The terms like "English education" and "English educated" are used here for the educational system established as a result of British educational policy in India, in contrast to the indigenous educational system.

[64] Kenneth W. Jones, *Socio-Religious Reform Movements in British India* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 214.

[65] See ———, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in 19th-Century Punjab* (California: University of California Press, 1976), pp. xi-xii.

Brahmo Samaj, the earliest of the modern socio-religious movements, is considered to be the pioneer of religious and cultural adjustment amongst the Hindus. The movement was initiated in 1828 in Bengal and spread through much of India during the nineteenth century. The vision of its leaders, nevertheless, was quite liberal which included the acceptance of European culture and pluralistic religious approach. This vision, however, was not accepted by many newly educated Hindus, especially in Punjab. Instead, they turned to the vision of Swami Dayananda Saraswati which was rooted in ancient texts of Vedas and which exhibited a remarkably Hindu character in contrast to that of Brahmo Samaj. Thus, Arya Samaj got strong foothold in Punjab which later became the center of its activities.[66]

Elaborating more on the abovementioned connection between the English educated Hindus and the Arya Samaj, the influence of English education on the Arya Samaj is also evident in its leadership. Apart from the founder of the movement, Dayananda Saraswati, virtually entire top leadership of the Arya Samaj, which mostly came from Punjab[67], received English education in one way or another. Prominent leaders such as Lala Munshi Ram (also known as Swami Shraddhanand), Pandit Guru Datta, Lala Hans Raj, Lala Lajpat Rai, Lala Lal Chand are some examples of such English educated Arya Samajis.[68]

2.3 Social Reforms by British Administration in India:

The tension between the Orientialists and the Anglicists essentially signified the tension between those, in British administration, who wanted to promote the indigenous knowledge and those who wanted reform and introduction of British

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[66] See Ibid., pp. 40-43. In Punjab, the Arya Samaj particularly attracted the highly influential mercantile class of Punjabi Hindus, since, along with other circumstance, its creed granted no special status to the Brahmins. See, for instance, Christophe Jaffrelot, "Introduction: The Invention of an Ethnic Nationalism," in *Hindu Nationalism: A Reader*, ed. Christophe Jaffrelot (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), pp. 10-11.

[67] See Jones, "The Arya Samaj in British India, 1875-1947," p.30.

[68] Kenneth W. Jones has given concise biographies of these leaders. For details see, ———, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in 19th-Century Punjab*, pp. 329-44.

education in India. It seems that this tension was not only prevailing in the educational matters, but also in the administrative realm in general. It is to say that there were periods in the history of British India where the administrators sought for policy of adaption to the ways of the native Indians, while in the other one can see the zeal for reforming Indian society on the pattern of British values.[69]

One of the most well-known instances of British administrative efforts for reforming Indian society is legally prohibiting the practice of *Sati* in 1829.[70] The word *Sati* has been used both for the act of burning of widow with her husband and for the wife who is burnt in the act.[71] Though not explicitly mentioned in the oldest sacred Hindu scriptures, *Sati* was a practice which developed in the course of history amongst the high-caste Hindus.[72] While the instances of widow-burning started coming to the notice of British officials in the late eighteenth century, the systematic compilation of annual data of *Sati* started in 1815. Just to indicate the frequency of *Sati* in the British controlled areas of India, the total number of cases of *Sati* reported, between 1815 and 1828, in Bengal residency alone were 8134.[73] As for what prompted the British to ban *sati*, there is a difference of opinion between those who go with the opinion that the practice was abolished on the grounds of notions of morality and humanity and those who consider it the tactics of British to assert the

[69] Robert Johnson, for instance, has given an example of adoption of a British official of the ways of natives. See, Robert Johnson, *British Imperialism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 25-26. Sati, the practice of widow burning, provides good example of the tension between the two strands of British administration. Before banning the Sati in 1829, the British administration included officials who were in favor of noninterference in this practice, while there were others who were pretty enthusiastic about banning it. See, for instance, Anand A. Yang, "Whose Sati?: Widow Burning in Early 19th Century India," *Journal of Women's History* 1, no. 2 (1989): pp. 11-12.

[70] Since there is a great ongoing debate on why the British initiated such reforms in the Indian society, it should be noted that our purpose here is not to establish the driving force behind these reforms.

[71] See, Yang, "Whose Sati?: Widow Burning in Early 19th Century India," p. 8.

[72] See, Ibid.: pp. 14-17.

[73] See, Ibid.: pp. 13 and 18.

supremacy of their values and justify their rule over India.[74] Whatever the case may be, the practice was banned by William Bentinck in 1829 which saw a great decrease in the number of *sati* cases afterwards.[75]

While the ban on *sati* mostly got highlighted as the major social reform by the British administration in India, there were some other administrative measures claimed to be initiated on humanitarian grounds which sought to reform the Indian society. Some of these actions include the ban on infant sacrifice, female infanticide and female slavery and allowance of widow-remarriage which were initiated during the first sixty years of the nineteenth century.[76]

2.4 British Social Reforms and the Arya Samaj:

The modern Indian religious movements were mostly positive to the social reforms brought about by the British. In fact Ram Mohan Roy, the so-called father of modern India, had virtually pioneered the movement for banning *sati*.[77] Needless to

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[74] The former opinion was expressed mostly by the British Indian officials of that time; the Minute of the then Governor-general Lord Bentinck could be taken as a prime example of that. See, for details, C. H. Philips, ed. *The Correspondence of Lord William Cavendish Bentinck: Governor-General of India 1828-1835*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press,n. d), pp. 335-45. For the latter and more recent view see, for example, Lata Mani, "Contentious Traditions: The Debate on Sati in Colonial India," *Cultural Critique* (1987).

[75] Initially in Bengal, the ban was extended afterwards to other states as well with the territorial expansion of British India.

[76] See, Johnson, *British Imperialism*, pp. 123-24.; Joanna Liddle and Rama Joshi, "Gender and Imperialism in British India," *Economic and Political Weekly* 20, no. 43 (1985): WS 73.

[77] Ram Mohan Roy is known to be the founder of the earliest nineteenth century modern religious movement of India i.e., Brahmo Samaj. The fact that Ram Mohan Roy was one of the pioneers of the movement against *sati* is demonstrated by Bentinck's acknowledgement of his role in campaign against the practice in his Minute. In addition, he also wrote fair amount of literature in his campaign against the practice. See for details Philips, ed. *The Correspondence of Lord William Cavendish Bentinck: Governor-General of India 1828-1835*, p. 338. For his writings against *sati* see Kalidas Nag and Debajyoti Burman, ed. *The English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, vol. 7 (Calcutta: Sadharan Brahmo Samaj).

say, Brahmo Samaj, the first modern Hindu religious movement in India, held the views of its founder on *sati*. After these pioneering efforts, the modern Hindu religious movements of nineteenth century generally favored the ban on *sati*.

The Arya Samaj was no exception in this regard. Dayananda Sarasvati, in his magnum opus *Satyarth Prakash*, delineated the regulations of marriage and remarriage. While identifying the social hazards of the latter, he ruled it out for the twice-born classes[78] except for those men and women who remained sexually inexperienced despite their marriage ceremony being held. However, he permitted *niyoga*[79], a "temporary nuptial compact", for those widows and widowers who are not able to live a chaste life and wanted to beget children in order to continue their line of inheritance.[80] However, later on, he did give more favorable statements for remarriage, though insisting that *niyaoga* was the better option.[81] Arya Samaj, the movement he founded, however went one step further in this regard. Starting by the advocacy of remarriages through tracts and magazines published by the organization, it practically organized the remarriages of not only the virgins but also the non-virgin widows and widowers; it even arranged remarriages of couples having children.[82]

It is a well known historical fact that traditionally the Hindus have not favored the remarriages, especially those of the widows. In this regard, the above discussion has made it obvious that the Arya Samaj not only advocated reforms in existing tradition but also practically organized some to make them acceptable in the society, especially those related with women rights. Thus, at this point, it would be pertinent to ask that what prompted the movement to initiate these reforms.

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[78] The twice-born are members of first three *Varnas* or castes.

[79] Dayananda has given a very interesting and minutely delineated description of *Niyoga* in his magnum opus. For details see Swami Dayanand Saraswati, *Light of Truth: An English Translation of Satyarth Prakash*, trans. Durga Prasad (New Delhi: Jan Gyan Prakashan, 1970), pp. 109-20.

[80] See, Ibid., P. 120.

[81] See Jordens, *Dayananda Sarasvati: His Life and Ideas*, pp. 146-47.

[82] See, Jones, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in 19th-Century Punjab*, pp. 100-02.

The more recent scholarship has generally held the view that support of the reforms in Hindu society by modern socio-religious Hindu movements generally came because of the milieu created by the colonial context. In other words, modern Indian religious movements got influenced by the discourse created under the British rulers. For instance, Lata Mani, while studying the early nineteenth century debate on *sati* by all three sides[83], has successfully shown that the discourse on *sati* was essentially colonial in its nature. Equating the tradition with scriptures and grounding the arguments in the Brahmanic scriptures were perhaps the most distinctive features of this discourse.[84] Mani, by her deconstruction of the writings of Britsh elite and Ram Mohan Roy against *sati* and the petition of orthodox against the ban on it, has shown that arguments of all three were grounded in the scriptures. For her, the social reform strategy of reformers such as Ram Mohan Roy as based on the ancient scriptures was an outcome of this colonial discourse.[85]

The impact of this colonial discourse seems to be stretched to most of the socio-religious reformers and their movements. In the case of Dayananda it becomes more evident, since his entire reform program was based on his interpretation of Vedas. However, even though he based his program in Vedas, he and his movement proposed those reforms which were mostly initiated by the British. Scholars like Madhu Kishwar has even asserted that while trying to revive the past glory of ancient Hindu culture in the wake of the assault by British values and missionaries' proselytizing activity, the Arya Samaj "picked up for reform precisely those issues

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[83] These three sides were British officials, Orthodox Hindus and those who favored reform.

[84] The derivation of personal law of Hindus and Muslims from the selected scriptures had started in the era of Warren Hastings, the first Governor General of the British Indian territories. The initial compilation of Hindu Laws was made by translating Sanskrit passages first into the Persian and from that it was rendered into English by Nathaniel Brassey Halhed. See, for instance, Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India*, pp. 58-59.

[85] For a thorough discussion on the colonial discourse on *sati*, the equation of tradition with scriptures and the consequent impact of it on the indigenous elite see Mani, "Contentious Traditions: The Debate on Sati in Colonial India."

which British rulers had pointed to as evidence of the degenerate state of Indian society".[86]

Conclusion:

In the light of the above discussion, we can conclude that the British dominance over India had created a milieu which gave birth to various visions of reform in social and religious condition of Hinduism[87] prevailing at that time. The British education had created a class of people, who sought for their identity by embracing reformed visions of Hinduism which could not only counter the thrust of British values but also the proselytizing activity of Christian missionaries. One such vision was provided by Dayananda Saraswati which especially appealed to the Hindu elite of Punjab — mostly British educated — who were dissatisfied by the existing notions of Hindu tradition and also by the foreign onslaught under the British dominance. This class then not only supported many reforms initiated by the British but also tried to popularize them in the society; though under the theme of reviving the Vedic religion.

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[86] Madhu Kishwar, "The Daughters of Aryavarta," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 23, no. 2 (1986): p. 152.

[87] Hinduism here stands for religions of Hindus in broader terms.

Chapter 3: The Protestant Missions in India and the Arya Samaj

The second force identified by Farquhar in creating the awakening in the Indians was the work of Protestant missionaries. In this regard, he particularly names William Carey and his colleagues of Serampore and Alexander Duff. Farquhar maintains that these Protestant missionaries were able to impact Indian society through their innovative methods in preaching which included education, translation of the Bible, use of printing press[88] and social service. They were also instrumental, often working hand in hand with the British government in India, for introducing many social reforms in India.[89] This chapter introduces the Protestant movement in India, particularly during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the methods of work of the missionaries, and lastly its impact on the Arya Samaj.

3.1 Protestantism in India:

Protestantism began as a reaction to the ways Roman popes exercised their authority during the middle ages. Martin Luther is considered to be the central figure who led the "protest" in Germany, when he published his famous ninety-five theses, in 1517 and shaped its central doctrines.[90] Since then, Protestantism has come a long way in different shapes throughout the world. It also added a new missionary zeal to the Christian religion. Since we are discussing here the work of Protestant missionaries in nineteenth century India, it seems pertinent to have a brief look at the rise of Protestantism in Indian context.

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[88] The use of printing press was evident in publishing of newspapers, magazines and other forms of missionary literature.

[89] See, for instance, Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, pp. 8, 14-15, 19-21, 24-25.

[90] See Leonard Fernando and G. Gispert-Sauch, *Christianity in India: Two Thousand Years of Faith* (New Delhi: Penguin, 2004), pp. 153-55.

a) The Rise of Protestant Christianity in India:

The Protestant missionary enterprise in India commenced informally with the arrival of European mercantile companies in India. By the seventeenth century, the mercantile companies of Portugal, Netherland, Britain, Denmark and France had established their respective settlements in India. Even though the intentions of these companies were not that of establishing missions, probably the first real Protestant missionary endeavor in India was set out when the then Danish king employed two German missionaries, Henry Pluetschau and Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, at his country's settlement in India, Tranquebar in Madras.[91]

These missionaries started by learning vernacular, Tamil, and the language of European settlements at Indian coasts, Portuguese. Soon they converted some locals, mostly of lower castes, which were later baptized in 1707. Probably the greatest feat of this mission was the first ever translation of the Bible in any Indian language, Tamil by Ziegenbalg. From here on the Protestant enterprise spread through South India, mainly in the areas where Catholicism was already established, which not only earned them converts from Roman Catholics but also from the natives. The first Pastor who came from the native Tamils, Aaron, was in 1733.[92]

While the aforementioned missionary activity marked the beginning of the Protestant mission in South India, the Protestant enterprise kicked off in North-East India when William Carey established mission station at Serampore. Carey was a missionary associated with British Baptist Missionary Society and arrived in Calcutta in 1793. Initially, he worked as an Indigo-planter at a site near Malda in North Bengal where he learned Sanskrit and Bengali languages. His proficiency in languages enabled him to translate first ever Bibles into Bengali and Sanskrit, not to mention the facilitation he provided for translation of the Bible, or portions of it, into thirty four native languages. He was so proficient in these languages that when Lord Wellesley

[91] See Ibid., p. 158.

[92] See Ibid., pp. 158-59.

established Fort William College in Calcutta, he was appointed as professor of Bengali and Sanskrit in it as very few Englishmen had mastered local languages yet.[93]

Another key figure in the history of Indian Protestantism is Alexander Duff. He was a Scottish missionary who arrived in Calcutta in 1830. He was responsible for making certain innovations in Protestant missionary endeavor which, probably for the first time, drew converts from high-caste Hindus. Krishna Mohan Banerji, Kalicharan Banerji and Sushil Kumar Rudra are only a few names among those converts who were influenced by Duff.[94]

It is worth-noting here that, at the beginning, the government of East India Company opposed missions on Indian soil. It was only after the British Parliament passed the Act of 1813 which granted freedom for the missionaries to work in India. It, however, does not necessarily mean that the Christian missions were not at work in India. Rather, as seen above, they were not only working in India but also were in cooperation with the British officials in some fields. William Carey is an illustration of this fact who collaborated with the British rulers in the field of education.[95]

The rise of Protestantism in India is highly indebted to the efforts of William Carey and his companions and Alexander Duff. They were responsible for introducing such missionary tools that not only influenced their succeeding fellows but also the founders and members of those religious movements which arose during the nineteenth century. Therefore it seems pertinent to survey some of the tools which they had employed during their missionary endeavor.

b) The Methods and Tools of Early Missionaries:

As said earlier, the rise of Protestantism in India was indebted mainly to the works of William Carey and Alexander Duff. In the following we would briefly examine

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[93] See Ivan Morris Satyavrata, "Indian Protestantism to the Present Day," in *The Blackwell Companion to Protestantism*, ed. Alister E. McGrath and Darren C. Marks (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), pp. 201-02. Also see Gispert-Sauch, *Christianity in India: Two Thousand Years of Faith*, p. 161. & Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, p. 6.

[94] For a more detailed account of Duff's influence see Gispert-Sauch, *Christianity in India: Two Thousand Years of Faith*, pp. 164-70.

[95] See Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, pp. 8-10, 15.

those methods which made their endeavor successful not only in terms of winning converts from other religions but also in influencing both their successors and opponents alike.

The foremost task on which William Carey spent much of his time was the translation of the Bible into Indian languages. One of the basic tenets of Protestantism, that is the emphasis on Scripture, led them to translate the Bible in Vernaculars which meant easy access for a layman to the message of the scripture. This tendency was evident from the very first Protestant mission to India. As noted above, Carey himself was responsible for translating the Bible into Sanskrit and Bengali alongside facilitating its translation in thirty four other Indian languages.

Along with translations of the Bible, Carey and his companions produced different kind of literature. The advent and use of printing press played a key role in their missionary enterprise. It was used to produce vast literature, both in English and Vernaculars, for missionary purposes. Another key innovation, related to it, by Serampore mission was the publication of newspapers and magazines. Two names could be taken in this regard: *Samachar Durpan* (the mirror of news), the first ever Bengali newspaper; and the English periodical by the title of "The Friend of India". They were regarded as highly successful in terms of the influence they exerted.[96]

Another tool which the Protestant missionaries used in India was education of both boys and girls. Serampore mission was responsible for establishing a school where the level of education was much superior to other schools in the locality; this meant that the locals would be attracted to these missionary schools. Carey also founded a college which introduced Eastern and Western education, side by side, in its curriculum. Although he was convinced of superiority of English as medium of instruction, however, for him, the time was not right for it as yet. Therefore, Sanskrit was made the medium of instruction.[97]

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[96] See Stephen Neill, *A History of Christianity in India: 1707-1858* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 202-03. Also see Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, p. 14.

[97] See Neill, *A History of Christianity in India: 1707-1858*, p. 200.

The credit of popularizing English as medium of instruction goes to Alexander Duff, often regarded as the most influential person in the history of Protestant mission in India after Carey. He was instrumental in introducing an innovation in the field of education by blending modern western education with teaching of the Bible. He was convinced that the Hindu mind could only be penetrated through modern education. For him, the modern western education could only be imparted through the medium of English as the Indian Vernaculars were devoid of necessary texts. For this, he opened a school in Calcutta which became a great success in coming years. His model was to be followed by succeeding missionaries throughout India.[98]

Along with education, another tool successfully employed by the Protestants was that of social service. Boarding schools and hostels were opened for students, where special care was given to the needy. Orphanages were established to take care of the orphans. One of the most important aspect of social service, the one concerning health, was dealt with the establishment of medical missions. Men, equipped with the knowledge of both medicine and Christianity, were dispatched throughout India for healing and preaching. Many hospitals were established by the missionaries in this regard.[99] All in all, this collective missionary endeavor, won the Protestants a great number of converts, mainly from the lower caste Hindus. Not only that they did win converts from other Religions of India, there innovative methods also exhibited a long lasting effect on them.

3.2 The Methods of Missionaries and the Arya Samaj:

a) Education:

The first successful endeavor of the Arya Samaj in education was setting up of a school in honor of the movement's departed founder, Dayananda Saraswati, in 1886. The name given to that school was *Dayanand Anglo-Vedic School* (DAVS). Not that it was the first ever attempt by Arya Samaj to establish schools. Dayananda himself tried to run a school through which he could inculcate his worldview to the coming generation, but was unsuccessful in doing so. Some local Samajes from

[98] See Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, pp. 19-20.

[99] See Ibid., pp. 20-21, 24.

Punjab also tried to run small schools. However, DAVS could be regarded as the first organized effort in this respect.[100]

The idea behind the foundation of this institution was to combine both the worlds: the modern English education and the Vedic religious education. The curriculum would offer a complete package for a Hindu student. Not only that it was supposed to provide material benefits by means of teaching modern subjects through the medium of English but also connect students with India's past. In the words of Kenneth W. Jones: "English language for [cultural] adjustment, Hindi for communication with the masses, Sanskrit and the works of Dayanand for moral uplift and science for material progress — Aryas offered answers to the most acute dilemmas of occupational mobility and cultural adjustment."[101]

The curriculum incorporated several elements in it which included the study of languages such as Sanskrit, Hindi, English, Urdu (optional) on one hand and some modern subjects such as Physical sciences, Mathematics/Arithmetic, Geography, History and Sanitation (optional) on the other. The class-wise scheme of studies of Dayanand Anglo-Vedic School, as given by Kenneth Jones in *Arya Dharm*, is given below[102]:

[100] See Jones, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in 19th-Century Punjab*, pp. 67-68, 77.

[101] Ibid., p. 72.

[102] Ibid., p. 322.

SCHEME OF STUDIES FOR EACH CLASS IN THE DAYANAND ANGLO-VEDIC SCHOOL

Lower Primary Department	*Upper Primary Department*	*Middle Department*	*Upper Department*
1st Class	*4th Class*	*7th Class*	*9th Class*
1. Hindi Reading & Writing	1. Hindi	1. Sanskrit	1. Sanskrit
	2. Sanskrit	2. Arithmetic	2. Mathematics
	3. English	3. English	3. English
2nd Class	4. Arithmetic	4. Geography	4. Geography
1. Arithmetical Tables	5. Geography	5. History	5. History
	6. Urdu (Opt.)	6. Physical Science	6. Physical Science
		7. Urdu (Opt.)	7. Sanitation (Opt.)
3rd Class	*5th Class*	*8th Class*	*10th Class*
1. Hindi Reading & Writing	1. Hindi	1. Sanskrit	1. Sanskrit
2. Sanskrit	2. Sanskrit	2. Arithmetic	2. Mathematics
3. Arithmetic	3. English	3. English	3. English
4. Geography	4. Arithmetic	4. Geography	4. Geography
	5. Geography & Urdu (Opt.)	5. History	5. History
		6. Physical Science	6. Physical Science
		7. Urdu & Sanitation (Opt.)	7. Sanitation (Opt.)
	6th Class		
	1. Hindi		
	2. Sanskrit		
	3. Arithmetic		
	4. English		
	5. Geography		
	6. Urdu (Opt.)		

This school, by virtue of its system, attracted a large number of students at the very outset, as the number of students who got admission in the school was as much as 550 by the end of first month. In 1889, the school was formally upgraded to college and it became affiliated with the Punjab University in the same year. The Dayanand Anglo-Vedic School and College of Lahore Samaj was a huge success. This successful experiment led other branches of Samaj to follow the example and various schools were opened and organized by them after that and the educational system developed by the Aryas saw considerable growth.[103]

[103] See Ibid., pp. 77, 85.

However, as is often the case, the growth also created divisions amongst the organization. The upgradation of school into college and the scheme of studies it developed became foundation of split in the organization. A group of Aryas demanded an educational scheme which focused on Sanskrit and Vedic education rather than the English education. In other words, the group thought that the education provided by the institutions was increasingly becoming more "Anglo" than "Vedic". Some members of the society presented an educational scheme at its annual meeting in 1889 which proposed that all the students of the educational system should be taught Hindi, Sanskrit, Writings of Dayananda and Panini's Sanskrit grammar. There were some demands other than the curriculum relating to management and organization of these educational institutions. Although some of the demands were accepted, most of them were rejected by the majority.[104]

By 1893, the educational issues, combined with some ideological ones, led the Punjab Arya Samaj to split into two distinct groups. One was to be called the "college party" or the "moderates" while the other came to be known as the "militants." The first group controlled the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic educational institutions while the other group was able to take control of the body of Punjab Arya Samaj, known as *Arya Pratinidhi Sabha*, and many other local Arya Samaj branches.[105]

Both the groups, however, focused on education to train and educate Hindus according to their respective visions of Arya education. In order to produce a new lot of Hindus, committed to Arya ideals and uncorrupted by the evils of society, a boarding school was established by the "militants" outside Hardwar by the name of *Gurukula Kangri*. The students were given education from primary to college level while they remained in the school, away from their families and under the guidance of their teachers. The reform which the militants had desired to bring in Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College was implemented here. The militants also focused on women education and opened a school for girls in Jalandhar by the name of *Kanya Mahavidyalaya*, in 1896.[106]

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[104] See pp. Ibid., pp. 90-93.

[105] See———, "The Arya Samaj in British India, 1875-1947," pp. 31-32.

[106] See Ibid., p. 35.

Apart from the abovementioned educational systems, there were also some other educational institutions managed by the local Samajes which also signifies that there was no central authority presiding over these educational institutions. The educational institutions opened by the Aryas spread throughout India, even beyond it. By the 1940s, the Samajes had opened one hundred seventy nine schools and ten colleges in India and Burma. In addition to that, a parallel educational system, patterned on *Gurukula Kangri*, also saw considerable growth and by the 1940s seven other major *Gurukulas* had been established.[107]

b) The Propaganda Machinery of Arya Samaj:

i. Pamphlets and Periodicals:

The advent of printing press in Indian subcontinent, as elsewhere, proved revolutionary. It meant that the message an organization or a group wanted to deliver would reach very quickly to the masses. It had special significance in the communal environment of Punjab, where the Arya Samaj operated most actively. Arya Samaj successfully employed the tool of printing press as it published a number of tracts and periodicals during the years. Although the periodicals often had short lives, the Samaj, however, continued to produce one periodical after another. These periodicals included daily, weekly and monthly newspapers, journals and magazines focusing on number of issues including Samaj's ideology, polemics and apologetics, education, social reform and politics. Some of them are briefly introduced below:

- ***Arya***: Beginning in March 1882, it was probably the first paper established by the Arya Samaj. The paper was run by Lahore based Lala Rattan Chand Barry.[108]
- ***Regenerator of Arya Varta***: It was English weekly established by Lahore branch of Arya Samaj in 1882 and remained under the editorship of prominent Aryas such as Lala Hans Raj and Guru Dutta.[109]

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[107] See Ibid., p. 39.

[108] See ———, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in 19th-Century Punjab*, p. 46.

[109] See Ibid., pp. 46-47.

- ***Arya Patrika***: This English paper was also established by Lahore Samaj in June 1885. It, later on, became the voice of so called militant faction of the Arya Samaj.[110]
- ***Vedic Magazine***, established by Guru Dutta in 1888, was a periodical aimed at publishing views on ancient Indian or Aryan past against the backdrop of European scholarship on the same.[111]
- ***Arya Musafir*** was an Urdu monthly established in 1898 for the purpose of proselytization and defense of Vedic faith; much in the style of Pandit Lekh Ram, one of the premier Arya controversialists known for his critical works on Islam. *Arya Musafir* became the premier expression for the defense of the faith, against the attacks of opponents, especially for the militants.[112]
- ***Arya Gazette***: It was an Urdu monthly established by Ferozepur branch of Arya Samaj, which remained under editorship of leading Aryas such as Pandit Lekh Ram, Lala Lajpat Rai and Lala Hans Raj etc. *Arya Gazette* became the voice of the moderates after the schism.[113]
- ***Sat Dharm Pracharak***: A weekly paper established by Jalandhar-based Samaj leader, Lala Munshi Ram.[114]
- ***Panjabee***: Founded by a group of Arya Samaj members under the leadership of Lajpat Rai, it hoped to express the political voice of Punjabi Hindus.[115]
- ***Panchal Pandita***: Established in 1898, it was a Hindi monthly published by the militants' female educational institute, *Kanya Mahavidyalaya.*[116]
- ***Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College Magazine*** was a magazine published by the DAV College.[117]

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[110] See Ibid., pp. 161, 88-89.

[111] See Ibid., pp. 164-65.

[112] See Ibid., pp. 201-02.

[113] See Ibid., pp. 148, 230.

[114] See Ibid., p. 126.

[115] See Ibid., p. 257.

[116] See Ibid., p. 217.

[117] See Ibid., p. 230.

➢ *Arya Magazine* was an English journal edited by Rattan Chand Barry.[118]

Apart from the abovementioned periodicals, there were a number of tracts and pamphlets published by the Arya Samaj for propaganda purposes which included statements on Samaj ideology, social reform, polemics and apologetics, education and issues related to language.[119]

ii. Full-time Missionaries and Professional Preachers:

Another tool of propagating Samaj's message, inspired by the missionaries, was employment of full-time missionaries and preachers. The Arya Samaj, from the times of Dayananda, started employing full-time preachers. These were of two kinds: One was the professional preachers who were paid by Samaj for preaching Samaj's message to the masses. The second type comprised of the *Sannyasis* who would wander around different places of India, not only strengthening old branches but also establishing new ones.[120]

c) Social Service:

The Arya Samaj, like other religious communities of India, had feared that the social service of Christian missionaries was primarily intended to win converts from other religions. It was perhaps this fear which prompted the organization to take part in social service. One of the first and most organized expressions of the Arya Samaj's social service was its work for the orphans. The first orphanage established by the Arya Samaj was in 1877 by Rai Mathura Das in Ferozepore. However, the famine of 1896 instigated it into a full-fledged Hindu Orphan Relief Movement. It was feared by the Aryas that the Christian missionaries who were conducting relief activities in famine-struck areas would take over the homeless children of those areas. Once taken over, they would be brought up under the patronage of missionaries which consequently could result in their conversion to Christianity. Thus, the Aryas used the very tool of the Christian missionaries to counter their strategies. Under the leadership

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[118] See Jordens, *Dayananda Sarasvati: His Life and Ideas*, p. 201.

[119] For details of such tracts see Ibid., pp. 201-02.

[120] See Ibid., pp.202-03.

of Hindu Orphan Relief Movement, not only Ferozepore orphanage was made efficient but also some other orphanages were opened including one for the girls.[121]

This was perhaps the first experience which led the Aryas to work efficiently in social service in coming years, especially in the wake of the disasters. After the aforementioned famine, another and much severe one struck different parts of the subcontinent. Utilizing their past experiences, the Aryas not only worked for the orphans but for the community in general. The Aryas also conducted relief activities during the plague which had reached Punjab during 1901. They also started full-scale relief mission when the earth-quake hit the Kangra Hills in 1905.[122] Hence, the Arya Samaj, and many other religious movements of India, focused on social service, on the model of Christian missionaries in general, as admitted by Lala Lajpat Rai[123], using it to their advantage.

3.3 Protestantization:

We have seen above that the Protestants had employed innovative methods and tools during their missionary endeavor in India. Printing press as a tool particularly stands out in this regard. It provided cheap reading material, meaning that it was available for the usage of masses. The type-fonts of Indian vernaculars were developed in the late 18th century. The religious scriptures and texts, translated and converted into vernaculars, were circulated to wider audiences. This tool was employed by traditional and modern religious movements in India and produced literature on their respective ideologies, defending them from attacks of opponents and attacking the faith of others through it. This created a phenomenon which was very much similar to the Protestant movement in Europe. To explain the phenomenon Kenneth Jones, while surveying the modern religious movements of India in his

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[121] See Jones, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in 19th-Century Punjab*, pp. 235-39. The Hindu Orphan Relief Movement was particularly led by Lala Lajpat Rai, for his account of the campaign see Rai, *The Arya Samaj: An Account of Its Origin, Doctrines, and Activities, with a Biographical Sketch of the Founder*, pp. 212-17.

[122] See Jones, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in 19th-Century Punjab*, pp. 239-41.

[123] See Rai, *The Arya Samaj: An Account of Its Origin, Doctrines, and Activities, with a Biographical Sketch of the Founder*, p. 219.

Socio-Religious Reform Movements in British India, employs the term "Protestantiztion" in this context.[124] To quote him:

> The patterns of religious authority were modified by printing since texts became available to anyone who was literate, as did the 'right' to speak out on religious issues through inexpensive pamphlets and tracts. Neither Brahmans, Parsi priests, nor the *ulama* had a monopoly of religious authority. . . . Printing, translation, and literacy combined to create a framework, in many ways parallel to the Protestant Reformation in Europe with its abandonment of classical Latin, its proliferation of translations and religious writings, and its insistence that the devout read scriptures as an essential part of their search for salvation. As in Protestantism, many of the socio-religious movements of South Asia taught that truth lay in the text, and that it was the duty of their adherents to study these writings in order to find within them a key to a proper, moral and spiritual life.[125]

The impact of Protestantization is particularly evident in the case of the Arya Samaj, especially its ideologue Dayananda, not only in the ways Kenneth Jones has elaborated upon, but also in other expressions of Protestantism. Here we borrow his term Protestantization and stretch it further to explain some other influences of Protestantism on Dayananda and the Arya Samaj.

As hinted earlier, Dayananda had based his version of Hinduism on Vedas and was convinced that they were the revealed word of God and were infallible. J. T. F. Jordens, by far the most prolific biographer of Dayananda, has noted that this view of Vedas was altogether a new one. By virtue of this doctrine, he had made Hinduism a religion of the book, a doctrine which was unfounded in the history of the religion. So much so that the great interpreters of Hinduism like Shankaracharya and Ramanuja, despite the fact that they acknowledged the scriptural basis of Hinduism, did not commit themselves to the scripture to this extent. Given the frequent interaction of Dayananda with Protestant missionaries[126], he also suggests that this conviction of

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[124] See Jones, *Socio-Religious Reform Movements in British India*, p. 213.

[125] Ibid., pp. 213-14.

[126] Dayananda was in contact with Christian missionaries for quite some time, especially with the likes of Reverend T. J. Scott, Reverend John Robson, Reverend R.C. Mather and Dr. Rudolf Hoernle. They provided him the Bible and held debates with him on religious issues.

Dayananda was a result of missionaries' influence on him. He notes that "their [Protestants] religion was primarily a religion of the book, and the Bible occupied the centre of their theology. Their propaganda concentrated on two fronts: they showed on the one hand the absurdity and immorality of the Hindu scriptures, an on the other, they tried to prove the absolute and definitive truth of biblical revelation. This was exactly the approach Dayananda applied in reverse: he wanted to prove that Christianity fell with the Bible, and the truth of Vedic religion was demonstrated by the absolute veracity of the Vedas. In other words, Dayananda accepted the Protestant premise that God has revealed himself in a book, and the very content of that book proves its authenticity."[127]

In addition to Dayananda's call to go back to the Vedas for revival of Hinduism, there are some other avenues where the scholars have discovered Protestant influences on his mind. Noel A. Salmond, author of one of the most recent works on Ram Mohan Roy and Dayanada Saraswati, notes that Dayananda has excessively used Protestant idiom in his critique of traditional Hinduism. For instance, he uses the word "Pope" for the fraudulent and hypocritical *pujaris* or Hindu priests. For Dayananda, Hindu priests or "popes" were involved in dragging layman to idolatry and tantric practices.[128]

Conclusion:

In the light of the above discussion, we can conclude that the work of Protestant missionaries greatly impacted the Indian society, especially the modern religious movements which sprang up during the nineteenth century. It is especially evident in the case of the Arya Samaj, which used the very methods of work developed by the missionaries to counter their strategies. Scholars have also noted the contribution of Protestant missionaries in developing the worldview of Dayananda, which becomes

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For details see Jordens, *Dayananda Sarasvati: His Life and Ideas*, pp. 39-42, 44, 51, 56-57, 72, 79, 156-58.

[127] Ibid., p. 273.

[128] See Salmond, *Hindu Iconoclasts: Rammohum Roy, Dayananda Sarasvati, and Nineteenth-Century Polemics against Idolatry*, pp. 83-84.

particularly evident in his call to return to the Vedas and usage of Protestant idiom in his works.

Chapter 4: The Orientalists' Scholarship and the Arya Samaj

The third force mentioned by Farquhar which considerably stirred Indian mind was the work of great Orientalists. He mentions that the rise of Orientalism was parallel to the establishment of the British regime in India, exemplified in East Indian Company's ascent to the governmental status. However, he also maintains that the work done by great Orientalists did not affect the Indian mind until the later part of the nineteenth century. Farquhar mentions the work of orientalists such as Charles Wilkins, William Jones, Colebrooke, H. H. Wilson, Todd and Max Müller etc. in this regard.[129] This chapter will unfold by giving a brief account of the rise of Orientalism in India, the key ideas of Orientalist's regarding India and their relative impact on the Arya Samaj.

4.1 Orientalism in British India:

a) The Rise of Orientalism in British India:

The beginning of the oriental (or Indic) scholarship in British India could be traced back to an administrative and political necessity. As hinted earlier, Warren Hastings wanted to develop a civil code for his company's Indian subjects which would be based on their respective original religious texts. The availability of these texts, especially that of Hindus, was not an easy task as no British knew Sanskrit at that time. Hence, the initial compilation of Hindu Laws was made by translating Sanskrit passages first into the Persian and from that it was rendered into English by Nathaniel Brassey Halhed. From hereafter the British officials started learning the

[129] See, for instance, Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, pp. 7, 16, 21.

local languages, especially Sanskrit, which marked the beginning of the enterprise of Orientalism on India.[130]

The rise of Indic studies in Europe, particularly England, is owed to the works of some great Orientalists, in late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, who were mainly British officials working for the East India Company. Charles Wilkins, for instance, published translation of *Bhagavad Gita* and *Hitopadesha* in 1785 and 1807 respectively. William Jones, renowned Philologist, published translations of *Kalidasa's* drama *Shakuntala* and poem *Ritusamhara* in 1789 and 1792 respectively. He also published a translation of noted Hindu love poem *Gita Govinda* in the same year. Horace Hayman Wilson published first Sanskrit-English dictionary in 1819 and later on *A Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus* in 1846. Henry Thomas Colebrooke published a very influential work titled *Essays on the Religion and Philosophy of the Hindus* in 1837. All of the abovementioned Orientalists were employed, in one way or another, by East India Company and their works are regarded as the pioneering efforts in Indic studies.[131]

The interest of the British in Indic studies did not remain confined to individual efforts. Rather the British officials transformed it into an organizational level which found its expression in commencement of colleges, chairs in Universities and societies dedicated to oriental/ Indic studies. For instance, Fort William College in Calcutta and Sanskrit College in Benares were established for Oriental studies in the later part of Eighteenth century. Likewise, in 1833, a chair of Sanskrit was established at Oxford University. In addition, an Institution by the name of *The Asiatic Society of Bengal* was founded in Calcutta in 1784 to further intensify Oriental research.[132]

4.2 Key Ideas of British Orientalists vis-à-vis India:

I. On Sanskrit and Origins of Human Beings:

[130] See, Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India*, pp. 58-59.

[131] See, A. L. Macfie, *Orientalism* (London: Longman, 2002), pp. 29-30.

[132] Ibid., p. 31.

Probably the earliest and foremost of the theories put forward by the Orientalists/Indologists, associated with the East India Company, was about Sanskrit and its affinities with European languages; the theory which ultimately led them to the debate on human origins. The popularization of the abovementioned theory is largely attributed the famous philologist, William Jones.

William Jones was a prominent English official of East India Company in the later part of the eighteenth century. He had natural endowment for learning languages, so much so that he had mastered Greek, Latin and some other European languages while he was still a schoolboy. Afterwards, when he was a student at Oxford, he learned oriental languages such as Arabic and Persian. He had developed expertise in Law thereafter and was appointed as judge at the British Court in Calcutta for which he travelled to India in 1783. His ability to learn languages allowed him to master Sanskrit in a very short period, making him one of the earliest British officials to have learned it. Along with his official duties as a judge, he was able to dedicate time for oriental studies. He founded the *Asiatick Society*, which was later renamed as *Asiatic Society of Bengal*, and was appointed as its first president.[133]

Apart from his pioneering efforts in Indic studies, arguably the most significant of his contributions was the delineation of his thesis on the affinity between Sanskrit, Latin and Greek. He first suggested the relationship between these languages in his annual address at a meeting of the *Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1786. To quote him:

> The Sanscrit Language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of the verbs and in the forms of the grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong, indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists.[134]

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[133] See, Franklin Edgerton, "Sir William Jones: 1746-1794," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* Vol. 66, no. 3 (1946): pp. 230-31.

[134] William Jones, "On the Hindus," *Asiatick Researches* 1 (1786): pp. 422-23.

In the same address, he also suggested that Sanskrit was introduced to India in a very ancient age by foreign conquerors displacing the local language which he called 'Pure Hindi'.[135] This theory proved to be a groundbreaking one, for not only did it open the door for researches in Indian history but also the origins of human beings, as we shall see below.

II. On the Vedic Golden Age:

As the British officials' interest grew in learning Sanskrit and other Indian vernaculars, more and more theories started coming forth about the history of India. Another theme which increasingly became popular, not only amongst the Orientalists but also the native elite, was about the lost golden age of India. Henry Thomas Colebrooke, yet another employee of East India Company, was instrumental in popularizing the theory.

Colebrooke was born on June 15, 1765 in London to a wealthy banker Sir George Colebrooke. Like Jones, he also had gained sound knowledge of Greek and Latin at a very tender age. He travelled to India in 1783 at the age of eighteen. During his stay at India, he quickly learned Sanskrit and excelled it to the extent that the company appointed him professor of Sanskrit at Fort William College, Calcutta in 1800. Apart from his aforementioned book, his works included, among others, *Dictionary of the Sanscrit Language* and *The Translation of Two Treatizes on the Hindu Law of Inheritance*.[136]

Along with his works on Sanskrit language and literature, he is remembered for his theory on Vedic golden age. Although, the likes of Jones had already mentioned it in their writings, the popularization of the notion is credited to Colebrooke. He indicated that the Vedic age was a golden period in the history of India when the civilization was at its peak. He emphasized that Aryan inhabitants of Vedic age were rational and monotheists. Their society was free from 'evil practices' such as *Sati*. However, the post-Vedic age saw a decline and the golden age was lost.

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[135] See Ibid.

[136] See Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), p. 30.; F. Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. iv (London: Longsman, Green, and Co., 1875), pp. 377, 82-83.

The Hindus had fallen into idolatry, irrational polytheism and evil social practices. Furthering the linkages drawn by Jones between India and Europe, he argued that Asia was the cradle of civilization and the West was indebted to East for the advancement in sciences and arts. However, while East was declining its counterpart was progressing.[137]

The idea of lost golden age became a recurring theme, not only in the Orientalists' discourses but also in the reformist and nationalist movements which utilized it to their benefit as we shall see in the coming passages.

III. The Theory of Aryan Race:

Jones proposal of linkages between the Greek, Latin and Sanskrit had provided a foundation for researches in human origins and ethnic relationship between the Indians and European. The years following him saw the development of Aryan theory by the Orientalists, the popularization of which is commonly attributed to Max Müller.

Born in Germany on December 6, 1823, Friedrich Max Müller was educated at University of Leipzig from where he got his PhD. in Philosophy. However, his special gift, like Jones and Colebrooke, was for languages. He had learnt Greek, Latin, Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit at a young age. To further his knowledge, he went to Berlin and Paris where he worked under the supervision of prominent Sanskritists. His profound knowledge of Sanskrit earned him the project of editing *Rg Veda*, jointly assigned to him by Oxford University Press and East India Company. It took him twenty four years to complete it after its commencement in 1849.[138]

His research on *Rg Veda* introduced him to its people: the fair-skinned Aryans who had inhabited a place somewhere in Central Asia and spoke a language which

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[137] See Anantanand Rambachan, " Redefining the Authority of Scripture the Rejection of Vedic Infallibility by the Brahmo Samaj," in *Authority, Anxiety, and Canon : Essays in Vedic Interpretation*, ed. Laurie L. Patton (New York: State University of New York Press, 1994), p. 255.; Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire*, p. 31. Also see H. T. Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. 1 (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1837), p. 1.

[138] See Jon R. Stone, "Müller, F. Max," in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Lindsay Jones (Farrington Hills, MI: Thomson Gale, 2005), p. 6234.

was the source from which Indo-European languages originated. For him, that Aryan clan then split into two, one of which migrated to Europe and the other to India. These fair-skinned Aryans defeated the dark-skinned original inhabitants of India, which eventually led to the formation of *Varnas* or classes. The conquerors spoke *Sanskrit* and they were the bearers of *Rg Veda*, a text attributed by Müller as the most ancient literature of the world.[139]

Because of his lifelong interest in *Rg Veda*, Max Müller was particularly convinced that it could establish the common heritage of European and Indian Aryans. As Tony Ballantyne has put it that: "As early as 1854, he suggested that when a Briton confronted 'a Greek, a German, or an Indian, we recognise him as one of ourselves'. Because of this shared ancestry, the Rig Veda was particularly significant, as it provided the most ancient source, the 'oldest monument of Aryan speech and Aryan thought', for the reconstruction of the shared European and Indian past."[140]

He also believed, like Colebrooke, that the Indian Aryans had degenerated and lost their golden age while their European counterparts were enjoying advancement. However, for him, the scenario could be changed by making Vedas available to educated Indians and making them aware of the 'Vedic golden age' which in turn might lead them to reform Hinduism and recapture their golden past. He even emphasized the need for Britons to help their brothers to reclaim their past. Therefore, the theory of common origins of Indo-European languages was now stretched to their speakers as well.[141]

4.2 The Work of British Orientalists and the Arya Samaj:

The theories introduced by Orientalists on Indian past had great influence on Indian mind. Starting from the first modern Hindu movement in nineteenth century, the ideas like "Lost Vedic Golden Age" became the cornerstone of the activities of many Indian reformists.[142] The Arya Samaj was no exception in this regard, as one

[139] See Romila Thapar, "The Theory of Aryan Race and India: History and Politics," *Social Scientist* 24, no. 1-3 (1996): pp. 5-6.

[140] Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire*, pp. 42-43.

[141] See Ibid., p. 43.

[142] See Jaffrelot, "Introduction: The Invention of an Ethnic Nationalism," pp. 8-9.

can locate traces of these theories in the world-view of Samaj's ideologue, Dayanada Saraswati. What follows would be an exposition of the above stated fact.

a) Dayananda's version of Aryan theory:

In his Aryan theory, Max Müller had emphasized on the unity of Indians and Europeans through their common Aryan origins. From adoption to adaption to rejection, the response to his theory by intellectuals of nineteenth century India was varied. The Brahmo Samajis like Debendranath Tagore and Keshab Chandra Sen, for instance, adopted the theory in its literal sense. Some of them even found the advent of British in India as the act of providence by which the reunion of 'parted cousins' was made possible. The Hindu nationalist leaders, however, did not entirely welcome it. In the words of Joan Leopold, "Many, when they used it, wished to promote only Indian self-esteem, not Indo-European solidarity. Some denied or ignored that Europeans and Persians were Aryans: they left "arya" vague or applied it only to the Rigvedic heroes and their descendants. For them, the Aryan tradition was a national one."[143] In the wake of these varied responses, Dayananda fashioned out his own version of Aryan theory, which in spite of having its basis in Vedic literature was not entirely devoid of elements of Oriental scholarship. The summary of his Aryan theory is given below.

For Dayananda, mankind was created in Tibet while the rest of the world was uninhabited. The mankind was then divided into two sections: 1) the nobles called "Arya" and 2) the ignorant and low-ranked called "Dasyu." Afterwards, on the grounds of intellectual and moral differences, the Aryans were further categorized into *Brahmans*, *Kshatriyas*, *Vaisyas* and "un-Aryan" *Shudras*. Dayananda denied the popular version of Aryan theory which claimed that Aryans had originally come from Iran and defeated the original inhabitants of India. On the contrary, he asserted that owing to the fights with *Dasyus* the Aryans left Tibet and settled in uninhabited and wealthy *Aryavarta* or India. The *Dasyus* had migrated from Tibet to the lands other than India. The Aryans thereafter defeated different communities, ruled the world and

[143] Joan Leopold, "The Aryan Theory of Race," *Indian Economic & Social History Review* 7, no. 2 (1970): pp. 273-74. The article delineates the Indian responses to the Aryan theory of race.

spread their Vedic religion to different parts of the world. They, nevertheless, lost their world rule because of the degeneration starting after the times of *Mahabharata*.[144]

As for who was Aryan in his own times?, Dayananda considered the one who worshipped one god and practiced Vedic religion to be an Aryan. To quote him:

> Arya is he, whom people should know and value and whose society should be sought because of his knowledge, learning, doing good to others and righteous living.[145]

Thus, Dayananda's definition of Aryan was based on moral rather than racial grounds. His Aryan theory also differed considerably from that of Müller's with respect to the origin of Aryans, their arrival in India and formation of *Varnas* as a consequence of it. In spite of the differences in the contents of the theory, there is little doubt, as we will show later on, that he was influenced by the western oriental scholarship in his interpretation of the theory as well as in many of his ideas.

b) The Idea of Lost Vedic Golden Age:

The idea of lost Vedic golden age, introduced by orientalists, became a recurring theme in the reformist ideology of the nineteenth century India. Reformers, while arguing for a particular reform in Hindu society, stressed the ancient purity of Hindu religion. Ram Mohan Roy, for instance, argued against *Sati* by claiming that the practice was a product of later degeneration of Hindu society; thus calling for return to earliest scriptures which represented the purest form of Hindu religion.[146]

While reformers like Ram Mohan Roy denoted by Vedic golden age the religious/ spiritual and rational advancement of ancient India, the likes of Dayananda stretched this notion to cultural, social and even material superiority of Vedic India.[147] Such

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[144] See Saraswati, *Light of Truth: An English Translation of Satyarth Prakash*, pp. 219-21, 57, 79-80. (pp. 219-221, 257, 279-280) Also see Leopold, "The Aryan Theory of Race," pp. 285-86.

[145] Har Bilas Sarda, *Life of Dayanand Saraswati* (Ajmer: P. Bhagwan Swarup, 1946), p. 533. Quoted in Leopold, "The Aryan Theory of Race," p. 286.

[146] See Mani, "Contentious Traditions: The Debate on Sati in Colonial India," p. 146.

[147] See Jaffrelot, "Introduction: The Invention of an Ethnic Nationalism," p. 9.

claims could be seen at various places in his magnum opus, *Satyarth Prakash.* Regarding the religious superiority of the Aryans, for instance, he claimed that there was no other religion in the world other than the Vedic Religion from the genesis till the time of *Mahabharata*, some 5000 years ago from his own times. While talking on the political dominance of the Aryans, he contended that they were lord of the world till the abovementioned time. He further added that rulers of the world, those from America, Europe, China, and Persia etc., drew their authority from the king of India. On the advanced state of knowledge, he insisted that people from all over the world used to learn sciences and arts from Brahmins. In fact, for him, all the sciences and arts found in the world had originated in India and from here spread throughout the world. Just to give an example of this advancement in sciences and technology, he claimed that even high-tech weaponry, like missiles, were prepared in ancient India at that time.[148]

The above quoted statements from Dayananda's magnum opus give a glimpse of his conception of Vedic golden age, which exemplified in religious, political, cultural and scientific advancement of ancient India. This age, however, was lost to the degeneration which began sometime around *Mahabharata*. The contemporary Hindu society, for him, was the product of that degeneration. Thus, to restore the ancient glory of India, Dayananda advanced a scheme for return to Vedic religion through the Vedas.

4.3 Dayananda and the Orientalists:

At this point one may wonder whether the abovementioned ideas of Dayananda Saraswati were purely based on his lifelong learning of Hindu literature or did he have his share of influence from the works of orientalists? Some of his followers have actually claimed that Dayananda was completely unacquainted with the western thought. Har Bilas Sarda, for instance, claims that Dayananda was "what pure Sanskrit learning had made him. He knew nothing of European or Semitic thought and culture."[149] There is evidence, however, which suggests that he was not

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[148] See Saraswati, *Light of Truth: An English Translation of Satyarth Prakash*, pp. 278-82.

[149] Sarda, *Life of Dayanand Saraswati*, pp. xc, 118, 54. Quoted in Leopold, "The Aryan Theory of Race," p. 287.

completely innocent of western scholarship, especially the works on Vedas and India's past.

Dayananda was not only aware of orietalists' works but actually was in contact with some of the prominent Sanskritists of his time. Leopold, for instance, has recorded that in 1875 he used to take morning walks with Horace Hayman Wilson, professor and chair of Sanskrit at Oxford University. Next year he met Monier Williams, another professor and chair of Sanskrit at Oxford, and sent his pupil Shyamji Krishnavarma to Oxford who took his B.A there and became teaching assistant of Monier Williams. Later on, he would enquire his student about the latest ideas of Orientalists. Referring to Dayananda's follower and biographer Har Bilas Sarda, Leopold records that he owned a number of books, both in English and German, authored by H. H. Wilson, Müller, Roth, Benfey and other Sanskritists.[150] Leopold also identifies another group from which Dayananda may have taken influence on his ideas regarding the Aryan theory; that group was the Arya Samaj's initial ally "the Theosophists." In this regard Leopold notes that "His belief that the Aryans originated in Tibet rather than in the more usual "Central Asia" and migrated from India to Egypt and pre-Columbian America may have been derived from or reinforced by the similar opinions of Mme. Blavatsky and Olcott. They also concurred in his criticisms of European Vedic scholarship. They emphasized in their early writings the antiquity of the Vedas … and the practical knowledge of spiritual and scientific matters that could be derived from ancient Aryan scriptures."[151]

Similarly, Jordens has recorded, in his acclaimed biography of Dayananda, some instances where he is quite evidently impacted by western Sanskritists. Jordens, for example, records a testimony of Reverend Robson that Dayananda only knew Yajur Veda till his meeting with him in 1866 and that he first saw copy of Rg Veda only at that time, one that was edited by Müller. He records another testimony of Dr. Rudolf Hoernle, principal of Banaras Sanskrit College, who had met him sometime after he had met Reverend Robson. He noted that Dayananda was well lettered in Vedas except the fourth one *Atharava Veda*, the full copy of which he had only seen

[150] See Leopold, "The Aryan Theory of Race," p. 288.

[151] Ibid.: p. 289.

in that meeting.[152] Likewise, while referring to his knowledge of works of western Sanskritists, Jordens records that Dayananda had employed a Bengali to teach him English so that he could read Müller's translation of the Vedas by himself. However, due to insufficient time, he would let others to translate Müller's works for him.[153]

Conclusion:

The aforementioned evidence is an illustration of Dayananda's knowledge of Orientalists' works and his interaction with them, depicting the extent of his awareness of the milieu he was living in. This is not to say that Dayananda had fully developed his above-stated ideas under the impact of the work of western Sanskritists. What it does, however, suggest is that, despite of him being innocent of western languages and literature, it did impact him like many other reformists/nationalists of his era and this influence echoed in their ideas in one way or another.

[152] See Jordens, *Dayananda Sarasvati: His Life and Ideas*, p. 57.

[153] See Ibid., pp. 40, 157.

Conclusion

Nineteenth century comes across as a very happening century in India history. The century began with growing influence of English East Indian Company, which was able to turn India entirely into the colony of British Empire with the passage of time. During the nineteenth century, perhaps the most important development was the emergence of new socio-religious movements.

J. N. Farquhar, an educational missionary in India during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, studied these movements and presented his work in Hartford-Lamson lectures in October 1913. These lectures were later published under the title of *Modern Religious Movements in India*. In this pathbreaking work, he proposed that these modern religious movements in nineteenth century India, signified as social and religious awakening, were product of three forces: the British government in India, the Protestant missions and the work of great orientalists.

In this respect, the activity of British government became evident in two spheres: the introduction of English education, as envisioned by the "anglicist" regime, and the enforcement of socio-religious reforms in India. The influence of Protestant missionaries appears in the innovative methods they had used for propagating their message which included the use of education as a missionary tool; the use of printing press in the form of publishing newspapers, magazines and other forms of printed material being produced for missionary purposes; and the social service. Lastly, the orientalists studied the Indian past and came along with influential theories describing the Indian past.

In other words, the orientalist and anglicist movements provided the intellectual context for Indian past, present and future. The Protestant missionaries introduced fresh religious thinking and patterns of organization, and the innovative propaganda tools in India. The British government in India extended the administrative power for the flourishing of the above forces and their penetration in Indian society. All these forces combined to create a milieu which gave birth to various patterns of religious thinking.

The story of modern religious movements in nineteenth century India is that of adoption, adaption and rejection to the aforementioned forces. Amongst these movements was the Arya Samaj which was founded by Dayananda Saraswati in 1875. The activity of the abovementioned forces in emergence of the Arya Samaj comes across in different shapes.

The English education had created a class of people which was neither able to fully relate to native Indian culture nor to the British. This created a sort of identity crisis for them. Dayananda's version of Hinduism had provided a section of this class with a vision which could resolve this crisis for them. Therefore, a number of modern educated Hindus took refuge in Dayananda's monotheistic Hinduism which had also advocated many reforms, originally initiated by the British government in India, under the broader theme of return to Vedic religion.

Protestant missionaries not only introduced fresh religious thinking in India but also utilized innovative propaganda methods. Missionaries impacted the ideology of Arya Samaj which became evident in shaping certain doctrines of Dayananda. The Arya Samaj also utilized the very methods of work introduced by Protestant missionaries.

The orientalists gave various visions of Indian past which remained influential during the nineteenth century. The echoes of these theories could even be heard to date. Dayananda was not only in contact with some orientalists but also was aware of their theories vis-à-vis India, some of which are seen to be highly influential in molding his ideology.

This study is also an illustration of how a socio-religious movement which is supposed to be a reaction against certain elements is also impacted by them in turn. The Arya Samaj, which many think of as a reaction against the British influence and Christian missionary activities in India, is also influenced by them. One could see in this study the working of these forces in shaping the Arya Samaj.

Therefore, in the light of this study, it is concluded that the forces identified by Farquhar in emergence of modern religious movements in nineteenth century India also played their part in shaping the Arya Samaj movement. Since Farquhar was primarily a missionary, it is admissible to think that his study of these movements was not devoid of his preoccupations. However, not only his work has remained

influential since it was first published but also his results have remained, for the most part, uncontested among the scholars.

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