The Ḥadīth in Christian-Muslim discourse in British India, 1857-1888

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Abstract

In the development of Islam in India in the nineteenth century, the impact of the interaction between modernist Muslims and Christian administrators and missionaries can be seen in the writings of three Evangelical Christians on the role of the Ḥadīth, and the responses of Indian Muslims. The writings of Sir William Muir, an administrator in the Indian Civil Service, were characterized by European Orientalist methods of textual criticism coupled with the Evangelicals' rejection of Muḥammad. In his response, Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, an influential Muslim modernist, supported the traditional perception of the Ḥadīth but also initiated a new critical approach. The writings of Thomas P. Hughes and Edward Sell, missionaries with the Church Missionary Society, tended to portray Islam as bound by this body of traditions, with the rejoinders of Sayyid Amīr ʻAlī and Chirāgh ʻAlī presenting an increasing rejection of the religious authority of the Ḥadīth and an impassioned defense of Islam.

Résumé

L'impact de l'interaction entre musulmans modernistes et administateurs et missionnaires chrétiens sur le développement de l'islam au 19e siècle en Inde peut être mesuré par trois textes de chrétiens évangéliques portant sur le rôle des ḥadīths et par les réactions suscitées par ces textes venant de musulmans indiens.

Les écrits de Sir William Muir, un administrateur de la fonction publique indienne, étaient caractérisés par des méthodes de critique textuelle orientalistes et européennes jumelées à un rejet de la part des évangéliques de la figure de Mahomet. Dans sa réplique, Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, un moderniste musulman influent, a appuyé les positions traditionnelles entourant la nature des ḥadīths , tout en initiant lui-même une nouvelle approche critique.

Les écrits de Thomas P. Hughes et d'Edward Sell, missionnaires affiliés à la Church Missionary Society, avaient tendance à dépeindre l'islam comme étant nécessairement lié à cet ensemble de ḥadīths , alors que les répliques de Sayyid Amīr 'Alī et Chirāgh 'Alī proposaient un rejet de l'autorité religieuse des ḥadīths et une défense passionnée de l'islam.

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Preface

Transliteration

The standard used for the transliteration of both the Arabic and the Urdu in this thesis is the *American Library Association-Library of Congress Romanization Tables: Transliteration Schemes for Non-Roman Scripts*. Washington, DC: Library of Congess, 1991, pp. 4, 202.

Names of modern authors have not been not been transliterated, rather the spelling as presented in their publications has been retained in order to facilitate the locating of their works. The names of historical personages including the nineteenth century authors discussed in this thesis have been transliterated according to the standard given above.

The spelling and terminology of early authors such as the versions of the name of Muḥammad and the various terms for Islam have also been retained, since these help to demonstrate the perceptions being analyzed. Diacritical marks contained in their writings, however, have been standardized according to the ALA-LC standard; for example, â, à, etc. have all been rendered ā.

Abbreviations

The abbreviations used are the following:

* *AR* *Andover Review*
* *BFER* *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*
* *CMI* *Church Missionary Intelligencer*
* CMS Church Missionary Society
* *IER* *Indian Evangelical Review*
* MAO College Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College

Introduction

Problem to be discussed

This thesis studies the nature of the interaction of Christian administrators and missionaries with the Muslim modernists in India in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Its purpose is to examine how both groups viewed each other and how each responded to the other's assessment. A related problem is to discover what the sources of these perceptions or misperceptions were, and to what extent the interaction comprised a new source to inform and change those perceptions. The thesis addresses the question of the effect this interaction had on the religious discourse of each group, specifically with regard to perceptions of the Ḥadīth, the body of authoritative traditions regarding the Prophet Muḥammad. Why the Ḥadīth figured so prominently in these inter-religious discussions, and how beliefs regarding this institution changed during this period is examined.

The value of this discussion is its contribution to the understanding of the development of religious ideas both in the Muslim community and in the Christian community in India during the period just after the Revolt of 1857, with a special focus on the evolution of the perceptions of the Ḥadīth material and of its continuing role in Islamic belief and practice. The thesis elucidates the role of Evangelical Christians as a major component in the encounter of the Muslim community in India with the West, and identifies the area of Muslim thought where Evangelical Christian writings had the most impact. It also demonstrates that the distinctive beliefs of the Evangelicals were the major force shaping the world-view of the administrators such as Sir William Muir (1819-1905) and of the missionaries such as Thomas P. Hughes (1838-1911) and Edward Sell (1839-1932) interacting with Muslims in the nineteenth century. As such, this examination of the interaction contributes an important but neglected account in the historical record of Muslim-Christian relations in the Indian subcontinent, and enables current missionary activity and attempts at dialogue between the two communities to be seen in a broader historical context.

Background

History of Protestant Christianity in India

According to early Christian legends, Christianity arrived in India as early as the time of the Apostle Thomas, one of the twelve disciples of Jesus. Other references to church leaders of western Asia or Europe having contact with Christians from India continue sporadically in subsequent centuries.[1] Western Europeans first became involved in India in a more continuous manner with the arrival of the Portuguese at the end of the 15th century. While Roman Catholic missions gained a prominent presence during the Mughal period (1526-1720), the Protestants had a very limited role prior to the nineteenth century. The Dutch and Danish mission organizations had been involved in small attempts at evangelism in the eighteenth century, the latter establishing a colony at Serampur, near Calcutta, that was later to provide assistance in the initial English missionary advance.

The history of English Protestant missionary activity in India is closely tied to the history of Evangelicals in the Indian civil service.[2] Beginning in the 1730's with the conversion and preaching ministry of men such as George Whitfield, John and Charles Wesley, and Jonathan Edwards, the Evangelical movement had spread across Britain as well as North America. The movement had its roots in the Reformed tradition embodied in the Dissenting Church, and was stimulated by Pietism from continental Europe.[3] Though Evangelical distinctives were to be found within a range of denominations, Evangelicals were at first shut out of positions of power within the Church of England and other elite institutions. However, as the eighteenth century drew to a close, their presence began to be felt at all levels of society, including positions of power.

One of the Evangelicals who was to play a major role in assisting the establishment of Christian missions in India who rose at this time was Charles Grant (1746-1823). He spent many years in India with the East India Company, ending with his being an advisor to Lord Cornwallis. The East India Company had made limited provision for chaplains to accompany its employees to take care of their spiritual well-being in the eighteenth century, and as long as the Company was involved only in

trading, its relations with an occasional missionary were cordial. However, once "it came to assume a political role the Company's attitude as also of its servants in India, towards the missions gradually changed from encouragement to indifference and eventually to hostility."[4] The Company sought to avoid antagonizing any indigenous religious community to ensure a peaceful environment in order to safeguard their interests. Grant was an exception, and deplored the lack of missionary interest among his fellow officials. When in 1793, he sought to introduce a bill in the British parliament with the help of fellow Evangelical, William Wilberforce, to allow greater freedom for missionary activity in India, the bill was opposed and ultimately rejected by those in England and in India who feared that such efforts might endanger the peace and security of the Company's possessions in India.[5] Hence early British missionaries such as William Carey were not permitted to land in British India, but had to seek sanctuary at the Serampur mission station in Danish territory.

Upon his retirement from India, Grant moved to Clapham in England where he joined the influential Clapham Sect,[6] including such men as Wilberforce and Charles Simeon.[7] Through their leadership, the Evangelicals exercised greater influence in the British Parliament, resulting in a reversal of the 1793 decision through the passing of a bill in 1813 that opened the way for missionaries to freely work in British territories in India. This group assisted in the support of the early Evangelical chaplains and missionaries in India, including Henry Martyn who made a direct contribution to the interaction of Muslims and Christians in North India through his writings and travels through that area,[8] and Thomas Thomason whose son James became Lt.-Governor of the North West Provinces, 1843-1853, and trained William Muir and other Evangelical administrators during that time. The influence of Charles Grant in Britain's policies in India was considerable when he became the Director of the East India Company in 1794 and one of its Chairmen for six years during the period from 1804 to 1816.[9]

The origin of the Church Missionary Society (C. M. S.), the mission agency with which Muir was related most closely and under whose direction both Thomas Patrick Hughes and Edward Sell went to India, had links to the work of Evangelicals in the Indian civil service. Grant and others of the Clapham Sect were involved in establishing

and leading the organization in 1799.[10] As missions interest had been stimulated by the revivals connected with the Evangelical movement, the need was felt for an organization that held to the principles of the Anglican Church and reflected the convictions of the Evangelical part of that communion. Its beginnings were small, having to seek its first missionary candidates from a training school in Berlin, but as the Evangelical influence in the Church and society grew, CMS rapidly expanded as well.

Definition of the term Evangelical

The movement termed "Evangelical" is best described by delineating the doctrinal emphases that characterized those within the movement as distinct from other individuals and trends in the Christian church, since it was in the realm of beliefs that they perceived themselves to have a distinct identity and a crucial and corrective contribution to make in the reformation of the Church. More than just a social phenomenon of institutions and shared ritual, such religious movements are also characterized by dogmatic belief, faith, and passion which work together to spur to action both communities and individuals.[11] In outlining the history and various sectarian expressions of the Evangelical revival of the eighteenth century, the CMS historian Eugene Stock describes the substance of Evangelical preaching as such:

> It was above all things doctrinal, one may say dogmatical. They believed they had definite truths to set forth, and they set them forth definitely. They taught that men were dead in sins and guilty before God; that Christ died to save men from sin's penalty, and lives to save them from sin's power; that only faith in Him could give them His salvation; that absolute conversion of heart and life was needed by all, and that the Holy Ghost alone could convert and sanctify them.[12]

In the following century, the movement faced new theological challenges such as the Higher Critical approaches to understanding Scripture which spread from Germany into England and beyond. In response to this, the Evangelicals developed a strong stand on the infallibility of the Christian Scriptures. This became significant in the Indian context when Muslim scholars gained access to the writings of European critics and used those arguments as evidence of the corruption of the Bible, in their controversies with the missionaries. It was the distinctive beliefs of the Evangelicals that were the major force

shaping the world-view of those administrators such as Muir and of the missionaries interacting with Muslims in the nineteenth century.[13]

The emphasis on individual spiritual rebirth was what distinguished the message of the Evangelical missionaries from that of Nestorian and Jesuit missionaries in India. While all proclaimed salvation through faith in Christ, Evangelicals began with a foundational emphasis on the sinfulness and vanity of all other religious paths.

> "The intense spiritual ordeal in course of which the 'sinner' emerged from a state of abject despair into one of repentance and reliance on Christ's mediating and atoning powers, tended to set the 'reborn' Evangelical apart from, not only Catholics and Eastern Christians, but also and more immediately, from those merely 'nominal' Protestants who wore their faith too lightly, the Evangelicals thought, to recognize their own state of sin."[14]

The Evangelicals were then strongly motivated to point out to others the error of their ways and the new and better way to salvation through repentance and faith in Christ. However, though they could not conceive of additional spiritual truth beyond the boundaries of a final revelation in Jesus Christ, they were unusually receptive to the latest findings of Orientalist scholarship as it was made available in the middle of the nineteenth century. Powell's description of Carl G. Pfander (1803-1868) could equally apply to Muir, Sell, Hughes, or a number of other Evangelical writers, both administrators and missionaries, in India at that time. His study of the Arabic language and the Qur'ān had resulted in "a readiness and an ability to modify his views as Orientalist study of Islam proceeded in the nineteenth century, but only within the circumscribed confines permitted to him by his Evangelical preconceptions." [15] Evangelicals also shared his propensity to be "more receptive to new and challenging scholarship on Islam than he was to historical and critical study of the Biblical sources."[16] Thus, their writings demonstrated a greater knowledge and utilization of primary Muslim sources than those of some of their European counterparts to whose liberal attitudes towards Islam and to whose apologetic defenses of the Prophet they were reacting, while at the same time revealed an unwillingness to apply the same critical tools to their own religious convictions. This latter tendency was a point emphasized

repeatedly by Muslim writers such as Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān (1817-1898) and Sayyid Amīr ʻAlī (1849-1928).

Evangelicals in the 1850's

From the bill opening the door to Christian missions in 1813, missionaries arrived in steadily increasing numbers from a variety of denominations, from both Britain and North America. Christian missions in the North West Provinces, situated between Behar in the east and the Punjab in the west, however, began tentatively in the early 1800's, with several of the early efforts almost disappearing before being revived or re-established from the 1830's to the 1850's.[17] The famine of 1837 resulted in a renewed missionary presence as organizations took part in relief efforts and the establishment of orphanages.[18] Shortly thereafter, the arrival of Pfander, a CMS missionary, in 1841, the publication of his book, *Mizān al-Ḥaqq*, in Urdu in 1843 and again in 1850, and his subsequent controversy and public debates with Muslim *'ulamā'* culminating in the "Great Debate" in Agra in 1854, greatly increased the visibility of missionary endeavors in the area.[19]

Pfander arrived in India from the Russian Caucasus in 1839, and had set out to translate his books into Urdu.[20] Upon the invitation of the CMS, he moved to Agra in 1841 to begin evangelization efforts in the aftermath of the famines. The Agra *'ulamā'* responded to his writings with books of their own, attacking especially the doctrine of the Trinity.[21] As his writings were circulated to a wider area, and as Pfander directly sought out contacts with other religious leaders, *'ulamā'* from Lucknow also entered the controversy. Again the focus of the reply was on the Trinity, but this time "the traditional apologetic and polemical armory was to be subordinated to an overriding philosophical argument about the role of reason in determining religious truth."[22] In subsequent encounters, Muslim controversialists continued to rely on this recourse to reason, and began to incorporate elements of European learning and criticism of Christian Biblical sources.[23] As the center of controversy shifted to Delhi as a result of conversions at Delhi College, others such as Muir became more directly involved in the interaction. The controversy reached its climax with a public debate between the missionaries and the religious leaders of the Muslim community in Agra in 1854. Here the focus of the

discussion turned out be the issue of *taḥrīf*, the corruption or changing of the Christian Scriptures. Muslim controversialists used the findings of European scholars engaged in Higher Criticism of the Bible to confound the missionaries.[24] This also proved to be the conclusion of the first phase of prolonged face-to-face encounters between the two groups. Pfander subsequently relocated to Peshawar, while other missionaries and others such as Muir tended to avoid such high profile encounters.

William Muir served in the British civil service in India from 1837 to 1876. He had been trained at Haileybury College and in India became a disciple of the Evangelical administrator, James Thomason (1804-1863). He was posted to the Agra region shortly after Pfander's arrival and became a close friend to Pfander and to the other missionaries. He was one of the founders of the North India Christian Tract and Book Society which published some of his writings. He prepared a detailed review of the controversy between Pfander and the Muslim *'ulamā'* for the *Calcutta Review*.[25] He played an active role as an administrator in the Revolt of 1857, an event that was to have a significant impact on not only the British government in India, but also on the Muslim and missionary communities as well. It was during this time that he wrote his biography on the life of Muḥammad, which contained the lengthy introduction on the authenticity of the Ḥadīth which is examined in the first chapter.[26]

The two missionaries examined in this thesis, Thomas P. Hughes and Edward Sell, arrived after the Revolt. Both departed for India after completing their training in the Church Missionary College--Hughes arriving to work in Peshawar in 1864 and Sell arriving to work in Madras a year later. The work among the Pathans of the Peshawar area had been begun by CMS in the previous decade and received the stimulus of Pfander's assistance after the debate in Agra. Hughes adapted to the work quickly, and soon was writing numerous articles on the missionary work in the area. As his understanding of the Muslims and their religious practice increased, he addressed other perceptions of Islam as contained in the writings of European Orientalists. This project eventually developed into his *Dictionary of Islam*. Sell likewise became involved in a writing career focusing on Islam. He had been assigned to Madras for the express purpose of targeting Muslims in his teaching and evangelistic efforts. He, too, attempted

in his writings to connect the current practice of Muslims to the broader historical streams of Islamic institutions. These writings of Hughes and Sell constitute the sources analyzed in the second chapter.

Time period: 1857-1888

The time period chosen for this study, 1857 to 1888, covers the aftermath of the Revolt of 1857. This was a time of political turmoil for the indigenous communities of the Indian subcontinent, particularly the Muslims. The British took over the responsibility of direct rule from the East India Company and abolished the remaining vestiges of the Mughal government in northern India, exiling the last ruler, Bahādur Shāh Ẓafar (d. 1857) in punishment for his having supported the insurgents. This event coupled with further reprisals by the British against other Muslim leaders who were held largely responsible for the rebellion, deeply affected the Muslim community's self-perception and prompted new strategies for dealing with the altered circumstances. Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān rose to prominence at this time and led those who sought accommodation with the new rulers while at the same time defending the interests of the Muslim community and working towards its revitalization. The end of the era of confusion and disarray resulting from the Revolt, and the beginning of a new one characterized by increasing political confidence and a growing "nationalist" consciousness was heralded by the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885. Although a few Muslims took part in the Congress effort, more followed the lead of Aḥmad Khān in rejecting this forum in favor of the Mahommedan Educational Congress,[27] formed in 1886. He also organized the United Indian Patriotic Association in 1888 to oppose the Congress.[28]

The situation of the Christian missionary organizations also underwent a change during this period. The Revolt of 1857 led to an outcry in Britain against the evangelistic efforts of the missionaries in India, who were blamed for the unrest of the general population culminating in the Revolt. Missionaries and their supporters reacted strongly, defending their work and disclaiming any responsibility for the disturbances, arguing that it was the *neglect* of evangelism that had led to such a deterioration of affairs in India. Queen Victoria's proclamation of governance with religious neutrality and tolerance after the Revolt was interpreted by evangelical administrators such as Sir William Muir to

allow for the private support of Christian missions, resulting in a resurgence of missionary activity, especially in the newly acquired province of the Punjab. It was early in this period that Hughes and Sell arrived in India to begin their missionary careers. By the end of this period, the generation of missionaries who had experienced the Revolt and assisted in the re-establishment of the missionary outreach was retiring and leaving India, most notable retirements of this generation were those of T. V. French in 1888 and Robert Clark in 1891.[29] After 1885, the missionary organizations faced another major turning point when large communities of "Untouchables" sought to affiliate themselves with the Christians, causing a major re-evaluation of their focus of ministry from that time onward. A factor altering the Christian-Muslim interaction in northern India also at the end of this time period was the rise of Mirza Ghulām Aḥmad (1839-1908), with his declaration of prophethood in 1889.

In the area of Ḥadīth studies, the closing of the 1880's brought a significantly new development as well. Shiblī Nu'māni (1857-1914), a Muslim scholar at Aligarh made his first major contribution in 1889 with the publication of his book, *Sīrat al-Nu'mān*, a defense of Abu Ḥanīfa (d. 767) against the Ahl-i-Ḥadīth, signaling a shift of concern from examining merely the history of the collection of traditions to analyzing the history of their application. In Europe, a scholar who was to have a major impact on the Orientalist perspective of the Ḥadīth, Ignaz Goldziher (1850-1921), began publishing his *Muhammedansche Studien* in 1889. This thesis will therefore focus on the development of Ḥadīth studies prior to this point, concentrating on that generation of writers, both Orientalists and Muslims, for whom Muir and Aḥmad Khān were major authorities.

The year 1888 is a fitting terminus for the study of the writings of Muir, Hughes, and Sell. Muir had left India in 1876 but had continued his involvement in its affairs as a member of the India Council. In 1888 he resigned from the Council to take up responsibilities as Principal at Edinburgh, though he continued his research and writing on the early history of Islam. Hughes resigned from the CMS in 1884, left England and took up pastoral duties in New York. In 1885 he published his *Dictionary of Islam*, and in 1888 he had several articles published in an American journal which reflected a markedly different evaluation of Islam than his earlier writings. Sell, on the other hand, continued

his service in India for almost fifty more years; but it was in 1888 that he returned briefly to England on account of his ailing wife, who passed away within a few months.

The discussion in the Muslim community regarding the role and authority of the Ḥadīth cannot be confined to these dates. Major developments had been initiated by the teachings of Shāh Wali Ullāh (1702-1762) in the eighteenth century and continued into the twentieth. However, it was during this period that Aḥmad Khān began to exercise influential leadership in the north Indian Muslim community, not only in the political realm, but also in the educational and religious discourses as well. He had left the Civil Service in 1876 to devote himself to the vision of establishing an educational institution integrating the Western scientific and modern approaches with a revitalized Islamic perspective. He had been active in promoting his reformed approaches to Islam and Muslim life along with those of his contemporaries in the journal *Tahzīb al-Akhlāq* from 1870-1876. He was also knighted with the KCSI (Knight Commander of the Star of India) in 1888, in recognition of his service to the government. During these decades, Sayyid Amīr ʻAlī and Chirāgh ʻAlī (1844-1895) also began to write and contribute to the modernization of Islam in India. This emerging scholarship and response to Evangelical Christian writings about Islam is also part of this study.

Ḥadīth as the focus of study

The Ḥadīth has been chosen as the focus of this study because of its fundamental importance to all aspects of Muslim doctrine and practice, as well as its centrality in the thought of reform movements within Islam. Although the modernists such as Sayyid Amīr ʻAlī and Chirāgh ʻAlī, whose writings are covered briefly in this thesis, focused explicitly on the practices and institutions of Islam in their writings, their ideas were predicated on a fresh approach to the Ḥadīth that had its roots in earlier movements. An analysis of the development of Muslim beliefs concerning the Ḥadīth is part of the larger discussion of the role of the Sunna and the authority of the example of the Prophet Muḥammad in Islam, a discussion that was receiving renewed attention in the Indian subcontinent towards the end of the eighteenth century. While a major catalyst for change within the Muslim community has been its encounter with Western European and

American ideologies and research methodologies, this renewed assessment of the authenticity, content, authority, and method of handling of the Ḥadīth can not be solely attributed to this encounter. It had its roots in reform movements from within the Muslim community particularly through the influence of Shāh Wali Ullāh of Delhi. From his teachings and those of his descendants, a number of diverse reform movements of the nineteenth and twentieth century trace their roots.[30]

Wali Ullāh's eldest son, Shāh 'Abdul 'Azīz (1746-1824) and his brothers continued their father's teachings, producing a number of influential leaders such as Sayyid Aḥmad of Rae Bareli (1786-1831), and eventually giving rise to the modernist school within the Muslim community in India in the late nineteenth century. 'Abdul 'Azīz continued his father's practice of appealing to fundamental religious sources, basing his *fatāwa* or judicial opinions more on valid Ḥadīth than on the decisions of the established schools of law.[31] The leaders of the Ahl-i-Ḥadīth movement were trained in the ideas of Wali Ullāh and his sons, carrying the rejection of all else but the Ḥadīth and Qur'ān to an extreme. In this context, modernists who were seeking to come to terms with Western ideas of rationalism and historical criticism found the freedom to extend their reconstruction of Islam to other aspects of Muslim practice which they found incompatible with the modern Islam they envisioned. The contribution of Aḥmad Khān, the leader of the modernists, was primarily in the promotion of Western-style education, particularly the founding of the college at Aligarh. He also led the way for Muslims in combining the European methods of criticism of the Ḥadīth with the traditional methods of evaluating a tradition's authenticity and authority. Two others who built on the conclusions of Aḥmad Khān and argued forcefully for Islam's flexibility to adapt to modern challenges were Amīr 'Alī and Chirāgh 'Alī. Though the focus of their study was not Ḥadīth, they did severely criticize Muir's handling of that material, and attributed his negative conclusions to his incorrect assessment of the veracity of traditions compiled by early historians in Islam. An examination of their approach to Ḥadīth is important for understanding the presuppositions underlying their ground-breaking reconstructions of Islam.

The approach of the European Orientalists to the subject of Ḥadīth was of quite a different nature, arising from completely different motivations and presuppositions. Muir

was one of the first, building on the previous works by Gustav Weil and Aloys Sprenger, to prepare a thorough critique of the Ḥadīth, as well as a new system to evaluate authentic material within the traditions. He considered the topic important enough to devote almost the entire first volume of his four-volume biography of Muḥammad to this matter. It was to this section that Aḥmad Khān chose to respond in detail in his book, *A Series of Essays on the Life of Muhammad*.[32] Utilizing the critical tools of textual criticism, Western scholars of the Orient, like Muir and those who followed him, were concerned with determining the authenticity of individual traditional accounts. Theirs was not an attempt to determine authoritative law but to attempt to reconstruct an accurate history of Muḥammad and early Islam, as well as to develop an understanding of the Muslim communities they encountered in their increasing travel and trade, and in their expanding empires. The motivations for this study of the Oriental "Other" has come under increasing scrutiny in recent years, and has been variously analyzed in the light of post-modern approaches to knowledge. As a result of the importance of the Ḥadīth in the development of reform movements in the Indian Muslim community, in the Orientalist evaluation of the history of Islam, and in its relevance in modern post-Oriental and post-colonial discourse, the analysis of Christian and Muslim scholars in this thesis will focus on what they wrote on this topic.

Methodological framework

The problem of determining the nature of the Christian-Muslim interaction and their assessments of each other is approached through the textual analysis of the writings of Evangelicals, both in the British government in India and in the missionary organizations working there, on the topic of Ḥadīth, from 1857-1888. Earlier writings of each author are compared with his subsequent ones to determine what development in his thinking had occurred. The choice of Ḥadīth as the focal point of this study was partly determined by the Evangelicals' emphasis on the Ḥadīth as the keystone of Islamic history and current practice. The fact that it was also contested in its every aspect by the Muslim modernists who interacted with them makes it an invaluable starting point of analysis of the encounter between the two. The major writers whose works are examined in detail are an administrator with the British regime, Sir William Muir, and two

missionaries, Thomas P. Hughes, and Edward Sell, all of whom were soon recognized by the missionary community, and to a lesser extent by European Orientalists, as authorities on Islam. The response of influential Muslim modernists such as Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, Sayyid Amīr ʻAlī, and Chirāgh ʻAlī is interspersed not only to clarify the specific nature of the Orientalism of the Christian scholars, but also to provide an example of Muslim responses to specific charges and to trace the changes that the encounter was producing in the thinking of both groups. Close attention is given to the extent they acknowledged, utilized, or opposed each other's writings, and to the other writers and books used by the authors as their sources.

The first chapter contains a detailed examination of the writings of Muir and Aḥmad Khān on Ḥadīth as found primarily in the introduction to the former's biography of Muḥammad and in the latter's essays written in response. It begins with their biographical details in order to provide the appropriate cultural context and educational training that influenced the perceptions of each. Both writers' evaluations of the Revolt of 1857 are presented to highlight their respective views on the role Christian missions as a cause of the unrest, and the role of the British government in religious matters. Their contributions to the wider Muslim-Christian interaction are also detailed prior to the examination of their work on the Ḥadīth, which forms the major portion of the chapter. Muir based his reconstruction of early Islamic history and the character of the Prophet on his critical evaluation of the traditional material. This critical basis combined with his Evangelical presuppositions formed the foundation of Muir's negative perception of Islam, and must be studied to understand the subsequent Evangelical representation of Islam. The point-by-point response by Aḥmad Khān from a position consistent with the traditional Muslim view provides not only an appropriate contrast, but also the structure of a Muslim evaluation of Christianity. Evidence for Aḥmad Khān's movement to a more modernist position as a result of his encounter with European thought in general, resulting in the evaluation of the Ḥadīth from a rationalist basis and in the rejection of miracles, is also noted.

The second chapter follows a similar pattern in dealing with the writings of the missionaries Hughes and Sell, and the Muslim intellectuals, Amīr ʻAlī and Chirāgh ʻAlī.

After a brief account of their biographical details, their ideas concerning the Ḥadīth are presented. The major portion of the analysis is devoted to the former two, beginning with their perception of Islam in general and their ideological motivations, and progressing to their specific views on the importance and role of Ḥadīth in Islam and the Muslim community of India at that time. Hughes' and Sell's treatments of the writings of Aḥmad Khān as well as those of Amīr 'Alī and Chirāgh 'Ali, and how their thought was influenced by those writings receives special attention. The Muslim evaluation of the Christian writings is likewise examined.

Literature review

Muir left a considerable legacy of writings on early Islam and its spread in the following centuries, beginning with his biography of the Prophet, *The Life of Mahomet*.[33] His other histories published as result of his continuing scholarly activity after his retirement from the Indian civil service were his *Annals of the Early Caliphate* (1883), *The Caliphate, Its Rise, Decline, and Fall* (1891), and *The Mameluke; or, Slave Dynasty of Egypt, 1260-1517* (1896). However, it was in the first work that he dealt with the matter of Ḥadīth criticism in detail, and which therefore forms the focus of this study. Subsequent editions (1877, 1894) of the biography contained a summary of the original four volumes but without the extensive footnotes, and with a few other minor alterations. The section on the Ḥadīth remained intact as an appendix, with the responses by Aḥmad Khān, Amīr 'Alī, and Chirāgh 'Alī having no noticeable effect on its content. Muir also published smaller summaries of the life of Muḥammad and of Islam as a religion in a less academic and more popular style.[34] In these latter works, his negative assessment of the religion and its Prophet is quite explicit, as he seeks to convince his readers of Islam's inferiority to Christianity.

Prior to its publication as a multi-volume work in 1861, Muir's writings on Muḥammad had been printed in the *Calcutta Review*.[35] This journal was a convenient forum for the publication of his reviews of the writings and correspondence between Pfander and his *'ulamā'* counterparts in controversy in 1845 and 1852, as well as his reviews of biographies of Muḥammad in English and Urdu in 1852 and of Sprenger's critical biography and essay on sources in 1868.[36] These early essays reveal Muir's

attitudes towards interaction with Muslims on a polemical level, and his motivations for developing his own approach to the Ḥadīth. Muir directly participated in the controversy in several of his writings. He had published an account of a debate between a Hindu convert, Rām Chandra and the Qāẓī of Delhi, Maulānā Ulfat Ḥusayn entitled *Baḥs Mufīd al-'Āmm*, in which he promised to defend the assertion that the Qur'ān contained no declaration that the Old and New Testaments had been abrogated by God or interpolated by man. He wrote *The Testimony borne by the Coran to the Jewish and Christian Scriptures* to fulfill this promise,[37] as well as to reply to the opponents of Pfander who had in the 1854 debate rejected the authenticity and authority of the Christian Bible.[38] These studies were later included in a slightly revised version in his *The Corān: Its Composition and Teaching; and the Testimony it Bears to the Holy Scriptures*.[39] It was translated into Urdu by Raja Shiv Prasād (1823-1895) and published by the North India Tract Society in 1861 as *Shahādat-i-Qur'ānī bar Kutub-i-Rabbānī*. Muir's other contributions to the controversy included the translation of two Arabic documents defending Christianity in a predominantly Muslim context. The first of these was an abridged version of the record of a ninth century encounter between a Christian and a Muslim entitled, *The Apology of al Kindy: Written at the Court of al Mamun (circa A.H. 215, A.D. 830), in Defense of Christianity against Islam: With an Essay on its Age and Authorship*, which Muir had read before the Royal Asiatic Society and had first published in their journal. The other was a translation of a work of an Arab Christian entitled, *Sweet First Fruits: A Tale of the Nineteenth Century, on the Truth and Virtue of the Christian Religion*.

In addition to his works on Islam, Muir also published several works related to his work in the Indian government and his service to the Christian community. He published his correspondence from the time of the Revolt of 1857 as *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Government of the North-west Provinces of India during the Mutiny of 1857*, and his biography of his mentor, James Thomason, in *The Honourable James Thomason, Lieut-Governor N.-W. P. India, 1843-53*. A few of his speeches have been preserved in the Indian nineteenth-century newspaper, *The Pioneer*.[40] These sources provide further insight into his convictions regarding the involvement of government

servants in religious matters. His works on behalf of the Indian Christian community included an Urdu history of the Christian church,[41] and a couple of essays on the Indian liturgy and the use of the Psalter in the Indian church.[42]

Aḥmad Khān's works need no such detailed listing here, since his writings have received more scholarly attention.[43] His first writings after the 1857 Revolt were in defense of the Muslim community. He sought to communicate that the Revolt was not a Muslim holy war, but had arisen from genuine and perceived grievances among the Indian population.[44] When Sir William Wilson Hunter published his book, *The Indian Musalmans: Are They Bound in Conscience to Rebel against the Queen* in 1871, at a time when a number of Muslims were on trial for political crimes, Aḥmad Khān responded with a review of the book which first appeared as a series of articles in *The Pioneer* from Nov. 1871 to Feb. 1872 and later as a monograph, arguing for the loyalty of Muslims to the British government.[45] While seeking the prosperity of the Muslim community under British rule, he also sought to reconcile the two communities in religious matters. In addition to a couple of small tracts regarding the term used for "Christians" and on the permissibility of eating with them, he began a series of works comprising a commentary on the Christian Bible, presenting a Muslim view of inspiration and preservation of the text. He completed only three volumes, the first being a discussion of the Muslim perception of inspiration in general and of the inspiration of the Christian Bible in particular. The next two volumes contained verse-by-verse commentaries of the first eleven chapters of Genesis and the first five chapters of the Gospel of Matthew respectively.[46] He began the journal, *Taḥẓīb al-Akhlāq*, in which he propounded his new vision of Islam. Amīr 'Alī and Chirāgh 'Alī were also contributors to this journal.

Aḥmad Khān's response in 1870 to Muir's biography of Muḥammad and critique of the Ḥadīth was expressed in his book, *A Series of Essays on the Life of Muḥammad*, which he later printed in a revised version in Urdu as *Al-Khuṭubāt al-Aḥmadīyah 'alā al-'Arab wa al-Sīrah al Muḥammadīyah* in 1887. In this he responded not only to Muir's perception of the Ḥadīth, but also to matters of Muslim genealogy and other aspects of Arabia prior to the coming of Muḥammad. The research for this volume had been

conducted in England, and references to a number of European authors are therefore to be found throughout the book. But his special concern to answer the negative portrayal of Islam and its early history in Muir's *Life* is especially evident, particularly in the appendices to certain of the essays where Aḥmad Khān critiques Muir's ideas in detail. This constitutes the major source for the analysis of Aḥmad Khān's perspective of the Ḥadīth at this time in his life. His subsequent writings, especially his multi-volume commentary on the Qur'ān, demonstrate the change occurring later in his theological ideas which were challenged by Muslim *'ulamā'* as well as by Christians,[47] but are beyond the discussion of this thesis.

The missionaries Hughes and Sell each wrote two or three major works for which they received acclaim. However, numerous journal articles or booklets that they authored are largely forgotten. Yet these papers most clearly show the evolution of their thought. Within five years of Hughes' arrival in India, portions of his reports were being published in the CMS journal, *The Church Missionary Intelligencer*.[48] With the start of 1873, his voice began to be heard in a greater variety of forums. In addition to writing a couple of articles for the *Indian Evangelical Review*,[49] he gave a report at the General Missionary Conference at Allahabad, and edited a government textbook for examinations in the Pushto language.[50] His articles were all primarily narratives of individuals or groups of people he had observed, yet his perspective of Muslims and his assumptions regarding how to relate to them can be detected. The most significant piece of writing from this time was his review of a biography of Muḥammad written by fellow Englishman, R. Bosworth Smith.[51] Hughes developed the ideas he expressed in this review into his book, *Notes on Muhammadanism*, published the following year in 1875, when he returned to Britain for a furlough.[52] This volume consisted of a series of short articles on various facets of the faith and practice of Islam as Hughes had encountered it in north western India, and it was to this that writers such as Chirāgh 'Alī responded. On his return to India, he stopped in Egypt to broaden his understanding of Islam, subsequently revising his book.[53] Although he continued to write accounts of various groups he encountered in his ministry[54] and his linguistic work,[55] he was also preparing a dictionary of Islam that would include the material from his *Notes*, but in expanded

form and with a great number of additional topics.[56] This *Dictionary* was published in 1885, a year after he left the CMS and moved to the United States to take up pastoral duties in churches in the state of New York. While there, he continued to write about Islam, composing a romance/adventure novel about life in Afghanistan under a pseudonym, and writing a series of articles on aspects of the Islamic faith for *The Andover Review* and in several other journals.[57] These later articles reflect a definite shift in his thinking towards a more positive view of Muslim spirituality and of the character of Muḥammad. He censured the harsh missionary polemic against the Prophet and counseled a recognition of Islam's strengths. This shift could possibly have been the result (or the cause?) of the fact that he was no longer working as a missionary in an Islamic context. One of these later articles published in 1892 in response to a Muslim writer on the future of Islam demonstrates this new trend quite explicitly.[58]

Edward Sell had a much longer writing career, publishing one of his final books, *Islam in Spain*, in 1929, at the age of 90 years. His numerous writings after 1908 were short booklets on selected periods of Islamic history and on various Islamic sects or those with Islamic roots.[59] However, it was for his first book *The Faith of Islam*, that he is best remembered.[60] Sell based this book on a series of five articles which he wrote for *The British and Foreign Evangelical Review* from 1878 to 1881.[61] Although the first article began as a review of a recent book on Islam, the style quickly shifted to become an explanation of the institutions and doctrines of Islam for the English reader. *The Faith of Islam* had the same focus, and it was to this that Chirāgh ʻAli and Amīr ʻAlī responded in their books. In a manner similar to Hughes, some of his later writings hint at an evolution in his thinking, explored in the third chapter of this thesis.[62] The modernists whom he had rejected as not representing "true" Islam, he later commended for bringing a favorable development into Islam. He did not, however, leave the missionary vocation, but continued on, writing about Islam, as well as a lengthy series of commentaries on the Christian Scriptures. Some of his more notable writings, though outside of the time frame of this thesis, were *The Life of Muḥammad, Essays on Islam* and *Religious Orders of Islam*.[63]

The writings of Amīr ‘Ali were primarily in English, interacting with English authors and seeking to explain or defend Islam to a English audience. His pioneering *Spirit of Islam* is still read today for its insightful reconstruction of Islam. This particular book had its origins in Amīr ‘Alī’s first work, *A Critical Examination of the Life and Teachings of Mohammed*,[64] which was written towards the end of his first stay in England. In it, he set out to correct the misperceptions of Islam that he had noticed in the writings of Europeans, a chief target being Muir and his biography of the Prophet. Two books that were the product of his continuing legal career upon his return to India, were his *Tagore Law Lectures* on property and its disposition in 1884, and his earlier lectures on *Personal Law of the Mohammedans* in 1881; these were later published as a set on *Mohammedan Law* as volumes one and two respectively.[65] In the introduction to these volumes, he explicitly stated his evaluation of the authority of the Ḥadīth and its use in Muslim law. These two early writings fall within the designated time period of this study and are included in the analysis. Amīr ‘Alī continued to write on the history of Islam, publishing his book, *A Short History of the Saracens*, in 1889.[66] He contributed numerous articles and letters to journals such as the *Nineteenth Century*, which have been edited in several collections.[67] These too were primarily apologetic in nature, defending Islam and demanding better treatment for Muslim communities in India and Turkey. Others of his later works included *Islam* and *Ethics of Islam*.[68]

The writings of Chirāgh ‘Alī were similar in nature to those of Amīr ‘Ali, except for the fact that the early ones were in Urdu.[69] He also was responding to criticisms of Islam and Muḥammad, often with more pointed and specific replies than those of Amīr ‘Alī. His first, *Ta‘liqāt* was written in 1872 in response to a polemical treatise[70] by ‘Imād ud-Dīn, a Christian convert from Islam. Chirāgh ‘Ali responded to his attacks on the traditions regarding Muḥammad’s miracles by analyzing the nature of those traditions and comparing their reliability with those of Jesus Christ as contained in the Gospels.[71] He wrote a number of other books in Urdu responding to specific attacks on aspects of Islamic history, such as the wars of Islam, slavery, and the numerous wives of the Prophet. These, along with an English biography of the Prophet, seem to have existed only in manuscript form and were never published. Similar topics were also covered in

shorter writings which have been compiled,[72] and in articles which he wrote for Aḥmad Khān's journal, *Tahẕīb al-Akhlāq* during the period from 1873-1876. However, the two writings which climaxed his response to Western criticism of Islam were in English--*The Proposed Political, Legal and Social Reforms under Moslem Rule*[73] and *A Critical Exposition of the Popular "Jihad"*.[74] In these he addressed the perceptions of Islam by Muir, Hughes, Sell and others, clearly indicating his own approach to the traditions of the Ḥadīth. Hence, these are analyzed along with the writings of Christians.

Secondary literature

Recent discussions on colonial discourse,[75] as part of the broader post-modernist deconstruction of the writings of the past, are having a considerable impact on the research of the encounter of European and Asian cultures. The interaction of Evangelical Christians with Muslims in India is a distinct subdivision of that discourse. Such post-colonial approaches to the study of non-European history and of culture consist of a "distinctive amalgam of cultural critique, Foucauldian approaches to power, engaged 'politics of difference,' and post-modernist emphases on the decentered and the heterogeneous." [76] This approach was given a major impetus by Edward Said's characteristic blend of these elements in his *Orientalism* in 1978, and have now become a paradigm for a new generation of historians and anthropologists, and have caused the re-evaluation of paradigms in a number of other fields as well. Said has focused the attention of researchers on the presuppositions of European and American historians and authors who wrote on the "Orient" in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, arguing that such writers not only were influenced by their being members of a society that established power structures to dominate parts of Asia and Africa, but actually served to promote and perpetuate those structures. By creating a discourse about the Orient, he writes, they imposed limitations on thought and action that united their network of interests in those regions.[77]

Though Said's frame of reference has been primarily the Middle East, other scholars have extrapolated his ideas, drawing on the same theoretical perspectives, and applied them to the British presence in India. Ronald Inden describes Western writers on India of the past two centuries as "gaining control of knowledge of the East."[78] Social

scientists and other experts have determined the way of researching and writing about India in a way that the knowledge of the Orientalist is "privileged in relation to that of the Orientals, and it invariably places itself in a relationship of intellectual dominance over that of easterners."[79] A critique of Orientalist writings, according to Inden, is not so much a matter of correcting biases and prejudices in order to posit a more accurate image of the Orient, as it is an effort to confront "the question of knowledge and its multiple relations to power in Orientalist representations of Asians."[80] His expressed purpose is "to reproduce a world that is more egalitarian and multi-centred" by returning the capacity to have true knowledge and to act to the Oriental, the one represented as the "Other" by the Orientalist with his privileged knowledge.[81]

The first step in this process is to deconstruct the discourse and historicize the knowledge of the Orientalist. Inden categorizes Orientalist writings as commentative, interpretative, and hegemonic. The commentative writings consist of descriptions given in a frame that characterizes the Oriental as Other, based on Western epistemological assumptions of empiricism and rationalism. Interpretative writings attempt to present a rational explanation for the radical difference of the Other from the Western Man, concentrating on one factor to the exclusion of others and often relying on naturalistic explanations of race or environment beyond the consciousness and activity of the Other. Inden applies the characteristic of hegemonic to those texts dealing with the issue in the broadest of terms and exercising leadership in the field for decades to come.[82]

In the examination of the writings of Muir as well as those Hughes and Sell on their perception of Islam and of the Ḥadīth in particular, this colonial discourse analysis can offer some insight. Certain of their works could be considered "hegemonic" in Inden's sense in that they are accounts "seen in the period of [their] predominance, to exercise leadership in a field actively and positively."[83] Muir's *Life*, Hughes's *Dictionary* and Sell's *The Faith of Islam*, became standard reference works in Orientalist studies in general, and in missionary circles in particular. However, it would be difficult to characterize their explanations of the difference of the Other as relying on the naturalistic categories such as evolutionism, functionalism, utilitarianism, and

behaviorism as proposed by Inden.[84] In this Inden seems to slip into the same fault of reductionism he so readily finds in Orientalists.

Other post-Orientalist writers also, while decrying the essentialization and reductionism of the Orientalists, have a similar tendency to reduce the writings on India, Islam, or other aspects of the "Orient" to a few essential elements which are then criticized, a characteristic which has led some critics to term Said, for example, "an Orientalist-in-reverse."[85] These essential elements tend to coalesce around the aspect of colonial exercise of power, to the exclusion of other motivations. In Dane Kennedy's analysis, this essentializing is no less distorting than that of the Orientalists. "In Said's *Orientalism* and much of the scholarship it has inspired, the West is seen as an undifferentiated, omnipotent entity, imposing its totalizing designs on the rest of the world without check or interruption."[86] Kate Teltscher, in her book *India Inscribed*, states that while her methods are indebted to Said's *Orientalism*, she agrees with the numerous writers who also criticize Said on this point, citing missionaries as one example of those having constructed images of India differing from other colonial constructions and even from those of rival mission organizations.[87] A more nuanced approach is required to account for the distinctive world view of Evangelical administrators such as Muir and missionaries such as Hughes and Sell.[88]

Post-modernist scholarship has insisted that all voices be heard, accompanied by a deconstruction that demonstrates the context from which each arises. The danger of labeling writers or their ideas as "imperialist" or "colonialist" or even "Evangelical," and thereby ignoring them without examination would be to ignore their contribution to the development of modern Orientalist thought and also to the recent developments within Islam in India. Again, to dismiss all these writings as belonging to the realm of pure untruth on the basis of their origin in strongly held religious belief is to make them unavailable to critical examination. Aijaz Ahmad's comment regarding such a trend generally in colonial discourse analysis is highly relevant:

> What is lost sight of in this kind of reading is that archive is a collection neither of truths nor untruths, that it is simply a vast historical resource for helping us understand our own past, and that we need to approach that archive now with the same kind of scepticism,

> respect and scholarly care, subjecting it to that same objective scrutiny, that we shall reserve, let us say, for Abul Fazl's *Akbarnama* or the Puranic sources.[89]

It is valuable, then, to study the writings of Muir, Hughes, Sell and others, not with the primary focus on how "true" their perceptions were (though part of a historian's work is to judge the accuracy of a given record), but with an analysis of how they were influenced by their own unique set of presuppositions, how they interacted with others having different presuppositions, and how both were changed in the encounter.

In a recent article, C. A. Bayly argues "for a reappraisal of the role of the British factor in modern South Asian history."[90] He shows how recent contributions to the study of Indian history seeking to create a post-colonial history or to recover subordinated voices end up reaching contradictory conclusions as to the strength of the British Empire and colonialism's continuing influence on modern Indian society. After this brief survey, he advocates the assimilation of new perspectives from other areas of British studies, one of which is the study of the role Evangelical Christianity played in the social and political life of Britain, and, subsequently, in India. This factor has been to a large degree ignored or over-looked in analyses of the British administration in India. While in the eighteenth century, the deism of influential officials and writers led them to search in the religions of India for "clues to the religious sensibility and fundamental knowledge of which God planted in all men," the Evangelicals which followed in the nineteenth century "encouraged a more derogatory view of Hinduism and Islam."[91] Bayly notes the multifaceted involvement of many British officials in various religious enterprises and the effect their Evangelical convictions had on their policies, as well as how the perception and interpretation of these policies by the populace comprised a key factor in the Revolt of 1857. The Evangelical influence within the Indian Civil Service, particularly in the North West Provinces and the Punjab, has been analyzed by Peter Penner in his book, *The Patronage Bureaucracy in North India*.[92] He places the influence of the faith of the administrators in the context of the other factors affecting their policies, presenting a well-balanced perspective.

Somewhat in contrast to Barbara D. Metcalf who advocates an approach to the history of Islam in India that seeks alternatives to religion as the "pre-eminent

explanatory variable in such areas as policy, social allegiance, and creative expression, "[93] Bayly argues that the religious element in the Revolt can not easily be dismissed as research continues to recover the political discourse of the rebels. "It is, of course, true that many of the British desired to see the outbreak as a 'Muhammadan conspiracy' or an outburst of fanaticism. But this is no reason for dismissing the manifest importance of religion and culture in rebel ideology."[94] Again unlike Metcalf who presents the colonial historians as taking religion as central to defining the fundamental properties of non-Christian cultures while seeing the West as being "beyond religion in public life,"[95] Bayly stresses the very public religion of the Evangelical administrators, who were instrumental in writing a number of the colonial histories of India or Islam. The problem with determining the motives for the Revolt, as he sees it, is that "historians have sought to see 1857 as a 'progressive' force and this has seemed difficult to square with the religious themes with which it is permeated. However, if post-modernism has taught us anything, it is that modernity and religion are not incompatible."[96] This principle applies not only to the motivations of Muslims in the Revolt of 1857, but also to the colonial administrators with Evangelical convictions in India. When discussing the Muslim groups of nineteenth century India in an earlier monograph, *Islamic revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900*, Metcalf provides a broader historical context with her thorough research on the Deoband movement, including their involvement in controversy with missionaries.[97] Her account is not limited to the Deoband movement, but also provides a helpful summary of the Ahl-i-Ḥadīth and their involvement in the controversy as well.[98]

Increasingly, scholars are reconfiguring the post-Orientalist critique to account for this multiplicity of voices of the colonialists. Saurabh Dube in his analysis of the Evangelical encounter in colonial Chhattisgarh, Central India, states, "It is an insidious and pernicious naiveté -- shared by several historians and theorists of colonial discourse -- which assumes the working of a seamless web of colonial interests with a uniform Western mentality."[99] Geoffrey A. Oddie, who has written extensively on missionaries in India also addresses this limited scholarly attention paid to the way Christian missionary attitudes and practice might or might not constitute a distinctive form of Orientalism,

suggesting that the Evangelicals and missionaries had a separate agenda they wished to pursue.[100] His definition of the term includes its unique world view:

> The term 'Evangelical' was generally used to describe those Protestants (Anglicans, Non-conformists and others) who believed that the essential part of the Gospel consisted in salvation by faith through the atoning death of Christ and who denied that either good works or the sacraments had any saving efficacy. They usually believed in the infallibility and over-riding importance of the Scriptures and were united in their stand against rationalism and the theories of evolution which seemed to undermine the literal truth and authority of the Bible.[101]

Difference in theology was less along denominational lines and more between those of Evangelical convictions and those missionaries with "High Church" tendencies, espousing a more liberal theology and a greater commitment to sacramentalism and liturgy.[102] Oddie notes a shift in the last quarter of the century in which the beliefs of individual missionaries were more difficult to categorize according to this dichotomy. "The new liberalism and flexibility in theological thinking, increasingly evident in church circles, was therefore already beginning to modify the attitude of at least some missionaries in India in the 1880's and 1890's; and, even if they still considered themselves 'Evangelicals,' their theological position was more nebulous and less clear-cut than the dogmatic position of Evangelical missionaries of the previous generation."[103] This shift is noted in the writings of individual missionaries, as the later writings of Sell and Hughes are compared with their earlier ones. Oddie, in a later paper goes on to argue for an even further nuanced view, differentiating between the views of missionaries.

> While recognising that we need to draw a distinction between the different European interest groups (administrators, merchants, Utilitarians, missionaries and others) it is also essential to recognise that these categories are still far too simplistic . . . . It is not enough to discuss any of these groups as if they were an undifferentiated mass. For example, the historian has to be open to the possibility that Catholic missionary agendas and attitudes were different from those of Protestant missionaries. British Protestant missionaries have to be distinguished from their counterparts from Europe or the United States, as do Evangelical Protestant missionaries from others such as Anglican missionaries who adopted a more High Church or Catholic position. And while the great majority of the British Protestant missionaries were Evangelicals bound together by common assumptions, a common theology and sense of purpose, there were, as already implied,

> important differences among them. These were more than differences of strategy or method as they encompassed fundamental differences in the analysis and understanding of Indian religion and society.[104]

In the new "Afterword" of the 1994 edition of *Orientalism*, Said himself recognizes the need for such differentiation, claiming that his book *is* "quite nuanced and discriminating in what it says about different people, different periods and different styles of Orientalism."[105] He seems to be agreeing with some of his critics when he states his belief that individual effort is "at some profoundly unteachable level both eccentric and, . . . original; this despite the existence of systems of thought, discourses, and hegemonism (although none of them are in fact seamless, perfect, or inevitable)."[106] It is fitting, therefore to look at certain administrators like Muir as individuals, or at Evangelical missionaries as distinct from the greater colonial enterprise, and examine their writings to see what their unique contribution was in constituting the identity of the Orient.

Although missionaries have already been included at certain points in the discussion of Evangelicals, they deserve a separate treatment as a distinct subset of the Evangelical movement. While administrators with Evangelical convictions or sympathies were distinct from their fellow colonialists in some aspects, in their profession they shared the same objectives of maintaining British rule in India. The missionaries, on the other hand, shared the religious convictions of the Evangelical administrators but not their occupational aims and objectives. Aside from a certain amount of shared racial prejudice and other Orientalist biases, then, the missionaries form a distinct group in current historical research. Certain scholars such as Dharmaraj would dispute that assertion, arguing that the "Christianization" by the missionaries and the "civilization" by the colonizers should be considered two sides of the same coin.[107] Others, such as Brian Stanley, maintain that an examination of the historical record demonstrates a disjunction between the "imperialism" of the British government and the aims and ministry of the British Protestant missionaries of the nineteenth century.[108] Vishal Mangalwadi adds his voice to the debate in a series of letters addressed to Arun Shourie, arguing that while the British colonialists sought economic gain in India, the only conspiracy the missionaries were guilty of was a conspiracy to bless India.[109] The analysis of the writings of two

missionaries, Hughes and Sell, demonstrates that a more nuanced approach recognizing the unique contribution of the missionaries is justified.

Writing about Christian missionaries in history is often polarized, with missionary publications presenting missionaries as heroes single-handedly and against tremendous odds accomplishing their objectives, and revisionists more recently stressing "the collaboration, incidental or intentional, of the missionaries in the cultivation of such now out-of-fashion notions as imperialism, capitalism, colonialism, racism, cultural arrogance and ethno-centricism."[110] At times, their role in providing Europe a picture of the Orient has been presented in an essentialist construct such as that given by Prakash, describing the evolving perception of India: "As the genuine respect and love for the Orient of William Jones gave way to the cold utilitarian scrutiny of James Mill, and then to missionary contempt, the picture changed."[111] However, as the earlier quote by Oddie regarding various forms of Orientalism demonstrated, this overly-simplified approach is being replaced by a more detailed and nuanced scholarly scrutiny of missionary attitudes. Oddie insists that "whatever the reason or reasons for the neglect of this subject, there can be little doubt that missionaries and missionary societies played an extremely important part in shaping European attitudes towards the Orient, including attitudes towards India and its people."[112]

Said tends to neglect the role of missions and missionaries in the colonial enterprise. When he does discuss missionary efforts, he presents them as an outgrowth of Britain's need to identify or, if necessary, to create interests in the Islamic territories which it then was authorized to safeguard.[113] He quotes Tibawi to support this idea; but Tibawi does not directly identify those missions as developing as an apparatus for tending imperialist interests, but rather describes them more accurately as an outcome of a religious revival in England in the form of the Evangelical movement which fostered an enthusiasm to "propagate the knowledge of the Gospel among the Heathen."[114] This distinction between the imperialist aims of the colonial government and those of the missionaries with an overt religious foundation is crucial to a proper understanding of the contribution of the latter to the shaping of European attitudes toward the Orient.

Naturally, the missionaries would find more points of agreement and co-operation with those officials who shared their Evangelical convictions. John C. B. Webster notes that "Evangelicals in the Punjab saw its evangelization as a national responsibility" and were active in promoting the cause of missions, especially that of the CMS.[115] Such support was welcomed by the missionaries, as the tribute of the missionary and mission historian, M. A. Sherring (1826-1880), regarding Muir and other sympathetic officials in the *Indian Evangelical Review* in 1874 demonstrated.[116] Webster concludes in his study of British missionary ideologies that:

> British missionaries, while motivated by a desire to convert India to Christianity, functioned within rather than challenged the prevailing ideological consensus concerning India and the British role there. All agreed that the empire existed for the good of Christian missions, not the other way around, and evaluated the Raj's policies accordingly. All recognized also that Christian missions contributed in various ways to the permanence and stability of the Raj.[117]

He also points out that their guiding objective was to convert India rather than to civilize it.[118] This emphasis also comes through in the writings by the Evangelical administrator, Muir; his advocating the enlightenment of India tends to be in the context of evangelization rather than civilization. He saw the coming of men such as Thomason at the beginning of the nineteenth century as bringing a time when "the dark incubus of idolatry, superstition and bigotry began gradually to receive the light and teaching of the Gospel."[119] Therefore, it is evident that while there were connections between the promotion of the empire and the promotion of religion, this link was not automatic. Missionaries had reservations about close co-operation with governments based on past experience and on their theology. But where officials were willing to endorse (usually privately) missionary goals, either because of a common Evangelical faith or a growing mutual familiarity, their assistance was welcomed.[120]

John C. B. Webster, in another book, *The Christian Community and Change in Nineteenth Century North India*, has provided a comprehensive history of Christian missionary activity in northern India.[121] He provides details concerning the various missionary organizations starting their work in the North West Provinces and in the Punjab, but does not limit his focus to the encounter with Muslims. As a historian, his

works have primarily focused on the American Presbyterian involvement in north India, but this volume is broader in scope, including other Protestant endeavors as well. His excellent bibliographical essay on sources for research on missionary activity in the Punjab in the nineteenth century documents the diversity of activity occurring in that area.[122] A fellow Presbyterian, James P. Alter has furthered scholarship in this area by his work, *In the Doab and Rohilkhand: North Indian Christianity, 1815-1915*. [123]

The interaction of Christians with Muslims in British Colonial India has been receiving more attention in recent years. Avril Powell's *Muslims and Missionaries in Pre-Mutiny* has presented an over-view of the Muslim-Christianity controversy from the start of Muslim history, giving a more detailed treatment of the missionary involvement in India.[124] She provides a helpful history of the Roman Catholic efforts during the Mughal period and the initial efforts of Protestant organizations in northern India in the early nineteenth century.[125] Her focus, however, is on Pfander and his interaction with Muslim leaders in north-western India in his writings and public debates, as has already been discussed. This carefully researched work contains a wealth of detail regarding the personalities involved, both from the Christian side as well as from the Muslim *'ulamā'*. She has also traced the development of the major themes of the interaction, specifically the corruption of the Christian scriptures and the effect of literary and historical critical methodologies. Although her analysis ends with the aftermath of the 1854 debate at Agra and the later Revolt in 1857, the effect of this interaction continued into the next centuries and certainly shaped the approaches of both Muir and Aḥmad Khān to the matter of inter-faith dialogue.[126] Another writer who has given a thorough analysis of various groups working among the Muslims in India is Lyle L. Vander Werff in the second chapter of his book, *Christian Mission to Muslims*, describing the unique contributions of the Anglican, Scottish Presbyterian, American Presbyterian, and interdenominational organizations and of specific individuals within them.[127] Though he considers the apologetic approach a major contribution of the Anglican groups such as the CMS, he does not deal with Hughes and Sell.

Monographs or even journal articles on the Christian authors under study in this thesis are rare. Buaben and Bennett have both researched the attitude of Muir in light of

recent perspectives on Europeans writing on Islam.[128] Buaben closely follows the thought of Norman Daniel in his analysis and concludes that Muir is continuing the mediaeval rhetoric against Muḥammad and Islam.[129] As does Daniel, he discounts the distinct break with the past perceptions of Islam that Muir was striving for, and the fact that he used primarily original source materials, or the very recent Orientalist writings of Weil and Sprenger that were based on new research of Arabic sources as well. Bennett is also critical of Muir, contrasting his confrontational approach with the more conciliatory approach of British writers such as Bosworth-Smith. He admits that Muir used more original sources, but disapproves of his consistently negative evaluation of Islam. His research of Muir's ideas is more thorough than that of Buaben or Daniel, and is enhanced through an evaluation of Muir within the context of five of his contemporaries who also wrote about Islam. All three writers tend to define the objectivity of a Christian scholar of Islam in proportion to his positive assessment of it, reflecting the current trend of conciliatory approaches in Muslim-Christian dialogue. Another scholar who has written on Muir is Avril Powell, but her work is unavailable to this writer.[130] There is currently no secondary literature available on either Sell or Hughes, though Bennett does make a few scattered references to them in his book.

None of the above writers has analyzed the interaction of Muir with the Muslim intellectuals on the subject of Ḥadīth. Several works on Aḥmad Khān, however, include considerable discussion on the matter, since his *Essays* in reply to Muir constituted a major part of his scholarship. Baljon was first to contribute an analysis of Aḥmad Khān's developing ideas concerning the role of tradition in Islamic faith and practice.[131] Dar, in his *Religious Thought of Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, also devotes several chapters to Aḥmad Khān's interaction with Christians and one to his response to Muir.[132] Troll expanded these two analyses through a fresh and detailed examination of the writings of the two men in his *Sayyid Ahmad Khan: A Reinterpretation of Muslim Theology*.[133] Since all three are focusing their attention on Aḥmad Khān, their analysis of the motivations and ideology underlying Muir's work is limited. However, they contain excellent analyses of the impact of this interaction on the development of Aḥmad Khān's thought.[134] Aziz Ahmad presents Aḥmad Khān as the key figure in establishing the trend of Islamic

modernism in India, but when discussing his views on the Ḥadīth describes only the later stages of his thinking where his conclusions did not greatly differ from those of the Orientalists regarding reasons for fabrication, the rational criticism of content, the Qur'ān as the ultimate authority, and the scarcity of Ḥadīth with unquestioned reliability.[135] He has, in the same volume, presented a critique of the writings of Chirāgh 'Alī and their radical contribution to the modernist trend in India.[136] Similar studies on the interaction of Amīr 'Alī and Chirāgh 'Alī with Western writers can be found in unpublished theses completed at the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University by Abdullahil Ahsan and A. N. M. Wahidur-Rahman respectively.[137] The latter scholar has published a summary of his analysis of Chirāgh 'Alī's thought regarding the Ḥadīth in the journal, *Hamdard Islamicus*.[138] Both scholars emphasize the movement of these Muslim intellectuals towards a position where they rejected much of the authority of the Ḥadīth. They point to the influence of contact with Western ideas, but also describe the vehemence with which the Amīr 'Alī and Chirāgh 'Alī opposed the negative image of Muḥammad and Islam presented by people like Muir and the missionaries.

Another recent study on the changes in perception of the Ḥadīth among Indian Muslims as well as the Arab world in general is Daniel Brown's *Rethinking Tradition in Modern Islamic Thought*.[139] He ably traces the developments in the late nineteenth century to their roots in the movements to reform in the previous century. His insistence that the modernist tendency to discount the authority of the body of traditions was not entirely attributable to the incursion of Western ideas, provides a helpful balance to studies which emphasize the important role of the encounter, although Brown does recognize the place it has. A broader view of how the Muslims of the latter half of the nineteenth century dealt with history in general, including the historical traditions that made up the Ḥadīth, is Aslam Syed's, *Muslim Response to the West*.[140] His study is particularly helpful in that he provides the context of historiographical thought in India in which Aḥmad Khān, Amīr 'Alī, and Chirāgh 'Alī wrote.

Notes

[1] Stephen Neill. *A History of Christianity in India : The Beginnings to AD 1707* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, pp. 26-49. Neill has researched a detailed history of Christianity in India in this volume, with a thorough history of the Protestant missionary movement in his subsequent volume, *A History of Christianity in India, 1707-1858*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985. Samuel Hugh Moffett has recently published the first volume of a new project, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, v. 1. San Francisco, CA: HarperSanFrancisco, 1992, incorporating more recent data as well. A study contemporaneous with the writings under analysis in this thesis would be M. A. Sherring. *The History of Protestant Missions in India from their Commencement in 1706 to 1881*. Rev. ed. by Edward Storrow. London: The Religious Tract Society, 1884. For his description of the advance of various missionary organizations into north-west India see pp. 164-184.

[2] For an excellent bibliographic essay on Evangelicalism in Britain and the Evangelical missionary movement, covering sources until 1984, see Stuart Piggin. *Making Evangelical Missionaries 1789-1858: The Social Background, Motives and Training of British Protestant Missionaries to India*. Evangelicals & Society from 1750, no. 2. [Abingdon]: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1984.

[3] D. W. Bebbington. *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*. London: Unwin Hyman, 1989, p. 34. See also Vishal Mangalwadi. *Missionary Conspiracy: Letters to a Post-Modern Hindu*. Mujssoorie, U. P.: Nivedit Good Books Distributers Pvt. Ltd., 1996, pp. 254-282.

[4] Raj Bahadur Sharma. *Christian Missions in North India, 1813-1913: A Case Study of Meerut Division and Dehra Dun District*. Delhi, India: Mittal Publications, 1988. p. 23.

[5] Ibid., pp. 23-24. See Mangalwadi. *Missionary Conspiracy*, pp. 136-186 for a detailed description of Grant's role in introducing Evangelical missions to India.

[6] For the Clapham Sect, see Ernest Marshall Howse. *Saints in Politics: The "Clapham Sect" and the Growth of Freedom*. [Toronto]: University of Toronto Press, 1952. Embree characterizes the Clapham Sect as having analyzed the world in terms of their Evangelical beliefs and then setting out to change it, using their powers of organization, their professional contacts, and their wealth. Ainslie Thomas Embree. *Charles Grant and British Rule in India*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1962, p. 205.

[7] Eric Stokes. *The English Utilitarians and India*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959, p. 27.

[8] Avril Powell. *Muslims and Missionaries in Pre-Mutiny India*. London Studies on South Asia No. 7. Richmond, Surrey, UK: Curzon Press Ltd., 1993, p. 89-101.

[9] Embree. *Charles Grant*, p. 205. For a thorough examination of the growth of Christian missions in relation to the British government see Arthur Mayhew. *Christianity and the Government of India: An Examination of the Christian Forces at Work in the Administration of India and of the Mutual Relations of the British Government and Christian Missions, 1600-1920*. London: Faber &Gwyer Limited, 1929.

[10] Kenneth Scott Latourette. *A History of the Expansion of Christianity. Vol. 4. The Great Century in Europe and the United States of America A. D. 1800-A. D. 1914*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1941, pp. 70-71.

[11] Andrew Porter. "Religion and Empire: British Expansion in the Long Nineteenth Century, 1780-1914." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 20, 3 (Sept., 1992), pp. 374-375.

[12] Eugene Stock. *The History of the Church Missionary Society* , vol. 1. London, Church Missionary Society, 1899, p. 36.

[13] In a recent monograph on Evangelicalism, Alister McGrath summarizes modern Evangelical distinctives thus: "[Evangelicalism] finds its identity in relation to a series of central interacting themes and concerns, including the following: 1. A focus, both devotional and theological, on the person of Jesus Christ, especially his death on the cross; 2. the identification of Scripture as the ultimate authority in matters of spirituality, doctrine and ethics; 3. An emphasis upon conversion or a "new birth" as a life changing religious experience; 4. A concern for sharing the faith, especially through evangelism." This definition is consistent with the historical emphases of the movement, and would accurately reflect the convictions of those of that persuasion working in India in the nineteenth century. Alister McGrath. *A Passion for the Truth: The Intellectual Coherence of Evangelicalism*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1995, p. 22. For further discussion on the evolution of the meaning of "Evangelical," see: Bebbington. *Evangelicalism*, pp. 1-17.

[14] Powell. *Muslims and Missionaries*, p. 76.

[15] Ibid., p. 145.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Sherring. *The History of Protestant Missions*. See also Webster. *The Christian Community*, pp. 4-6; Powell, *Muslims and Missionaries*, pp. 87-89.

[18] Powell, *Muslims and Missionaries*, pp. 159-163; Webster. *The Christian Community*, p. 180. Later, in his evaluation of the causes of the 1857 Rebellion, Aḥmad Khān included Muslim suspicion of missionary motives in this effort as one of those causes. See chapter 2. For the history of the Anglican missions in the Meerut district, see Raj Bahadur Sharma. *Christian Missions*, pp. 81-114; for American Presbyterian work, see James P. Alter. "American Presbyterians in North India: Missionary Motives and Social Attitudes under British Colonialism." *Journal of Presbyterian History*, 53 (1975), pp. 291-312; idem. *In the Doab and Rohilkhand: North Indian Christianity, 1815-1915*. Rev. and completed by John Alter. Delhi: I. S. P. C. K., 1986. For bibliographic essays on Christian missions in the Punjab, see Ganda Singh. "Christianity in the Panjab: A Bibliographic Survey." *The Panjab Past and Present*, 1, 2 (Oct., 1967), pp. 368-388; and John C. B. Webster. "Mission Sources of Nineteenth-Century Punjab History." *Sources on Punjab History*, eds. W. Eric Gustafson and Kenneth W. Jones. Delhi: Manohar Book Service, 1975, pp. 171-218.

[19] Powell, *Missionaries and Muslims*, pp. 132-262.

[20] Ibid., p. 132.

[21] Ibid., pp. 170-171.

[22] Ibid., p. 173.

[23] Ibid., p. 189.

[24] Ibid., pp. 242-262.

[25] These were later published: Sir William Muir. *The Mohammedan Controversy; Biographies of Mohammad; Sprenger on Tradition; The Indian Liturgy; and the Psalter*. Edinburgh: T.& T. Clark, 1897.

[26] Sir William Muir. *The Life of Mahomet: With Introductory Chapters on the Original Sources for the Biography of Mahomet and on the Pre-Islamite History of Arabia*. Osnabruck: Biblio Verlag, 1988, rpt. of the 1861 London edition, hereafter referred to as *Life*.

[27] This was later changed to Mahommedan Educational *Conference* to avoid confusion with the Indian National Congress; see Shan Muhammad. *The Right Honourable Syed Ameer Ali: Personality and Achievements*. New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House, 1991, p. 93.

[28] Ibid., pp. 99-100. Responses by other Muslims including Sayyid Amīr ‘Alī and the Central National Mahommedan Association are described in ibid., pp. 47-59. The British political leadership in India also changed in 1888 with the appointment of Lord Lansdowne to succeed Ripon as the Viceroy and Governor General of India.

[29] For their biographies, see Herbert Birks. *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Valpy French, First Bishop of Lahore*. 2 vols. London: John Murray, 1895. Henry Martyn Clark. *Robert Clark of the Panjab, Pioneer and Missionary Statesman*. New York: F. H. Revell, 1907. T. V. French had been assisted Pfander in the 1854 debate at Agra: Powell. *Muslims and Missionaries*, pp. 238-242.

[30] Concerned with the disintegration of Muslim power in India after the death of Aurangzēb in 1708, he sought to stop the process of decline. In emphasizing the body of traditions, rather than the accepted body of classical scholarship, as the source of authority in determining religious law, Wali Ullāh encouraged the repudiation of *taqlīd*, or blind obedience, and the revival of *ijtihād*, or independent judgment by qualified persons in determining religious law. He accepted the standard division of Ḥadīth into those with authority over faith and morals and those dealing with secular matters, but was also concerned about the spirit of the law, not just its form. The classical approach elevated *ijma‘*, the consensus of the community, over the Sunna, culminating in the establishment of the four authoritative legal schools for the Sunnis. By re-invigorating the study of Ḥadīth, he found the authority to challenge received legal doctrine. See Daniel W. Brown. *Rethinking Tradition in Modern Islamic Thought*. Cambridge Middle East Series, 5. Cambridge: University Press, 1996, pp. 23-27.

[31] Barbara Daly Metcalf. *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982, pp. 47-48.

[32] Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān. *A Series of Essays on the Life of Muhammad and Subjects Subsidiary thereto.* Lahore: Premier Book House, 1968, rpt. of the 1870 edition, hereafter referred to as *Essays*.

[33] Muir. *Life*.

[34] Muir. *The Rise and Decline of Islam*. Present Day Tracts. London: The Religious Tract Society, [1883], later published as part of: J. Murray Mitchell and Sir William Muir. *Two Old Faiths: Essays on the Religions of the Hindus and the Mohammedans*. New York: Chautaugua Press, 1891. Idem. *Mahomet and Islam: A Sketch of the Prophet’s Life from Original Sources and a Brief Outline of his Religion*. 3rd rev. ed. London: Religious Society, 1895 [first edition c. 1885].

[35] The section comprising the analysis of the Qur’ān and Ḥadīth as historical materials first appeared as “Sources for the Biography of Mahomet: The Coran; Sīrat Hishāmi; The Biography of Mahomet, by Ibn Hishām; Sīrat Wāckidi; Sīrat Tabari.” *The Calcutta Review*. 19 (Jan.-Jun., 1853), pp. 1-80. Subsequent sections followed in the next two years.

[36] These were later published together in one volume as, Muir. *The Mohammedan Controversy; Biographies of Mohammad; Sprenger on Tradition; The Indian Liturgy; and the Psalter*. Edinburgh: T.& T. Clark, 1897.

[37] Muir. *The Testimony borne by the Coran to the Jewish and Christian Scriptures.* Agra: Agra Religious Tract and Book Society, 1856, with a second edition published in 1860.

[38] Powell, *Missionaries and Muslims*, p. 261.

[39] Muir. *The Corān: Its Composition and Teaching; and the Testimony it Bears to the Holy Scriptures*. Non-Christian Religious Systems. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, [1878].

[40] Muir. “An Address Delivered by Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I. , on the Occasion of a Visit to the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College at Allygurh, on 12th November 1875,” *An Account of the Ceremony of Laying the Foundation Stone of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College, Allygurh, together with some Articles on Subjects Connected with the Movement, being Extracts from English and Anglo-Indian Newspapers.* Allahabad: Pioneer Press, 1877, pp. 30-32. Idem. “Speech of the Lieutenant-Governor at the Moradabad Durbar.” *The Pioneer*. Nov. 16, 1871, p. 3.

[41] John Murdoch, in his, *Catalogue of the Christian Vernacular Literature of India.* Madras: Caleb Foster, 1870, lists a publication in Roman Urdu by Mirzapore Mission Press in 1854 entitled "Ancient and Modern Church History," which in part consisted of a translation of Muir's work on the first three centuries of the church. J. F. Blumhardt, in his, *Catalogue of Hindustani Printed Books in the Library of the British Museum*. London: Longmans & Co., 1889, p. 322, lists as number 14104.c.18 another book entitled *Tawārīk̲h-i-Kalīsā min ḥays̲ al-ibtidā*. Lucknow, 1870, translated by Raja Shiv Prasad, who had previously translated Muir's book on the Qur'ān. See also Christian W. Troll. *Sayyid Ahmad Khan: A Reinterpretation of Muslim Theology*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 1978, p. 67.

[42] Muir. *Controversy.*

[43] For a comprehensive bibliography of Aḥmad Kh̲ān's works and secondary works about him, see: Troll. *Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, pp. 353-366.

[44] Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Kh̲ān. *The Causes of the Indian Revolt*. Appendix A in Hafeez Malik and Morris Dembo. *Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's History of the Bijnor Rebellion*. South Asia Series (East Lansing, MI) occasional paper no. 17. East Lansing, MI: Asian Studies Center, Michigan State University, 1972. p. 124. The text was originally published in Urdu in 1858, the year after the Revolt as *Asbāb-i baghāwat-i-Hind*, and according to Graham, translated and published in English by Graham and Sir Auckland Colvin, see G. F. I. Graham. *The Life and Work of Syed Ahmad Khan C. S. I.* Rpt. IAD Oriental Series, 29. Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1974. [First edition, 1885] p. 32.

[45] Sir William Wilson Hunter. *The Indian Musalmans: Are They Bound in Conscience to Rebel against the Queen?* London: Troubner and Company, 1871; Aḥmad Kh̲ān. *Review on Dr. Hunter's Indian Musalmans: Are They Bound in Conscience to Rebel against the Queen?* Lahore: Premier Book House, n.d. [rpt. of 1872 edition published in India]. An abridged version is found in Aḥmad Kh̲ān. *Writings and Speeches of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan*, compiled and edited by Shan Mohammad. Bombay: Nachiketa Publications Ltd., 1972, pp. 65-82.

[46] Aḥmad Kh̲ān, Sir Sayyid. *The Mohommedan Commentary on the Holy Bible*. Part 1. Gh̲azeepore: Printed and published by the author, 1862; Idem., *The Mohommedan Commentary on the Holy Bible*. Part 2. Aligarh: Printed and published by the author, 1865; for publication details of Part 3, see Troll, *Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, p. 58.

[47] 'Imād ud-Dīn (1830?-1900), a convert to Christianity and an evangelist with the CMS wrote a criticism of Aḥmad Kh̲ān's ideas in *Tanqīd ul-K̲hiyālāt*, published by the Punjab Religious Book Society, Lahore in 1882-83. See summary in E. M. Wherry. *The Muslim Controversy, being a Review of Christian Literature written in the Urdu Language for the Propagation of the Christian Religion and the Refutation of Islam*. London: The Christian Literature Society, 1905, pp. 36-57.

[48] Thomas Patrick Hughes. "Some Account of the Late Fazl-i-Hakk, of Peshawur." *The Church Missionary Intelligencer* (*CMI*), new series, 5 (1869), pp.30-32.

[49] As a result of an ecumenical gathering of missionaries from many of the mission organizations at Allahabad at the end of 1872, there was decision to produce a quarterly periodical "which should seek to represent the common faith of all Evangelical Christians in India," and to be " a bond of union between all believers" in India. This decision led to the founding of the *Indian Evangelical Review*, which under various editors sought to fulfill this mission from 1873 until 1903, giving voice to not only missionaries, but also to their supporters in the Indian Civil Service and at home, and to national Christians: "Notes and Intelligence." *The Indian Evangelical Review: A Quarterly Journal of Missionary Thought and Effort* (*IER*), 1, 1(1873), p. 96.

[50] Hughes. "The Shiahposh Kafirs." *IER*, 1, 1 (1873), pp. 93-94. Idem. "The Afghans." *Report of the General Missionary Conference held at Allahabad, 1872-1873.* London: Seely, Jackson, and Halliday, 1873, p. 79. Idem. "The Afghans*." IER*, 1, 3 (1873), p. 332. Idem., ed. *The Kalīd-i-*

Afghāni, being Selections of Pushto Prose and Poetry for the use of Students. 2nd ed. Lahore: Munshi Gulab Singh, 1893 [first edition was published in 1872].

[51] Idem. "An Indian Missionary on Muhammad and Muhammadanism." *The CMI*, new series, 10 (1874) pp. 330-340. R. Bosworth Smith. *Mohammed and Mohammedanism: Lectures delivered at the Royal Institute of Great Britain in February and March, 1874*. New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1875.

[52] Thomas P. Hughes, *Notes on Muhammadanism, being Outlines of the Religious System of Islam*. rev. ed. London: Wm. H. Allen & Co., 1877. p. ix. Though his original work was published in 1875, all references are from the 1877 edition.

[53] Idem. "A Week in Egypt." *CMI*, second new series, 1 (1876) pp. 216-218. Idem. *Notes on Muhammadanism, being Outlines of the Religious System of Islam*. Rev. ed. London: Wm. H. Allen & Co., 1877, hereafter referred to as *Notes*.

[54] Idem. *The Akhund of Swat: A Muhammadan Saint, and Dilawar Khan: The Converted Afghan Brigand*. Reprinted from the *Calcutta Christian Intelligencer*, 1876. Idem. "The Kingdom of Kashghar." *IER*, 4, 13 (1876), pp. 52-60. Idem. "The Wahhabis of Najd and India." *CMI*, second new series, 3 (1878), pp. 98-100, 160-165. Idem. "Our Mission to the Afghans." *CMI*, second new series, 4 (1879) pp. 7-15. Idem. "Opening Paper," *Report of the Second Decennial Missionary Conference held at Calcutta, 1882-1883*. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1883, p. 240. Idem. "The Mulla of Mānki." *The CMI*, second new series, 8 (1883), pp. 529-531.

[55] Hughes edited a collection of poetry by the Afghan poet, 'Abdur Raḥmān in 1877, and published a translation of the first two books of the Bible into the Pusthto language the following year: from the CMS archival record. He also prepared the introductory notes for missionaries for a Roman-Urdu edition of the Qur'ān.

[56] Idem. *Dictionary of Islam, being a Cyclopaedia of the Doctrines, Rites, Ceremonies, and customs, together with the Technical and Theological Terms, of the Muhammadan Religion*. Calcutta: Rupa & Co., 1988 rpt. [originally published 1885], hereafter referred to as *Dictionary*.

[57] Evan Stanton. [Thomas P. Hughes]. *Ruhainah: A Story of Afghan Life*. New York: Cassell & Company, Limited, 1886. Thomas P. Hughes. "Missions to Muslims." *The Andover Review* (*AR*), 9, 49 (Jan., 1888), pp. 1-18. Idem. "The Muslim's Bible." *AR*, 9, 53 (May, 1888), pp. 466-474. Idem. "The Muslim's Faith." *AR*, 10, 55 (Jul., 1888), pp. 23-36.

[58] Thomas P. Hughes. "Has Islam a Future?" *The Arena*, 35 (Oct., 1892), pp. 532-539.

[59] The Christian Literature Society in London and Madras printed at least 17 such booklets authored by Sell from 1909 to 1915.

[60] Edward Sell. *The Faith of Islam*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., 1880. The same publishers printed a revised edition in 1896. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, London, published another revised and enlarged edition in 1906.

[61] Edward Sell. "The Church of Islam." *The British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, 27, 104 (Apr., 1878) pp. 327-341. Idem. "The Sects of Islam." *BFER*., 28, 109 (Jul., 1879), pp. 583-600. Idem. "Muhammadan Exegesis of the Qurān and the Traditions." *BFER*., 28, 110 (Oct., 1879), pp. 735-763. Idem. "The Faith of Islam," *BFER*., 29, 114 (Oct., 1880), pp. 763-787. Idem. "The Faith of Islam," *BFER*., 30, 115 (Jan., 1881), pp. 165-190.

[62] Idem. "The New Islam." *The Contemporary Review*, 64 (Aug., 1893), pp. 282-293.

[63] Idem. *The Life of Muḥammad*. London: Christian Literature Society for India, 1913. *Essays on Islam*. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., 1901. Idem. *The Religious Orders of Islam*. Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., 1908.

[64] Amīr ʻAlī. *A Critical Examination of the Life and Teachings of Mohammed*. London: Williams and Norgate, 1873. It was revised and published as *The Spirit of Islam* in 1891, with further revisions and printings in 1922 and 1953.

[65] The publication information on the *Tagore Law Lectures* of 1884 has been unavailable. Amīr ʻAlī. *The Personal Law of the Mahommedans*. London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1880; this was published in Urdu in 1885. Idem. *Mohammedan Law*. 2 vols. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1892, with revisions in 1904 and 1912.

[66] Amīr ʻAlī. *A Short History of the Saracens, being a Concise Account of the Rise and Decline of the Saracenic Power and of the Economic, Social and Intellectual Development of the Arab Nation*. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1951 ed. [1st ed. 1889; latest reprint with corrections, 1924].

[67] K. K. Aziz. *Ameer Ali: His Life and Works*. Lahore: Publishers United, 1968; Razi Wasti, ed. *Syed Ameer Ali on Islamic History and Culture*. People's Publishing House, 1968; idem., ed. *Memoirs and other Writings of Syed Ameer Ali*. Lahore: People's Publishing House, 1968. Amīr ʻAlī. *The Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali : Political Writings*. Ed. Shan Muhammad. New Delhi: Ashish Pub. House, 1989; idem. *The Right Honourable Syed Ameer Ali: Personality and Achievements*. New Delhi: Uppal Pub. House, 1991.

[68] Amīr ʻAlī. *Islām*. London: Constable, 1914; idem. *The Ethics of Islam; with the Political Spirit of Islam, etc.* Islamic Series, 2. Calcutta: Noor Library, Academy of Islamic Research and Oriental Learning, 1951.

[69] For an annotated bibliography of Chirāgh ʻAlī's works, see A. N. M. Wahidur-Rahman. "The Religious Thought of Moulvi Chirāgh ʻAlī." M. A. thesis, McGill University, 1982, pp. 62-67.

[70] The treatise is variously titled as *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī* and *Tawarīkh-i-Muḥammadī*, perhaps reflecting different editions. The former is listed in J. F. Blumhardt. *Catalogue of Hindustani Printed Books in the Library of the British Museum* (London: Longmans & Co., 1889), p. 130, as published in Lahore in 1871. The latter is listed in the London School of Oriental and African Studies as published in Amritsar in 1878. For a review, see Wherry. *The Muslim Controversy*, pp. 23-36.

[71] This document is, apparently, no longer extant. Wahidur-Rahman. "The Religious Thought," pp. 59, 62, 67.

[72] Chirāgh ʻAlī. *Majmūʻah-i Rasā'il-i Chirāgh ʻAlī*. Ed. ʻAbd Ullāh Khān. Hyderabad: Kutub Khāna Aṣifīyah, 1918.

[73] Chirāgh ʻAlī. *The Proposed Political, Legal and Social Reforms under Moslem Rule*. Bombay: Education Society's Press, 1882.

[74] Chirāgh ʻAlī. *A Critical Exposition of the Popular "Jihād," Showing that all the Wars of Mohammad were Defensive; and that Aggressive War, or Compulsory Conversion, is not Allowed in the Koran.* IAD Religio-Philosophy (Reprint) Series no. 42. Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1984 [originally published, 1884].

[75] For a comment on the difficulties inherent in the term, "colonial discourse," see Andrew Porter. *European Imperialism, 1860-1914*. Studies in European History. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1994, pp. 67-68.

[76] Rosalind O'Hanlon and David Washbrook. "After Orientalism: Culture, Criticism, and Politics in the Third World." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 34 (1992), p. 141.

[77] Edward Said. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978, p. 3.

[78] Ronald Inden. "Orientalist Constructions of India." *Modern Asian Studies*, 20, 3 (1986), p. 406.

[79] Ibid., p. 408.

[80] Ibid., p. 410.

[81] Ibid., p. 445.

[82] Ibid., pp. 411-417.

[83] Ibid., p. 417.

[84] Inden. "Orientalist Constructions," p. 415.

[85] Aijaz Ahmad. "Between Orientalism and Historicism: Anthropological Knowledge of India." *Studies in History*, new series 7, 1 (Jan.- June, 1991), p. 144.

[86] Dane Kennedy. "Imperial History and Post-Colonial Theory," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 24, 3 (Sept., 1996), p. 353.

[87] Kate Teltscher. *India Inscribed: European and British Writing on India 1600-1800*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995, pp. 6-11.

[88] The analysis in this thesis of the role of missionaries and other Evangelicals in nineteenth century imperial expansion has been significantly influenced and inspired by the writings of scholars associated with the North Atlantic Missiology Project, based in Westminster College, Cambridge, and its structure closely reflect the emphases presented by John Casson in his article, "Mission Archives and New Directions in Mission History," a version of which was first published in the *Bulletin of the Association of British Theological and Philosophical Libraries*, 4, 1 (Mar., 1997),pp. 9-13; and also available on the Internet at the North Atlantic Missiology Project web site at: <http://office3.divinity.cam.ac.uk/carts/namp/ABTAPL.htm>.

[89] Ahmad. "Between Orientalism and Historicism," p. 150.

[90] C. A. Bayly. "Returning the British to South Asian History: The Limits of Colonial Hegemony." *South Asia*, 17, 2 (1994), p. 1.

[91] Ibid., p. 5.

[92] Peter Penner. *The Patronage Bureaucracy in North India: The Robert M. Bird and James Thomason School 1820-1870*. Delhi: Chanakya Publications, 1986.

[93] Barbara D. Metcalf. "Presidential Address: Too Little and too Much: Reflections on Muslims in the History of India." *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 54, 4 (Nov. 1995), p. 956.

[94] Bayly. "Returning the British," p. 10.

[95] Metcalf. "Presidential Address," p. 956.

[96] Bayly. "Returning the British," p. 10.

[97] Barbara Daly Metcalf. *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982, pp. 198-234.

[98] Ibid., pp. 264-296

[99] Saurabh Dube. "Paternalism and Freedom: The Evangelical Encounter in Colonial Chhattisgarh, Central India." *Modern Asian Studies*, 29, 1 (1995), p. 199.

[100] Geoffrey A. Oddie. " 'Orientalism' and British Protestant Missionary Constructions of India in the Nineteenth Century." *South Asia*, 17, 2 (1994), pp. 28, 37.

[101] Geoffrey A. Oddie. *Social Protest in India: British Protestant Missionaries and Social Reforms 1850-1900*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1979, p. 10.

[102] For an analysis of the university missionary brotherhoods from Cambridge, Oxford, and Trinity College, Dublin, that would fit in this category see Martin Maw. *Visions of India: Fulfillment Theology, the Aryan Race Theory, & the Work of British Protestant Missionaries in Victorian India*. Studies in the Intercultural History of Christianity, band 57. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1990.

[103] Oddie. *Social Protest*, p. 11.

[104] Oddie. " 'Orientalism'," pp. 41-42.

[105] Edward Said. *Orientalism*. 2nd ed. New York: Vintage Press, 1994, p. 336.

[106] Ibid., p.339.

[107] Jacob S. Dharmaraj. *Colonialism and Christian Mission: Postcolonial Reflections*. Delhi: Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1993, pp. xvi-xx.

[108] Brian Stanley. *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Leicester: Appolos, 1990, p. 12. In his first chapter, he presents an excellent deconstruction of the modern trend to link Christian missionary activity with the colonial enterprise, showing the ideological background to the development of the supposition. Ibid., pp. 11-31.

[109] Mangalwadi, *Missionary Conspiracy*, written in reply to Arun Shourie. *Missionaries in India: Continuities, Changes, Dilemmas*. New Delhi: ASA Publications, 1994.

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[111] Gyan Prakash. "Writing Post-Orientalist Histories of the Third World: Perspectives from Indian Historiography," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 32 (1990), p. 386. [383-408]

[112] Oddie. " 'Orientalism'," p 28.

[113] Said. *Orientalism*, p. 100.

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[121] Webster. *The Christian Community and Change in Nineteenth Century North India*. Delhi: The Macmillan Company of India Ltd., 1976.

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