

Providentialist Nationalism and Juvenile Mission Literature, 1840-1870

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Beginning in 1827 with the *Baptist Children's Magazine and Sabbath Scholar's Reward*[1], a host of evangelical juvenile periodicals emerged in the second quarter of the nineteenth-century, peaking in the mid 1840s, most with a decidedly missionary bent. Each of the major denominations featured at least one periodical devoted to young audiences, [2] often under the auspices of the various mission societies. The *Baptist Children's Magazine* (changed to the *Baptist Youth's Magazine and Missionary Intelligencer* in 1859 and subsequently absorbed after 1861 into the *Baptist Reporter*) was followed by the CMS's *Church Missionary Juvenile Instructor* (1842), the LMS's *Juvenile Missionary Magazine* [3] (1844), the *Wesleyan Methodist Juvenile Offering* (1844), the BMS's *Juvenile Missionary Herald* (1845), and the *Primitive Methodist Youth's Magazine* (1852). For the present purposes I have for the most part limited my survey to these; but I have also included, for a bit of perspective on the 'nationalist' theme, the Free Church of Scotland's *Children's Missionary Record* (1837) and the United Presbyterians' own *Juvenile Missionary Magazine* (1844). Like their 'adult' counterparts, all borrowed liberally from each other and other periodicals, including American and Continental ones, contributing to the creation and maintenance of a pervasive evangelical sense of identity and purpose that would lend its strength to-and draw it from-Britain's own growing imperial identity. Whereas much can be said for the quasi-religious undertones of secular rhetoric of 'high empire', *especially in the last quarter of the nineteenth century*, little attention has been paid to the reverse: quasi-imperialist

undertones in religious rhetoric. [4] James Greenlee and Charles Johnston argue that the former 'fairly begged for appropriation by the missionary camp', who 'understandably quick to seize any advantage, speedily borrowed that discourse, whatever its provenance, and made it very much a part of their own as they proceeded to integrate their epic accounts into the imperial literature of the day'. [5] But I would argue that the 'provenance' of such discourse is not so clearly cut or so simple to trace. Two questions underlying this study, and, I would argue, the missions v. empire debate, are the extent to which the publicity and rhetoric of both 'camps' were intertwined, borrowed from, and fed off each other, and to which the literature of the former- especially for children- functioned as propaganda. In this short space, then, I attempt to trace the emergence of what could be called *nationalist* elements in British juvenile missionary periodicals of the mid-century- that is, *leading up to* the period of 'high empire'.

It has always been a difficult matter to separate the religious and secular forces behind Britain's empire, especially in its infancy. Early dissenters and evangelicals 'sought not just to preserve the empire through toleration, but to change it fundamentally by transforming it into an instrument of God's purposes on earth'. [6] For them, the Gospel's transformational power- and thus its reward- was to be seen in Britain's rise to global affluence and influence. Britain's duty and privilege, therefore, was to be the vehicle by which the Gospel was spread 'to the corners of the earth'. As we shall see, *Commerce, Civilization, and Christianity* was less a descending list of priorities than a sort of flowchart toward the accomplishment of eschatological expectations.

How, then, was this providential plan for Britain to be explained and delivered to 'the rising generation'? Simply put, it was accomplished by a constant and thorough stream of propaganda disseminated through the already-existing evangelical networks of print and Sunday schools. As Josephine Bratten has noted in her various studies of juvenile literature of the period, the Sunday school movement of the early century had 'embarked on the publication of reading matter which might direct and control the reading habits of the newly literate', and evangelical publications continued that trend throughout the

century. [7] And while Bratten elsewhere has emphasized the ability of fiction to enable 'the direct messages inculcating imperial ambitions, and national, familial, and racial pride, to be received without a blush', the same can probably be said of the (assumedly) non-fictional contents of missionary magazines. [8] John MacKenzie defines propaganda as 'conscious and deliberate', [9] and to this I would add two further key elements: simplicity and repetition, especially for younger audiences. Simple dialogues, for example, enabled the reception of information and ideas and reinforced important concepts, while a handful of stock phrases ensured the continuity of the missionary message. It goes almost without saying that the correspondents, authors, and editors of these periodicals manipulated much of the information they presented for a variety of reasons, often resulting in obscured (or non-existent) sources and skewed facts, and thus we can safely assume that the elements and themes discussed here were not accidental, nor casually inserted, but part of a systematic effort to shape the worldviews of the generation of evangelical children who would cross the threshold of adulthood into the era of 'high empire'.

In surveying these juvenile magazines, a number of themes appear which together contribute to what will sooner or later become overt forms of national and imperial rhetoric and propaganda. It is not sufficient to say that national rhetoric was immediately assumed by writers at the advent of the 1870s or 80s. Like most other 'movements', any attempt to limit its lifespan proves riddled with exceptions. Certainly there were examples of these themes before the 1840s, and new themes were being developed and 'tested' on audiences throughout the period under review, leading up to that of 'high empire'. Heroic and chivalric imagery reflected Romanticism's growing influence, and militaristic imagery, given impetus in no little part by the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny of 1857, became increasingly prevalent, [10] with images of 'the Army of Christ', 'heavenly armour', and 'the Gospel Banner' all featuring regularly. [11] Young men (mostly) were called to 'cultivate the heroic element in missions', [12] to be 'pioneers', and were offered 'a path of glory for your noble service'. [13] Worth mentioning, too, is the maritime imagery also becoming prevalent during this period. The

expansion of Britain's commercial and naval shipping power inspired the leading missionary societies to envision their own fleets of 'Missionary Ships', which would carry men and materials-and the Bible-to mission stations and frontiers around the globe. [14] As we shall later see, maritime and commercial themes often served to bolster the sense of privilege at the heart of evangelical rhetoric about Britain, and juvenile literature remained a viable outlet for it. Thus we find songs like 'Rule Britannia! Britain rules the waves!' [15] and

Spread the Gospel Banner high
Britannia, --spread it wide!
The charter of thy sovereignty
O'er ocean's foaming tide...
By thee, where'er extends thy reign,
Be Jesus' flag unfurled;
And still thy empire shall remain
The wonder of the world[16]

Now, as I was writing this paper, I received a (perhaps unintended) scolding from Bernard Porter in the pages of his *Absent-Minded Imperialists*:

People who look for things sometimes find them when they are not there; especially-in this case-if they are looking through distorting lenses. Even when you can avoid that, there is still the temptation to exaggerate the significance of what you have found. There is a lot of genuinely 'imperialist' material from this period, which if it is all corralled together looks impressive, and even overwhelming, but which really needs to be viewed *in situ* and against the background of other kinds of evidence if its real importance and meaning are to be adjudged. [17]

Bearing this in mind I would introduce three themes aside from the more traditional ones above which contribute to the development of an awareness and enthusiasm among 'the rising generation' for Britain's 'unique role' in the world, and which underscore the sense of 'privilege' that defined much of the worldview that was being created for young readers. First are the attempts to re-create a providentialist *history* to support the *present* now being lauded. Second is an emphasis on the physical contrasts between Britain and 'the dark places of the earth'-especially India. Third is the nature of the growing

relationship-secular and spiritual-between Britain and India in this period. As we shall see, these themes are often interwoven and overlapping. Taken on its own each case appears rather weak; but juxtaposed with each other and against contemporary secular juvenile literature, the connections are (I hope) clear.

A Privileged Nation

I thank the goodness and the grace
Which on my birth have smiled
And made me, in these Christian days,
A happy English child.[18]

These lines from of the most popular children's hymns of the time summed up a sentiment that grew in influence throughout the nineteenth century, and became for many writers a convenient-if not clichéd-method of driving their point home. When reading about the appalling circumstances of little girls in India or the daily horrors of idolatry in 'the dark places of the earth', children were regularly encouraged with a sense of relief to 'sing with new pleasure your favourite hymn', *I thank the goodness and the grace* [19]

Beginning quite early in the century, missionary writers began to cite the special place granted England by Providence, reflected in her material wealth as well as in the periodical evangelical revivals across Britain.[20] This led them, in directing the attention of children to the needs of missionary cause, to emphasize a sense of providential privilege in being placed in such a land and at such a time as theirs. Such inducements generally came at the end of descriptions or narratives calculated to arouse a child's empathy for 'the heathen', as he or she was led to 'think over their sad condition until your heart becomes affected by the scene, and you bow in grateful acknowledgement to God who cast your lot in another place', and to remember the 'superior privileges which we enjoy above every other nation'. [21] Even simple apostrophes, like 'English children!', 'British youths!', and 'Protestant Children of Protestant Britain!' provided a sense of collective identity for readers to share in. [22] 'Happy England!' the author of an article on Islam in the *Church Missionary Juvenile Intelligencer* exclaimed, 'May her

sons and daughters learn to value their blessings!' [23] Mrs. Porter, the wife of an LMS missionary in Madras, after detailing the 'miserable and degraded position' of Indian girls asked her readers if they would 'refuse a share of these advantages we enjoy, to our little black sisters?' [24]

This sentiment of privilege was especially taken up by the hymn-writers and poets of the day, each doubtless with the hope that *his* or *her* lines would be the ones to lodge in the collective consciousness of evangelical children in Sunday schools and parlors across the country. The influence of hymns came from the value of their short messages and repetition, which provided just the right introduction and reinforcement of these values and beliefs. Thus young readers were constantly reminded, in their reading as well as at Sunday school and family worship, of their privileged place. 'You British children remember', said one author of another of Watts' popular hymns, 'for you have often sung it, that nice verse in Dr. Watts' *Divine Songs*: Lord I ascribe it to Thy Grace And not to chance as others do That I was born of Christian race, And not a heathen nor a Jew! [25]

Isaac Watt's hymns had remained a standby for evangelicals for decades, and other writers and 'collectors' contributed to the stock of material-though with little alteration in either form or message. Similar enjoinders abound. Mrs. Sherwood, an immensely popular authoress of religious tracts and books for children, became a rather prolific spokeswoman for the providential theme, publishing in 1843 The *Juvenile Missionary Manual*, a book of over a hundred hymns and prayers-including *I thank the goodness and the grace*. Dozens of these highlighted the advantages enjoyed by British children over their 'heathen' counterparts, who more often than not spent most of their time 'worshipping stocks and stones' or some combination thereof. Urging children to '*feel* and *express*' their gratitude for their multitudes of blessings, the editor of the Presbyterian *Juvenile Missionary Magazine* pointed out that 'your hymn-book teaches you what you should say with reference to both of these', directing them to 'Lord I ascribe it to thy grace' as well as 'Tis to Thy sovereign grace I owe/ That I was born on British ground.' [26] One hymn along similar lines, which readers were supposed, after reading of various 'heathen

tortures', to sing 'with greater intensity of feeling', ran, 'My God I thank Thee;
Thou has planned/ A better place for me' [27] Another popular one read:
We might have all received our birth
In the dark places of the earth...
But through Thy love our lot is cast
Where heathen ignorance is past...[28]

'Such is Britain AS IT WAS'

Beginning in the 1840s, and spearheaded by the CMS's *Juvenile Intelligencer*, authors and editors of the various denominational juvenile magazines reached back into the mists of their nation's history to illustrate the long-term benefits of the gospel and the 'distance' Britain had come in its progress over the past two millennia. Two thematic forms dominated these 'historical' articles: didactic and chronological pieces which attempted to reconstruct the various stages of Britain's (allegedly) pre-Christian past; and pieces that seized on images of the past to illustrate exactly how 'dark' Britain had been before the advent of the light of the Christian gospel. Naturally these forms intersected, and all of the accounts to some extent blended history with legend and myth, often playing fast-and-loose with facts. This notwithstanding, they presented a history which at once supported on the one hand the belief that Christianity had arrived to rescue Britain from idolatry and heathenism, and on the other that it had always been a national feature [29] Nor was such material limited to Britain's pre-Christian past: her pre-Reformation history provided lessons as well on her providential progress. As we shall see, these various forays into history emphasized the values of cultural and religious identity, literacy, and liberty, while ostensibly serving to prove the Gospel's transformational qualities-what Christianity could do for Britain, it could do for other 'heathen' nations as well.

The outline of Britain's history as narrated in the variety of articles is relatively simple and formulaic. The original inhabitants of England were the Britons, led by the priestly Druids. In 55BC the Romans invaded Britain, driving the Druids to the mountains of Wales, the West Country, and to Brittany. As the Romans settled Britain, they introduced their own gods, but sometime in the first

century AD Christianity was introduced and took root. Conflicting traditions claimed various agents, from Joseph of Arimathea to the Apostle Paul, to one Queen Claudia of Wales, who was said to have been converted in Rome on a visit there around 63 AD [30]. In 449 (410?) the Romans withdrew from Britain, and the Scots and Picts descended on the Britons, who appealed to the Saxons for help. Having defeated the Scots and Picts, the Saxons (with the Angles and Jutes) turned on the remaining Britons-also pushing them into the West-settled down, and introduced their own religion. Further tradition holds that early in the sixth century, a Christian called Gregory-later to become Bishop of Rome-came upon a group of fair-skinned Angle children being sold as slaves in Rome. After a pun-filled conversation with their seller he was inspired to send a monk named Augustine to their homeland, and Christianity was thus (re)introduced to Britain. [31]



Fig. 1-Gregory and the Angle Children at Rome - *The Juvenile Missionary Magazine*, 1848

Various parties added subtle variances or particulars to this basic framework. A series in the Presbyterian Juvenile Missionary Magazine that stretched through 1850, entitled 'North Sea Islands', offered the quasi-biblical account of Ash-Kenaz, the grandson of Noah, settling in Britain and establishing the worship of 'the one true God', supporting this thesis by comparing the Briton's stories of the Great Deluge with the biblical account. [32] Its author also provides another element to the flight of the Britons-that the 'native Christians' were included in their numbers as they moved to the West and to Brittany, so that the 'old idolatry' and Christianity together survived the 'persecution' of the

Saxons. [33] Similarly, a piece in the Wesleyan Juvenile Offering told its readers that when Roman Christians had arrived, 'the Britons heard them gladly', but a few centuries later Angles and Saxons 'drove the poor British Christians into the mountains of Wales...and so the country became almost as bad as it was before', [34] while those Christians that remained, the Baptist Juvenile Missionary Herald added, were subject to persecution. [35] Throughout 1844 the CMS's *Church Missionary Juvenile Intelligencer* serialized a tract from the Religious Tract Society about the Druids and Christianity's introduction to Britain. 'England without the Bible', it began, 'how different a country from England with the Bible!' [36] Over five installments, the series detailed the religion of the Druids and narrated their massacre at the hands of the Romans and the introduction of Christianity by missionaries very like those currently sent around the world. The fifth century, it explained, brought the Anglo-Saxons, and with them a new idolatry that was only eventually wiped out 'after some ages' by the renewed efforts of Roman missionaries. [37]

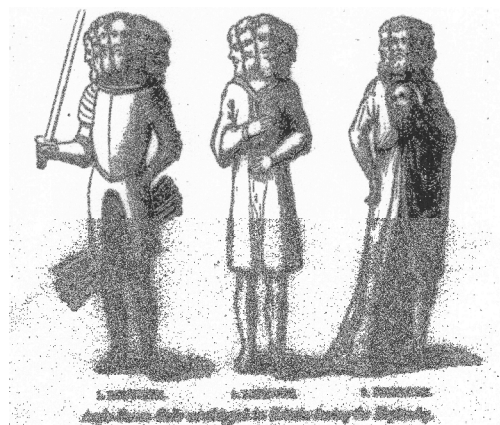


Fig. 2-Anglo-Saxon Gods - *The Children's Monthly Missionary Newspaper*, 1847

Just two years later the *Juvenile Intelligencer* excerpted another piece from the RTS on Britain's history as one of 'the dark places of the earth', this one more graphic and forceful in tone-and hopefully more interesting to the *Intelligencer's* readers for it. 'Heathen Britain' was painted as a patchwork of dark forests and gloomy swamps, peopled by tattooed and warlike tribes who lived in filthy wicker huts, wore skins for clothes, and eked out their

subsistence by foraging and keeping livestock, presenting the young reader with the aspect of Red Indians or New Zealanders, rather than the Britons of his experience. Yet, 'such is Britain AS IT WAS', claimed the article, 'contrast it with Britain AS IT IS': a land of clean, fruitful plains and fields dotted with cities, towns, mansions, cottages, churches, schools and factories, whose 'ships sail on every sea, and enter the harbours of almost every shore, and its colonies are in all parts of the world'. 'If there be a favoured land, where learning, happiness, charity, and piety are found', it boasted, 'it is this land which was once sunk in Heathen crime and idolatry'. Once again, the transformational power of the Gospel was credited not only with civilization, but with commerce, expansion, and all of the finer qualities of life-all in all, it pondered, 'Who can tell how much Britain owes to the Bible?' Echoing the previous article, it reminded readers that the heathen were 'in a similar state as Britain once was found' and that 'a time may come when they shall be as Britain now is'. [38] Several years later, in 1850, the *Juvenile Intelligencer* took the opportunity to reprise its earlier forays into Britain's dark history, this time with a description of a place in Yorkshire called Almias Cliff. According to local legend-and etymology-the cliff was the site of an old Druid altar, though now 'the shrieks of murdered children and the uproar of savage men, are no longer heard amongst its rocks', and 'summer visitors may gaze out on it and ponder its dark history'. The article ended with the customary prompt for 'every favoured English child' to 'pray thankfully for the Gospel'. [39] In 1853 the *Juvenile Intelligencer* returned to the topic in a short article entitled 'The Wicker Image', accompanied by a graphic engraving.

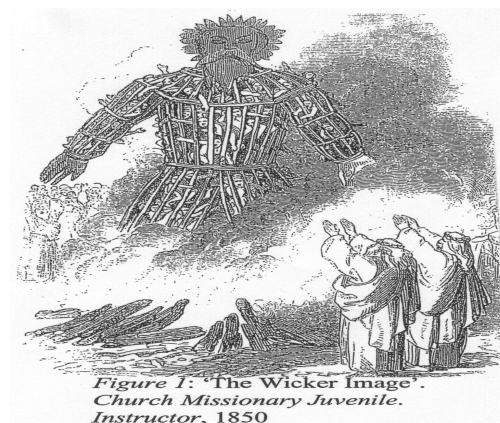


Fig. 3-'The Wicker Image'- *The Church Missionary Juvenile Instructor*, 1853

'What a pleasant country is England now to live in!' it exclaimed, 'There is no country in the world where life, and property, and all earthly comforts, are more carefully protected'. Things had not always been that way, it reminded readers, giving the example of the Druid practice of burning sacrifices alive to their gods. But, the article concluded, because of the Gospel, children needed no longer fear being burned alive as sacrifices to heathen gods, and instead enjoyed the myriad comforts of a blessedly civilized modern Britain. [40] The connection with modern missions was finally overtly made the next year (1854) in yet another article on the same theme, this one entitled 'Baptism of an Ancient Briton'.



Fig. 4-'Baptism of an Ancient Briton' - *The Church Missionary Juvenile Intelligencer*, 1854

The eponymous Briton, the writer suggested, was probably just as bad as a New Zealander, but for the efforts of Roman Christians in bringing the Gospel to his home. 'What we now want our young people to do for the heathen abroad,' the editors posited, 'is precisely that which the Christians at Rome, or elsewhere, did for us 1800 years ago', without which 'we ight have been still in heathen darkness, wandering about as painted savages, feeding upon roots and acorns'. 'But', the article concluded, 'our gracious Lord had better things in store for us'. [41]

The notion of the hand of Providence was a particularly significant element in these writings, especially when the authors invoked the figures of 'forefathers'. Not only were one's British 'forefathers' the savage idolatrous Britons, or even, as the *Presbyterian Juvenile Missionary Magazine* pointed out, the Anglo-Saxons; they were also-and most importantly-Britain's early Christians. [42] Thus their spiritual heritage and national heritage were connected over the 'distance of time'. In an article on 'The First Christian Church in Britain', which was supposed to have been built at Glastonbury, Somerset, in the first century AD, it was explained knowingly that 'our forefathers prayed for those who should come after them' and thus Britain's modern progress and power was a direct result of that intercession. [43] As we shall later see, it was not only those forefathers, but more recent ones as well, whose prayers-and trials-had directly contributed to Victorian Britain's 'privileges'.

Another series of articles, entitled 'Our Pagan Ancestors', was published in the (professedly) ecumenical *Children's Monthly Missionary Newspaper* (Edinburgh) in 1847. Along similar lines as the RTS's tract above, it similarly discussed in some detail the history of the druids and Anglo-Saxons, as well as the early Christians, and featured a number of woodcuts and engravings to illustrate each of the seven serialized articles (see Fig. 2). Though it shared much of the RTS's imagery, 'Our Pagan Ancestors' employed a few notable turns of phrase and imagery that distinguish it and link its message to the prevailing rhetorical devices. Not only was Britain 'the most happy, privileged of lands' because of the Gospel, but 'the bright sunbeams...light up no homes more happy and more blessed than ours'. 'When you go to bed tonight', the *Newspaper* reminded its young readers, 'and lay down your head on a nice soft pillow do not forget to send up to God your heartfelt praise for the comforts you enjoy. No little Pagan Briton had such a pillow or such a home'. [44]

By this time the Baptist Mission Society's publishers had begun their own attempts at prehistory, though with some differences. Connections with contemporary idolatry remained central to their accounts, especially that of child sacrifice, which was reported to be regularly carried out by a tribe in India called the Khands. [45] The first article, after relating the methods of

sacrifice employed by this tribe, lamented that 'there is every reason to believe that this inhuman superstition existed among the ancient inhabitants of our own land', and charged the 'children of England' to remember that 'the very soil you tread may have been stained with the blood of human sacrifices'. [46] 'The Druids' (1847), embellished with another woodcut of a 'burning-man' with children burning alive in a man-shaped wicker frame, described the Britons as 'nothing better than naked savages' and equated them with South Sea Islanders, a common comparison. [47]



Fig. 5-'The Druids'- *The Juvenile Missionary Herald*, 1847

'The Savage Islanders' (1848), with a similar woodcut, emphasized that those 'naked savages' were '*your own* ancestors! Their blood runs in your veins', more firmly connecting them to *readers* as well as to the land itself. [48] A similar article on 'British Idolatry', abridged from one of Robert Southey's work on the subject, appeared in *The Baptist Youths' Repository and Missionary Intelligencer* in 1854, and featured yet another similar woodcut. 'Many years ago', it said, Britain's inhabitants were (again) as bad as New Zealanders or South Sea Islanders, and were 'slaves of Satan', whose women painted themselves blue and danced naked at Druid rituals, and who practiced human sacrifice on a grand scale. [49]

[50] First was the preface to the 1848 volume, which displayed a frontispiece of Gregory and the Angle slave-children in Rome, about which the editor exclaimed, 'British Children! What a mighty change has taken place in your condition'. [51] Ten years later an article on 'The Brahmins' reminded children to 'remember that this land

was once given to idolatry' and that they 'ought to be truly thankful to God, that by sending the Bible into this country He has made it what it is'.^[52] Its 'adult' counterpart, the *Missionary Magazine*, featured a piece in 1846 on 'Human Sacrifices' accompanied by an engraving 'by a native artist' in India.

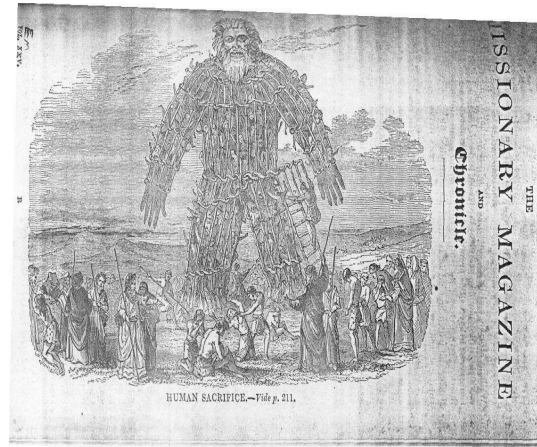


Fig. 6-'Human Sacrifice'- *The Missionary Magazine*, 1846

In a short preface, one Rev. William Morton explained that, as superstitions were universally 'impure and absurd, murderous and cruel', the present scene was 'a correct specimen of the Superstitions of Ancient Britain'. Morton proceeded to remind 'the present race of British Youth...to be thankful for the inestimable benefits' Christianity had wrought in Britain, and to remember the gifts of 'civilization, liberty, and national advancement' brought by the original 'Foreign Missionaries' via the Gospel.

The *Presbyterian Juvenile Missionary Magazine's* only contribution was the rather long series on 'The North Sea Islands', which nevertheless was the most detailed. It not only surveyed more of early Britain's historical aspects, but provided tit-bits like the twenty thousand epigrams Druids were supposed to have memorized to equip them as local judges, and the qualities of the various plants and flowers Druids considered sacred^[53]

It was not until 1863 that the *Wesleyan Juvenile Offering* offered anything on the subject.^[54] An article on the caves at Elephanta, in India, reflected a current belief that much of Indian culture-and Hinduism in particular-were products of a civilization that had been corrupted and retarded in its progress

by sin and the absence of the gospel. The caves were 'supposed to be of very great antiquity, and it is very probable that when our beautiful England was covered with dark, gloomy forests, (where our rude forefathers offered human sacrifices,) these caves resounded with the sound of musical instruments and the shouts of deluded worshippers'. But now, it continued, 'the rude altars where the ancient druids performed their cruel rites have been succeeded by temples dedicated to the service of the true and living God'. 'How thankful we ought to be', it declared, 'that the gloomy forests in our dear land have been long since cut down and that in their stead are seen neat cornfields, and verdant villages!' As we shall see below, equating the gospel with physical transformation as well as spiritual (and material) was another cornerstone of the concept of *progress* that supported providential nationalism.

Five years later, in 1868, the Offering again delved into Britain's 'heathen' history with a long narrative poem entitled 'Eva's Dream: After Studying the Early History of Her Own Country'. ^[55]After lessons, Eva settles down at the foot of an old oak and dozes off, waking, much like Carroll's Alice, in an altogether different place. Making her way 'far through a forest shade', she comes across 'wild groups of children' playing. Despite intriguing her with their games, she recounts, 'there was something in their mien/ That filled my heart with fear'. Overseeing them was a bearded and robed Druid, with the accoutrements of his office, and no sooner had the children noticed her, 'Come Eva, join our sports', they said/ For thou'rt a British child'. Spinning round in their games, Eva looked again 'with pleased surprise':

That all the children were the same,
Yet each had grown more mild;
Of fairer face, with tresses light...
and called out to her again,
'Come Eva, come with us', they said.
'For thou'rt a Saxon fair,
Thine eyes are bright and blue like ours,
Like ours thy golden hair'.

But here Eva, the young Christian heroine, realizes her duty: 'If ye were Christians', she pleads, 'Angles ye would not only be/ Ye would be Angels

too'. At this she is woken by her classmates, who ask her about her dream. After she explains it, they sympathetically add, 'So we might, you know/ Have all been pagans had we lived/ Some centuries ago', before encouraging each other to do all they can to aid the spread of the gospel.

It was not only ancient history that evangelicals utilized in explaining the extent of Britain's 'progress' under the gospel. Surges of anti-Catholicism throughout the mid-century in response to Catholic Emancipation in 1829 and efforts by Rome in the early 1850s to re-establish church hierarchy and monastic orders in Britain led to periodic flurries of polemics for both adults and children.

^[56] In her *National Ballads: Patriotic and Protestant*, Miss M. A. Stodard, took to this with particular zeal. Even more than providential blessings, the key to her patriotism was defense 'against the open enemies of our church and constitution, who are at the same time the disguised enemies of our queen and her throne'. ^[57]

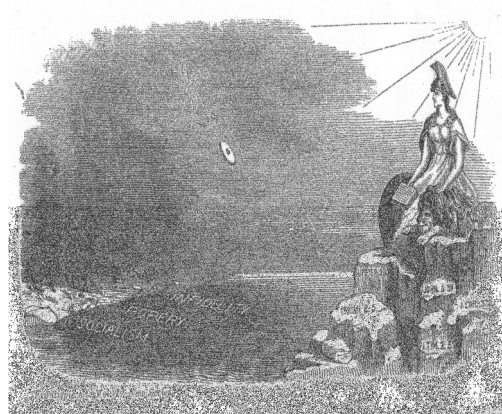


Fig. 7-'Britannia Defending Against the Threats of Europe'- *The Children's Missionary Record*, 1852

Steering for the most part a less radical course, however, the juvenile magazines focused instead on contrasting 'Catholic' Britain with the evangelical present. Roman Catholicism-'Popery'-had represented not only idolatry, but ignorance as well as oppression; and the Protestant Reformation, therefore, 'the blessings of true evangelical religion and the civil liberties which it was believed to bestow'. ^[58] The *Baptist Juvenile Missionary Herald* in 1846 informed its readers that England had been 'not long since covered with darkness and superstition' just like India. Three hundred years earlier, under the thrall of the Roman Church, the English had been 'as ignorant as pagan

Britons or Blacks in South Africa'. Then Henry the Eighth had broken with the Church, John Tyndale had published the Bible in English and been burnt at the stake for it, and once again British ground had been steeped in blood, but now that of Christian martyrs. ^[59] Similarly, the *Church Missionary Juvenile Intelligencer* presented a gaggle of villagers crowded around a testament in their village church but unable to read it, then explained Henry VIII's 1541 decree placing one Bible in each church, but preventing it from being privately owned. ^[60]

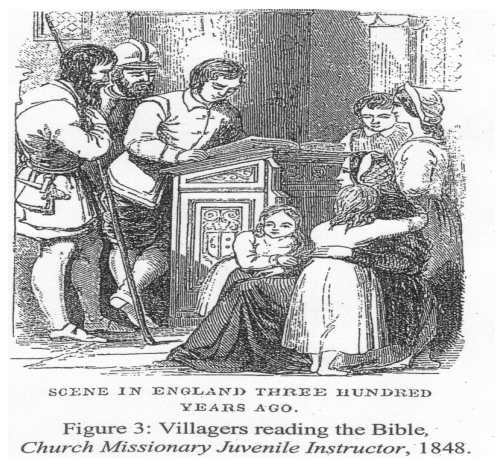


Fig. 8-'Scene in England Three Hundred Years Ago' - *The Church Missionary Juvenile Instructor*, 1848

Some, however, were not as moderate. In 1861 the Baptist Youth's Magazine carried the period forward with a concise run-down of 'The Characteristics of British Sovereigns: From the Reformation to the Revolution'. After Henry VIII and Edward VI, Mary 'a persecuting bigot' restored 'popery'. Later James I, 'a stupid blockhead, a profane despot, and a mere tool of the bishops', and Charles II, a 'vain, perjured, contemptible creature' were only tempered by the 'glorious' reign of Cromwell. Finally, nonconformists 'saw through' James II and 'turned the scale', and William III showed his 'favour to religious liberty' by signing the Toleration Act in 1688. ^[61] The rest, as far as liberty and 'progress' were concerned, was *history*.

The central factor in these examinations of more recent histories was, much like that of the ancient examples, the element of privilege that underlay them. In order to understand their nation's ascending place and role in the world,

young evangelicals had to first understand the conditions and circumstances it had struggled against-and by the *gospel overcome* -to reach it. Their 'forefathers', who had already been alluded to, were again invoked to impress on those readers what their role was to be. One Baptist writer explained that 'Our fathers, for many generations, suffered the loss of property, liberty, and life' for the advantages Britain now enjoyed. 'You are indebted to them,' he pointed out, 'under Divine Providence, for the noble and persevering struggles they made, to secure for their posterity in all coming time, the inestimable blessings of civil and religious freedom. ^[62] Another article elaborated on that point, saying that 'by such sorrows our own privileges and Christian joys were won', and challenging, 'Are we as earnest in improving them as our fathers were in *gaining* them?' ^[63]

Britain's history provided lessons not only on spiritual and civil progress, but material as well, as past and present were often further brought together in discussions of the contemporary evidences of God's providential blessing on Britain. In his 1822 textbook, *A Plain and Short History of England for Children*, Bishop G.A. Davys reminded students that the Gospel, which had been 'kept from many nations, has been given to us', and it was thus their responsibility to honor such blessing. This message was perhaps well received; nearly twenty- five years later in an 1856 article, 'The Factories of Britain', ^[64] civilization and commerce had been perfected through Christianity: Many of the nations of the earth are now civilized; but those are the most civilized which have the Bible. China and India are civilized, but they are heathen-Persia and Turkey are civilized, but they are Mahommedan-Spain and Italy are civilized, but they are popish: now none of these nations are so civilized as our England or Scotland, and it is because we have the Bible. The Bible is the friend of civilization; and wherever it is found the people go on improving, as we have done in this country...

The significance of literacy and the reading of the Bible itself, always central facets of evangelical ideology, come into play here. After mentioning Britain's 'barbarian' past, the author leaps ahead to the 'reformation from popery', after which, with the benefit of being able to read the Bible, the British began to apply themselves to manufactures; and the progress they have made within the past one hundred years is truly wonderful. No nation of the earth ever invented or accomplished what the people of England have within that period. Other nations have invented many useful arts, but England now beats them all for useful manufactures.

Backed by rich natural resources like coal and iron, and harnessing nature through technology like steam power, Victorian Britain lead the world in textiles, tools, and furniture. 'Our manufactories are the glory of England', the author boasted, 'far more glorious than her fleets and armies'.

Thus, it would seem, the Bible had done more for England in one century than it had in the previous seventeen. Britain's resources and skills supported her economic expansion, which in turn furthered opportunities to spread the gospel. As the children's hymn, 'Our Country', put it:

Ask you why Britain's fleets superior ride,
On the blue wave of each obedient tide;
Ask you why Britain's wealth securely grows,
Where'er the wind careers, or sunbeam glows?
'Tis that her rule of Empire is TO SAVE
She gives the Bible, and she frees the slave!

[65]

One popular booklet on missions found 'John' and his mother discussing those connections. 'I hope you will remember what I once heard:', John's mother tells him, "'I am a friend to Missionaries, as a Briton-as a human being-as a friend to commerce-especially as a Christian'", and reminds him of the advantages enjoyed by Britain as a 'commercial country'. 'Commerce,' she continues, 'is found to be one of the most beneficial aids of religion', as more manufacturing would bring civilization to the 'heathen' and open new markets for more goods. Then the heathen would have houses, clothes, furniture, and all the accoutrements of 'civilization'. A patient Johnny could only respond, 'I did not understand this before, how commerce and trade would be benefited by missions to the heathen!' [66]

Thus Britain, once an inhospitable wilderness peopled by savages, had shaken off successive waves of idolatry, tyranny, and ignorance and finally assumed the role assigned her by a providential God. As Brian Stanley writes, It was Christianity, and above all that national recognition of God and the Word of God in the Protestant Reformation, which had made Britain what she was. The Bible had made Britain great. She was the archetype of the Christian nation, and God's design was to create more Christian nations on the same pattern.[67]

Lessons from Britain's distant and even not-so-distant past were significant to the creation and development of this evangelical national identity and

purpose-they presented a collective past steadily enlightened by the gospel leading to a fore-planned future of spiritual, civil, and material blessings. History, however, was not the only place where providence and the gospel could work together to reveal Britain's privilege and her purpose.

Landscapes Familiar and Foreign: Images of England and India

In her chapter on juvenile fiction in John Mackenzie's *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, Josephine Bratten notes various ways in which ideologues borrowed-or created-images of the land itself to reinforce and inculcate ideas about England, Englishness, and Empire. Bratten suggests that images 'of the land itself' became bound up with various 'English or British national characteristics' to provide 'a moral and ethical baseline, and therefore a starting point for the justification of Empire'. It was this holistic, idealized presentation of national character and identity that enabled fiction writers to connect for their young readers the 'exotic adventure stories set in distant corners of the empire' and their everyday lives. ^[68] Such imagery naturally found its way into sectarian juvenile literature as well, and its application to the inculcation of a missionary spirit was obvious and immediate. But evangelicalism provided yet another ideological level with natural theology, developed in the eighteenth century by William Paley, which held that that God's nature could be understood through the complexity of His creation. Furthermore, as Brian Stanley has explained it, 'Divine purpose was...written large over the face of history, just as it was over the face of nature,' and God's providential will was 'moral as well as physical, dictating the course of history as well as shaping the natural world'. ^[69] Physical geography was on a level with moral geography, and the physical state of a nation bespoke its relationship to God-Christian nations like England were blessed with beauty, resources, and security; 'heathen' nations were forbidding and dangerous. Indeed, as we shall see, the oft-quoted passage from Psalms, 'The dark places of the earth are the habitations of cruelty,' became for many missionaries and evangelical writers not only prophetic proof of natural

theology, but a convenient catch phrase with which to imprint their message on their young readers' minds.

Throughout this period, articles and poems appeared in the various denominational magazines which presented the glories of England's natural beauty. William Moister, a Wesleyan Methodist missionary, wrote that he and his family had 'seen many countries; but we have never seen one so beautiful, so lovely, so highly favoured as our native land'. ^[70] *The Baptist Children's Magazine* of 1855 offered 'A Morning Walk in May', which encouraged its readers to thank God for 'such a glorious inheritance', and a panorama of July in Britain entitled 'Flowers and Fruits' which boasted, 'Few countries can rival the beauties of the British Islands when dressed in their summer array'. ^[71] 'Summer Holidays' conjured images of 'pleasant rambles and long bright evenings' in the countryside, searches for seashells and seaweed at the seaside, and even of poor children's one day of liberation from the city on their annual school trips afield. ^[72] The 'pleasant bustle' of an English 'Market Day', which conjured 'pleasant pictures' of rides through the countryside and adventures among the stalls, was contrasted with the noisy crowds and suffocating atmosphere of Bengali markets. ^[73] Pieces like 'Scenes and Sketches of Country Life', and 'Harvest Home' described the idyllic life of the farmer, labourer and artisan. ^[74] Naturally these scenes provided allegorical fodder, as did the harvest imagery of later in the year. Images of springtime and winter landscapes were also included in season, as English children were reminded of the delights of snow-covered woods, icy streams, and singing robins, ^[75] and to 'remember those in mid-winter's [spiritual] gloom'. ^[76] But are such examples to be considered nationalist in their intent or their reception? On their own perhaps no, but as a pattern, and especially when utilized in connection with contrasting views of heathen nations, the case is much stronger. It is the theme of 'the dark places of the earth' which sets England up as an idealized space-and in this case India as its negative counterpart-that serves to bolster the emergent 'providentialist nationalism' I am suggesting.

At the same time that England's natural glories were being praised, children were also being introduced to other 'novel' landscapes, whose 'primitive

physical beauty' provided an element of 'romance' to juvenile literature. [77] In 1853, George Parsons, a BMS missionary at Monghir, wrote to a group of Sunday school children back in Britain describing an itinerating tour of his district. Painting the scene of one of the local villages for his young audience he wrote,

I think if some of our young friends could on a sudden be set down among such a scene...surrounded by a congregation of swarthy Asiatics, with their half-clothed bodies, and tamarind and palm trees, and fields of tobacco, mustard, linseed, and wheat behind, they would look on too with no whit less interest than the Bengalis had in him and his wife. [78]

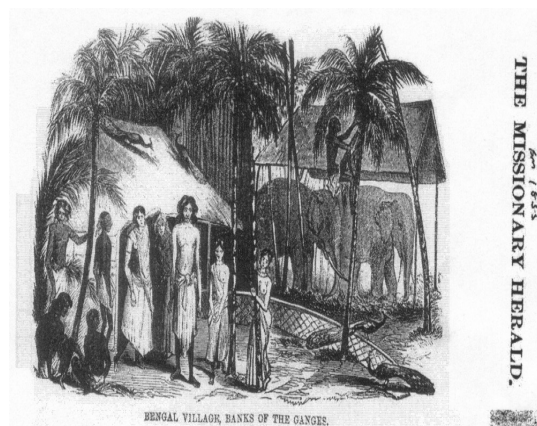


Fig. 9-'Bengal Village, Banks of the Ganges'- *The Missionary Herald*, 1855

By evoking scenes of exotic novelty, Parsons was attempting to engage interest in the doings of a missionary in far-off India, but framed in the sort of idyllic setting that might be seen in their own country-a slight variation on a theme. Similarly there are plenty of laudatory depictions of the Indian landscape. S. M. Harrison, another BMS missionary, wrote that 'India is not much like England...the trees are more graceful and beautiful than in England', [79] while another exclaimed 'The natural scenery of India is so beautiful, that we are told it is almost impossible to convey to an inhabitant of colder or more temperate regions a full idea of its splendor!' [80] But, as we shall see, these types of accounts rarely went unqualified.

The CMS's Bishop Heber remarked he 'had no idea the beauty and majesty of an Indian wood' and that 'even those who are most sensible to the beauty of

English scenery' had to admit it. [81] He himself qualified these feelings later in a poem entitled 'An Evening Walk in Bengal':

...So rich a shade, so green a sod
Our English maidens never trod;
Yet who in Indian bower has stood,
But thought on England's 'good green wood'?
And blest beneath the palmy shade,
Her hazel and her hawthorne glade,
And breath'd a prayer (how oft in vain!)
To gaze upon her oaks again! [82]

Much more common, though, were descriptions that contrasted the two countries less favourably. After a lengthy series on Indian geography in the *Juvenile Missionary Magazine* in the same year, the editor seemed quite confident that his readers 'will be glad and thankful that you have been born in England. I am sure you have no wish to exchange your cloudy clime for the bright regions of Hindostan'. [83] Indeed, one CMS missionary wrote wistfully about that 'cloudy clime' when he arrived in India three days before New Years in 1855, painfully detailing how much he missed New Years in England and all the things associated with it. [84] Similarly, another missionary wistfully recalled 'Christmas snows and clear Christmas sunshine' and collecting evergreens, [85] though some were content just to describe 'Christmas in India', with its green foliage, blooming roses, strawberries and peaches. [86] A CMS missionary on a trip up the Hooghly River in Bengal continually alluded to English scenery, comparing the cottages, fields, woods, and peasants-and even telegraph wires-to those he might see on a cruise up an English river, except that the forests presented 'no variety of green shades' as they did in England. [87] One missionary's wife was dismayed to find that India had only gaudy native flowers with no scent, and sighed that she would 'give all the flowers in India for a bouquet of violets'. [88] A Dr. Butler provided the *Juvenile Offering* with an essay aptly entitled, 'Poor India', in which he claimed that 'everything was fair and perfect to the eye; but amidst all the cultivated loveliness he did not remember a single flower, except the rose, that was fragrant; and though the birds were very splendid, there was not one that sang'. [89]

One of the dichotomies of missionaries' descriptions of India was the contrast of its natural beauty with its inhabitants' sinful nature, which prevented them from recognizing it as a work of God's will. [90]. One LMS missionary-again describing the beauties of the picturesque Hooghly-urged his young readers to pity and pray for the heathen of Bengal, who had access to such majesty but were too 'depraved' to properly appreciate it.[91] Through 'Christian' eyes, however, India could be at once *paradisiacal* and 'one of the dark places of the earth'. That same missionary's wife continued her letter by remarking that, though India *was* rich in her variety of 'beautiful trees in flower', fruit and birds, the people were 'ignorant and superstitious'.[92] An article on the temple at Gaya that ran in both the *Juvenile Offering* and the *Presbyterian Juvenile Missionary Magazine* in 1847 praised the beauties of the Indian landscape, with its great 'richness and variety in the productions of nature', but explained that 'the Hindoos are miserable because they are Heathen'. However, the author went on, when the Hindoos were finally converted 'they will then admire the wisdom and goodness of God, the Creator, when they look at their beautiful trees and rivers' and 'plains and mountainsides'.[93] Similarly, the *Primitive Methodist Juvenile Magazine* pointed out that 'the natural bounty and abundant products of India are balanced with extreme wretchedness, moral degradation, and spiritual darkness'.[94] and, according to the *Baptist Juvenile Missionary Herald*, despite her 'many blessings', India was beautiful, 'but not happy'. 'Why not happy?' it asked, 'The people are idolaters. It is the land of heathenism and darkness; and those who live hating God and desiring not the knowledge of Him *cannot* be happy'[95] The inaugural *Wesleyan Juvenile Offering* pointed out 'how favoured is the condition of the happy English girl as she walks to her Sunday school, on the morning of the Lord's Day!', contrasting it with the 'dark and wretched' circumstances of a 'poor Hindoo girl'. [96]Some years later, in an open address 'To the Children in Foreign Lands', the *Offering's* editors patronizingly added 'We know you are not like the children in this happy Christian land of England', who had schools, churches, and loving families.[97] An article on cholera in Calcutta equated India's climate with her people, suggesting that 'when the people improve, so

will the climate', and reminded readers to be thankful *England* was free from cholera. [98]

The revived natural theology of the mid-nineteenth century, combining elements of Romanticism with its earlier Enlightenment foundations, provided a prime ideology for missionaries in India, which was characterized variously as underdeveloped, childlike, or womanly. [99] Providence, however, through the efforts of Britain, was not only affecting spiritual change, but physical as well. Sarah Buckley, wife of a Baptist missionary declaimed the incomparable 'natural beauties of the capitol of Orissa', which was defended from the ravages of the Mahandi River by a levee built and maintained by the British government.[100] One minute description of 'A Hindoo Town', detailing the features of its buildings, roads, trees, homes, and inhabitants, also included the observation that 'scarcely is any furniture to be seen...because they have not learned yet to enjoy English comforts and conveniences'-though a small Christian community *had* established itself there.[101] Indeed, the physical contrasts between 'native' villages and their 'Christian' counterparts were thought to provide the best examples of 'progress'. In 'Aunt Elizabeth's Missionary Voyage Round the World', a series in the *Wesleyan Juvenile Offering*, the title character explained to her charges that 'Hindu villages look pretty in the distance, for they are overshadowed by trees; but they are wretched places to live in' and filled with 'confused noise'. [102] An engraving of 'A Native Indian Village' pictured a temple on a hill flanked by mud huts and 'lounging natives'. In the foreground, however, stood 'very neat cottages in rows with gardens', built to keep native Christians 'apart from the immorality and idolatry of their countrymen'. [103]

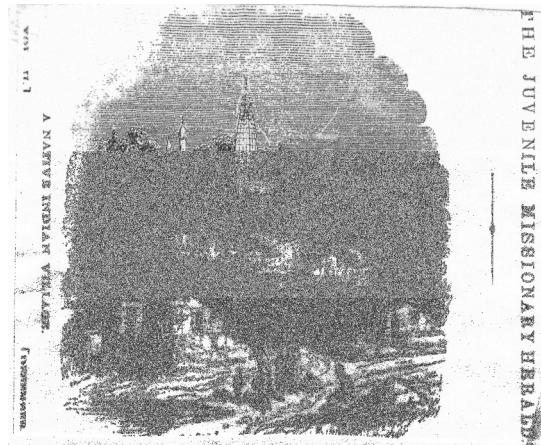


Fig. 10-'A Native Indian Village'- *The Juvenile Missionary Herald*, 1845

Likewise an earlier article on a 'convert town' described 'neat cottages', literate households with their own books, and 'smiling and happy children' and 'cheerful' inhabitants-all effects of the gospel.[104]

To young readers, however, these glimpses of progress were doubtless in no way comparable to descriptions of the terrors and dangers India held. Stories of tiger attacks made for exciting reading, and sometimes offered opportunities for writers to draw connections between the physical and spiritual darkness of India, as an article by 'An Invalid Missionary' in the *Baptist Children's Magazine* for January 1837 attests. Extracted in part from the *East India Magazine* of a few months previous, it told the story of a tiger attack in Barripore in which a small boy was hauled off by a tigress:

This incident may furnish many useful reflections. How much happier a country is Britain than India. In this land children are not exposed to tigers and wolves, bears and lions. And why, children, is India in such a state? Because it is an idolatrous country. When India is civilized by the universal spread of the Gospel, it will be more fully cultivated and populated, and the wild beasts will flee before the face of man, and perhaps be extirpated, as the wolves are in this happy land.[105]

Another story of a tiger attack in India in the *Baptists Youths' Magazine and Missionary Intelligencer* led its author-after describing the victim's mangled corpse-to point out to school children in England that they were never in danger of being carried off by beasts on one of their regular rambles across the countryside, and to be thankful to be born in a country where they were not in constant danger. [106] Stories of snakes, scorpions, ants, and other creatures naturally featured regularly in the pages of juvenile magazines. One of the nieces in 'Aunt Elizabeth's Missionary Voyage' reflected that she 'should like to live in India very well if it was not for the serpents and scorpions, and all of those venomous biting creatures', to which Aunt Elizabeth drolly responded, 'Those are just some of the inconveniences of living in India'. [107]

The sense of 'providential privilege' that underlay so much missionary writing toward children was continually reinforced from every angle. 'The gladsome light of the Gospel' had made Britain happy and peaceful; sin had made India one of 'the dark places of the earth'. [108] Images of both countries were presented to their best effect to confirm this most potent of evangelical beliefs, which is probably best summed up by one missionary's treatise on the month of May:

[The] natural difference is the sign of another moral difference between England and India... You have the rich sweet spiritual flowers; we the dry, dusty and painful wilderness-hot sin-sands, killing the green, and fresh, and beautiful flowers of grace and holiness. Oh, happy English children! Oh, unhappy Indian children! Never forget... *Who made you in these Christian days, / A happy English child* [109]

Britain and India-A Providential Relationship?

India had always occupied considerable space in the pages of children's missionary literature, and as British influence there increased, so did the concern for India's spiritual well-being. 'Never was the case of the Heathen more urgent than at present' one writer urged, 'now that they are almost everywhere visited by the agents of merchandise, science, and civilization'. [110] In a dialogue on India in the *Wesleyan Juvenile Offering* little Mary exclaims, 'What an immense empire! We are a very powerful nation, to conquer such a large country'. To this her mother replies knowingly, 'Yes, my dear. God has raised England very high among the kingdoms of the world; but is it not that she may send the knowledge of Christianity to all parts of her empire?' She then explains the 'great responsibility' represented by two hundred millions of 'British subjects' in India, and relates to little Mary the statistic that for all those people there are only '350 missionaries in India and Ceylon'. [111] By the 1850s the ubiquitous articles on Hindu gods and the various 'horrors' of idolatry had become increasingly qualified with national imagery, as in 'Heathen British India', in which children are encouraged to 'think long on the land where the queen whose sway you love has heathen outnumbering sevenfold the Christians of the British Isles'. [112] Now India was no longer merely one of the 'dark places of the earth' where it was the

duty of Christians to send the gospel light; India was now a tangible part of Britain, under the same queen, who was 'sovereign with grace and effect'.

[113]

Just as India had become the 'jewel' of Britain's empire of commerce and conquest by the mid-nineteenth century, she was also held in special regard by the supporters of missions, who saw a definite connection between the privilege and responsibility India represented. As early as 1828, one author noted, 'India is conquered by England so that it might be converted by England: it is subjugated by our arms, that it might be blessed by our religion; our commerce and conquest have opened a way for Christianity into that vast continent'. [114] As discussed above, these links were vital to the evangelical conception of Britain's place in history. The Mutiny of 1857, however, brought new attention to Britain's providential identity, as well as her duties, and caused a reassessment of the relationship between the two countries.

In 1857 the *Baptist Juvenile Missionary Herald* noted with pleasure changes that were taking place in India. In 'Old Things Passing Away', it remarked, 'Your grandfathers remember when Englishmen would say, "let the Hindoos alone"...British magistrates have been bold enough to say, "These things shall not be!" And the Hindoos have thanked them, instead of rebelling.' [115] This must have hung heavy in the air some months later as the first reports of the mutiny began to pour in. When they did, though, the magazine found a dialogue most suitable to explaining everything of immediate importance. In 'Talk About India', Mr. and Mrs. Morris and their two children, Kate (12) and Arthur (14), are sitting in the parlour discussing the Mutiny. Mr. Morris tells the family that the latest news via telegraph is that Delhi might have been re-taken by the British, but he considers that improbable because no reinforcements have yet arrived, and significantly, there are no native regiments to call on, 'not that can be trusted'. He narrates some of the 'cruelties' of the Sepoys, who 'turned out more like demons than like men', but cannot bring himself to tell his wife and children 'half the terrible things' he has heard, as it would likely prove too much for their fragile sensibilities. Kate interjects to have a few things explained: 'I am very stupid, I dare say, but I can't altogether understand what everybody is talking about'-the names of

places and the big words they use escape her. Arthur in turn goads Mr. Morris into providing some clearer details about the Mutiny and its circumstances. 'The people have not risen up,' Mr. Morris explains, 'only armies-thus mutiny'. He is himself perplexed by this, he tells the family, as 'the native soldiers, or sepoy as they are called, have always been thought very faithful'. Indeed, many of his books talk of them as 'wonderfully obedient, willing, and submissive'. 'What has made them so different now?' Arthur inquires, to which Mr. Morris can only hazard a few guesses. He tells them of a prophecy in India that English rule would last only a hundred years-and it has been just that long since Clive took Plassey! Or perhaps, as some reports have claimed, it was the matter of the greased cartridges. For his own part, though, Mr. Morris credits it to 'Mohammedan jealousy of the English nation, with its railways, telegraphs, science, and education'. At this point he wraps up the discussion on a bright note. 'We know that British soldiers are brave, although their enemies are numerous' and besides, he adds, 'the people of India, as I have said, are on our side'.^[116]

Just as news reaching England constantly served to out-do earlier reports, so the microcosm of juvenile missionary magazines kept their young readers enthralled with graphic accounts of atrocities by mutineers. 'Fifty thousand of them have risen up with the determination, if possible, to destroy every white man, woman, and child in the country', warned one account,^[117] while another reported that rebels had 'remorselessly put white people to death'.^[118] The CMS's *Juvenile Intelligencer* trumped all its previous stories of heathen cruelties by saying 'such horrors have been perpetrated, such excesses committed, as surpass the most fearful abominations of the cannibal islands of the South Seas'.^[119] Images from Cawnpore and Lucknow abounded, especially detailing the torture and murder of women and children.^[120] Indeed, this led the *Presbyterian Juvenile Missionary Magazine* to declare (however erroneously), 'How different are the feelings even of the rudest and most irreligious of our soldiers! They never kill women or children, or mutilate, or torture', and to encourage readers to 'aim for victory' rather than succumb to 'cries for revenge'.^[121] Heroics by missionaries, long-suffering native Christians, and others were also lauded, like 'The Judge of Futtehporé'

who 'like a Christian Hero...resolved to stay and calm the fury of the people' and subsequently fell to a hail of gunfire,[122] and even through 1860 stories of murdered missionaries regularly appeared.[123] Throughout the Mutiny children were constantly encouraged to 'pray for our countrymen and for the conversion of those wicked men',[124] and that God would 'overrule these sad events for his own glory and the ultimate good of India'.[125] They were told of 'grown-up' efforts as well, like McLeod Wylie's public call to prayer in Calcutta and the later government order for prayer in Britain-which came the same day that Sir Henry Havelock captured Lucknow.[126] Indeed, the hand of providence was credited with foiling two plots in Calcutta: a plan to ambush an assembly of Europeans at the Botanical Gardens was intercepted; and the combined use of telegraph and train provided soldiers to staunch an attack on Fort William.[127]

In many ways the Mutiny of 1857 changed the ways in which India was presented to young readers, both in terms of tone and content, at least in the short term. Its scale and the suddenness with which it seemed to envelop the country led one editor to remark, 'Never, perhaps in the history of the world, has anything happened more terrible than this rebellion'.[128] This was certainly overstating the case, but revealed a sense of betrayal and outrage beyond the surface emotions of surprise and anger. This translated clearly across all media, but found a significant outlet in juvenile literature, where it finally provided proofs of the depths of depravity and sin that the 'heathen' had sunk to-despite all the work accomplished by missionaries in India thus far, it remained one of 'the dark places of the earth'.[129]

Writers fell back on traditional stereotypes to explain the roots of the Mutiny. '[Our] regiments have consisted of haughty Brahmins and fierce Mussulmans,' one article in the CMS's *Juvenile Intelligencer* read, 'both classes hating the Christians, and yet obeying their officers, and fighting their battles, for the sake of the pay'.[130] Perhaps more tellingly, the LMS's *Juvenile Missionary Magazine* explained that the mutiny had been 'planned by the Mohammedans, who have cunningly drawn many of the Hindoos into the plot'.[131] Thus Muslims were the primary instigators and 'true leaders',[132] ; Hindus were at once proud but easily cowed; and both had been biding their

time under the British until the prime opportunity.[133] The mutiny showed 'what frightful evils Mohammedanism and Brahminism are. All the wretched Sepoys profess these false religions. There is not a Christian amongst them, for Missionaries were generally not allowed to preach the Gospel to them'.[134] Thus the sepoys had remained 'true to their religious delusions' in perpetrating treachery and murder.[135] Similarly, in the editor of the Baptist Youths' Magazine chalked up the 'horrible cruelties' to the sanction of 'the very religion of the people'.[136] Indeed, such presentations beg the question of whether efforts had been made to ensure a common interpretation of the events among authors and editors.

As the Mutiny continued, and for some time after it had been suppressed, evangelicals were keen to explore its roots and assign blame for it. Though Britain had been dependent on India 'for our outward prosperity as a nation', she had not lived up to her responsibilities there.[137] The BMS's *Juvenile Missionary Herald* considered that 'perhaps the Mutiny was sent to teach us to do more for India'.[138] The Presbyterian *Juvenile Missionary Magazine* suggested that Britain had provoked God by neglecting the spiritual welfare of her Indian subjects, warning its young readers to 'treat India better than your fathers have' and calling for 'sincere humiliation of our hearts as a nation'. It attributed the Mutiny to a catalogue of 'national sins': pride, worldliness, intemperance and, perhaps worst of all, smuggling opium to China. [139] The British government's financial support of various temples, estimated at nearly two hundred thousand pounds per annum was another source of evangelical indignation, and remained so until 1864, when it was finally withdrawn.[140] Among evangelicals the resulting sense of 'trusteeship' regarding India that had emerged following the Mutiny and the change-over of power was a reiteration of the belief that history held a special place and plan for Britain, and India was now a definite part of it. One author expressed the hope that the Queen's sovereignty-'in the place of the late "Company"'-and her pardon of mutineers would restore peace to India and allow the work of missions to resume 'with increased activity'. [141]

A series in the LMS's *Juvenile Missionary Magazine* throughout 1860 entitled 'The World and Missions' included a jubilant essay on India by 'A Missionary's

Son', who after cataloguing India's wealth and beauty decided that 'the most wonderful thing about India is that it belongs to you-to the men, women, boys and girls of our little England'. India, too, had a providential role in history:

Grand country that it is many nations have tried to get it...Now it is very wonderful when you think how these different nations conquered, or tried very hard to conquer it, that God should have taken it from the Tartars, the Hindoos, and the Mahommedans; kept it from the Greeks, the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French, and given it to the English. I have no doubt he has done this because he loves the souls of the people of India, and knows that *we* can do them more good than any other nation that has had power there.

'You see, then', the 'missionary's son' concludes 'that the way to make India obedient, and quiet, and content, is to fill India with the Gospel...Are we doing our duty to our *own* country, India? [142] Thus India had become an extension of Britain, its people 'fellow men and fellow subjects, being under the sway of the same benignant queen'.[143] As discussed in the previous sections, civilization and commerce were not only prerequisites or even hallmarks of Christianity, but played a central role in the rhetoric and ideology of Britain's providential rise to world power, especially in her relationship with India. Where ten years earlier one missionary had remarked, 'In England (blessed country!) old things are often improved, and new ones invented, but it cannot be so here...[as]caste binds their hands',[144] ,now 'progress' in India took on many forms which reflected Britain's blessings through the gospel. In an article on 'India During the Present Century' in the *Baptist Youth's Magazine* in 1860, the circumstances of the early decades of English rule were contrasted with the present day, where 'dress and furniture of English manufacture'-even leather shoes-had become commonplace across India, and in the streets of Calcutta and Bombay could be seen 'smart carriages drawn by Arabian or English steeds'. Advances in printing and the spread of the English language had transformed the country's intellectual life. Telegraphy had revolutionized communication within India and had connected it with the rest of the world. Steamships and railroads had revolutionized transport and subjected India's wilderness to civilization, as the latter had already done near Bombay, where with 'the skill of an Englishman and the patient hard work of 10,000 natives' the railroad had overcome the immense mountains of the *Bhore Ghaut*. [145] Moreover, another article suggested, 'These things really help to make the world wiser; and we hope they will make the people in India wiser, too'. [146] Already in Britain villagers had 'had strange thoughts put into them by the railroad, with the electric telegraph, and other wonders that have come down their way'. [147] Railways would 'make it easier for missionaries to go from one part of India to another',[148] enable people 'to come to the mission stations', and break down the barriers of caste.[149] They would even introduce the concept of punctuality to the habitually indolent Indian,[150] who would then leave off idolatry and be 'busy about useful things'[151] Best of all, the *Baptist Youth's Magazine* considered, were the social advances wrought in recent decades. Sati and infanticide had been all but eradicated; widow re-marriage had been legislated; missionaries were (apparently) everywhere well-received and attentively heard. 'If the last half century has accomplished so much', it boasted, 'what may we not expect from the next?'[152]

Conclusion

With the historiographical pitfalls suggested by Bernard Porter facing the three themes developed here, how do we evaluate their significance in developing a coherent sense of shared national identity and purpose? First we must return to the materials themselves-the distorting lenses, as it were. Missionary magazines, while often dismissed as irreconcilably biased and inaccurate, nonetheless in this case provide insight into the ways in which a developed, adult evangelical conception of the world was re-constructed and presented to an audience who would soon be inheriting its duties and responsibilities. Unlike similar literature for adults, juvenile magazines and other publications faced rapid and regular turnover in their audiences, and required more shrewd methods to engage and retain readers. As Linda Colley reminds us in her study of the creation of British identities, 'children are rarely as naïve and impressionable as adults would like to believe', and certainly represented a fickle audience.[153] Thus one sees the almost constant re-formatting, the regular excerpting and 'borrowing' of material, and the continuity of core ideas and phrases. By utilizing a relatively narrow and unsophisticated set of images to convey their central messages, juvenile missionary magazines were particularly successful in developing themes and images that would remain effectual. By and large their priority of purpose was in securing support for the missionary effort, and to that end editors were often willing to set aside denominational and institutional differences. Despite differences in general tone and content, their similar treatment of the themes discussed here reveals that their parent organizations and supporters must have considered them of broad, if not universal, significance. And despite the manipulation of facts and perspectives-perhaps even obvious to readers as they moved among various spheres of information-these publications enabled evangelicals to inculcate an identity based not only on their faith, but on their nation as well. The sense of privilege that underpinned the concept of Britain's providential role in the world served as an ideological rallying point and a marker that could be emphasized and re-emphasized as-and in whatever guise-necessary. As propaganda, these themes functioned together to reinforce this central idea. Britain's

emergence from her 'heathen' past could serve as an object lesson for other nations while at the same time emphasizing the national qualities and characteristics that had been accentuated and improved by Christianity. Her physical beauty and natural resources, even when compared with India's profusion of them, had been provided by God to enable Britain to become His instrument of conversion and civilization. Indeed, this had directly contributed to her ability to exercise a benevolent paternalism (or in the case of Queen Victoria, *maternalism*) over India, despite the trial of the Mutiny. All of these bespoke her status under Providence, and it was this privilege that young evangelicals were presented with, and were expected to live up to and contribute to with their pence and their prayers. It was this that would define, for them, the Britain whose power would soon reach its zenith, and of whom they were a part. 'On you...dear children,' the *Baptist Children's Magazine* reminded them, 'as being parts of the nation, will the happiness and prosperity of the others depend; on you...rests England's destiny'. [154]

Notes:

i[2] For example, the Baptists offered *The Child's Companion*, *The Children's Friend*, *The Picture Magazine*, and *The Teacher's Offering*, in addition to the *Baptist Children's/Youths' Magazine* and *The Juvenile Missionary Herald*.

ii[3] London: John Snow. Reviewed in *Evangelical Magazine*, Volume 27, 1849, 420. It was heralded as 'the greatest triumph of a half-penny publication the age has witnessed'.

iii[4] Andrew Thompson's recent *The Empire Strikes Back? The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the Mid-Nineteenth Century*, does briefly raise the topic of juvenile missionary periodicals in his discussion of Harlow, England: Pearson, 2005.

iv[5] Greenlee, James and Charles Johnston. *Good Citizens: British Missionaries and Imperial States, 1870-1918*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999. 39-40.

v[6] Marshall, P. J. 'Britain and the World in the Eighteenth Century: IV, The Turning Outwards of Britain', in *A Free though Conquering People: Eighteenth-Century Britain and its Empire*. Variorum Collected Studies Series: CS767. Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2003. Originally

published in Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 6th Series, 11, London, 2001, pp.1-15. 9-10.

vi[7] Mackenzie, John. *Propaganda and Empire*. Manchester: MUP, 1986. 200-201.

vii[8] Bratton, J.S. "Of England, Home, and Duty: The Image of England in Victorian and Edwardian Juvenile Fiction" in John Mackenzie, *Imperialism and Popular Culture*. Manchester: MUP, 1986. 76.

viii[9] Mackenzie, John. *Propaganda and Empire*. Manchester: MUP, 1986. 2-3.

ix[10] One exception, perhaps, is an article entitled 'The Syrian Bear', published in the *Presbyterian Juvenile Missionary Magazine* in 1854 (p. 182) and in the *Baptist Youth's Magazine and Missionary Intelligencer* in 1859 (p. 191). After narrating the biblical accounts of the young David's defeat of Goliath on the battlefield, it roundly denounces war, asserting that 'this incident affords no encouragement to men calling themselves Christians to engage in horrid war'. Though God had led the Israelite to punish 'cruel and wicked idolaters' who sacrificed 'their own children to their foul idols', Christianity called men to love their enemies rather than to fight them.

x[11] *Wesleyan Methodist Juvenile Offering*, volume 9, 1852. 77; *Baptist Youth's Magazine and Missionary Intelligencer*, new series volume 1, 1859. 248; *Juvenile Missionary Herald*, new series 9, 1859. 60; JMH, 1863. 53; WJO, volume 23, 1866. 23; *Church Missionary Juvenile Intelligencer*, new series volume 3, 1867. 147. For an excellent example of militant imagery see also 'The Missionary's Grave' in BYM, new series 1, 1859. 245.

xi[12] *BYM*, new series 3, 1861. 105

xii[13] *Juvenile Missionary Herald*, new series volume 9, 1859. 126.

xiii[14] Massive fundraising efforts directed at children built and refitted several ships, among them the *John Williams*, the *John Wesley*, and the *Dove*-two of which were eventually lost at sea. See the hymn, 'Over the Ocean Wave' in JMH, 1863. 81.

xiv[15] M. A. Stodart, 'Rule Britannia', in WJO, volume 4, 1847. 102. Originally by James Thomson (1740).

xv[16] *JMH*, volume 4, 1848. 46. 'The Hindoo's Consolation'

- xvi[17] Porter, Bernard. *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. 13.
- xvii[18] Hymn XXXV. Sharwood, Mrs. *Juvenile Missionary Manual*. London: J. Hatched & Son, 1843. 29. Isaac Watts, *Divine Songs*. Also in the *Union Hymn Book*, #146.
- xviii[19] *Juvenile Missionary Magazine (LMS)*, Volume 10, 1853. 187.
- xix[20] Porter, Andrew. 'Religion, Missionary Enthusiasm, and Empire' in Andrew Porter, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire. Volume III: The Nineteenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University.
- xx[21] *Baptist Children's Magazine*, volume 7, 1842. 69.
- xxi[22] *Juvenile Missionary Magazine (LMS)*, volume 2, 1845. 85; *WJO*, volume 12, 1855. 47; *CofS Children's Missionary Record*, new series volume 1, 1852, 2. See Colley, Linda, *Britons*, 173, for her discussion of the increasing universality of the term 'English' among Protestants in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. One exception that stands out in is the query in the *Presbyterian Juvenile Missionary Magazine*, 'Have you thought how much you owe to God for being born in Scotland?' Volume 12, 1855, vi. See also the assertion in the *Free Church of Scotland's Church Missionary Record* in 1852 that 'Our happy Scottish girls know nothing of the dreadful ignorance and degradation in which heathen females grow up'.
- xxii[23] *CMJI*, Volume 5, 1846. 365. 'Happy England' was a common theme. See, for example, *JMH*, volume 4, 1848. 121, 187; new series volume 10, 1860, 114; *WJO*, volume 22, 1865. 106.
- xxiii[24] *JMM (LMS)*, Volume 3, 1846. 208
- xxiv[25] *JMM (LMS)*, volume 1, 1844. 63; *BCM*, volume 2, 1846. 190; *Presbyterian Juvenile Missionary Magazine*, volume 5, 1848. 114.
- xxv[26] *JMM (P)*, volume 5, 1848. 114; see also 'R.C.' in *LMS JMM*, volume 3, 1846. 84: 'Think, my young friends, how privileged you are to be born in a land like England'.
- xxvi[27] *JMM (P)*, volume 7, 1850. 25. A later version read, 'My God I thank Thee, who has planned/ A better lot for me'. *JMH*, 1869. 4.
- xxvii[28] *JMH*, new series 5, 1852. 96; *JMM (LMS)*, volume 16, 1859. 24.

xxviii[33] As Valerie Chancellor has pointed out in her study of English history textbooks, some writers displayed 'a somewhat latitudinarian attitude to the pagans, who were depicted in such a way as to bring out their similarities to Christians', though the majority continued to emphasize their cruelties, etc. *History for their Masters: Opinions in the English History Textbook 1800-1914*. Somerset: Adams and Dart, 1970. 96.

xxix[30] One tradition holds that the Claudia mentioned in 2 Timothy 4:21 was a Welsh queen, who with her husband Linus carried the Gospel back to Britain.

xxx[31] JMH, volume 3, 1847. 241; volume 4, 1848. 18; JMM (P), volume 7, 1850. 25, 49, 73, 97, 171, 224, 258, 73; WJO, volume 20, 1863. 124; JMH, 1864. 78. Augustine would later come to be associated with Popery, and so played a minimal role in evangelical narratives. See Chancellor, *History for their Masters*, 96-105.

xxxi[32] JMM (P), volume 7, 1850. 49, 73.

xxxii[33] *ibid*, 224.

xxxiii[34] WJO, volume 20, 1863. 124.

xxxiv[35] JMH, volume 3, 1857, 240.

xxxv[36] *Church Missionary Juvenile Instructor*, volume 3, 1844. 169. Also noted in JMH, volume 2, 1846. 278. 'Children's Bookshelf'.

xxxvi[37] *ibid*, 186, 209-13, 316, 349.

xxxvii[38] CMJI, volume 5, 1846. 343-50.

xxxviii[39] CMJI, volume 9, 1850. 355.

xxxix[40] CMJI, new series volume 2, 1853. 75.

xl[41] CMJI, new series volume 3, 1854. 243.

xli[42] i) JMM (P), volume 7, 1850. 224.

xl ii[43] JMH, 1864, 78.

xl iii[44] *Children's Monthly Missionary Newspaper*, volume 4, 1847, 18-19.

xl iv[45] See JMH, volume 2, 1846. 10; volume 5, 1849. 43; new series volume 3, 1852. 27.

xl v[46] JMH, volume 1, 1845. 134. 'Heathen Parents, Heathen Children', by John Stock.

xl vi[47] JMH, volume 3, 1847. 241.

xlvi[48] BCM, new series volume 4, 1848, 161. It also pointed out, perhaps by way of qualification, that the inhabitants of France, Spain, Germany, etc., were equally ignorant and cruel.

xlvi[49] JMH, new series volume 1, 1854. 106.

xlix[50] Missionary Magazine, April 1846, in EM, Volume 28, 1846, 210-11.

l[51] JMM (LMS), volume 5, 1848. i-iv.

li[52] JMM (LMS), volume 15, 1858. 30.

lii[53] JMM (P), volume 7, 1850. 171, 224, 258.

liii[54] WJO, volume 20, 1863. 59, 'Elephanta'.

liv[55] WJO, new series volume 2, 1868. 118. By 'MEB'.

lv[56] See Wolffe, John. 'Anti-Catholicism and Evangelical Identity in Britain and the United States, 1830-1860' in Noll, Mark, *et al, eds., Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1900*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994. 179-197; see Also Colley, Linda, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*. London: Vintage, 1996. Chapter I, 'Protestants'.

lvi[57] Stodard, M.A. National Ballads: Patriotic and Protestant. London: Francis Baisler, 1841. 'Introduction'.

lvii[58] Stanley, Brian. *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant missions and British imperialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*. Leicester: Apollos, 1990. 68.

lviii[59] JMH, volume 2, 1846. 201.

lix[60] CMJI, volume 7, 1848. 290.

lx[61]BYM, new series volume 3, 1861. 119

lxi[62] BYM, new series volume 1, 1859. 3.

lxii[63] JMH, new series volume 9, 1859. 67. 'The Covenatners' Wedding'.

lxiii[64] IBYM, new series volume 3, 1856. 114-17. Dipavamsa (vii, 34-43; 44-59); Mahavamsa (v, 267-82); Samantapaasaadika, pp. 60-61, and its Chinese translation (T-1462, ch. 2, p. 684a-b).

lxiv[65]JMM (LMS), volume 24, 1869, 59.

lxv[66] Timpson, Rev. T. *What Have I to do with Missions?* 57-64.

lxvi[67]Stanley, Brian. *The Bible and the Flag*, 161.

Ixvii[68] Bratton, J.S. "Of England, Home, and Duty: The Image of England in Victorian and Edwardian Juvenile Fiction" in John Mackenzie, *Imperialism and Popular Culture*. Manchester: MUP, 1986. 76-78.
 Ixviii[69] Stanley, Brian. *The Bible and the Flag*, 63.
 Ixix[70] WJO, volume 8, 1851. 6.
 Ixx[71] BCM, new series volume 2, 1855. 117, 178.
 Ixxi[72] CMJI, new series volume 5, 1869. 110.
 Ixxii[73] CMJI, new series volume 5, 1869. 101; JMH, 1868. 156. Extracted from Weitbrecht, *Scenes Among Which We Labour*.
 Ixxiii[74] BCM, new series volume 5, 1858. 191. BYM, new series volume 1, 1859, 207. See also JMH, volume 6, 1850. 144, 'Harvest Hymn'; JMH, new series volume 12, 1862. 154, 'Hearts and Hands'; JMH, 1866. 130, 'The Harvest'.
 Ixxiv[75] JMH, 1866. 29, 'Winter'.
 Ixxv[76] WJO, volume 12, 1855. 47, 'Thoughts About Spring'.
 Ixxvi[77] Castle, Kathryn. *Britannia's Children: Reading Colonialism Through Children's Books and Magazines*. Studies in Imperialism Series. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996. 36.
 Ixxvii[78] *Baptist Magazine*. Volume 45, 1853. 590.
 Ixxviii[79] BCM, new series volume 4, 1857. 17. See also WJO, volume 16, 1859. 113.
 Ixxix[80] BYM, New Series Volume 1, 1859. 39.
 Colley, Linda. *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*. London: Vintage, 1996. 240.
 BCM, new series volume 4, 1848. 6. 'England's Hope', A. Midlane.

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- i[81] Primitive Methodist Juvenile Magazine, Volume 7, 1858. 59.
- i[82] BYM, New Series Volume 1, 1859. 220.
- i[83] JMM (LMS), volume 10, 1853. 187.
- i[84] CMJI, new series volume 5, 1856. 10.
- i[85] CMJI, new series volume 5, 1869. 177.
- i[86] WJO, volume 12, 1855. 7.
- i[87] CMJI, new series volume 6, 1857. 60-1.
- i[88] JMH, new series volume 11, 1861. 132, 'A Letter from India'.
- i[89] WJO, volume 23, 1866. 100.
- i[90] See Hannabuss, Stuart, 'Ballantyne's message of Empire' in Richards, Jeffrey, ed. Imperialism and Juvenile Literature. Studies in Imperialism Series. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989. 'UnChristian man', according to Ballantyne, 'even when surrounded by God's creation, is unaware of it'. 59.
- i[91] JMM (LMS), Volume 16, 1859. 123-5.
- i[92] JMH, new series volume 11, 1861. 132, 'A Letter from India'.
- i[93] WJO, volume 4, 1847, 1; JMM (P), volume 4, 1847. 129.
- i[94] PMJM, 1858. 315.
- i[95] JMH, volume 1, 1845. 28.
- i[96] WJO, volume 1, 1844. 106.
- i[97] WJO, volume 17, 1860. 169.
- i[98] JMH, volume 2, 1846. 165.

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- i[99] Castle, Kathryn. *Britannia's Children*. 59.
- i[100] BCM, new series volume 4, 1857. 193. There also happened to be large stone revetments, built in the 11th century, protecting the city from the river!
- i[101] JMM (LMS), Volume 14, 1857. 3-8.
- i[102] WJO, volume 15, 1858. 67.
- i[103] JMH, volume 2, 1846. 267.
- i[104] JMH, volume 1, 1845. 79.
- i[105] BCM, new series volume 6, 1837. 56. *My italics*. The Juvenile Missionary Magazine in 1844 printed a letter from Robert Moffat, their celebrated missionary in Africa, that told of African children being thrown to lions, and in which Moffat made the case that 'your parents have got houses, and we have no lions in England; because the Gospel of Jesus Christ has made us happier than the Africans'. JMM (LMS), volume 1, 1844. 132.
- i[106] BYM, new series volume 1, 1859. 17.
- i[107] WJO, volume 15, 1858. 67.
- i[108] Children's Missionary Record (Free Church of Scotland), volume 1, 1837. 25-27.
- i[109] CMJL, new series volume 6, 1857. 244.
- i[110] JMM (P), volume 5, 1848. 21. Reprinted from Wesleyan Missionary Notices.
- i[111] WJO, volume 7, 1850. 74. The JMH claimed that there were 408 European missionaries there in 1857.
- i[112] JMM (P), volume 8. 1851, 42.
- i[113] JMM (P), volume 12, 1855. 154.
- i[114] James, J. A. *Juvenile Advantages and Obligations in Reference to the Cause of Christian Missions Stated and Enforced*. London: Frederick Westley and A. H. Davis, 1828. 15-16.
- i[115] JMM (P), volume 5, 1848. 21. Reprinted from Wesleyan Missionary Notices.
- i[116] WJO, volume 7, 1850. 74. The JMH claimed that there were 408 European missionaries there in 1857.
- i[117] JMM (P), volume 8. 1851, 42.

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- i[118] JMM (P), volume 12, 1855. 154.
- i[119] James, J. A. *Juvenile Advantages and Obligations in Reference to the Cause of Christian Missions Stated and Enforced*. London: Frederick Westley and A. H. Davis, 1828. 15-16.
- i[120] JMH, new series volume 7, 1857. 42.
- i[121] JMH, new series volume 7, 1857. 138-40.
- i[122] JMM (LMS), Volume 14, 1857. 215
- i[123] JMM (P), Volume 14, 1857. 205
- i[124] CMJl, new series volume 6, 1857. 220. See, for example, JMM (LMS), volume 14, 1857. 252-60; WJO, volume 15, 1858. 73, 86.
- i[125] JMM (P), volume 15, 1858. 89.
- i[126] JMH, new series 8, 1858. 28.
- i[127] JMH, new series 7, 1857. 186; new series volume 8, 1858. 81-7; new series 10, 1860. 47; WJO, volume 15, 1858. 73; PJMM, volume 15, 1858. 19; volume 16, 1859. 11.
- i[128] JMM (LMS), volume 14, 1857. 215.
- i[129] JMH, new series volume 7, 1857. 128.
- i[130] JMH, new series volume 7, 1857. 154; WJO, volume 15, 1858. 1.
- i[131] JMM (P), volume 14, 1857. 208.
- i[132] JMM (LMS), volume 14, 1857. 215.
- i[133] CMJl, new series volume 6, 1857. 220.
- i[134] CMJl, new series volume 6, 1857. 220.
- i[135] JMM (LMS), volume 14, 1857. 215. See Alex Padamsee's recent *Representations of Indian Muslims in British Colonial Discourse* for an examination of this theme. Hants.: Palgrave, 2005.
- i[136] JMM (P), volume 15, 1858. 89.
- i[137] JMM (LMS), volume 14, 1857. 215.
- i[138] JMM (P), volume 15, 1858. 89.
- i[139] BYM, new series volume 1, 1859. 39.
- i[140] JMM (P), volume 14, 1857. 259
- i[141] JMH, new series volume 8, 1858. 47.

i[142] JMM (P), volume 14, 1857. 259. Indeed this was repeated several times over, with emphasis always placed on the illegal aspects of the opium trade more than its social impact. See JMM (P), volume 15, 1858. 40; JMH, new series volume 9, 1859. 126.

i[143] JMH, new series volume 8, 1858. 79; JMM (P), volume 15, 1858. 190; JMH, 1864. 77.

i[144] BYM, new series volume 1, 1859. 23.

i[145] JMM (LMS), Volume 17, 1860. 249-257.

i[146] PMJM, 1858. The WJO reminded its readers 'that these idolaters are not only fellow-creatures of ours, but fellow-subjects as well. Queen Victoria is their Queen as well as ours'. New series volume 1, 1867. 7.

i[147] BCM, new series volume 3, 1847. 79. 'Another Word About Caste', J. Buckley, Behrampore.

i[148] JMH, new series 10, 1860. 73.

i[149] JMH, new series 5, 1855. 7.

i[150] JMH, new series volume3, 1853. 122.

i[151] JMH, new series 10, 1860. 73.

i[152]JMM (P), volume 17, 1860. 92.

i[153] JMH, new series 5, 1855. 10.

i[154] BYM, new series volume 2, 1860. 24.

i[1] London: Wightman and Cramp. Reviewed in Baptist Magazine, Volume 19 , 1827, 22. 'It is respectably printed, and is adorned with five decent-looking wood-cuts. The contents, too, are well adapted for the moral and religious instruction of children, and are pleasingly diversified by anecdote, tale, and dialogue, so as to keep up the interest of the work, and secure the attention of the infantile mind...We are informed...that it will be a decidedly a Baptist publication. We hope it will be successful'.
