

Terrains of Exchange: Religious Economies of Global Islam

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Parnassus Of The Evangelical Empire

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Abstract and Keywords

Challenging the basic assumptions of Edward Said that orientalism was a product of the secular Enlightenment, this chapter explores the production of oriental learning in the English universities in the age of ascendant empire. Through demonstrating the definitively evangelical approach to empire of the period's leading orientalist, the chapter excavates an entire era of orientalism that has been overlooked as a result of the Saidian paradigm. By promoting a "providentialist" reading of the rise of the British Empire, England's universities exported an 'evangelical orientalism' that began a cycle of interactions with Muslims as the target of this Christian conversionism. The chapter argues that, equipped with new language skills and communication technologies, the new Christian missionary firms founded in the years around 1800 acted as catalysts that provoked Muslim religious entrepreneurs to respond by adapting and adopting the missionary techniques of the Christians to create a new evangelical Islam. The chapter in this way shows the role of colonial Christian religious entrepreneurs in generating a new cycle of competitive exchange with Muslims across the expanding British Empire.

Keywords: Islam, Christianity, Orientalism, evangelicalism, Edward Said, missionaries, empire, religion, translation, colonialism

'Sir, there are two objects of curiosity: the Christian world and the Mahometan world.'

James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (1791)

An Evangelical Orientalism

If a great deal of ink has been spilt about the 'colonial' agenda of oriental learning since the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism*, then far less attention has been paid to the role of Christian evangelicalism in mediating the relationship between empire and knowledge.¹ Challenging Said's fundamental assumption that orientalism was a product of the secular Enlightenment, this chapter points to the promotion of oriental learning at England's most prestigious sites of religious production in the first half of the nineteenth century. By tracing the definitively Christian approach to empire propounded by the evangelical orientalist at England's universities, we shall see how there spread from the universities to the colonies and beyond a distinctly anti-secular and 'providentialist' reading of empire. Building on Michael Mann's recognition that the control of institutions is crucial to the production of social power, this chapter shows how the evangelicals' access to university chairs, funds, colleges and missionary firms empowered themselves and their agendas and in turn provided access to the farther reaching institutions of empire.²

(p.44) Unlike the secular orientalism of the eighteenth and later nineteenth centuries, this 'evangelical orientalism' formed a major institutional means of first understanding from a distance and then interacting at close quarters with the Muslim peoples of Britain's Asian empire during the decades when it was chiefly acquired. In place of the collusion of extractive imperialism and secular knowledge forms delineated by Edward Said, the following pages outline a relationship between orientalism and empire that was more religious than secular. For Said, orientalism emerged from secularizing elements in eighteenth-century European culture which saw 'the old religious patterns of human history and destiny ... reconstituted, redeployed, redistributed in ... secular frameworks'.³ Among Said's critics no less than his disciples, the orientalist enterprise has been repeatedly framed in these secular terms, terms which ironically themselves belong to late imperial modes of self-representation.⁴ What this formulation crucially ignores is that the period in which Britain actually acquired its 'Oriental' empire saw an intensely 'evangelical' religious revival.⁵ It was in the terms of this revival that the academy at home established its first connections with the empire abroad. Far as they were from the chief outpost of colonial power in Calcutta, the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge were terrains of exchange in which the textual and sometimes human embodiments of Islam were encountered and responded to.

This evangelical orientalism was a different orientalism from that which blossomed from the cosmopolitan conversations of the likes of William Jones and Henry Colebrooke with their *munshis* on the distant verandas of Bengal. Instead, this distinctive orientalism emerged in the libraries and lecture halls of the universities of the homeland. Far from secular, both the academy and the empire which it imagined were of a profoundly Christian character. Since this book's model of dynamic exchange is intended to reveal patterns of productive

reciprocity, it is not the intention here to place primary historical agency with Christian Europeans. This focus of this first chapter on a particular terrain in Europe is therefore primarily for heuristic purposes and it is important to recognize from the outset that the university orientalists were not prime movers but were themselves responding to Muslim stimuli carried to England from India. Nor is it the purpose of this chapter to argue that these evangelical orientalists created an all-encompassing 'discourse'. They lectured and preached, translated and printed; and while they **(p.45)** wielded increasing influence in India and beyond as the East India Company established bases as far away as Canton, their godly model of empire was certainly challenged by alternatives.

If the aim here is therefore not simply to replace one hegemonic orientalism with another, then it is to displace the hold of the secular over our understanding of modern empires and their knowledge of and interaction with their subjects worldwide. To do so, the following pages survey the period between around 1800 and 1850 in which evangelicals came to dominate oriental learning in the English universities. For this was a period that saw moral no less than intellectual reconfigurations in Britain as a response to the rapid acquisition of an Asian empire. Abroad, the East India Company seethed with the practical activities of conquest and governance; at home, the universities rumbled with discussion of the moral responsibilities of conquest. As information about the religions of distant India and Iran reached the learned Christians of England, those Christians in return exported their own religion, albeit in a form that by this very encounter was already transformed into such hybrid products as Persian Bibles and Urdu catechisms.

It was through these exports that the universities made major inroads to the Asian empire and beyond it to such further terrains as Qajar Iran, the Dutch East Indies and Qing China. Before around 1815, the empire had little common business with the universities, which were mainly the training ground of the squirearchy and clergy and were not a major recruiting ground for the East India Company. Nor in turn did the universities concern themselves with the places and business of the Company. Orientalism in a Saidian sense was simply not a feature of English university life: the universities did not produce knowledge for or about the Indian Empire. The small number of university men (like the young William Jones) who were interested in Indian languages were forced to study them in their own time and so founded their own centres of oriental learning outside the universities, such as the Asiatic Society of Bengal, founded in Calcutta in 1784, and the Royal Asiatic Society, founded in London in 1823. But before the educational reforms of the mid nineteenth century, the universities comprised a faculty of churchmen and it was this basic fact which defined the course of their interactions with the empire, an empire which was viewed in theological terms by the clerical fellows of Oxford and Cambridge and, to the north, St Andrews and Edinburgh. If on the ground in Calcutta the swift

acquisition of vast new **(p.46)** territories was primarily seen as an administrative and practical problem, in the universities it was magnified into a moral, religious and even eschatological problem. This might anyway have been expected from the intellectual profile of these colleges of churchmen. But the acquisition of the eastern empire also coincided with a religious revival which would eventually be termed 'evangelicalism'. It was those scholars most closely associated with new religious firms—the missionary and scripture societies—who developed the greatest interest in the 'heathen' who had recently fallen under British rule. And so, in the period of the great expansion of oriental studies in the decades of Britain's conquests in India, the relationship between academy and empire was mediated by the evangelical desire to convert Asia to Christianity.

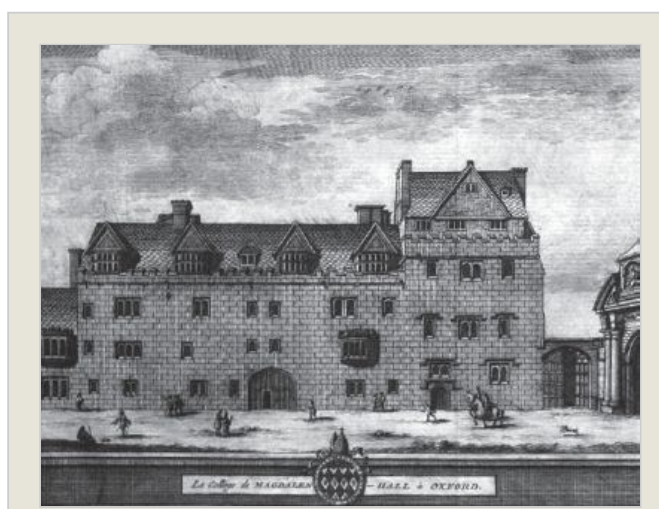
While evangelicalism grew from older antagonisms between the established church and its social responsibilities at home and was not originally caused by events abroad, the new empire quickly became inseparable from the practical realization of evangelical aims.⁶ Whether in India or America, empire provided abundant territory for the 'conversionism' that David Bebbington has seen as the crucial defining feature of evangelicalism.⁷ The moral crisis triggered by an easily-won empire was thus framed in religious and specifically providentialist terms, terms which paralleled those used to explain the corresponding loss of Muslim power by the new Muslim pietists who emerged through contact with these muscular Christians.⁸ For the pietists of Oxford and Cambridge, the delivery of India into Christian hands was a divine invitation to evangelize; for their Muslim interlocutors in Lucknow and Delhi, it told of God's wrath and the need to purify their own faith. In such distant but connected terrains, the encounter with other peoples who were conceived primarily in religious terms galvanized individuals on both sides into founding new theologies, organizations and tools of communication. With its Hindustani grammars, its Persian tracts and its Arabic Psalters—not to mention its countless texts in Malay, Chinese and even Maori—Evangelical Orientalism was one such toolkit for communication and competition.

Propelling these endeavours was a sense of cosmic duty. In the words of a sermon delivered in 1826 in Madras by the Reverend Thomas Robinson, future Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic on his return to Cambridge, 'It is hard to conceive ... that the dominion of this vast continent should have devolved upon a little island of the west for the sole **(p.47)** purpose of aggrandizing her children, without some ulterior design of moral and religious good.'⁹ This shift from a mercantile to a moral understanding of empire coalesced in the debates on the renewal of the East India Company's charter in 1813. In their attempt to Christianize the empire, the Evangelical wing in Parliament won two important concessions from the company: the creation of an Anglican diocese for India with archdeacons in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras and the entry of the new English and Scottish missionary societies founded around 1800 into Company

dominions.¹⁰ The empire was officially opened for the new missionary firms to establish their outposts and franchises in town and country. These concessions were not easily ceded and the relationship between the practical and the moral guardians of empire would remain an ambivalent one throughout the nineteenth century. But the Charter Act of 1813 nonetheless expressed a new Christian understanding of empire which would open the religious economy of India to stirring competition from the Protestant religious firms of Britain, America and Germany. And the need to supply these firms with books and with staffing, with intellectual and human resources, in turn found expression in the reconfiguration of the tasks of the universities.

At the centre of this reconfiguration stood oriental learning, perhaps Europe's chief discursive product from the period's heightened global exchange. For in the early 1800s, the inward-looking tradition of Arabic studies that had developed during the Reformation as an aid to the exegesis of the Hebrew Bible began to turn its concerns outwards towards India, and the oceanic spheres beyond it, by drawing the study of new languages—Persian and Arabic, Malay and Maori—into the ambit of the professors of Hebrew and Arabic who held the only endowed positions in oriental studies. As evangelicals infiltrated these few key posts, they became the intellectual centre of an evangelical network that, after 1813, reached deep into the empire to undermine the Company's older pragmatic agenda towards non-Christian peoples. Later chapters assess the actual impact of this evangelical outreach on those distant regions. Here, the terrain under inspection is that of the universities themselves as their evangelical oriental learning made its first connections with empire during the crucial years in which Britain gained the greater part of its possessions in India and the Malay and Arabian peninsulars either side of it. What we are examining here, then, are the intellectual production centres of a religious engagement with empire that provided an explicitly **(p.48)**

Christian moral, intellectual and social framework for interactions between imperial Britons and their Muslim others. As recent scholarship has shown, in what was a globalizing no less than an imperial age, this framework of evangelical knowledge was by no means uniquely applied to Asian or Islamic regions of empire.¹¹ And this suggests in turn that the 'Orient' was not a unique discursive space but part of a wider 'heathen' globe understood in uniform ways.



As C. A. Bayly has rightly observed, 'following the growth of Methodism and the trauma of the French Revolution, the link between evangelical

Fig. 2: A missionary manufactory: Professor Macbride's Magdalen Hall, Oxford

Protestantism, nationalism and empire was forged more strongly'.¹² The universities were key sites for the forging of these links by translating books and training churchmen who could be dispatched deep into Asia. To recover this university role in both orientalism and empire, this chapter has two parts: one provides the first survey of evangelical orientalism, the other draws out its essential paradox. For here lay the rub: providing access to scripture required its translation into the complex languages of **(p.49)** an expanding empire. It was the need for such translations that placed the professors at centre stage, for translation of Holy Writ was no task for the theological neophytes of John Company. But charged with translating into rather than out of such languages, the professors' own linguistic uncertainties compelled them to seek help among the small circle of educated Muslim travellers to England. Here was the basic paradox of evangelical orientalism: it rendered Christians reliant on the very 'heathens' they sought to convert. While the focus in this chapter is on the university orientalist themselves, as we shall see in Chapter Two, Middle Eastern visitors to Britain helped the professors under scrutiny here in their godly translations into Arabic and Persian.¹³ Like other imperial ventures, evangelical orientalism ultimately emerges as a collaborative venture, as a process of exchange, both cooperative and competitive.

The Rise of the University Evangelicals

The leaders of the evangelical revival were very different people from the pastors of James Woodford's amiable eighteenth-century *Diary of a Country Parson*.¹⁴ They were also, perhaps paradoxically, products of the Enlightenment: to spread religion as scripture was to defeat religion as superstition.¹⁵ Although the eighteenth century saw Oxford and Cambridge as bulwarks of Anglican conformism, for all their required allegiance to the established church, both universities played important roles in the rise of evangelicalism. While the Scottish universities are not the terrains in focus here, they too (particularly St Andrews) were important production zones of evangelical exporters of Christianity.¹⁶ Such institutions were central to the social power that evangelical religion was to gain in this period, allowing it to influence Muslims and other non-Christians far across the world. Expanding this institutional base, the early 1800s also saw the founding of several missionary training colleges, such as those of the London Missionary Society at Gosport (founded 1780) and of the Church Missionary Society at Islington (founded 1825). But what was important about university orientalism was its institutional connections to the heart of the establishment, in Calcutta no less than in London. For above the many new producers of preachers and prayerbooks for the east loomed the Christian spires

of Oxford and Cambridge; ‘Oxbridge’: the Parnassus of an evangelical empire. There among the manuscripts and the occasional *munshi* imported **(p.50)** from Asia emerged the institutional powerhouses of imperial religion whose many productions would trigger responses from Muslims far and wide through cycles of generative exchange.

The earliest and most influential example of a university evangelical movement was Methodism, which grew out of the sermonising tours of the erstwhile Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, John Wesley (1703–91).¹⁷ Although Methodism was effectively suppressed at the universities, the tenor of the age was changing by the beginning of the nineteenth century and there emerged a small but influential fellowship which railed against the apathy of the established church and vigorously promoted a new spirit of self-examination, morality and evangelism to undergraduates and through them to society at large. If the mission began at home, ever since John Wesley travelled to North America in 1736 the empire presided over a larger arena, which in 1813 shifted to the east with the evangelical opening of India and other Company territories beyond it. With the crumbling Mughal Empire and its more able Muslim successor states as the Company’s main rivals, their religion of Islam became the focus of evangelical attention.

The main early outpost of university evangelicalism was Oxford’s St Edmund Hall, where the new piety took root as early as the 1760s. It was not an easy ascendance and the ‘religion of Teddy Hall’ was seen to pose such a resemblance to Methodism as to result in the rustication of six of the Hall’s undergraduates.¹⁸ By slowly gaining their connections and footholds over the following decades, the evangelicals acquired positions of institutional power at Oxford, particularly through the efforts of Isaac Crouch (1756–1835), who was also at St Edmund Hall. Despite opposition from other colleges, Crouch was instrumental in creating a haven for evangelicalism in Oxford. He was also a close friend of Thomas Charles of Jesus College, who in 1804 co-founded the British and Foreign Bible Society, the greatest global publishing magnate of the age that had printed tens of thousands of Islamic-language Bibles by the time the earliest Muslim-owned presses of the Middle East and India had issued their first books. It was through the Bible Society that we shall see the skills of both universities’ orientalist being subsequently channelled in this chapter and, in the next, Muslim cooperators gaining access to printing for themselves. Back in Oxford, up to around 1810 it was largely the younger generation of undergraduates who proved the keenest converts to the new ‘enthusiasm’, men like Crouch’s pupil the Reverend Daniel **(p.51)** Wilson (1778–1858). After succeeding his teacher as Vice Principal of St Edmund Hall, in 1812 Wilson left the university to become a London vicar before turning east to evangelize the empire.¹⁹ Appointed Bishop of Calcutta in 1832, for the following quarter century he was the most influential churchman in India. As Oxford and Calcutta became connected through the flow

of books and churchmen, the university increasingly served to export to the empire the tangible stuff of religion.

Other university men began to follow Wilson in directing their bodies and minds towards India. In 1795 a former undergraduate of Oxford's Magdalen Hall, the Reverend Thomas Haweis (c.1734–1820), became one of the founding members of the London Missionary Society. Unable to exert sufficient influence within the university itself, other Oxford undergraduates and fellows founded local franchises of the other missionary firms that were springing up in the early 1800s. In 1813 an Oxford branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society was established. Through the entire Victorian age, the British Bible Society was governed by a series of Oxford-educated evangelicals.²⁰ And on the foundation of its Oxford branch, the Bible Society began to ship overseas the hundreds of thousands of export Bibles that were printed at the University Press in this period. Printing Bibles for the world's converts and heathens was a massive business and one which revolutionized Britain's own publishing industry no less than it provided thousands of people across Asia with the first books they ever owned.²¹

In 1825 an Oxford franchise of the Church Missionary Society (itself founded in 1799) was also established.²² As the nineteenth century progressed, the position of evangelicalism—and of missionary activity in particular—grew more secure at Oxford, leading the university to export a growing number of evangelizing graduates to India and other corners of the empire.²³ In terms of the 'soft power' of empire—in the sphere of education in particular—the university evangelicals were key players. This was seen most vividly in the central roles played by the Scottish missionaries John Wilson (1804–75) and Alexander Duff (1806–78) in the foundation of Bombay and Calcutta universities, new institutional terrains of exchange that would produce many a religious and cultural fusion in turn during the course of the nineteenth century.²⁴ Indeed, the vernacular translations of Wilson's critiques of Islam, Hinduism and Zoroastrianism that were printed in Bombay were crucial catalysts in transforming that city into a competitive new religious marketplace.²⁵

(p.52) Oxford's role in sending churchmen to India was not new in itself. As early as 1681, John Fell, the father of Oxford publishing and Dean of Christ Church College, had persuaded the East India Company to fund scholarships to train its chaplains at Oxford, a practice which was already operating for the Levant Company's chaplains.²⁶ But these earlier chaplains were expected to preach solely to fellow Britons and not to local Muslims. Although the turning point came with the opening of British India's religious economy to Christian missions in 1813, in the preceding years the university was already involved in the build-up of evangelical pressure, exerting its institutional power over the Parliament and thence the East India Company. In 1805, the Cambridge evangelical and former Company chaplain, the Reverend Claudius Buchanan

(1766–1815), endowed two prizes of the large sum of £500 each at Oxford and Cambridge for the best essay on ‘The probable Design of divine Providence in subjecting so large a Portion of India to the British Empire’.²⁷ In 1806, Buchanan also wrote to the Vice Chancellor of Cambridge urging him to direct the university’s scholars towards ‘translating the Scriptures into the Oriental languages’, offering 30 guineas to any university churchman who would preach sermons on the subject at the university church.²⁸ From its very origins, then, evangelical orientalism emerged from India as much as England; or rather, from the points of exchange between the two.

Nor was Buchanan’s influence limited to financial investments in the evangelical cause, for he also endowed the university with its first substantial collection of Persian and Urdu printed books that the East India Company had printed in India. While certain Cambridge colleges already possessed rich collections of Arabic and Persian manuscripts, the University Library at the Senate House was far poorer in its oriental resources. It was to this more accessible library that in 1804 Buchanan granted a collection of almost a hundred copies of the classical Persian works and vernacular ‘Hindustani’ works that had recently been printed in Calcutta for the training of East India Company secretaries.²⁹ From Calcutta Buchanan thus redirected towards Cambridge the tangible intellectual resources of the East India Company, books that had been printed at great expense through the collaborations of Britons and Indians in the Company’s employment. In so doing, his aim was to promote through the institutional power of the university an expressly conversionist agenda for learning such languages as Persian, Urdu and Sanskrit, particularly to train **(p.53)** preachers with language skills subtle enough to hold public disputations with mullahs and brahmins. By this time, Buchanan was Vice Provost of Fort William College in Calcutta and from there the rich prizes he endowed sponsored the new providentialist paradigm that evangelicals employed to engage with the Muslims of the British Empire.

It was a radical agenda and, unsurprisingly, one that found many objectors, both practical and conscientious. By 1815, evangelical activities had become sufficiently well known at Oxford to stir the kinds of debate also found among Company servants. In January of that year, for example, a debate ran through successive issues of the *Oxford University and City Herald* newspaper, in which the Reverend Daniel Wilson defended the activities of the Church Missionary Society against anti-missionary critics, publicizing and praising their work in converting Muslims and Hindus.³⁰ The heyday of evangelical orientalism was dawning. Between Oxford, Cambridge and Fort William College in Calcutta, the empire’s three producers of oriental learning, there moved books and bodies that were dedicated to the defeat of Islam.

Evangelical Orientalism in Oxford

Before the rise of the evangelical concern with Britain's Asian empire, the teaching of Arabic at the universities had primarily served the exegetical concerns of Protestant theology. In the seventeenth century, Oxford's first chair in Arabic was established for the express purpose of using Arabic to clarify the obscurities of Biblical Hebrew by the exercise of comparative linguistics.³¹ This older tradition of oriental learning was primarily an inward-looking one, concerned with the interpretation of scripture among Protestants themselves. In this earlier period, distant encounters with non-Christians in Asia had not yet given rise to external concerns and, in the First British Empire, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (founded in 1701) had focused on the less organized religions of Native Americans. As a consequence of the hermeneutical motivations of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Oxbridge orientalist, the universities took little interest in Islamic languages other than Arabic, leaving the early development of Persian, Sanskrit and Hindustani studies to those in the employment of the East India Company. The Persian studies of the few university members associated with the Company (such as William Jones) were thus the fruit of **(p.54)** private passion rather than institutional interest. In 1768, for example, Oxford ignored Company appeals to found a chair in Persian.³² It was only with the rise of evangelicalism that expertise in oriental languages other than Arabic began to find a formal place in university life and, through cooperation with the new missionary firms founded around 1800, began to be used for engaging with the manifold Muslims of Asia.

The most important representative of evangelical orientalism at Oxford was John David Macbride, Lord Almoner's Professor in Arabic and holder of other influential positions, notably Principal of Magdalen Hall.³³ Under his leadership, Magdalen Hall became Oxford's main institutional producer of evangelicals, in the first decades of his headship providing no fewer than four bishops and scores of humbler preachers affiliated to the Church Missionary Society.³⁴ By 1815 Macbride was already committed to the evangelical cause, as is evident from a letter he addressed in that year to the undergraduates of Magdalen Hall, urging them to work for the spread of Christ's word as the highest vocation of a university man.³⁵ Apart from this letter, we must turn to his writings from the mid 1820s for a fuller insight into his evangelical opinions. Writing in a set of lectures for the undergraduates of Magdalen Hall that were printed in 1824, Macbride stated that 'I trust I have never forgotten that the edification of believers, or the conversion of infidels, should be our object in our explanation of the Bible'.³⁶ A central theme of his teaching was the problem of miracles, which he sought to explain in the new scholarly fashion of giving historical context while nonetheless preserving their integrity, with the evangelical faith in the infallibility of scripture serving to overcome the objections of reason.³⁷ Having championed the authenticity of the miracles of Christ and his apostles, Macbride then pointed towards these miracles as requisite proofs for aiding conversion to

Christianity, before bewailing the fact that the early Christian communities of the east had been ‘usurped by Mahomed’.³⁸ Echoing Buchanan’s providentialist imperialism, Macbride declared that ‘the immense colonial empire which it has pleased Divine Providence to bestow upon Britain, making her the sovereign of many more millions of heathen than of Christian subjects, clearly points it out as our imperative duty to take the lead in the glorious office of converting the world’.³⁹ In the same lecture, Macbride went on to encourage his students to support both the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Church Missionary Society.⁴⁰ In 1841, while still serving as Principal of Magdalen (p. 55) Hall, MacBride was nominated Vice President of the Church Missionary Society, which by then Oxford had already provided with many a gentleman missionary.⁴¹

We should not underestimate Macbride’s importance as a shaper of opinions and actions during his nearly sixty years of teaching. In the words of a contemporary, ‘the influence of Macbride’s lectures, given to succeeding generations at Magdalen Hall men over many years, should not be overlooked. Their flavour was unequivocally evangelical.’⁴² It was to one such Oxford graduate working for the Church Missionary Society among the Muslims of north India that Macbride dedicated his magnum opus, *The Mohammedan Religion Explained, With an Introductory Sketch of its Progress, and Suggestions for its Confutation*.⁴³ Dedicated to the Reverend Thomas Valpy French (1825–91), a former Fellow of University College and by this time principal of the Church Missionary College at Agra in India, *The Mohammedan Religion* was written in response to the Indian ‘Mutiny’ of 1857.⁴⁴ Spelling out his vision of an evangelical imperialism, Macbride admonished the Company policy which he saw as having led inexorably to the Mutiny: ‘while our rulers tolerate false religions, may they imbibe the spirit of the Bible, and re-establish our Government on Christian principles ... We know that in our God’s appointed time Islam must, like all false religions, fall.’⁴⁵

Capping this theological reading of world history, Macbride evoked the great justificatory claim of imperial superiority: ‘there is scarcely a Mohammedan state in any part of the world which does not exhibit symptoms of internal decay’.⁴⁶ Having provided almost two hundred pages of detailed description of Muslim history and theology, in the final chapter of *The Mohammedan Religion* Macbride laid out a detailed theological refutation of Islam based on systematic comparison of verses from the Gospel with verses from the Quran in Arabic.⁴⁷ As the sum product of his Oxford career, Macbride’s *Mohammedan Religion* was a textbook that the missionary could use to ‘confute’ his Muslim opponents in public debate. In the book, Macbride presented verses from the Quran or sayings of the Prophet Muhammad in the original Arabic before then translating them, picking them apart for inconsistency or folly, and giving appropriate arguments and Biblical verses with which to disprove them. It was a technique

that in later chapters we shall see adapted by Muslim responders to the evangelicals for their responses to such missionary competition.

Such was the chief work of a man who for fifty-five years held one of Oxford's two senior positions in Arabic. Here is not only firm evidence **(p.56)** of the evangelical character of university orientalism in the age of ascendant empire, but also an example of the tools of religious competition that such learning produced. For *The Mohammedan Religion* was a missionary's field guide for identifying Islam, comparing its theological components with those of Christianity and persuading Muslims to exchange it for the superior tenets of Christianity. But Macbride was not content to champion the conversion of only India. As Britain expanded its imperial reach, his ambition led him to herald 'the commencement of a new era in the history of Missions, by bringing us to the frontier of Afghanistan and Persia', which he hoped would also be opened for the missionaries of Christ.⁴⁸ He poured praise on the Cambridge 'opponent of Islam', the Reverend Henry Martyn (1781–1812), who had already ventured into Iran, and celebrated the scriptural translations of Buchanan in Calcutta that had helped convert Indians all across Bengal.⁴⁹ A university man to the core, Macbride took special pride in Oxford's achievements in exporting so many evangelicals and in providing such bishops to the diocese of Calcutta as 'the amiable lamented Heber, and the present and still energetic Diocesan, [who] were not mere [Oxford] Graduates, but Residents, the first as a Fellow of All Souls and Bampton Lecturer, and the second commenced his long public course of usefulness as Vice-Principal of St. Edmund Hall'.⁵⁰

Intuitively recognizing the importance of institutions in the production of social power, Macbride regarded the very existence of the university as justified through the training and connections it lent to missionaries. Picturing the religious marketplaces of faraway Hindustan, he wrote that 'the philological and philosophical studies' that the university imparted enabled missionaries 'to argue with the subtle Mahometan opponents of Christianity, and to preach to the disputatious Brahmins in their own tongue in the Bazaars'.⁵¹ In a lecture given to raise money for the Church Missionary Society in 1851, Macbride went so far as to express his desire that Oxford as a whole should be transformed into a centre of missionary training to rival Halle, the German home of missionary Protestantism, voicing his hope Oxford should 'become a second Halle, and shall send forth a goodly band of devoted ministers' to convert the people of India and so rival the university that had reared such missionaries for India as Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg (1683–1719), the Danish pioneer of printing Christian scripture in the languages of India.⁵² Oxford was thus to be the training ground for ebullient and **(p.57)** erudite salesmen of Christ who could compete in the boisterous religious markets of India.

Macbride was not the only senior orientalist to promote such an agenda at Oxford. By the mid 1820s, evangelicals had gained further power through Oxford's other chair in Arabic, the Laudian professorship. In the opening decades of the nineteenth century, the Laudian Professor had been Thomas Winstanley, DD (1749–1823), though aside from writing a Latin version of Aristotle's *Poetics*, he published nothing of note in his entire career and appears to have had no knowledge of Arabic whatsoever.⁵³ Matters changed when Winstanley died in 1823 and he was succeeded by Stephen Reay (1782–1861), a crypto-evangelical who in 1818 had published a spirited defence of the Church Missionary Society under the pseudonym *Pileus Quadratus*.⁵⁴ More and more, the universities and the missionary firms were pooling their institutional resources in common cause. Reay's appointment was itself probably made through the manoeuvrings of Macbride, who as Lord Almoner's professor played the central role in the selection. When Reay died and the chair became vacant again in 1861, his successor was one of Macbride's right-hand men. This was Robert Gandell (1818–87), who for thirteen years up to (and for twelve years after) his appointment as Laudian Professor had been Macbride's closest colleague as tutor in Hebrew at Magdalen Hall, the evangelical heart of the university.⁵⁵

Evangelical Orientalism in Cambridge

It was not only Oxford's scholars who turned towards evangelicalism in the early 1800s; Cambridge's oriental scholars were if anything even more enthusiastic supporters of converting the empire for Christ. At Oxford the evangelicals were chiefly associated with St Edmund Hall and Magdalen Hall; their main centre at Cambridge was Queens' College, where they first gathered under the aegis of the college president, Isaac Milner (1750–1820).⁵⁶ A bluff Yorkshireman of a girth considered huge even by the standards of the Regency high table, Milner was a close friend of the Cambridge-based founder member of the Church Missionary Society, Charles Simeon (1759–1836). It had been Simeon's example that had inspired the Reverend Henry Martyn to set out on his journeys to convert the Muslims of India and Iran, the first major attempt by a university evangelical to combine learning with action **(p.58)** through Martyn's move to Calcutta, his translation (with Muslim assistance) of the New Testament, his subsequent preaching tour of Iran, and his death in 1812 at Tokat in Anatolia.⁵⁷ Martyn's formal position as an East India Company chaplain rather than a direct employee of any of the missionary societies points again to the strategy of infiltrating imperial institutions (in this case the Company's army) through which the evangelicals gained their footholds in the empire.⁵⁸ During the same years, this same strategy of missionary firms penetrating the East India Company was being employed further to the east by the London Missionary Society representative, Robert Morrison (1782–1834), who during his years in Canton and Macau translated and published the New Testament in Chinese while also serving as the Company's translator. Godly Englishmen like Martyn

and Morrison were not above manipulating imperial networks for their own concerns. In response, we shall see in Chapter Two and Three how various Muslims manipulated evangelical resources for their own agendas.

Despite Martyn's early death and the faults that were soon found in his translations of scripture, he had tremendous influence as a promoter of Persian and Urdu printing no less than as a translator: when his revised Persian translation of the New Testament was posthumously printed in 1815, it catalyzed the Iranian government into establishing their own first printing press in 1817.⁵⁹ Through his youthful demise abroad at the height of the Romantic Movement, Martyn also served as a powerful inspirer of many other young university men to follow his example, for his was a kind of Christian counterpart to the overseas death of the atheist Percy Shelley a few years later. Even before Martyn perished at Tokat, his bold departure for India was already inspiring other Cambridge men. In 1811, for example, his Cambridge associates Simeon and Milner formed an undergraduate branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society, reflecting the Oxford franchise of the Church Missionary Society founded a few years later.⁶⁰ It was Milner who had written the letter of recommendation that in 1797 secured the post of chaplain to the East India Company for his protégé Claudius Buchanan, whom we have seen subsequently patronizing evangelical essay prizes at both universities.⁶¹ When Milner died in 1820, he was almost succeeded as President of Queens' by the noted evangelical William Mandell, who as Vice President of Queens' ensured the college maintained close contact with the Church Missionary Society, not least through the patronage of the (p. 59) Venn family. One member of the family, Henry Venn, became a Fellow of Queens' in 1818 and later served as Honorary Secretary of the CMS.⁶² Queens' College, Cambridge and the Church Missionary Society had become interwoven institutions between which evangelicals could move in their quest to export their faith.

As the missionaries came to rely on Muslim cooperators for their all-important translations, Queens' College—and the Reverend William Mandell in particular—also hosted the Iranian students Mirza Ja'far and Mirza Salih, the latter of whom we shall re-encounter in the next chapter using these contacts to export a printing press for his Muslim patron back home in Iran.⁶³ During his time in Cambridge, Mirza Salih also spent several weeks staying and working with Professor Samuel Lee (1783–1852) on his translation of the Bible into Persian and Arabic. As missionary networks channelled Britons like Henry Martyn into Shiraz, they thus correspondingly channelled Iranians like Mirza Salih into Cambridge. Amid the windy provincial fens that the evangelical orientlists had connected to Tabriz and Calcutta, Queens' College became a new terrain of exchange.

It was from among this circle at Queens' that there emerged the most important of Cambridge's evangelical orientalist. This was the aforementioned Samuel Lee, whose university career was largely given over to the translations of scripture into the many languages of the empire with which he acquainted himself. Lee was the youngest of six sons and five daughters born into poverty in the village of Longnor some eight miles from Shrewsbury in the rural county of Shropshire. Early in life, he had found himself apprenticed to a local carpenter, but by buying used copies of schoolboy primers of Latin and Greek, in the evenings after work he managed to teach himself these languages of the classics and upper classes. After a successful turn towards the study of Persian, he wrote in search of preferment to the Shropshire gentleman and former East India Company employee, Jonathan Scott. In such ways, the networks of class, faith and empire intersected. Through Scott's intervention, Lee was introduced in turn to the Reverend Claudius Buchanan, that titan of the godly empire. In a letter dated 13 January 1814, Buchanan wrote, 'I consulted the college to-day concerning the proposed admission of Mr. Lee, the Shrewsbury linguist. It was agreed to admit him at Queens'.⁶⁴ Impressed by the young man's prodigious talents, Buchanan thus arranged for him to be admitted to his own former college.

(p.60) Lee soon lived up to the expectations of his patron, and turned away from his Persian poetry translations—the older Enlightenment orientalism in the mode of Sir William Jones—to concentrate on the Biblical translations that occupied him for the rest of his days. In his first year at Cambridge, he produced Arabic and Persian translations of the evangelical tract *The Way of Truth and Life*, which were printed and distributed in the southern reaches of the Russian Empire by the Scottish mission to Astrakhan, where we shall see cooperative encounters between Iranians and Scots in Chapter Three.⁶⁵ Through the flow of such books, the missionary societies thus connected Cambridge with faraway Muslim terrains around the Caspian. By 1817 Lee obtained his BA and was admitted to Holy Orders, with Queens' granting him the curacy of the church at Chesterton, where a year later he hosted his Iranian cooperator, Mirza Salih, whom we shall meet again in the next chapter.⁶⁶

By 1818, Lee was beginning to acquire a name and reputation for himself. In September of that year, there appeared a long laudatory report on his accomplishments in the *Oxford University and City Herald*, which applauded his command for missionary purposes of no fewer than eighteen languages as wide-ranging as Arabic, Persian, Malay, Samaritan and Coptic!⁶⁷ Qualification was by no means enough to assure the rise of a poor country boy such as Lee and, with him as with other evangelicals, patronage played an important role in his rise through the academic hierarchy. It was in this context that the *Herald* article was written, as part of what turned out to be a successful campaign to elect the self-educated former carpenter to the Sir Thomas Adams professorship of Arabic at Cambridge. Also helping him was a testimonial written by five Iranian

students who were then studying in England (one with the Bible Society), who testified to Lee's command over their languages. The ascent of the university evangelicals was thus in itself an outcome of cooperative exchange.⁶⁸ By 1831, Lee had risen still further to become Regius Professor of Hebrew, one of the most exalted academic positions in the whole empire.⁶⁹

Although Lee was required to sever his formal connection with the Church Missionary Society when he took up his salaried position in the university on election to the Sir Thomas Adams chair in 1819, his translations on behalf of the missionary societies nevertheless continued apace and evangelical outreach remained the purpose of his vast linguistic learning. The theological underpinnings of his scholarship lent it many **(p.61)** similarities to the work of Macbride, with whom in any case he cooperated to revise Buchanan's Arabic Bible for export to the Middle East.⁷⁰ In line with the 'biblicism' which David Bebbington has described as a defining feature of evangelicalism, Lee was a vehement defender of the literal word of scripture.⁷¹ A good example of this strand of Lee's scholarship is his *Events and Times of the Visions of Daniel and St. John, Investigated*, an exegetical work in which he set out 'to determine by a system of inductive reasoning the *Events and Times* of the visions of the Prophet Daniel and St. John': biblical language was not only metaphorically or symbolically true but also a literal record of events.⁷² These events were not just past ones, for in this and other works Lee was also a spirited defender of prophecy: the Bible spoke infallibly not only of times that had gone before but also of times that were yet to come. The quiet perusal of scripture in the cloistered courts of Cambridge could thus reveal the inevitable fall of Asia to the Christian soldiers of Albion.

Preached at Cambridge during 1827 and 1828, a second dissertation appended to Lee's *Six Sermons on the Study of the Holy Scriptures, to which are Annexed Two Dissertations* was in this way devoted to a defence of prophecy in the bloody battles with Anti-Christ in the Book of Revelation.⁷³ But it was in the employment of his linguistic abilities that Lee made his most practical contributions to the new evangelical firms. He translated the Old Testament and the Gospels as well as a whole range of evangelical tracts and other Protestant writings into Arabic, Persian and Urdu, books that were then distributed from the missionary depots that had been set up from Smyrna to Calcutta. Given the high stakes we have seen attached to the translation of scripture, his achievements were not without their detractors. His expanded edition of William Jones's *Grammar of the Persian Language*, for example, led to an extensive pamphlet campaign in which his command of grammar was criticised as unfit for one who would translate the Gospels.⁷⁴ The high stakes of rightly rendering the Word of God would, ironically but no less logically, ensure the employment of the Muslim converts and cooperators in these translations that are the focus of Chapter Three.

During his subsequent years, Lee trained a series of students in oriental languages who were part of the regular supply of young men that Queens' provided to the Church Missionary Society, which in turn exported them to the religious marketplaces of Asia.⁷⁵ But it was not only with the Indian Empire that the evangelicals were concerned. For Lee (p.62)

and his Cambridge associates were also key players in the missionary expansion to the Pacific, pointing to the breadth of the evangelical outreach to a heathen planet in which Muslim domains formed only some of their concerns. This came about through Lee's connection with the Reverend Samuel Marsden (1765–1838), a former undergraduate of Magdalene College, Cambridge, whose early academic sponsor was the evangelical Elland Society.⁷⁶ In 1814 Marsden travelled to New Zealand on behalf of the Church Missionary Society and after several years of residence realised the importance of a proper grasp of the Maori languages if missionaries were to succeed. In March 1820, Marsden's missionary colleague Thomas Kendall (1778–1832) returned to England in the company of two

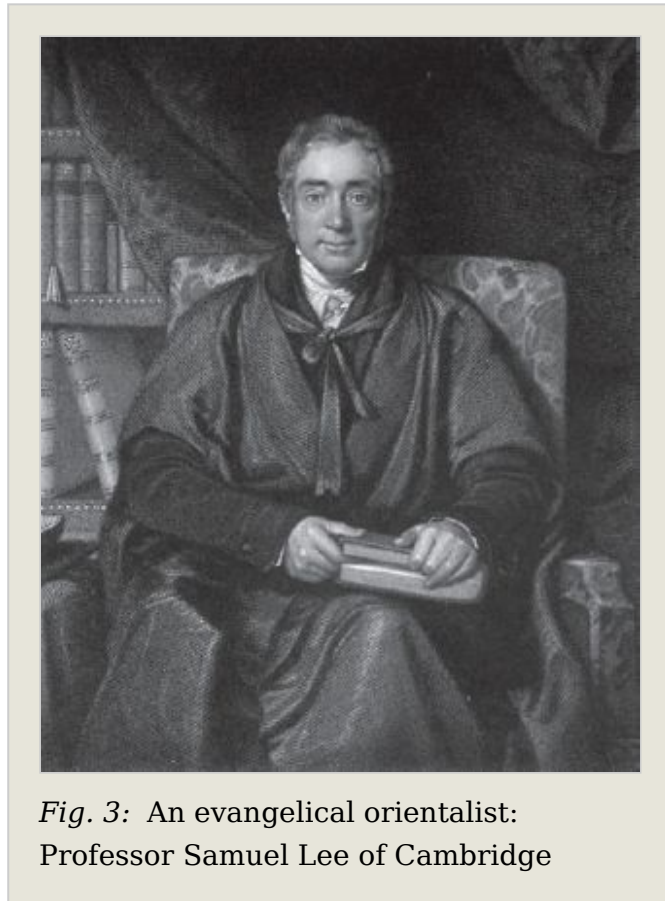


Fig. 3: An evangelical orientalist: Professor Samuel Lee of Cambridge

Maori chiefs, Waikato and Hongi Hika (1772–1828). (p.63) Kendall's chief reason in planning their journey was to take them to Professor Lee at Queens' and thereby allow Kendall to defend his interpretation of the Maori language Te Reo. The Maori helped Lee and Kendall further their linguistic studies, leading to their groundbreaking *Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand*. The grammar laid the basis for the first ever book printed either in New Zealand or in Maori, the 1835 *Epistles to the Ephesians and Phillipians*.⁷⁷

As we have seen, some years earlier, both Lee and Macbride had turned to the visiting Iranian students Mirza Salih and Mirza Ja'far for help in their Arabic and Persian Bible translations. In England, New Zealand, India and Iran, the same players, Christian and non-Christian, alternately cooperated and competed through religious networks that bridged the distant terrains of a religiously connected planet.⁷⁸ But as we shall see again in Chapter Three with the Muslim helpers in these language projects, the Maori too had their own agendas. For though brought to Cambridge for evangelical ends, while he was there Hongi Hika made contacts that supplied him with a small arsenal of guns with which he

conquered much of New Zealand on his return. Maori words, then, were resources that could ultimately be traded for muskets. If the guns that Hongi Hika carried home caused the Musket Wars in the South Pacific, then the thousands of Muslim printed Bibles that were also the product of Oxbridge's terrains of exchange triggered battles that were no less real for being bloodless. In a time when printing was still far from universal and when even dictionaries were rarities, the mastery of languages—and the ability to print them—lent massive advantages in the world's religious markets. In the universities, those advantages were cultivated for Christendom.

Conclusions

Over the previous pages we have seen how, through the first half of the nineteenth century, supporters of the new missionary organizations came to dominate oriental learning at England's universities. In so doing, these evangelicals acquired important positions of institutional power that amplified the social impact of their ideas, books and organizations far across an expanding British Empire and beyond. Between Cambridge and Iran, Oxford and India, a small but dedicated circle of university evangelicals emerged as an intellectual vanguard which from the early 1800s mediated **(p.64)** the relationship between the British and the peoples over whom they had so quickly come to rule. If the focus here has been on the activities of a small circle of interconnected scholars, then through both the prestige of their universities and the ties they forged with imperial institutions and missionary societies they were able to reach far into Britain's new territories, in the Middle East as well as India. It is important to recognize the novelty of the situation, which like other aspects of the evangelical influence in British society was the outcome of a determined minority agenda rather than an inevitable consequence of nineteenth-century religious attitudes. Through the missionary and ecclesiastical network they created, which after 1813 reached into Indian and Malay as well as British society, the university evangelicals gained a position of authority from which to render their providentialist vision of a Christian empire an influential model of imperial ideology. In the quiet study rooms of Oxbridge, the encounter with rumours, books and people from Asia had generated a new kind of Christianity which, when put into catalytic action, triggered competitive new cycles of religious productivity in turn. Some of these are studied in the chapters that follow.

When the university orientalists began to take an interest in the emerging empire in the early nineteenth century, they did so not in the service of the mercantilist John Company, but with the distinct agenda of converting the empire for Christ. In the ancient universities that were the British Empire's most powerful Christian knowledge-producers, orientalism was wholly distinct from the secular child of the Enlightenment imagined by Edward Said. Insofar as this evangelical orientalism did direct the tangible power of the Company empire, it did so through infiltration and moral suasion, through a redirecting of Company resources and skills and not through a Foucauldian coalescence of knowledge

and power. At home and abroad, the impact of this evangelical orientalism came through the founding of new institutions (such as missionary franchises) and the infiltration of existing ones (such as university colleges), institutions which in turn lent access to the human and material resources of social and political power. Evangelical scholars such as Lee and Macbride occupied the most prestigious positions in oriental learning in the entire British Empire, and from there they made persuasive inroads into the practical activity of imperial rule. To take just one example, as part of their campaign for a moral empire missionaries came to take over responsibility for the provision of vernacular education in India by not **(p.65)** only establishing hundreds of schools for Hindus and Muslims but by furnishing them with curricula and textbooks that introduced them to new ways of thinking about and organizing their own religions and communities.⁷⁹ Central to the catalytic impact that such missionary educations would have on vast numbers of Indians was the linguistic expertise that the evangelical orientalist had so assiduously developed. By combining that expertise with the technology of printing in Indian vernaculars that the evangelicals had also pioneered, later in the century the Christian Vernacular Education Society was able to publish around 700,000 Indian schoolbooks in a single year.⁸⁰ Such was the scale of the evangelical impact on India as it gathered pace in the course of the nineteenth century; and in the next two chapters we shall see how that impact was far from limited to regions under British control.

What we have seen here is the preliminary stage of a new and more intense historical cycle of exchange that was initiated by the powerful social networks, forms of knowledge, financial resources and communication technologies brought together by the impresarios of evangelicalism. By around 1820, the evangelical orientalist had scaled the heights of England's Parnassus and from there surveyed the dizzying prospect of a vast evangelical empire. Turning the colleges of Oxbridge into manufactories of conversion tools, the evangelical orientalist exported their Arabic grammars and Persian Bibles to such places as the shores of the Caspian where in Chapter Three we shall see them generating new cycles of exchange. But first, in a period when Muslims had not yet begun printing, in Chapter Two we shall see how the evangelical promotion of translating and printing the Bible both encouraged and enabled Muslims to access printing technology for themselves. In their vast and innovative investments in printing in the Muslim vernacular languages that the Oxbridge orientalist had so carefully studied, the new evangelical firms not only massively outstripped the vernacular printing operations of the East India Company to become the period's greatest investors in Arabic-script printing. As we shall now see, those same religious firms also introduced to Muslim terrains new religious technologies that entrepreneurial Muslims would quickly adapt for their own new ventures. **(p.66)**

Notes:

(1.) Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978).

(2.) Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power*, vol. 1, *A History of Power from the Beginning to AD 1760*, new edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), chapter 1.

(3.) Said (1978), pp. 120–21.

(4.) Inge E. Boer (ed.), *After Orientalism: Critical Entanglements, Productive Looks* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003); Diane Long Hoeveler & Jeffrey Cass (eds), *Interrogating Orientalism: Contextual Approaches and Pedagogical Practices* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2006); Chandreyee Niyogi (ed.), *Reorienting Orientalism* (Delhi: SAGE, 2006). Even the fullest historical survey of Oriental learning elides its evangelical period: see Robert Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and their Enemies* (New York: Allen Lane, 2006).

(5.) I am using the term evangelical (with lower case) to refer collectively to the range of figures and movements promoting the overseas proselytizing of Christianity in this period rather than the narrower Evangelical (with upper case) movement that emerged from Whitefield and the Wesleys. In this broader usage, I follow the standard work of David Bebbington: 'Evangelicalism ... is not to be equated with any single Christian denomination, for it influenced the existing churches in the eighteenth century and generated many more in subsequent years. It has found expression in a variety of institutional forms...' See David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 1.

(6.) On the spread of Evangelicalism to the American empire, see B. R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). On the emergence of the Indian Empire as an Evangelical destination, see Penny Carson, 'The British Raj and the Awakening of the Evangelical Conscience: The Ambiguities of Religious Establishment and Toleration, 1698–1833', in Brian Stanley (ed.), *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001); and Andrew Porter, 'Religion, Missionary Enthusiasm, and Empire', in Porter (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol. 3, *The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

(7.) Bebbington (1993), pp. 5–10.

(8.) Farhan Nizami, 'Madrasahs, Scholars, and Saints: Muslim Responses to the British Presence in Delhi and the Upper Doab 1803–1857' (unpublished DPhil thesis, Oxford University, 1983); and S. A. A. Rizvi, *Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz: Puritanism, Sectarian Polemics and Jihad* (Canberra: Ma'rifat Publishing, 1982).

(9.) Thomas Robinson, *The Glory of the Church in its Extension to Heathen Lands: A Sermon Preached in Aid of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (London: C. & S. Rivington, 1827), p. 23.

(10.) On the economic dimensions, see Anthony Webster, 'The Political Economy of Trade Liberalization: The East India Company Charter Act of 1813', *Economic History Review* 43, 3 (1990).

(11.) See e.g. Tony Ballantyne, 'Christianity, Colonialism and Cross-Cultural Communication', in John Stenhouse & G. A. Wood (eds), *Christianity, Modernity and Culture: New Perspectives On New Zealand History* (Hindmarsh, Australia: ATF Press, 2005); Avril A. Powell, *Muslims and Missionaries in Pre-Mutiny India* (London: Routledge, 1995); and Sujit Sivasundaram, *Nature and the Godly Empire: Science and Evangelical Mission in the Pacific, 1795–1850* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

(12.) Christopher A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780–1830* (London: Longman, 1989), p. 138; see also pp. 136–47.

(13.) Nile Green, 'The Madrasas of Oxford: Iranian Interactions with the English Universities in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Iranian Studies* 44, 6 (2011). See also Geoffrey A. Oddie, 'Hindu Pundits and the Missionary "Knowledge" of Hinduism', in Robert Eric Frykenberg & Richard Fox Young (eds), *India and the Indianness of Christianity: Essays on Understanding—Historical, Theological, and Bibliographical—in Honor of Robert Eric Frykenberg* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009).

(14.) James Woodforde, *The Diary of a Country Parson, 1758–1802* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949). For overviews of the Evangelical revival, see Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795–1865* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988); and Mark Smith & Stephen Taylor (eds), *Evangelicalism in the Church of England c.1790–c.1890: A Miscellany* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004).

(15.) Brian Stanley, (2001).

(16.) It should be noted, though, that the most significant early Scottish university evangelical, Alexander Duff, was one of the chief promoters of Macaulayan English education and so quite different from the orientalist of Oxbridge. See M. A. Laird, *Missionaries and Education in Bengal, 1793–1837* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); and Jane Rendall, 'Scottish Orientalism: From Robertson to James Mill', *Historical Journal* 25, 1 (1982).

(17.) David Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006).

(18.) V. H. H. Green, *Religion at Oxford and Cambridge* (London: SCM, 1964).

(19.) J. S. Reynolds, *The Evangelicals at Oxford, 1735–1871: A Record of an Unchronicled Movement*, 2nd edition (Abingdon, Oxon: Marcham Manor Press, 1975).

(20.) On the BFBS's leadership, see Reynolds (1975), p. 89. The presidents in question who ran the BFBS between 1834 and the turn of the twentieth century were Lord Bexley, the Earl of Shaftesbury, and the Earl of Harrowby, all graduates of Christ Church, Oxford.

(21.) Leslie Howsam, *Cheap Bibles: Nineteenth-Century Publishing and the British and Foreign Bible Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

(22.) Green (1964), p. 217. I am also indebted in this section to Richard Symonds, 'Oxford and the Empire', in M. G. Brock & M. C. Curthoys (eds), *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 7, *The Nineteenth-Century*, Part 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000); and Symonds, *Oxford and Empire: The Last Lost Cause?* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

(23.) On the Oxford Mission to Bengal, founded in 1879, and its sibling sisterhood, established in 1902 by the former Vice Principal of Lady Margaret Hall, Edith Langridge (1864–1959), see Anonymous, *The Oxford Mission: One Hundred Years* (Oxford: Bocardo & Church Army Press, n.d. [c.1980]). On the University Mission to Africa, see Andrew Walls, 'The Evangelical Revival, The Missionary Movement, and Africa', in Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington & George A. Rawlyk (eds), *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700–1990* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

(24.) Mitch Numark, 'Translating *Dharma*: Scottish Missionary-Orientalists and the Politics of Religious Understanding in Nineteenth-Century Bombay', *Journal of Asian Studies* 70, 2 (2011); and Numark, 'Hebrew School in Nineteenth-Century Bombay: Protestant Missionaries, Cochin Jews, and the Hebraization of India's Bene Israel Community', *Modern Asian Studies* 46, 6 (2012).

(25.) Nile Green, *Bombay Islam: The Religious Economy of the West Indian Ocean, 1840–1915* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), chapter 1.

(26.) W. W. Hunter, 'A Forgotten Oxford Movement—1681', *Fortnightly Review* 65 (1896); and E. D. Tappe, 'The Greek College at Oxford, 1699–1705', *Oxonienisia* 19 (1954), p. 93.

(27.) Hugh Pearson, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, DD*, 2 vols, 3rd edition (London: T. Cadell & W. Davies, 1819), vol. 2, p. 174.

(28.) John Willis Clark, *Endowments of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1904), p. 382.

(29.) Ibid., p. 380.

(30.) For example, Daniel Wilson, 'A Defence of the Church Missionary Society, against the Objections of the Rev. Josiah Thomas, Archdeacon of Bath', *Oxford University and City Herald* (17 January 1818). The debate continued in previous and successive issues of the *Oxford University and City Herald*.

(31.) M. Feingold, 'Patrons and Professors: The Origins and Motives for the Endowment of University Chairs—in Particular the Laudian Professorship of Arabic', in G. A. Russell (ed.), *The 'Arabick' Interest of the Natural Philosophers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Leiden: Brill, 1994).

(32.) Anonymous [Warren Hastings?], *A Proposal for Establishing a Professorship of the Persian Language in the University of Oxford* (Oxford: s.n., 1768).

(33.) Macbride later oversaw Magdalen Hall's re-foundation as Hertford College, in whose Senior Common Room his sober portrait hangs to this day. I have consulted the small collection of materials related to Macbride in the Hertford College archive. However, few of Macbride's private papers survive and the archive contains nothing that sheds additional light on the topics under discussion.

(34.) On Macbride's various early offices, see *Oxford University Calendar, 1819* (Oxford: J. Parker, 1819). On Magdalen Hall under Macbride, see Sidney Graves Hamilton, *Hertford College* (London: F. E. Robinson & Co., 1903), chapters 6 and 7; and Reynolds (1975), p. 86.

(35.) Copy of letter from Dr John David Macbride, then Principal of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, to the undergraduates containing 'advice to candidates for ordination' (dated 16 October 1815), Bristol Record Office, Hale Bequest, ref. 14182/HB/C/9.

(36.) John David Macbride, *Lectures Explanatory of the Diatessaron, or the Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Collected from the Four Evangelists* (Oxford: Bartlett and Hinton, 1824), p.iv. Numerous later editions were published.

(37.) Ibid., pp. 102–3, 109, 116–18, 126.

(38.) Ibid., p. 126.

(39.) Ibid., p. 127.

(40.) Ibid., p. 127.

(41.) Reynolds (1975), p. 176. Oxford's first CMS missionary was James Connor of Lincoln College, who preached to the Muslims of the Levant.

(42.) Quoted in Reynolds (1975), p. 84.

(43.) John David Macbride, *The Mohammedan Religion Explained, With an Introductory Sketch of its Progress, and Suggestions for its Confutation* (London: Seeley, Jackson and Halliday, 1857).

(44.) On French's career, which ended with his death in Muscat on a CMS venture to the Muslims of Oman, see Reynolds (1975), p. 167.

(45.) Macbride (1857), p.ii. For further Oxford Evangelical presentations of the Rebellion as proof of the need for great conversion of barbarous Indians, see Nicholas James Moody, *India's Past and Future and England's Duty, a Sermon* (Oxford: H. Hammans, 1857). See also Anonymous, *A Letter from a Layman in India on the Policy of the East Indian Company in Matters of Religion* (London: W.H. Dalton, 1858).

(46.) Macbride (1857), p.ii.

(47.) Macbride (1857), pp. 180–224. On such debates, particularly in Agra, see Powell (1995).

(48.) Macbride (1857), p. 87.

(49.) Macbride (1857), p. 87 and John David Macbride, *The Syrian Church in India: A Lecture Read on Monday Evening, March 3, 1856, at a Meeting of the Junior Missionary Association for Members of the University, by the Principal of Magdalen Hall, and Printed at their Request* (Oxford: W. Baxter, 1856), pp. 47–9.

(50.) Macbride (1856), pp. 68–9. The first bishop of Calcutta, Thomas Fanshawe Middleton (1769–1822), was in fact a Cambridge man and a skeptic of the chances of missionary success. However, the tide began to change with the appointment of his successor Reginald Heber (1783–1826), a Brasenose graduate, Fellow of All Souls and evangelical sympathizer, from which point the evangelicals began to dominate the ecclesiastical hierarchy of British India. For samples of Heber's style, see Reginald Heber, *Sermons Preached in India* (London: John Murray, 1829).

(51.) Macbride (1856), p. 69.

(52.) John David Macbride, *Protestant and Roman Catholic Missions Contrasted, in a Speech by the President of Magdalene Hall* (Oxford: J. Vincent, 1851), p. 4. Halle was Europe's leading centre of Protestant missionary work and was active in British India from 1813.

(53.) *Oxford University Calendar, 1819*, p. 53

(54.) Pileus Quadratus, *Observations on the Defence of the Church Missionary Society against the Objections of the Archdeacon of Bath* (Oxford, 1818).

(55.) A pious appraisal of Gandell appears in J. W. Burgon, *Lives of Twelve Good Men*, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1889), vol. 1, pp.xxii-xxiii.

(56.) M. L. Loane, *Cambridge and the Evangelical Succession* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1952); and J. C. Pollock, *A Cambridge Movement* (London: John Murray, 1953).

(57.) Brian Stanley, 'An "Ardour" of Devotion: The Spiritual Legacy of Henry Martyn' in Frykenberg & Young (2009). For a fuller early biography, see Sargent (1819).

(58.) For other examples of the evangelical impact in the East India Company's armies, see Nile Green, *Islam and the Army in Colonial India: Sepoy Religion in the Service of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), chapter 2.

(59.) Nile Green, 'Persian Print and the Stanhope Revolution: Industrialization, Evangelicalism and the Birth of Printing in Early Qajar Iran', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 30, 3 (2010).

(60.) 'Simeon, Charles' and 'Milner, Isaac', q.v., in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. For a survey of the activities of the BFBS, see Stephen Batalden, Kathleen Cann & John Dean (eds), *Sowing the Word: The Cultural Impact of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1804-2004* (Sheffield, Yorks: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2004); and, for India, C. J. Nirmal & G. D. V. Prasad, *Imaging the World: A Millennium Perspective: The Bible Society of India, 1811-2000* (Bangalore: Bible Society of India, 2000).

(61.) Milner's testimonial is printed in Pearson (1819), vol. 1, pp. 131-2.

(62.) Revd Jonathan Holmes, Queens' College, Cambridge, private communication.

(63.) On the meeting, see Green, (2011).

(64.) Printed in Pearson (1819), vol. 2, p. 344. On the circumstances of Buchanan's own supported admission to Queens' and his ambitious industry there, see Pearson (1819), pp. 43-132.

(65.) Alice M. Lee, *A Scholar of a Past Generation: A Brief Memoir of Samuel Lee, by his Daughter* (London: Seely and Co. Limited, 1896), p. 13. The fullest

account of Lee's early Cambridge years is found in his obituary in the Church Missionary Society's *Intelligencer* (March 1853).

(66.) Lee (1896), p. 16.

(67.) 'Account of the Rev. Mr. Lee', *Oxford University and City Herald* (26 September 1818).

(68.) The letter, signed by the Iranian students, is found in the Cambridge University Archives: CUR 39.7.12 (1), pp. 8–9. A somewhat amended extract from the letter is also printed in Lee (1896), p. 20.

(69.) Lee (1896), p. 24.

(70.) Lee (1896), p. 18.

(71.) Bebbington (1993), p. 3.

(72.) Samuel Lee, *The Events and Times of the Visions of Daniel and St. John, Investigated ... and Determined* (London: Seeleys, 1851), p.i.

(73.) Samuel Lee, *Six Sermons on the Study of the Holy Scriptures, to which are Annexed Two Dissertations* (London: James Duncan, 1830), pp. 216–370.

(74.) For a sample, see Anonymous, *Remarks on Professor Lee's Vindication of his Edition of Jones's Persian Grammar, Published in the July and August Numbers of the Asiatic Journal, 1824* (Glasgow: James Brash & Co., 1825).

(75.) Revd Jonathan Holmes, Queens' College, Cambridge, private communication.

(76.) Jonathan Holmes, 'Queens', the Maoris and the King of New Zealand', *Queens' College Record* (2001).

(77.) Don F. McKenzie, 'The Sociology of a Text: Oral Culture, Literacy and Print in Early New Zealand', in Peter Burke & Roy Porter (eds), *The Social History of Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

(78.) On Hongi Hika's subsequent use of his missionary contacts to procure weapons and provoke mass slaughter, see Judith Binney, *The Legacy of Guilt: A Life of Thomas Kendall* (Auckland: University of Auckland and Oxford University Press, 1968).

(79.) Parna Sengupta, *Pedagogy for Religion: Missionary Education and the Fashioning of Hindus and Muslims in Bengal* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011). In Sengupta's words, 'the pursuit and adaptation of modern educational techniques, mainly exported to the colonies by Protestant missionaries, opened up new ways for Hindu and Muslim leaders and the

colonial state to reformulate ideas of community among religious lines' (ibid., p. 1).

(80.) Ibid., p. 50. The year in question for this particular print run was 1881.