A Varied Tapestry

The Representation of India in American Missionary Fiction

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ANGELINA
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Dedicated to the Eyes that embrace me at all times.

Department of English
School of Humanities
University of Hyderabad
Hyderabad 500 046

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This is to certify that I, **Angelina** have carried out the research embodied in the present thesis for the full period prescribed under Ph.D. ordinances of the University.

I declare to the best of my knowledge that no part of this thesis was earlier submitted for the award of research degree of any University.

Angelina

(Signature of the candidate)
Name : Angelina
Enrollment No: 92HEPH03

M. Ramanna

(Signature of the Supervisor)

M. Ramanna

Head, Department of English

K.C. Ramamurthy 12/8/98

Dean, School of Humanities

DEAN
SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES
University of Hyderabad
Hyderabad-500 134

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Preface

O we can wait no longer,
We too take ship O Soul,...
Chanting our chant of pleasant exploration

Walt Whitman

"There are around 200 churches in this place." (Pause) . The American cab driver turns towards his Indian passenger and asks, "You know what a church is, right?" The passenger, "Pardon?" The driver repeats his question. The passenger, "Yes, We have churches in my country too. I am a Christian " The driver says, "Good "

Another episode.

A delegate approaches the Indian girl, "When I read your name, I thought you were Italian or some other European." The girl explains, "I am an Indian Christian and many of us have Western names."

In both situations the questions were meant innocently but they imply an ignorance of India as well as a consciousness of Christianity as a superior religion, in the first case and in the second case, a notion of proper names as geography-specific. It also establishes that the girl is different from the majority of her compatriots, that she is an Indian Christian in 'the land of Hindus.' This tension of location is reflected in my thesis also.

The girl in the above episodes is myself. When I started on this project a trip to America had no place in my mind. I had grown up in Air Force compounds and studied in Kendriya Vidhyalaya schools. It had made me very 'patriotic' and I wanted to do my research on something connected with India. When Professor Ramanan suggested the area of American fiction set in India, I was intrigued. I had inherited from my father a copy of Robin White's *Elephant Hill* (1960) and liked the novel which was set in my home town. It also seemed interesting to compare my experiences in different parts of India with the Indian encounters of others. The subject also meant that I could explore my country more fully, as how could I write a thesis on images of India, if I was unaware of its different hues.

In the course of research, I discovered another fact also constituted my identity -- my Christian background This awareness was further strengthened during my visit to America on a Fulbright Pre-Doctoral Fellowship The project made me realize my own identity more fully. I found that all of us inhabit different spaces.

In a strange coincidence, I kept meeting Americans who knew about India because they had been brought up in India. In a History conference at the Binghampton University, at a conference at West Point, a military academy, at a home hospitality program in Washington, D. C, I kept meeting the children of missionaries who were now in important positions and were interested in my research. I understood the feeling of 'fellowship' (though not in the Christian sense of the word) a missionary lady had referred to as a signal achievement of missionaries. There were other missionaries and mish kids whom I deliberately sought out in order to discuss my subject. They seemed the only people who were able to understand the nuances of my work and offer critical comments. Some of them responded negatively to my research, others gave me new insights and helped me in enriching my research.

The theme of representation brought its own problems. In a class about the unpublished histories of women at the University of Pennsylvania, I presented a paper on Mary Ramsey's diaries. In the process, I had to explain the caste system in India before I could discuss Mary Ramsey's reflections on it. Facing a class of nearly ten people who had never heard of the caste system, I wondered about the images of India I was creating in their minds with my explanation about the caste system. Wasn't I also establishing in their minds an image of India as a land of different castes? This happened again in a class of high-school students. I was told to talk about India -- music, dance, marriage, costumes, religions, etc. I even asked for a volunteer to show how a saree was tied. Later I heard from the coordinator that the students had liked my session because I had smiled and been friendly with them. Maybe for them India might remain a blurred image of festivals of colors, sarees, Hindi film songs and a smiling friendly face? There were other episodes, where Americans assumed that Indian wives were beaten regularly, that the bindi was a caste mark, that arranged marriages were oppressive, that Indians had a sing-song accent, that Indian girls were special, etc.

If Americans were guilty of essentialism, neither was I free of it. When I was in America I was alternately going to Churches and night clubs. I was amused to learn

that an American friend of mine had never visited night clubs I was shocked to see homeless people on the streets of Philadelphia Another American friend had visited India on a scholarship I saw her photographs and realized how my hometown appeared to an American eye We both agreed that we carry our own images of the other country, and seek those images out when we go there and then come back with our images reconfirmed. Only very few are able to completely escape this vicious cycle. But maybe it is time to study these fissures in our perspectives rather than continue to emphasize the differences. As my research work proceeded I began to see missionaries as not merely aggressive conversion agents or saintly social workers but as human beings with multiple, varying idiosyncrasies. Hence my emphasis in this study is on dissenting missionaries as well as the fissures in early missionary perceptions of India. I feel that inter-cultural relationships can be improved only by emphasizing the commonalities and by accommodating the differences in a larger vision of human behavior.

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Introduction

How does one represent other cultures?

Edward Said

On account of its vastness and variety India is treacherous ground for all foreign writers.

Nirad C. Chaudhari

Of all the Americans who have lived and worked in India the missionaries have been the most numerous and have had the most intimate contacts and the greatest influence.

Norman D. Palmer

My thesis explores a major aspect of the Indo-American encounter. Any cultural encounter implies the images one culture holds of the other. The present study uses examples of fiction on India as illustrative texts of the Indo-American transaction More specifically, it seeks to examine representation of India as reflected in American missionary fiction set in India In the context of India's present relationship with the United States, studies of this kind attain a special significance. They help us to understand the nature of the Indo-American encounter and the images of India in the American mind.

David Rubin in *After the Raj: British Novels of India since 1947* (1986) asserts that American fiction about India constitutes a subject of study in its own right and that it has to be distinguished from Anglo-Indian fiction, that is, fiction by British writers about India (xi) . Yet he includes an American author, Louis Bromfield in his study of Anglo-Indian fiction.[1] Bhupal Singh in *A Survey of Anglo-Indian Fiction* (1934) also includes American authors like Marion Crawford, Margaret Wilson, Katherine Mayo and others. I propose that a further categorization is required to make the differences between American and British writers clear.[2] The American encounter with India was very different from the British encounter because of the colonial connection of India with England and the clearly different national characteristics of America. Therefore, American novels set in India deal with India differently from Anglo-Indian novels and

deserve attention for themselves The difference between Anglo Indian fiction and American fiction set in India needs to be reiterated

The present study confines itself to an important motif in American fiction set in India — the American missionary experience in India Such a study, by taking into consideration socio-political and cultural issues, and demonstrating how fact and fiction reinforce and complement each other, would contribute to the understanding of American attitudes to India.

The study seeks to examine the "representation"[3] of India in American missionary fiction set in India and to identify major themes in this sub-genre of writing.[4] Departing from the Classical notion of representation as mirror image, I use the word representation as a term denoting broadly the Saidian reformulation of it as "*re-presence*" which reflects certain attitudes of the writer and his milieu (1978, 21) . Such a reformulation links up ideas of representation with ideology and the contemporary views of discourse as detailed by Foucault.

In missionary fiction, a sub-genre of American fiction set in India, a substantial contribution has come from missionaries and children of missionaries who, drawing on their experiences, have produced notable works. Novels permeated by the missionary spirit and exploring themes related to the missionary experience also find a place in this category of American fiction set in India. The critique of Hinduism and the social customs of India and an exploration of the mission enterprise rather than any formal characteristics determine the identity of the novels belonging to the sub-genre of American missionary fiction set in India. Hence, the present study is basically about themes.

I have chosen a range of twentieth century novels written by a dozen novelists as the focus of my study. The novelists came from different missions and had lived in India or traveled through India. The novelists project self-experience and their knowledge of India as the base of their representation of India. The novels are set in twentieth century India and written with the various purposes of spreading the message of mission work, educating the Americans about India, holding up a mirror for Americans to see their conduct in a foreign country, exploring new frontiers and narrating a good story. Whatever the purpose, propaganda or critique of the American

self and the mission enterprise, the audience of these novels were the Americans These novels contributed to perpetuating images of India in the American mind

The *raison d'être* of the study is twofold. One reason is the need in the context of the globalization of the world to understand other cultures and build bridges of understanding between them. The more specific second reason is the need to reevaluate representation of India in the American mind and to render the Saidian Orientalist model of understanding representation of the Orient problematic. Said essentialises the Orientalist framework and fails to go beyond the East-West and the Orient-Occident dichotomy in critiquing Western texts on the Orient. A study of this kind only reasserts stereotypical representation of the Other and ignores the "in-between" spaces, where the two meet in infinite ways.[5] Thus it is necessary to render these "in-between" spaces visible in order to prevent a stereotypical vision which reasserts modules of conflict between India and America by concentrating on the differences.

In *Orientalism* (1978), Edward Said provides a universal framework for understanding Western attitudes towards the East I test the applicability of this framework in the context of American attitudes towards India as seen in American missionary fiction set in India I argue that the representation of India in the American imagination cannot be subsumed into a linearly continuous pattern. They collude with and reinforce dominant ideologies of race and nation at times and at other times defy or subvert the same ideologies. They resist and conform to older European perceptions of India. This genre occupies a prismatic space which reflects and refracts differing, overlapping and "in-between" representation of India, defying closure of meaning A subtext of this thesis is a brief examination of the American missions' activity in India. I propose that American missions and missionaries can be neither seen as only colonialist instruments nor as institutions or groups occupying a 'pure' space in the spiritual realm. The spiritual and the material realms intertwine in a complex fashion in the activities of American missions in India.

The novels reveal various aspects of the American interest in India They underscore effectively sociological, political, anthropological and historical commentaries on the Indo-American encounter They also reveal how American attempts at constructing an identity for India imply also an exercise in American self-

definition These novels define an American self related to the basic patterns of American culture of the kind elaborated in Frederick Jackson Turner's *The Frontier in American History* (1920), R W.B Lewis' *The American Adam* (1930), Vernon Parrington's *Main Currents in American Thought* (1958) and Merle Curti's *The Growth of American Thought* (1964). American notions of the "city on the hill," "errand into wilderness", American commitment to democracy and America's convoluted relationship with imperialism play a part in her relationship with India as portrayed in this body of American fiction set in India.[6] Themes like the religious quest in America and frontier expansion, the Lone-Ranger image, the Adamic myth, pioneer and cult figures like Natty Bumpo and anti-culture protagonists like Huck Finn also find their own version or variation in American missionary fiction set in India.

The study seeks to situate the novels in the context of the history of ideas about India in the American mind. Harold Isaacs' *Scratches on Our Minds* (1958), Milton Singer's *When a Great Tradition Modernizes Itself* (1972), Nathan Glazer's *Conflicting Images* (1990) and B.G Gokale's *India in the American Mind* (1992) attain special significance in this context. A study of images of one nation held by another nation is important as they shape the relationship of the two nations and can vitiate international relationships. If the representation are not understood, the images/attitudes of the past will be unwittingly produced and reproduced, hindering future relationships between the two countries. Internalized images, representation, stereotypes are at the core of a nation's hypothesis of another nation. Hence one cannot commit a "metaphorical fallacy" the main function of which "is to *exempt* the advocated attitudes from a *rational scrutiny*" (qtd. in Inden 1990, 12) . Given this it becomes imperative to examine these images. A crucial question at this juncture is, whose images? There is no collective American image of India and vice versa. The various studies approach this question from different points of view and arrive at conclusions which intersect and overlap.

Harold Isaacs analyses the responses of 181 Americans to India and contrasts it with images of China in the American mind The Americans he interviews are academics, journalists, missionaries, church officials, government officials, exchange students, novelists, and politicians. He includes in his survey responses of black and white Americans, Americans who were born in India, Americans who worked in India

and Americans who traveled through India Isaacs divides the observations about India of his American subjects into "fabulous Indians", "religionists and philosophers", "the benighted heathens", "the lesser breed", "the Gandhi image" and "the Nehru image". The answers by the Americans are divided into "visual images (sacred cows roaming the streets; the mob of religious fanatics hurling themselves into the Ganges....), judgment, (a debased hopeless sort of religion....), and a social commentary (caste system; untouchability, child marriage....)". He finds Indians perceived as "faceless mass", "villainous", "ascetic, sensitive, intelligent, articulate", and also "just like you and me" (1958, 243-302) . His study exposes a spectrum of images of India in the American mind. But Isaacs also cautions against attaching too much importance to these "scratches" because India largely remains a blurred image to the average American, indicating a lack of genuine impact of India on the American mind.

In contrast to the cross-sectional study of Isaacs, Milton Singer undertakes a "longitudinal study that traces the history of these images as they appear and fade in the encounters of Europeans and Americans with India and Indians" (1972, 12) . He states that a history of this kind is complex because several dialogues are conducted simultaneously: "dialogue between image and reality", dialogue "between the Western image of India and the Indians' self-image", dialogue between "the images one country holds of another and the psychological needs, fears, and hopes projected into these images" and finally the dialogue "between what society and culture contribute to an image and what an individual brings to it" (12) . Tracing the history of images of India from the time of the ancient Greek civilization to the modern times, he finds a shift in the European images from a "opulent and fabulous India" or "a land of desire" to "a White Man's burden" and then to a land which has "treasures of ancient wisdom" (13-24) . In America he finds that in the initial stages, "Americans tended to take over and exaggerate, as in the case of some missionaries and Katherine Mayo, the prevailing European images of India" and that later Americans were fascinated with the idea of America as the "passage to India" (21-24) . Singer's study culminates in the modern image of India "as a land of surpassing spirituality, an image that also implies the contrast with Western 'materialism'" (27) and finds this image threatened by the Indian military action in Goa in 1961 and the Indian military response to China. Singer

predicts that "as India takes the path of modern nationalism, it will undoubtedly become as fascinating to the rest of the world, but it will become less of an "image" and more of a reality in that world" (36) Singer's argument thus posits "image" in a completely oppositional position to "reality" and contents itself with a brief sketch of images of India rather than an in-depth analysis.

Nathan Glazer also deals in a fragmented fashion with the issue of the images of India in the American consciousness, ignoring its multidimensional aspects. He states in his introduction to *Conflicting Images* that, though a great deal had changed since Isaacs' interviews in the mid-1950s, some aspects of Indian civilization continue to underlie American responses: "Hinduism and the prevalence of caste", and "India's poverty" (1990, 15-17) . Glazer also points out the changes: greater "traffic of ideas" in the field of culture, a greater number of Indian immigrants in America, and hopes that these changes will contribute to a better understanding of the two countries. He states that, "the American encounter with the non-Western world has reflected an egocentric approach in which other societies are bracketed together and compared in accordance with American-defined universal categories" and perceives this egocentric approach as one of the problems in the Indo-American relationship also (56) .

Moving away from a sociological, anthropological and politico-historical approach, B.G Gokhale in *India in the American Mind* (1992) uses fictional texts along with poetry and journalistic writings to examine the contents and shapes of images of India in the American mind. He divides the time span into three distinct periods: 1820 to 1890 ("The search for the 'Over-Soul'), 1890 to 1939 ("the Age of Empire") and 1945 to 1988 ("New Relationships: Old Perceptions") . He argues that American images of India can be divided into the "received" and the "perceived" images. The former "gleaned from study, cursory or systematic, mediated by Indian religious literature" and the latter "from street-level" observations gathered in the course of missionary or mercantile, and later even "touristy" encounters such as those of Mark Twain" (Gokhale, vii-viii) . Gokhale concludes his historical survey of American literary texts about India with an emphasis on the persistence of stereotypes.

A more recent study of representation of India was undertaken by the graduate students of Indiana University. They published their findings in an essay entitled, "India Is(n't) (Mis)Representation of India in the United States Media" in *Samar*

(*South Asian Magazine for Action and Reflection*) (1994) They found American representation organized around three major themes "India as over-populated and impoverished, India as exotic and primitive, and India as a land of turmoil" (Cecil et al 1994, 4) . For them the answer to these negative representation lay in the recognition of the limitations of the decontextualized media images and in contextualizing the representation of India as and when they are presented to the public.

In the context of the representation of India in American fiction which forms part of Gokhale's focus, nothing like a sustained study of the fictional representation of India has been made. Apart from a few critics like Singer and Gokhale, American missionary novels set in India remain largely invisible in the studies of the Indo-American encounter and American Literature. The few other exceptions are Bhupal Singh, David Rubin, R.K. Gupta, R.H Schramm, and Sujit Mukherjee. Of these only Sujit Mukherjee makes a distinct survey of the American novels set in India. Chapter three will discuss more elaborately the contribution of these critics to the study in the area of American fiction set in India.

Glazer states that, "there is no authoritative center of image-making in a nation" (3) . Generalizations can be very deceptive. India is not a monolithic concept and neither is America a homogenous entity. Edward Said states that, "all cultures are involved in one another; none is single and pure, all are hybrid, heterogeneous, extraordinarily differentiated, and unmonolithic" (1993, xxix) . India has different States with different languages and people with varying food habits, is made up of villages and cities and has as its citizens people belonging to different class, caste, and religious backgrounds. Similarly, India in the American mind is interpreted in diverse ways. The Indias of South Asian Regional Studies (SARS), of the Center for Advanced Study of India (CASI), of *New York Times*, of Hollywood, of *Salaam Bombay* and *Kamasutra*, of Yoga Centers, of Ashrams, of missions, of the man in the street are very different from each other.

Avoiding the pitfalls of generalizations about the complex and vast area of American passages to India, I have chosen to focus on the India of missionaries as reflected in their fiction. The choice was not made arbitrarily but has as its basis several reasons ranging from the complexly significant contributions of missionaries to my personal location and subject position.

Missionary literature reflects one of the oldest strands in the history of the Indo-American encounter and has been a principal force in disseminating images of India in America The image of India as understood by the missionaries, and through them, other Americans, continues to be a significant factor in the American perception of India In Isaacs' cross-sectional survey, 123 individuals mentioned missionaries or talked about the mission among their early associations with Asia. Though only 48 of these remembered India in connection with mission and missionaries, their recollections give "a glimpse of the way in which missionary attitudes were transmitted with sufficient vigor to create impressions that could survive a lifetime of other preoccupations and could be touched to life by a single question" (Isaacs, 266) . William Hutchison in his study on missionaries claims that, "Missionaries were the chief interpreters of remote cultures for the people at home, and as such played a central role in the shaping of American public attitudes" (1987, 1) .

The missionary encounter continues to spread. Norman Brown, a "mish kid"(the term is used in American Christian mission circles to refer to missionary children) started SARS and was involved in exchange programs to promote Indo-American relationships and missionaries like Ainslee Embree and mish kids like Timothy Lopereis and Robert Frykenberg are playing a significant role in promoting in different ways a serious interest in India. The ideology behind many American NGOs and aid agencies can be said to have its roots in the American missionary movement Given the significance of the American missionary presence in India it seems strange that the theme has not been dealt adequately within the area of literary studies in spite of the vast amount of missionary literature which is available. Maintaining a balance between appreciation and criticism, the present study proposes to fill this lacuna in literary study. Avoiding both hagiography and negative stereotyping, it focuses on missionary fiction set in India which is replete with similar and dissimilar representation of India for the domestic American audience.

I have chosen fiction as the subject of my study because the novel is a documentation of social and intellectual history as well as a symbolic illumination of a larger vision. The almost complete avoidance of a discussion of novels as a vehicle in the understanding of the Indo-American relationship limits the understanding of Indo-American transactions to 'facts', trends, attitudes and statistics, obscuring the 'human'

element The novels are sites of multiple and often contesting discourses A novel is made up of fragments from other writings and draws on different discourses that circulate in the society at any time and in writing of different times [7] The selection and structuring of the moments and the discourses provide interesting insights. Novels reveal a dynamic exchange between the authors and larger cultural concerns. They are not merely a passive reflection of history that surrounds and produces them but are active interventionist forms which even as they are produced, also produce representation. Leonard J. Davis states that, "novels attempt to contain through representation the totality of a society at a given moment" (1987, 25) . More particularly Robin Winks points out that "perceptions of Asia in the West have surely been shaped more persistently by fiction, broadly constructed, than by any other medium" (1990, 3) .

I find Laura Donaldson's concept of the "Miranda complex" very useful in reading these novels set in India. In interrogating the "Prospero Complex" as seen in O. Mannoni's reading of the psychology of colonization in *Prospero and Caliban* (1964) Donaldson offers another paradigm of colonization to underscore "the dangers of a monotheistic reading, i.e., reading structures so tightly by a single principle that it excludes all other interpretive categories" (1992, 16-17) . Miranda resists easy identification or classification. Her status "as the sexual object of both Anglo-European male and the native Other and as the loyal daughter/wife who ultimately aligns herself with the benefits and protection offered by the colonizing father and husband" underscores a "discursive colonialism" (Donaldson, 170) . I argue that these novels also exhibit the "Miranda complex" in addition to the Prospero-Caliban, western patriarch and native-Other paradigm.

All texts are situated in a temporal space and hence must be considered from the standpoint of time and location of the critic as well as of the author and his text.[8] Foucauldian analysis has shown us that human beings are the subject and object of political, scientific, economic, philosophical, legal and social discourses and practices. Writers are the product of their cultures. Said in *Orientalism* (1978) emphasizes that he believes, "in the determining imprint of individual writers upon the otherwise anonymous collective body of texts constituting a discursive formation like Orientalism" (23) . In *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) Said adds that, "I do not

believe that authors are mechanically determined by ideology, class or economic history, but authors are, I also believe very much in the history of their societies, shaping and shaped by that history and their social experiences in different measure" (xxiv). Another dimension to the author location is propounded by M M Bakhtin He states that:

> First and foremost we have at the center of the travel novel's world the *author's own real homeland*, which serves as organizing center for the point of view, the scales of comparison, the approaches and evaluations determining how alien countries and cultures are seen and understood (it is not compulsory that the native country be evaluated positively, but it must absolutely provide us with a scale and a background). In the novel of travel, this sense of a native country in itself—that is, an organizing center for seeing and depicting that is located "at home"— radically changes the entire picture of a foreign world. (1981, 103-104)

The above idea bears resemblance to the notion of the theme of the Self and the Other inherent in the polemics of representation which I shall discuss in the third section of this chapter. It also can be seen as the central dilemma of the Western missionary who could never separate his notion of Christianity from his Western values and point of view. This is equally applicable to the Eastern missionaries also.

As has been stated, the location of the critic is also like the author-location, a determining factor in the interpretation of texts. My interest is also undoubtedly rooted in my location as an Indian and an Indian belonging to a minority group—Christians. This statement of my location is important as there is no theoretically pure space from which one can critique any body of knowledge. The so-called empirical response is informed by intuitive response. Dismissing the so-called 'objective' approach I argue that my location renders visible the voice of the native and of the minority native in particular. Frantz Fannon states that, "for the native, objectivity is always directed against him" (1977,61). Thus I choose to explore the subject from "the underside", i.e. from the point of view of a native belonging to a religious minority community as opposed to the American missionary author as well as the native belonging to the majority religious community.[9] Yet this approach was not an *a priori* decision but assumed shape only after a preliminary study of the texts.[10] Also my analysis is not a reflection of "*pre-given*" conclusions but intends to form part of what

Homi Bhabha calls, "the on-going negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformation" (1994, 2) The Indian Christian identity emerged in the process of transformations within the Indian culture as a minority group Thus from a doubly peripheral location, I seek to analyze the representation of India in texts which render Indian Christians visible and yet appropriate them in a subversive fashion to establish the varied ideologies of the American missionaries.

II

At this point it is necessary to clarify the conceptual framework of the study. My own position relies on "engaged" readings of works of diverse theorists like Edward Said, Ronald Inden, Aijaz Ahmed, and indirectly Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, Homi Bhabha and others.[11]

The term 'Orient' stood for more than India. Raymond Schwab states in *The Oriental Renaissance* (1984), "In its connotations perhaps no single word has been so loaded with emotion, even passion, as has the term "Orient". Depending on the thinkers involved, or even the phases of their thought, the word has evoked fascination, repulsion, and dread. It has been associated with the most diverse images" (3). The American writer Mark Twain finds that "nothing is quite satisfyingly Oriental that lacks the somber and impressive qualities of mystery and antiquity" (1925, 9) . Thus the Orient stands not only for a wide geographical space combining continents (Asia as well as parts of Europe and Africa) it also stands for a psychological space in the European Western mind. India is part of the Orient in its geographical location and also because of the psychological dimensions attributed to it by the West. Hence any study of the representation of India cannot ignore Said's *Orientalism* . Though Said concentrates on the West's perception of the Arab world, he provides a theory which can include the rest of the Orient and suggests that it is applicable to the American perceptions of the East also. As has already been stated, the present study, though accepting his definition of representation, his liberal humanist intentions as well as his conclusions about "Orientalism", critiques Said's generalizations in this regard and

asserts that a more contextualized study is necessary to understand the Indo-American connection

In *Orientalism* Said grapples with the representation of the Orient as an intellectual tradition that uses as its starting point the assumption of an East-West dichotomy. Using Foucault he sees Orientalism as a discourse by which the Orient is domesticated and restructured and is used or seen as the Other that would help in the self-definition of the Western Self. He states that "there is no such thing as a delivered presence, but a *re-presence*, or a representation" (21) . Also the literature on the Orient, "relies very little on the Orient as such" but "is a presence to the reader by virtue of its having excluded, displaced, made supererogatory any such *real thing* as 'the Orient'" (21) . It is the "various Western techniques of representation that make the Orient visible, clearly 'there' in discourse about it. And these representation rely upon institutions, traditions, conventions, agreed upon codes of understanding for their effects, not upon a distant and amorphous Orient" (22) .

Said uses Orientalism as an umbrella term to mean several things. He writes,

> "Anyone who teaches, writes about, or researches the Orient—and this applies whether the person is an anthropologist, sociologist, historian, or philologist—either in its specific or its general aspects, is an Orientalist, and what he or she does is Orientalism....Orientalism is a style of thought based on ontological and epistemological distinction made between "the Orient" and (most of the time) "the Occident"....*This* Orientalism can accommodate Aeschylus, say, and Victor Hugo, Dante and Karl Marx....Taking the late eighteenth century as a very roughly defined starting point Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient—dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (1974, 2-3) .

The above quotation defines Orientalism as an "interdisciplinary area of academic knowledge", "a trans-historical mentality", and a discourse which began at a particular point in history—the eighteenth century (Ahmed 1991, 141-143) . One can thus observe a fundamental contradiction in the last two Saidian definitions of Orientalism

where Said implies that the origin of Orientalism lies in the dawn of European civilization and later states that Orientalism began in the eighteenth century This contradiction also makes the association of Orientalism and colonialism confusing Another objection to the definitions is his premise of stable identities of the Orient and the Occident. This objection is supported by Aijaz Ahmed who states that, "He [Said] posits stable subject-object identities, as well as ontological and epistemological distinctions between the two"(1991, 144) . Said fails to perceive that identities not only of the East but also of the West are, as has been mentioned earlier, fluid and arbitrary in character. Paradoxically one finds arguments against the Saidian reading of Orientalism in the later Saidian texts themselves. In his afterword to the 1995 printing of *Orientalism* Said claims that in *Orientalism* he had said, "words such as "Orient" and "Occident" correspond to no stable reality that exist as natural fact....Each age and society re-creates its "Others". Far from a static thing then, identity of the self or of "other" is a much worked-over historical, social, intellectual, and political process that takes place as a contest involving individuals and institutions in all societies" (331-332).

Said also fails to take into account the fact that to perceive the Other as inferior and dangerous is not only a Western phenomenon, but can be seen as a basic principle of Self-definition. Any representation for that matter is dominated by the theme of alterity/otherness. Representation of India also projected India as the inferior Other that defined the superior self of the West. Ahmed points out that, "Hindu spirituality is always posited against Western materialism, not to speak of Muslim barbarity. Nor is it possible to read our own old *Kavyas* and *Dharamshastras* without noticing the way *dasyus*, *shudras* and women are constantly turned into dangerous and inferiorised Others" (1991,144) . Thus Said commits the same error which he attributed to the Orientalists.[12] He fails to perceive the Self-Other experience as inherent in any human experience and not merely the West-East experience.

Said's attempts to pin down the Orientalist discourse on the Other to some simple form of Self-Other binary opposition is also problematic. Tzvetan Todorov's *The Conquest of America: The Question of Other* (1984) refers to various sorts of otherness:

> We can discover the other in ourselves, realize we are not a homogenous substance, radically alien to whatever

> is not us But *others* are also "I"s I can conceive of these others as an abstraction, as an instance of any individuals's psychic configuration, as the Other—other in relation to myself, to *me*, or else as a specific social group to which *we* do not belong. (Todorov 1984, 1)

Thus the subject of the Other also breaks down into, to use Todorov's phrase, "countless categories and directions" (1).

Hence to perceive antithesis or binaries of presence/absence, rational/irrational, civilized/barbaric, enterprise/sloth, thinking/feeling, human/beastly as a natural fundamental structure and theme in the study of the Other seems to be a limited reading of the subject. Todorov's typology of relations with the Other (though drawn with America and Europe in mind) is a very useful point of entry in the present context. Todorov seeks three ways of grouping the relationship with the other:

> First of all, there is a value judgment (an axiological level): the other is good or bad.... Secondly, there is the action of *rapprochement* or distancing in relation to the other (a praxeological level) ..: also a third term, which is neutrality, or indifference. Thirdly, I know or am ignorant of the other's identity (this would be the epistemic level)....
>
> There exist, of course, relations and affinities between these three levels, but no rigorous *implication*; hence, we cannot reduce them to one another, nor anticipate one starting from the other. (185)

In all three dimensions, India could also be seen as posited as the Other to the Self of Europe in the Saidian reading of Orientalism. All the same one should bear in mind that in many instances the basic opposition in the author's mind is not between Europe and Asia, but between particular countries or cultures and between individuals. For instance, Robin White's *Elephant Hill* (1959) may hint at a concern with large-scale relationships between the East and the West but it is also as much about the conflicts between individuals divided by culture, nationality and religion.

Another failure is the neglect of the issue of the suppressed or other voices in any given discourse. Said himself states that, "I consider Orientalism's failure to have been a human as much as an intellectual one; for in having to take up a position of *irreducible opposition* to a region of the world it considered alien to its own, Orientalism failed to identify with human experience, failed also to see it as human

experience"(emphasis added) (1974, 328) Yet he also fails in perceiving Orientalism as a human experience with other voices In *Culture and Imperialism*, Said makes a distinction between "latent" and "manifest" Orientalism He states that, "The distinction I am making is really between an almost unconscious (and certainly an untouchable) positivity, which I shall call *latent* Orientalism, and various stated views about Oriental society, languages, literatures, history, sociology, and so forth, which I shall call *manifest* Orientalism. Whatever change occurs in the knowledge of the Orient is found almost exclusively in manifest Orientalism; the unanimity, stability, and durability of latent Orientalism are more or less constant" (1993, 206) . I appropriate these terms to critique Said's position in *Orientalism*. Said's manifest conclusions contradict his latent assumptions and vice versa. Said mentions resistance articulated in post-colonial fiction of the third world as well as suppressed resistance in Western fiction, yet he fails to take into consideration that resistance, however suppressed, is articulated in Western novels, and thus in a convoluted fashion creates ruptures in the narrative. Homi Bhabha in "Signs Taken For Wonders" speaks of the location of native resistance within the fissures of the colonial discourse. He states that, " the place of difference and otherness or the space of the adversarial is never entirely on the outside or implacably oppositional. It is a pressure and a presence that acts constantly if unevenly along the entire boundary of authorization" (1994, 109) . Extending Bhabha's arguments to discourse in general, I explore the themes of opposition and self-questioning within the missionary discourse on India.

As a counterpoint to rendering the native voice within the Western hegemonic texts silent, the present study concentrates on the counter-hegemonic voices to problematize a "monotheistic" reading of Western perceptions of the East. It is hoped that a study of this kind will help intercultural negotiations in a more positive fashion by stressing that 'they' are not a monolithic group even as 'we' are not a monolithic group. There can be no 'us' and 'them', in this world where identities are in a fluid state of constant negotiations.

Said states that representation are different from "brute reality". Though this in itself seems a valid point, the latent assumption behind it is problematic. Said's assumption here is that the major point of difference between representation of the Orient and reality is the presence of coherence in the history of representation of the

Orient in contrast to the reality which is unstable and incoherent His objection to Orientalism is that "it approaches a heterogeneous, dynamic, and complex human reality from an uncritically essentialist standpoint" which "suggests both an enduring Oriental reality and an opposing though no less enduring Western essence, which observes the Orient from afar and, so to speak, from above (1995, 333) The implication in the Saidian notion of representation is that they are stereotypes M.M. Bakhtin's and Stephen Greenblatt's perceptions are pertinent here Bakhtin cautions the readers that, "there is a sharp and categorical boundary line between the actual world as source of representation and the world represented in the work. We must....never confuse... the *represented* world with the world outside the text (naive realism); nor must we confuse the author-creator of a work with the author as a human being (naive biographism)" (1991, 253) Greenblatt proposes a more overlapping relationship between reality and representation. He states that, "It is, I think, a theoretical mistake and a particular blunder to collapse the distinction between representation and reality, but at the same time we cannot keep them isolated from one another. They are locked together in an uneasy marriage in a world without ecstatic union or divorce" (Greenblatt 1991, 7) Though Said avoids "naive realism" and "naive biographism" he fails to appreciate the overlap of reality and representation. He reads the representation in the Orientalist texts in a restrictive manner as stereotypes, but representation are not *mere* stereotypes. Stereotypes are a form of representation or rather a simplification of "brute reality".[13] As Derrida points out, representation can no longer be seen as linear, indivisible, circular, encyclopedic or totalizing. He states that Platonic mimesis and the idea of representation are both in question and need to be revised and rerevised[14] *I assume that representation are a complex process of containing reality but which in themselves are also fluid and fluctuating.*

The present study does not concern itself with the truth value of the representation but sees them as constructed conceptual structures which needs to be examined in their own light without testing their correspondence with 'real' India.[15] Representation is not merely a description of cultural identity, of reality, but also the space of dispersion, of evasions implicit in the classical view of literature as representation of life. There is no purely aesthetic representation for if literature is a representation of life, then life in all its social and subjective complexity gets into the

literary work This is a process that cannot be completed or closed as a smooth mirroring of an external reality Representation are not unidirectional Representation need to be looked at as both producers and products, that is, they are representation and moreover produce representation capable of altering the very forces that produced them. Thus representation is no longer "innocent" but politically and historically charged. Using the Derridian critique and Saidian formulations, one can argue that representation does not 'present' an 'original' but re-presents that which is already represented. These interpretations and notions of representation help in undoing the hegemonic representation of the Orient, and of India in the Western imagination.

In the specific context of the Indo-American encounter, the American Indologist Roland Inden's *Imagining India* (1990) also provides significant insights. Inden claims, like Said, to free the Orient from the closed "Orientalist" world histories. Where Said concentrates on the Middle East, Inden confines his study to India. Arguing against a essentialist Indologist view of India, which is constructed on the pillars of caste, Hinduism, villages, and oriental despotisms he suggests the idea of "imperial formation" as a replacement for the other constructs of India. In his study Hindu civilization and India are used as interchangeable words and in spite of his arguments against essentializations he actually replaces one "essence" for another. India is more than a Hindu Civilization. There have been tribal cultures which were outside the mainstream Hindu culture; the later Muslim culture and other religious cultures also formed part of India. Indian identity is not only based on religious identity but is crisscrossed with other factors like regional, linguistic and caste factors.

Inden states that his book is about "human agency" ("the capacity of people to order their world") which "the Indological branch of 'Orientalist discourse'" ignored (1990, 1) . He proposes the theory of human agency as an alternative to essentialism. He perceives the agency as embedded in "imperial formation" and defines imperial formation as "a complex polity consisting of overlapping and contending agents related to one another in a 'world' whose spokesmen claim universality for it." In reconstituting the identity of India or rather the Hindu civilization, Inden is aware that he too has resorted to a metaphor and adds that he uses it in an anti-essentialist manner as there is no "superior realm of a pure language" (2) .

Though I reject the reconstruction of India by Inden and his attempt to "re-center the Indian world" by replacing "kingship" instead of "caste" as the constitutive principle of India, I find the notion of human agency energizing my own reading of the representation of India in the American missionary novels set in India.[16] I argue that it was the factor of human agency which explains the differing representation of India, as opposed to the unified monolithic vision of the "Orientalists".

In short, both Said and Inden project a deconstructionist strategy of engaging with 'Orientalism'. They find essentialism as its major flaw yet are not entirely free of indulgence in it themselves. In the present era after the post-Orientalism era (the late 1970s to 1990 which saw repetitions and reinforcements of Saidian statements in different areas of research), it is no longer necessary to repeat Saidian formulations as there can no longer be any doubt regarding the "Orientalist" mode of defining the East in order to maintain the West's superiority. Without dismissing the nexus of power and knowledge in this intellectual tradition, one needs to engage critically with the elisions in the critique of "Orientalism". What is needed is the deossification of both Western mentalities and their critiques. One way of achieving this is through a study of the cracks and fissures in the edifice of western representation of India. Patrick Brantlinger in *Rule of Darkness* (1988) states in passing, "But before my own critique of the ideology of imperialism begins, it is worth noting that, even at the height of the rule of darkness, alternative, anti-imperialist visions of our common life together were available" (16) . The present study, on the micro-politics of missions and the macro-narrative of India, places special emphasis on these counter-hegemonic, alternative discourses that emerge within the dominant hegemonic formation.

Another aspect which needs to be addressed is the connection of American Orientalism and Colonialism. Obviously there was no politico-colonial connection between India and America. But more specifically in the context of the missionary experience there was a more obvious connection with the British colonialists. American missions though initially opposed by the East Indian company, were later partially supported by the British in terms of security as well as in terms of finance. Mannoni's deliberations regarding the colonial situation have interesting parallels with the American missionary situation. Mannoni states that "a *colonial situation* is created, so to speak, the very instant a white man, even if he is alone, appears in the

midst of a tribe, even if it is independent, so long as he is thought to be rich or powerful or merely immune to the local forces of magic, and so long as he derives from his position, even though only in his most secret self, a feeling of his own superiority" (18) . Given this, a missionary can also be said to be part of the colonial situation. He too is a white individual, independent and immune to local forces and feels a sense of superiority to the natives consciously or unconsciously. He too believes to use Mannoni again, "that the mentality of the native is incomprehensible, that there is therefore no point in wasting any time on it, and that since our [White] way of thinking is the only right one we[they] should impose it on the rest of the world in the interests of reason and morality" (20) . The missionary situation shares some of the characteristic features of a colonial situation— "domination of mass by a minority, paternalism" but not the very important feature of "economic exploitation"(27) . This absence of a direct economic relation leads one to redefine the missionary situation as only partly a "colonial situation" and partly different also because a new factor of faith is brought into the picture. Even in the case of missionaries who did not do evangelistic work but were involved in social work, the underlying motive remains the same. As Mannoni reminds his reader, "that in spite of all their love and devotion the doctors, missionaries, and so on can hardly be called disinterested observers, if only because they came with the idea of changing, converting, civilizing" (31) . Given this can the missions be seen as, to use Hutchison's phrase, a "moral equivalent of imperialism"?

How did the American missionary novels define India as a geographical or a psychological entity? The process of the representation of India itself was seen as fraught with difficulties and complexities. India in itself was found a disturbing, unsettling area of darkness. Ainslee Embree states that "to see Indian culture as confused, complex and incapable of comprehension under any reasonable categorization was an essential element in imperialist ideology" (1989, 107) . Have these threads in the perception of India been very central in American fictional representation of India in novels set in India? To what extent is India a construct of the American imagination and its need to invent an Other which would underwrite its Self and hegemony? Inden states that the various discourses about India "are populated by a number of curious metaphors. Among these are the metaphors of India as a female,

Indian thought as a dream, caste society as a centrifuge, and of Hinduism as a jungle or a sponge" (1990, 1) Inden's analysis provides questions which need to be raised in the context of Americans novels set in India and missionary fiction set in India For example, what were the metaphors employed in the chosen narrative texts, what were the images of India, and how did these novels grapple with the binary oppositions that were so essential in a Orientalist project?

The thesis seeks to suggest possible answers to the above problems and asserts that no simple answers are possible for these questions as the novels are sites of multiple and often contesting discourses. As a student of literature with little background in missiology, history or philosophy, I find it easier to let the novels speak for themselves. Avoiding "naive realism" and "naive biographism" I read the texts in the "contrapuntal" manner advocated by Said.[17] The study has been divided into six chapters excluding the introduction and the conclusion. Of the six chapters, the first part consisting of three chapters provide the background in which the study of the novels needs to be situated and foregrounds American fiction set in India as a significant area of exploration for a student of the Indo-American encounter. The second part deals with the representation of India and of the East-West encounter in the twentieth century American missionary fiction set in India. I give below a more detailed account of the chapter division in the concluding section of this introductory chapter.

III

To contextualise these texts, an understanding of the history of the Indo-American encounter is necessary. The relationship of the "unfriendly friends"— India and America, has been described as "the great encounter", and as the "dialogue of the deaf" characterizing both the importance of the encounter as well as the pitfalls in the relationship.[18] Chapter two provides a brief history of the Indo-American connection from the mid 17th century to the present times. A large debt is owed to R.K Gupta and Carl T. Jackson for their histories of the Indo-American encounter and the influence of Oriental religions on American thought. The chapter also draws on the

work of Arthur Christy, J P Rayapati, Mohinder K Manchanda, Sushil Madhav Pathak, and R C Jauhari

Chapter three, as mentioned earlier, seeks to refine Sujit Mukherjee's categories of American fiction set in India. It also attempts to provide a mini encyclopedic survey of the genre using Bhupal Singh's survey as a point of reference. An exploration of the Indo-American connection in fiction will be incomplete without an understanding of the Anglo-American connection. The chapter will use Anglo-Indian fiction and American fiction of Anglo-India to explore this theme. References to Anglo-Indian fiction is also made in other chapters to emphasize that Britain was an important source of knowledge about India for the Americans.

Shifting to the more particularized context of the American missionary fiction set in India, chapter four provides a brief exploration of missions and their functions, the notion of conversion and changes and continuities in missionary attitudes towards India as reflected in the American missionary novels. Interestingly the early novels had grim pictures of Indian life and about the healing power of Christianity and later the focus shifted to relationships between Indians and American at the personal and symbolic level.

Chapter five focuses on the three pillars of the American missionary representation of India—religion, caste and the village. A predominant image about India is that of India as a religious country. The concept of Hinduism as understood by the West produced representation of Hindu and Muslim characters which had an impact on the Western perception of India as well as the presentation of Indian Christian characters. An examination of the Hindu characters also shows an understanding of the Indian character which was/is reflected in other spheres of the Indo-American encounter. Within the Hindu system, caste was sometimes ignored and at other times seen as a marker of the individual's character.

Though the various mission denominations were different in their theologies, they saw their purpose in India very similarly. Time and the change of power did bring changes in India but as far as the world of missionaries was concerned the core of India was the village and this was seen to have only changed marginally.

The novels also show an interface between American attitudes to women in America and in India and the complex relationship between the issues of gender and

race in an interracial encounter Chapter six explores the representation of Indian women in American missionary fiction It also focuses on the relationship between the American and Indian women and examines the interface between American attitudes to women in America and in India. The Indian woman was an important figure in the mission circles as her presence and travails were used both by feminists and male patriarchs to justify their positions. The White male used the Indian woman to tell his female counterpart that she was in a privileged position vis-à-vis the Indian women. The American woman on the other hand found that she was needed by the Church as only she could reach the veiled women of India. Later the White woman is seen caught between an identification based on gender and identification based on race.

In fiction, miscegenation becomes a device for personalizing and humanizing the political, social and cultural relationships. Chapter seven explores the theme of miscegenation. Miscegenation is defined as marriage or cohabitation between a man and a woman of different races. In American fiction set in India this theme is used to reveal the changes in attitudes about India and the analysis indicates how the various novels accept or reject in varying degrees the East-West dichotomy. This theme is very important to this missionary fiction because it proves to be the ultimate test of the humanist arguments of the missionary faith. An exploration of this theme reveals the split personality of missionaries caught between their own discourse of liberalism and the discourse of race consciousness.

After the analysis of the above mentioned themes the study concludes by listing the major findings arrived at in the earlier chapters. It also suggests further avenues of research in the field of American fiction set in India.

NOTES

[1] The reason given by Rubin for this inclusion is that the novel unlike most American fiction set in India evolves from a concern with Indo-British relations on the eve of Independence. Yet this statement does not seem a sufficient justification as the protagonist of the novel is an American and the novel itself is set in an Indian princely state rather than a British colony and only marginally concerns itself with Indo-British relations.

[2] American spellings are used in this thesis except in quotations where the writers themselves follow British spellings.

[3] In the present study 'representation' stands for cultural representation. Rajeshwari Sunder Rajan's distinction between cultural and political representation is pertinent here. She views representation as "culturally as a construct shaping and conditioned by, social/historical cognitive modes, and politically as a "standing for and protecting the interests of a constituency" (Rajan 1993, 116) . The theme of cultural representation will be dealt with at greater length in the second section of this chapter.

[4] Throughout this thesis fiction and novel are used as interchangeable terms.

[5] Homi Bhabha defines the "in-between", as "in excess of, the sum of the 'parts' of difference" in his introduction in *The Location of Culture* (1994, 2) . Stephen Greenblatt defines Bhabha's coinage as "the zone of intersection in which all culturally determinate significations are called into question by an unresolved and unresolvable hybridity" (1991, 4) .

[6] Both "city on the hill" and the "errand into wilderness" are defining principles of the American character derived from the Puritan fathers. John Winthrope, first Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony told the Colonists in 1630 that their Mission was to build a "city upon a hill". The Puritans who had come to America to have the religious freedom to practice their beliefs strongly felt that Christ would return and restore His Kingdom. Winthrope believed that the Colonists were to act as an advance guard in setting up the Kingdom. America was to be the "city upon a hill", a model nation. Rev. Samuel Danforth used the phrase "errand into the wilderness" in an 1670 sermon to indicate the role of American culture. Perry Miller later used this phrase as a metaphor for the struggle of Protestant culture in America (1956, 1-2) . Thus in the latter part of the 17th century, the Puritan "errand into wilderness" suggested "a heightened activism—the actual transporting of a message and witness to unknown, possibly fearsome and uncivilized places" as opposed to the "city on a hill" which "suggested the influence of an exemplary society" (Hutchison 1987, 5) .

[7] Roland Barthes states that, "We know now that a text is not a line of words releasing a single 'theological' meaning (the 'message' of the Author-God) but a multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash" (1977,146) .

[8] "In the *Prison Notebooks* Gramsci says: 'The starting-point in critical elaboration is the consciousness of what one really is..... as a product of the historical process to date, which has deposited in you an infinity of traces, without leaving an inventory.' The only available English translation inexplicably leaves Gramsci's comment at that, whereas Gramsci' s Italian text concludes by adding that 'therefore it is imperative at

the outset to compile such an inventory'" (qtd in Said 1978, 25) When I compile such a list about myself, I find belief in notions of 'nationalism' and 'secularism' as being an integral component in my identity as well as my religious affiliation

[9] I borrow this phrase from Jacob S Dharmaraj's study of nineteenth century colonial Missions in India entitled, *Colonialism and Christian Mission: Post-Colonial Reflections* (1993) . History from the "underside" is an exercise in historical revisionism which seeks to offer new meaning and a new understanding of events which have been viewed previously from "the top down", i.e. from the standpoint of the colonial masters (xi) . In our context of American Missions in India also a counter reading is necessary to understand the complex relationship of American Missionary exercise with British colonialism and American imperialism.

[10] Erich Auerbach's position in *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (1968) sums up my position also. He states that, "the method of textual interpretation gives the interpreter a certain leeway. He can choose and emphasize as he pleases. It must naturally be possible to find what he claims in the text. My interpretations are no doubt guided by a specific purpose. Yet this purpose assumes form only as I went along, playing as it were with the texts, and for long stretches of my way I have been guided only by the texts themselves....Studies of this kind do not deal with laws but with trends and tendencies, which cross and complement one another in the most varied ways. I was by no means interested merely in presenting what would serve my purpose in the narrowest sense; on the contrary, it was my endeavor to accommodate multiplex data and to make my formulations correspondingly elastic (556) .

[11] I use the word "engaged" as used by Greenblatt. He states that he is not dealing with "detached scientific assessments" but with the concept of "engaged representation" denoting "representation that are relational, local and historically contingent" (1991: 12) .

[12] Refer to Aijaz Ahmad's article entitled "Between Orientalism and Historicism: Anthropological Knowledge of India" in *Studies of History*, 7: 1, 1991 for a more detailed critique of Said's *Orientalism*.

[13] Homi Bhabha states that, "The stereotype is not a simplification because it is a false representation of a given reality. It is a simplification because it is an arrested, fixated form of representation that in denying the play of difference (that the negation through the Other permits) constitutes a problem for the *representation* of the subject in signification of psychic and social relations" (1994: 75) .

[14] Refer to Derrida 1982 for more details.

[15] What is the *real* India? Bimal Matilal in "Images of India: Perceptions and Problem" stressing the impossibility of talking about India as whole, sees the real India as accommodating a complexity that cannot be reduced to simple slogans (1992: 92-95) . The question has been probed again and again and eludes simple answers.

[16] See Ahmed 1991 for arguments against Inden's reconstructions.

[17] I find George Wilson's explanation of the Saidian term, "Contrapuntal" very apt He states, "Contrapuntal readings are meant to interweave, mutually qualify, and above all, superimpose the legitimate claims of internal or intrinsic readings of a work, on the hand, and the claims of various forms of external critique, on the other" (1994: 265) .

[18] T.V Kunhi Krishnan entitles his study on Indo-American relationship as *Unfriendly Friends* (1976), R.K Gupta calls it *The Great Encounter* (1986) and Selig Harrison calls it "Dialogue of the Deaf" in *Conflicting Images* (1990).

PART ONE

Chapter Two

American Passages To India[1]

Comrade Americanos! To us, then at last the Orient comes.

Walt Whitman

The Past—the dark unfathom'd retrospect!
For what is the present after all but a growth out of the past?

Walt Whitman

The history of American passages to India reflects the various strands of the Indo-American relationship. Religion, literature, trade, politics and scholarly research have been the most important areas of transactions between India and America. This chapter narrates the history of the Indo-American connection based on the premise that individuals and written texts contribute immensely to the dissemination of ideas and images. Hence written texts and historical personalities form the major subject of this chapter.

The American interest in India began much later than the European interest and it was the Europeans who turned America's attention to India. From time immemorial India has been written about by travelers from different parts of the world. The earliest documented accounts of travel concerning India can be traced to 975 B.C when the Phoenicians imported Indian products (Kaul 1997, xix) . The Greeks, Persians, Chinese, Portuguese, Iranians, Afghans, British, Russians, Czechs, Germans, Danes and others have visited India and left accounts of their impressions of India. These as much as American travelers' accounts were responsible for the perceptions of India in the American mind. The American contact with India began only a few decades before the United States became an independent nation in 1776.

The earliest contacts between India and the U.S were made largely through European scholars, Orientalist and missionaries, and through the Americans who traveled to India as soldiers and businessmen. As those Americans who were attracted towards India were motivated by individual interests, their perceptions of India

remained largely one-dimensional They tended to create personal Indias Trade, politics and Christian Missions were the three main reasons for the inception of the Indo-American encounter and excepting Missions they continue to be the major reasons for America's interest in India In the realm of ideas, David Ludden states that, "India is...just a specific set of details in a project whose major goal is to titillate, justify, frighten, praise, and consolidate the American self" (Ludden 1995, 1) .

Jean Sedlar's distinction between the Greek world's *knowledge* of India and India's *influence* upon that world is equally pertinent here. He states that, "the gap between these two may be enormous: a great part of what any civilization merely *knows* about another will have but a meager effect upon its actual mode of existence..." (Sedlar 1980, xv) . Thus, though America may not have been greatly influenced by India, it did have knowledge of India which influenced its' relationship with India. This chapter deals with instances where knowledge of India is proven, but one must be careful in exaggerating their importance and actual influence in the history of the American nation.

The history of the American encounter with India from the mid 17th century to the present times can be divided into four phases: Early days (upto 1840s), Transcendentalist era (1840s—1890s), Mutual exchanges (1890s—1940s) and the Cold War and later (1940s—1990s) .

I-upto 1840s

As early as the 17th Century the Americans at home began to show an interest in India Cotton Mather (1663-1728) not only wrote to the German missionaries in India but he was also in touch with Elihu Yale, a prominent American who had worked in India. Yale came to India in 1672 as an employee in the East India Company and later in 1687 became the Governor of Madras. When Mather requested him to help a college in financial difficulty, Yale sent Indian textiles and goods whose sale brought sufficient money. In gratitude for his contribution, the college was renamed as Yale College and is now known as the Yale University.

In the 18th Century Americans like William Duer, John Parker Boyd and Sir David Ochterlony served in the British army in India. William Duer was aide-de-camp to Robert Clive in 1764 and Boyd, who came to India in 1789, equipped the battalion of the Nizam of Hyderabad. But it was Sir David Ochterlony who became a legendary

figure Born in Boston in 1759, he came to India in 1778 and became the British resident at the court of Delhi in 1825 He traveled like an Oriental prince with servants, cavalry, elephants and camels, he had 13 wives and many mansions One of Calcutta's landmarks— the Ochterlony Monument now known as Shahid Minar, was erected in 1832 in his honor.

Unlike the soldiers, a few Americans like William Duane were anti-government. Duane, the first American to publish a newspaper in India, was "deported in 1794 for propagating what the authorities considered as anti-British sentiments" (R. Gupta 1986, 4) . In America also, reports of the exploitation of Indians by the East India Company had begun to appear around the time the relationship between the colonies and England became strained.[2] Thus in the beginning itself the American reaction to India contained different and opposing elements, a trend characteristic of the later Indo-American relationship also.

Early trade relations and its consequences:

American interest in India began to assume a tangible form with the arrival of the Yankee traders. The first American ship to sail to India was the *United States*, owned by Capt. Thomas Bell of Philadelphia. It reached Madras in 1784 and though it carried cargo it was largely an experimental and speculative venture. The next ship to reach India was the *Hydra* in 1785. John O'Donnell's ship the *Chesapeake* reached Calcutta in 1787 and as a mark of special favor was exempted from Custom duties by the Supreme Council of Bengal. Elias Haskett Derby purchased two ships in 1788 and sent them to Bombay to be loaded with cotton and later became a millionaire through trade with India. Between 1788-1800 fifty ships left Salem for India. On Derby's death the Crownshields-John, Jacob and Benjamin, dominated the trade world. Jacob Crownshield brought the first elephant Old Bet from Calcutta to America in 1795 and it was exhibited in Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Salem and Beverly. (India continues to be associated with elephants in contemporary American minds. A recent comic strip published in America illustrates the fact. See appendix four).[3]

Carl T. Jackson notes that "In such port cities as Boston, Salem and Providence one could hardly avoid some contact with the Orient..." (1981, 7) . The markets were flooded with Indian goods; newspapers featured information about

Indian trade and Indian servant boys could be seen in the wharves It was Indian tea which was thrown into the water in the historic incident called "The Boston Tea Party". Trade flourished between India and the U.S and in fact American imports from India exceeded its imports from China, during 1784-1820 though in terms of exports China was the largest market. Apart from exchange of goods, early trade relations also helped indirectly to create awareness of Indian society and culture in America. Sea Captains at times kept detailed journals of their visits and also carried Indian books.

The East India Marine Society founded in 1799 also encouraged Sea Captains to collect books and to take notes on the customs of the people they met. Their yearly meeting, with a procession in Oriental garb with Oriental curiosities through the streets of Salem created, much interest. William Bentley, who largely drafted the society's original articles and decided about the collection of Oriental artifacts and art pieces, kept a diary which provides information about the Asian trade and missionary movement.

Though these records furnish invaluable glimpses of the American relationship with India, in the main there was little contact between America and India during this period. As a reviewer in the *American Quarterly Review* remarked in 1855, the United States had "no vast interests at stake in India, to bring her concerns 'home to our business and bosom' and that, 'to us she is still a land of fable'"(21) . Hence the trade relationship only created an aura of mystery and romance about the Orient and this remains one of the major strands in the Western imaginative conception of India.

However one significant outcome of the trade relationship was the establishment of the American Consul in India to protect America's commercial interests. In 1792 Benjamin Joy was nominated as the first Vice Consul to India and he reached Calcutta in 1794. Citing ill-health as a reason, Joy returned to Boston in late 1795 and resigned from his post in 1796. After Joy, W.J. Miller in 1796 and Jacob Lewis in 1802 were appointed as Consuls by the U.S Government but the British government refused to acknowledge them as Consuls. The war of 1812 with Britain prevented trade with India and led to the closure of consulates. Though in 1817 the U.S opened some of its Oriental consulates no attempt was made to establish any consulate in Calcutta. In 1838 P.S Parker was appointed as the first American

Consul at Bombay But only as late as 1843 did the 1968, 158 recognize James B Higginson as Consul Till then the Consuls were called Commercial Agents and they appeared to show interest only in profit. Thus the official relations between America and India were largely unorganized and ineffective and the officials showed little interest in the life and manners of India and generally, identified with the British ruling power. Bhagat's comment is apt in the present context. He states: "In the long story of American relationship with the world, the Indian chapter was but a footnote" (1970, 98).

In this "footnote" religion was an important thread. Samuel Shaw's accounts of India tended to describe the more bizarre forms of Indian religion. He wrote: "It is said that a Hindoo will sometimes, by way of penance, crawl on his belly the whole length of the Ganges... another will extend his arm and vowing never to draw it in again, keep it in that position till his death; while a third locking his hands together, will suffer the nails of each to penetrate the back of the other and in that manner rivet them inseparably" (qtd. in Jackson, 12). Amasa Delano's *Narrative of Voyages and Travels* (1817) gave a more sympathetic and positive remarks about Hindu religious practices than *The Journal of Major Samuel Shaw* (1847) (Jackson, 13).

American intellectuals and their interest in India:

Even prior to the departure of the American missionaries for India there was a growing interest in Indian religion, philosophy and social customs in the intellectual circles of America. This interest was largely kindled by scholars like William Jones, Abbé Dubois and Raja Rammohun Roy. Vedic literature and philosophy were made available in America through the pioneering English translations of Sanskrit texts by British scholars like Sir William Jones, Charles Wilkins, H.T. Colebrooke and H.H. Wilson, by French and German scholars like Alexander Langlois, Abbé Dubois, Christian Lassen and Heinrich Ritter and the works of European missionaries. Some of these translations were not only available in libraries and with individuals but were also discussed in the early American periodicals like *Commercial Adviser*, *The North American Review*, and *The Christian Register*. Thomas Jefferson's interest in William Jones, Robert Walsh's inclusion of Jones' poems "Hymn to Camdeo" and "Narayena" in an anthology are some of the proofs of America's exposure to Indian thought.[4]

William Jones, the brilliant Orientalist and a pathbreaker in Western Sanskrit scholarship, came to India in 1783 as a judge. In England, he had already established himself as able Orientalist. Well versed in law, history, languages and other subjects he was uniquely suited to kindle American interest in non-European literature especially Indian texts. He founded the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784 which contributed immensely towards the availability of translation of Indian texts and in general towards the study of Indian religious philosophy. William Jones' political sympathies with American revolutionary ideals and his contribution towards the preparation of their Common Law gained him many friends in America. Benjamin Franklin maintained a close friendship with Jones and encouraged him to emigrate to the U.S. Admiration for Jones led to the procurement of his works, a major portion of which dealt with Indian subjects. Thomas Jefferson owned a personal copy of the 1790 reprint of Jones' *Sacontala or The Fatal Ring: An Indian Drama* (1789) . Jones' *Sacontala* was also republished in *The Emerald,* a Boston periodical. His translations of several seminal Sanskrit works—*Hitopadesa* (1786), Jayadeva's *Gitagovinda* (1789), The *Ordinances of Menu* (incomplete) and *Asiatic Researches* (as editor) were also available in the U.S.[5]

American Enlightenment men like Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Rush made only fragmentary references to India in their writings. Rush in his "Commonplace Book" preserved information gleaned from traders and travelers. One such entry is on the religious life of India:

> October 8 (1791). This morning Mr. Stewart breakfasted with me. He spoke with horror of the religion of the Gentoo (Hindu) nation which admitted of women burning themselves on the same funeral pile with their husbands.... He saw one of these sights, and saw other Gentoos suspended by hooks, in their flesh and swing for a great while in the air, by order of their priests. The sufferers bear these things without complaining. He thinks their vegetable diets calms down their feelings and prevents emotions. The religion of the Gentoos consists, he says wholly in ceremony. They comb their heads and put on their cloaths[*sic*] as a part of their religion. Morality is no part of their religion. They have neither probity, nor benevolence. (Rush 1948, 210)

The Enlightenment men showed little awareness of Asian thought though they were familiar with the works of Comte de Volney and Jones who referred to Oriental thought in their writings Joseph Priestley and John Adams were major exceptions

Priestley who emigrated to the U.S in 1794 published the first serious inquiry into Oriental religions called *A Comparison of the Institutions of Moses with those of the Hindoos and Other Ancient Nations* (1799) in America. He dealt with Indian philosophy in *Disquisitions Relating to Matter and Spirit* (1772), *Discourse Relating to the Evidence of Revealed Religion* (originally delivered as public lectures in Philadelphia in 1796) and other works. He acknowledged an awareness of *Asiatic Researches, The Ordinances of Menu* and other sources of knowledge about the Hindu religion. Though he wrote to reassert the claims of Christianity as the true faith in the face of favorable comments of contemporary European writers on Oriental religions and insisted that the general character of the devotion of the Hindoos' was a "debasing superstition" he "revealed recognition of the splendor of the Asian achievement, a view that steadily grew over the century" (Jackson, 29) .

John Adams the second President of the U.S.A had correspondence with Priestley and having listened to the Philadelphia lectures of Priestley was seriously attracted to the East. His correspondence with Jefferson reveals his study of Oriental history and Hindu religion. Hannah Adam, hailed as the first woman in America to make writing a profession added a thirty-page sketch on the Asian religions in the third edition of an earlier book *A View of Religions* (1801) . Through information gathered from a random collection of histories, traveler's accounts, books like *Asiatic Researches* and Maurice's *Antiquities of India,* "she touched upon the Hindu concept of God, the Hindu trinity, metempsychosis, the religious practices of *sanyasins* and yogis, the self-immolation of Hindu widows, and the proliferation of sects" (Jackson, 18) .

Another leading figure in the saga of the Indo-American encounter is Raja Rammohun Roy.[6] His contribution to the Indian reform movement is immense but his contribution in drawing America's interest towards India is also very significant. Roy was attracted by the Serampore Missionaries and their work in the propagation of the ethical teachings of Christianity. His interpretation of Christianity in the *Precepts of Jesus* (1820) evoked much controversy and made him front page news in many

American newspapers and periodicals His debates with the missionaries were widely circulated and his translation and explication of the Hindu texts like *Upanishads* and his *Defense of Hindoo Theism* were known in America Adrienne Moore who made a detailed study of his impact on America claims that nearly 50 per cent of the religious journals in the Eastern U.S carried some reference to him. Though many Americans were more interested in his attacks on Hinduism and hoped that it would help the Christian missionaries, there were a few like Emerson, the transcendentalist, who became seriously interested in Hindu philosophy because of Roy's works. Roy had considerable influence on the Unitarian decision to start Missions in India (Jackson, 35). Moore comments with justice that "with the coming of this great leader there took place a certain fusion of East and West, a realization that in spite of distance and difference, the Indian as personified in Rammohun Roy [sic] was close kin to his American brother" (Moore 1942, 164) .

As the various connections between America and India began, a blurred image of India also began to emerge in the American mind. Apart from businessmen, soldiers, consuls and travelers, another group of Americans also traveled to India prior to the 1840s. They also contributed to the American intellectual knowledge of India. These were the missionaries and I take them up for extended study in the fourth chapter of this dissertation.

Oriental tales, plays and magazines also made the Americans aware of India. The genre of the Oriental tale had become a sensational vogue in England in the first half and in America in the later half of the 18th century. These were tales which were set in the exotic East, with bizarre customs, picturesque costumes and strange Oriental or pseudo-Oriental words sprinkled about to evoke an Oriental mood. Though tales published in America were mainly set in the Middle East there were a few which were set in India also. Samuel Larenzo Knapp published in 1802, the *Letters of Shahcoolen, a Hindu Philosopher Residing in Philadelphia to his Friend El Hassan an Inhabitant of Delhi* which showed knowledge, though of a superficial kind, of Hindu philosophy and of Jayadeva's *Gitagovinda*. Another tale in the series was published in *Polyanthos* magazine in 1813-1814. Presented as the authentic letters of people who had been to India, the pieces include descriptions of Indian customs and beliefs.

In 1800 a special attraction offered to Boston playgoers was *The Widow of Malabar* and *The Cataract of the Ganges or The Rajah's Daughter* In 1818, Park Theater, New York presented "four East Indian jugglers, recently arrived from Calcutta" in "feats of legerdemain, strength and activity". St. John's Hall in 1817 featured sword-swallowing in *Mr. Sena Samaa from Madras* (Schramm 1964, 2).

Of magazines which played a large role in the dissemination of ideas about India, two are of special interest. The *Edinburgh Review*, easily available in America, and the *North American Review* offered discussions about Oriental scholarship, Sanskrit grammar, social conditions in India, British relations with India, and a review of *Lalla Rookh* and other books on India.

Thomas Hart Benton, a Missourian Congressman had said that, "An American road to India through the heart of our country will revive upon all the wonders of which we have read and eclipse them. The Western wilderness... will start into life under its touch" (Manchanda, 31) . Though India did not play as large a part as Benton envisaged, nevertheless, the early American passages to India were indicative of future trends in the Indo-American encounter.

Thus, during this period, the mental picture of India was that of a rich land of spices, silk and sanyasins. India was seen as a land of barbaric customs—of Sati, of harsh bizarre penances, of elephants and strange heathens and of ancient wisdom and general poverty where the British, Dutch and French had colonies. As Rayapati points out rightly, "early American interest in [India in] pre 1840 was mainly out of an interest in the curious" (1973, ix) . This interest arose out of and was fed by the accounts of seamen, merchants, missionaries, soldiers, intellectuals, Oriental tales, plays and magazines. The writers were both repelled and attracted by Indian civilization and revealed a split in their attitudes towards its religion. Like the contributor of the *North American Review* (1818) on the one hand they insisted on the Vedic concept of God as "just and calculated to lead the mind to true conceptions of his character and perfections," and on the other hand they perceived Hinduism as a mixture of "barbarous sacrifices and idol worship"(386-389) .

II-1840s-1890s

This period saw the deepening of the dichotomous American image of Indian religion into a myth of India India was seen as a land of extremes—a land of ignorance, idol worship, caste system, barbaric practices and a land of spiritual insights and philosophy which had a validity and significance for the whole of mankind. In 1840 the publication of *The Dial* turned American interest from the European literary heritage to philosophies of Oriental societies. With the Transcendentalists and the Oriental scholars, a serious and sustained interest in the cultural heritage of India began to grow in the American mind.

Transcendentalists and India:

Arthur Christy's *The Orient in American Transcendentalism* (1932) is a crucial work on the subject of Transcendentalism and its links with the Orient. This exploration has been supplemented by scholars like Frederick Carpenter, Carl T. Jackson, R. K. Gupta, B. G. Gokhale, Dale Riepe and numerous others. For our purpose a brief study is sufficient to indicate the deeper connections.

Ralph Waldo Emerson spent his youth in Boston which was considerably affected by the India trade. "Shipping reports from the Orient, were a daily influence often firing the adolescent imagination as well as determining the course of American investments" (qtd. in Gupta, 29) . Emerson's father Rev. William Emerson had formed the Anthology Club in Boston in 1804 and *The Monthly Anthology*, initially edited by him, frequently discussed the Orient. Emerson had read them during his Harvard years. His aunt Mary Moody had sent him Rammohun Roy's works as well as Sir William Jones', "A Hymn to Narayena". As early as 1820 Emerson's *Journal* reveals his fascination with the Orient. He had read Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh* in 1819 and Robert Southey's *The Curse of Kehama* in 1820 which provided the largest number of ideas and images for Emerson's "Indian Superstition". Written in 1821 it won Emerson the Bowdoin prize. Emerson had also read a number of other books and periodicals on Asian thought.[7] The Bhagavad Gita fascinated him as did the "mystical emphasis" in Indian thought and specific Hindu doctrines like Maya, Karma, atman, and paramatman. As Carpenter points out, his "love of Hindu philosophy helped him

to a wider and richer development of his own thought, and ... it gave his thought a more universal appeal than that of the other Western thinkers" (1968, 158).

Though Emerson turned to the East to correct imbalances in his own culture and his concern for East-West reconciliation made him enthusiastic about the idea of a 'World Bible', a pro-Western preference is overtly present in his *Journal*. He writes, "Orientalism is Fatalism, resignation: Occidentalism is Freedom and Will" (Emerson 1930, 90). Emerson was to extend this dichotomy between Asia and Europe, Orient and Occident. In his diary Emerson mentions that in general Asia was the feminine, the passive, the religious and the contemplative while Europe was the masculine, the active and the practical. In spite of these ambivalences in his response to India there is no denying the fact that Emerson was the first important American to incorporate strains of Oriental thought in his works. "Brahma", "Hamatreya", "Over-soul", *Representative Men* (based on his lectures in 1845-46), *The Conduct of Life* (lectures delivered in 1860, discuss Fate and Illusion) attest to Emerson's borrowings from Indian philosophy. Carpenter in his examination of Emerson's connections with Asia, concludes that "like Petrarch, he is the precursor of a new Renaissance — the American Renaissance of Orientalism (1968, 255).

Henry David Thoreau, the other contributor to the main organ of American Transcendentalism *The Dial*, also showed an equal enthusiasm for Indian thought. Like Emerson he found the *Bhagavat Geeta* a stimulating text and embellished his works with Oriental quotes. He remarks in *Walden*, "How much more admirable the *Bhagavat Geeta* than all the ruins of East" (1939, 65). Earlier he had written, "'The Laws of Menu with the Gloss of Culluca' ... are the laws of you and me, a fragrance wafted down from those old times, and no more to be refuted than the wind" (1962, 261). Thoreau stating that the Oriental had nothing to do in this world and the Occidental is full of activity, commented "There is a struggle between the Oriental and the Occidental in every nation; some who would be forever contemplating the sun, and some who are hastening towards the sunset" (1963, 114).

Though Emerson was also a harsh critic of Orthodox organized Christianity Thoreau was more hostile. Contrasting the New Testament with the best of Hindoo Scriptures he stated, "the reader is nowhere raised and sustained in a higher, purer or *rarer* religion of thought than in the Bhagvat-Geeta" (1963, 111). He further

remarked, "the religion and philosophy of the Hebrews are those of a wider and ruder tribe, wanting the civility and intellectual refinements and subtlety of the Hindoos" (qtd in Jackson, 66) . Both his *A Week* and *Walden* use numerous Hindu texts and critics argue that both were the outcome of his deep involvement with Hindu thought. Christy says that the retreat to Walden may be interpreted as the yogi's abandonment of the world and W.B Stein contends that *A Week* corresponds in structure and development to the Hindu journey of the soul, "with the progression of spiritual knowledge subsumed in the traditional meditative discipline of the Indian yogies" (qtd. in Gupta, 49) . Another critic Benoit concludes that Thoreau planned Walden to be a yantra, "a chart for the gradual evolution of the Hindu vision of God and the self" (124) . Thoreau himself in a letter says,

> "Free in this world, as the buds in the air, disengaged from every kind of chains, those who have practiced the *yoga* gather in Brahma the certain fruit of their works."
> Depend upon it that, rude and careless as I am, I would fain practice the Yoga faithfully....
> "The yogin, absorbed in contemplation, contributes in his degree to creation: he breathes a divine perfume, he hears wonderful things. Divine forms traverse him without tearing him, and united to the nature which is proper to him, he goes, he acts, as animating original matter."
> To some extent, and at rare intervals, *even I am a yogin* (emphasis mine)(Thoreau 1958, 251) .

Contemporary critics of Thoreau like George Ripley of *New York Tribune* found this glorification of Oriental religion galling. Ripley found Thoreau's assertion that the sacred Books of the Brahmins were nothing inferior to the Christian Bible and his treatment of Buddha whom he calls 'my Buddha' "revolting alike to good sense and good taste" (1970, 11) . James Russell Lowell also found Thoreau's Oriental references offensive and distracting diversions. Another critic favorably reviewed Thoreau's work yet complained, "O where the end of this eternal Eastern business—his Buddha and Brahm Panegyric! ... we get too much of that heathenish music, when we have as good or better of our own" (Morton 1970, 67-68) .

At this juncture it is necessary to point out that Thoreau was not uniformly positive in his response to Hindu scriptures. Gupta notes that, "In *A Week* he criticizes *Gita* and finds Krishna's argument 'defective'"(58) . Thoreau's references to Hindu

scriptures grew rarer as he grew older but one cannot deny that his knowledge of it had a lasting effect on his life and thought

Though not as well read as Emerson and Thoreau another American Transcendentalist played a crucial role as an educator and a popularizer of Orientalism. Bronson Alcott stimulated by Emerson's interest in India began to read widely on Indian philosophy. Of the *Bhagvat Geeta* [sic] he said, "These, or selections from the book, should be included in a Bible of Mankind....Best of books—containing a wisdom blander and far more sane than that of the Hebrews, whether in the mind of Moses or of Him of Nazareth" (Alcott 1938, 180) . It is possible that Alcott was familiar with Thoreau's idea of a 'Book of Books'. Thoreau had stated in *A Week* that, "It would be worthy of the age to print together the collected scriptures or sacred writings of the several nations, the Chinese, the Hindoos, the Persians, the Hebrews, and others, as a scripture for mankind....This would be the Bible, or Book of Books, which let the missionaries carry to the uttermost parts of the earth" (1963, 116) . Alcott's *Journal* contains numerous allusions to Oriental thought, and enthusing over the idea of the World Bible he made a sketch of a 'Mankind Library' which along with the lives, the works and the times of Moses, Confucius, Zoroaster, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Christ, Mahomet, Behmen and Swedenbourg, would also have a separate section on Mythology: Oriental and Indian; Hebrew and Egyptian; Greek and Roman and Christian and Cosmic (qtd. in Christy 1963, 241 and Jackson, 72) .

Alcott played an important role in making Buddhism known. It was Alcott who encouraged and helped D.B. Mills in publishing *The Indian Saint* (1876)—the first book-length treatment of the Buddha's life. Alcott also oversaw the first American edition of Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia* and arranged for its review by such eminent men as F.B. Sanborn and George Ripley. He also introduced other Oriental texts to large audiences and Christy writes of him that "Alcott probably had no equal as a popularizer of Orientalism" (1963, 238) .

Unlike other Transcendentalists, Theodore Parker dismissed Indian religion as hideous and as mere absurdities though he favored the study of Eastern religions. Though he is largely remembered as a great preacher and reformer it is as a scholar that he interests us. He had undertaken a study of Oriental religions in Divinity school and had read the works of German scholars on Oriental subjects. In the 1830s he read

Cousin's *Comesde Philosophie* which includes a sketch of Indian philosophy and *Lalla Rookh* Parker's reference in *A Discourse of Matters Pertaining to Religion* also reveals an acquaintance with Oriental thought. Parker's ambitious outline for a book on various religions of mankind, which was never completed, reveals that Indian religion was to figure prominently in separate chapters. Like Joseph Priestley, Parker also called for a comparative approach to religion.

A significant difference from Emerson and Throeau was Parker's approach towards Eastern faiths. Jackson states that "where Emerson and Thoreau approached the Orient as devotees, Parker insisted on the need for a critical mind; where they idealized the Eastern faiths, he viewed the Asian religions as a lower stage in the evolution of Absolute Religion" (Jackson, 73-74) . His negative attitude was much in evidence. In a letter to his mentor Dr. Francis he writes:

> I don't remember any rationalistic explanations of the absurdities in the Indian Vedas. It would be contrary to the genius of the people. It seems to me that fancy predominated over all else with them. They reveled in the improbable; the grotesque took the place which the beautiful takes with us. The scientific-true, it seems to me, they cared little about. I seldom open their works, without disgust. Their historians lacked both geography and chronology... (Parker 1864, 364) .

Though Parker's approach was also selective like other Transcendentalists there can be no doubt regarding the Transcendentalist link with Indian thought Also one cannot forget the contributions of second generation Transcendentalists towards the introduction of Oriental ideas in America after the Civil War. Jackson remarks, "The decade of the 1870s—the years that produced Clarke's *The Great Religions*, Johnson's *Oriental Religion* and Conway's *Sacred Anthology*—marked the final decade in which Transcendentalists led in the American discovery of the Orient" (137).

James Freeman Clarke, a famous Unitarian minister, Harvard Lecturer, reformer and prolific writer approached Eastern religions from a very Christian perspective and may be because of it was far more successful in presenting Oriental ideas to a greater American audience than earlier Transcendentalists. As a boy he had read *Shakuntala* serialized in the *Monthly Anthology* but genuine interest in Oriental texts bloomed in the 1840s. His acquaintance with Oriental texts was considerable as is evidenced by Alcott's request for help from Clarke in the preparation for lectures on

the teaching of Oriental sages in 1849 (Jackson, 125) Clarke's treatment of Indian religions is concentrated in two chapters in *The Great Religions* (1871) on Hinduism and Buddhism. He concluded that Hinduism was essentially the religion of spirit and pantheism and Buddhism was humanistic and rationalistic. It was in his presence that Jogut Chunder Ganguli was ordained in Boston in 1860 after two years of study in the States.[8]

Samuel Johnson, another Unitarian minister later broke away from Unitarianism and founded a nonsectarian church. A serious student of Asian thought he attempted to present the Oriental religions to his congregation also. He announced that "the time has arrived in the providence of modern and industrial progress, for a mutual interchange of experience between the East and the West ... (Johnson, 29) . His attempt to judge Oriental religion on its own terms was a novel idea in 19th Century America. In *Oriental Religions and their Relation to Universal Religion* (1872) "Johnson attempted to practice what he preached. The most unsympathetic features in Asian religion are treated as natural and functional adaptations of a different religious environment. His treatment of ancestor worship, polytheism, child marriage, and caste-practices almost universally condemned in the West—is notably sympathetic. Insisting on cultural perspective, he cited parallel cases from Western life that must appear as irrational and grotesque in Eastern eyes" (Jackson, 132) .

Moncure Daniel Conway, a Harvard Divinity School product like Johnson was another Transcendentalist greatly influenced by Emerson. His original interest in Oriental ideas had been sparked by his visit to Concord to meet Emerson in 1853. He moved to London in 1864 and there met many Asian visitors including Keshub Chunder Sen, the Brahmo Samaj leader. Impressed by Sen's address he sent it to *The Radical* "suggesting that it should, 'open the eyes' of those who fancied that missionaries sent to India only had a 'number of ignorant idolaters to deal with'" (Jackson, 135) . Conway performed a crucial role in bringing aspects of the East-West encounter to the attention of Americans. His book, *My Sacred Anthology* (1874) in his own words, "contains nearly seven and hundred forty sections from the scriptures and classic authors of the East" (qtd. in Jackson, 135) .

In 1883 Conway sailed for the Orient and in 1884 he visited India where he met Helena Blavatsky, the leader of the Theosophical Movement. He also met Brahmo

Samaj leaders, Hindu pundits and Muslim scholars. Conway's book on his experience entitled *My Pilgrimage to the Wise Men of the East* (1906) suggests that a close encounter with the Orient revealed the difference between the Western idea of the spiritual East from observable reality. "One feels at every step the vast distance of the popular worship from the wit and wisdom of the ancient books" (315) . This experience has became archetypal of the West's encounter with the East.

Incidentally Conway gives an explanation for the "evil reputation of Juggenauth and his famous Car, throughout Christendom" which puzzled "learned men in India, both native and English." He writes, "It is surmised that the obstinate and proverbial fiction about the Car of Juggenauth must have originated in some accident witnessed by a missionary who supposed it a regular part of the ceremonies. There have been suicides in India, as in Christian countries, from religious mania, but the place where they are least likely to occur is in the neighborhood of Juggernauth" (1906, 179-180) . Conway also criticized missionaries, especially, the "missionaries without culture" who were sent to cultured and educated Indians, who were "men of the world in a high sense" (245-249) . He felt that, "were they to sweep diligently even among these repulsive sacrifices and ceremonies of the more uneducated Hindus, such uncommitted students might find a pearl of price which the Christian fathers possessed, but which has been lost under the invasions of metaphysics and theology" (311) . Conway applauds the Hindu's "politeness and tact" and finds him "not a propagandist of his religion" and "not addicted to the rudeness of telling others, 'Your religion is all false, mine is true'... (even when) convinced that Christianity has derived ideas from India..." (295) . Though in India he realized that, "fundamentally the only practicable religion is the struggle of Good against Evil", Conway was disappointed with "the ignorant masses in India" (339-340) .

The Free Religious Association (FRA):

Some of the second generation Transcendentalists including Conway and Johnson became a part of the Free Religious Movement. The FRA provides the crucial link, between the Transcendentalists of the 1840 and those of the end of the century, which showed an interest in scientific religious studies. The FRA was also a sharply individualistic reaction against the post-Civil War conservatism of

establishment Unitarianism and a precursor of an ecumenical Unitarianism (Lavan 1977, 5) . Established in 1867 it attracted Christians, Transcendentalists and rationalists. Two journals served as its semi official organs, *The Index* founded by Francis Ellingword and *The Radical* edited by Sidney M. Morse. Though Transcendentalists like Octavius Brooks Frothinghan, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Samuel Longfellow and William Henry Channing professed an unshakable faith in God and immortality and were very sympathetic to Eastern faiths; the rationalists like Francis Ellingwood Abbot and William Potter favored an agnostic stance and preferred a more disinterested inquiry of the Eastern faiths. In spite of these differences within the FRA, there can be a consensus on the fact that all members were deeply aware of Oriental religions and believed in the need for a systematic inquiry about them. They were united by a strong commitment to a comparative view point, admiration for the great German Orientalist Max Mueller, belief in the need for a Bible of universal Religions and a common interest in the Brahmo Samaj movement.

The FRA opened official contacts with the Samaj as early as 1867. They published Sen's works in their journals and became the agency by which Keshub Chunder Sen was first introduced to the American public. The FRA's 1870 convention with its presentation of non-Christian faiths was a pointer towards the 1893 World Parliament of Religion (WPR).

Four anthologies—Conway's *Sacred Anthology* (1874), Lydia Maria Child's *Aspiration of the World* (1878), C.D.B. Mill's *Pebbles, Pearls and Gems of the Orient* (1882) and Martin Schermerham's *Sacred Scripture of the World* (1883) dealt with Indian religions and were products of the close association of the compilers with the FRA. Lydia Maria Child, in fact, had been Vice President of the FRA for eight years. Thus the FRA "contributed significantly to America's growing awareness of Asian thought" (Jackson: 118) .

The Emergence of the Oriental Scholar in America:[9]

The era of Transcendental interest in the Orient coincided with the "emergence of the Oriental scholars" (Jackson: 179) . So far, for the most part, Americans interested in the Indian thought had no direct access to the texts. They depended on French, German or English translations and were ill-equipped to read the texts in their

original languages This changed with Edward Salisbury's efforts to bring Sanskrit studies to the fore Though around 1836 Isaac Nardheimen taught Sanskrit at the City University of New York it was with Salisbury that a widespread interest in Indian studies began.

Salisbury, while a student at Yale, was directed to Oriental studies by Horace Hayman Wilson, Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford. Later he visited Europe and studied Oriental languages under French and German scholars. Though he was asked to fill the double chair of Arabic and Sanskrit at Yale in 1841 he remained in Europe to study under the German Sanskrit scholar Christian Lassen of the University of Bonn and took up his duties only in 1843. He held the double chair till 1854 when he gave up the Sanskrit work to his student Whitney. It was Salisbury who led the American Oriental Society's transition from being largely a missionary body to being a professional Orientalist body. Founded in 1842, in the early years the Church, not the University, was the dominant force. Missionaries, ministers and theologians were in the majority and they concentrated on philology and linguistic analysis. It was Salisbury who introduced a literary and historical focus and it was his protégé Whitney who turned the society into a disciplined organization of professionals dedicated to the most demanding standards of scholarship. In the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, India received the most attention and practically all the contributions focused on Hinduism though Buddhism also received some attention.

The American Oriental scholar, William Dwight Whitney, became interested in India after reading Bopp's *Sanskrit Grammar* which his brother had brought back with him from Germany. Later he studied under Salisbury and proceeded to Germany to study under Professor Bopp and other Oriental scholars. Whitney published, translated and edited a large number of the Sanskrit texts and wrote extensively on Indo-European philology. His Vedic translations and *Sanskrit Grammar* revolutionized the study of Sanskrit in America. To bridge the gap between the specialist and the general public Whitney wrote articles in the *New Englander*, the *North American Review* and the *Nation* for the lay audience.

Spanning the nineteenth and the twentieth century were four great Sanskritists working in America: Charles Rockwell Lanman, Maurice Bloomfield, Edward Washington Hopkins and A.V. Williams Jackson. All of them followed the German

tradition of Indological scholarship and published books on Vedic grammar, epics, religion and ethics, caste system, Sankhya philosophy, and other related subjects Other scholars like William Channing of FRA showed more interest in Buddhism than Hinduism Albert J. Edmunds and H.C. Warren were pioneers in Buddhist studies in America.

All these Oriental scholars from Salisbury onwards believed in the relevance of their work, not in a spirit of antiquarian interest, but as offering help in understanding the practical problems of their times and as a study of cultural origins. Lanman remarked that, "The business of us Orientals is something that is in vital relation with urgent practical and political needs, the need most of all, to make India's spiritual heritage enrich our too hurried life" (qtd. in Gupta: 97).

Theosophy:

The second half of the 19th century also saw the establishment of the Theosophical society in New York City in 1875 by the Russian Madame Helena Blavatsky and the Americans, Henry Steele Olcott and William Quan Judge. In the early years, the Theosophical Society was pre-dominantly a Western spiritualist society and showed only little interest in Eastern religions Jackson notes that, "until 1878 psychic phenomena and mediums were much more central in Theosophy than Oriental religions" (161). It was Olcott and Blavatsky's decision "to go to India and take up residence in, what to all students of Oriental philosophy and Occult Science is a sort of 'Holy Land'" that contributed towards the growth of the Theosophical movement's Oriental connection (qtd. in Jackson 161). In India, Olcott established contact with the Arya Samaj, a society which called for the purification of Hinduism through a return to the Vedas. The American Society was also known as the Theosophical society of the Arya Samaj or Arya Vart following the alliance with Dayanand Saraswathi, leader of the Arya Samaj. Though the alliance broke up due to differences, the Theosophical movement continued to flourish in Asia. Olcott crusaded for Buddhism's revival and even published a *Buddhist Catechism* (1881). Though the revival largely took place in Srilanka, in India, under the leadership of the English Theosophist, Annie Besant, a similar crusade was launched for Hinduism. The Society opened its headquarters in Adayar, Madras in 1905. Its contribution towards the

defense of Hinduism and of the Indian Nationalist movement is well known but in the present context it is necessary to examine its activities in the United States

Though Theosophy attracted wide notice in Asia it would have disappeared in the U.S but for William Quan Judge. Though he was the legal counsel for the Society, at its inception, his legal practice had prevented his full participation. Even after Olcott's and Blavatsky's departure for India he could assume full command only in the 1880s. He revitalized the movement in America—public and private meetings were held, a library of Occult, Oriental and Theosophical books was established and a journal *The Path* was started. Judge emphasized that, "India is our great storehouse and as such ought to be used with all the means at our command" (qtd. in Jackson: 171) . Yet differences between Olcott and Judge led to a secession and an emphasis on the Society's Western Orientalism. From being one of the defenders of Oriental thought, Judge came to the conclusion that, "the future leadership would have to come from the West: though the East would continue to provide the 'storehouse of the world', the West would teach the East to use these riches" for modern Hinduism had seemingly became stagnant (Jackson: 171) .

After Judge's death the Theosophical movement in America fragmented into groups but its contribution to the 19th Century American 'discovery' of the Oriental idea was immense. The movement also indirectly influenced other American movements. Jackson cites the New Thought movement as the best example of the intermediary role of Theosophy.[10]

Other Contemporaries:

As is evident, interest in the Orient, especially India, was in the air in the nineteenth Century. Not only movements but individuals who did not belong to any groups were also caught up by the excitement for the East.

A study of Edgar Allan Poe and Nathaniel Hawthorne in the context of the Indo-American encounter leads to no clear evidence of their having read Hindu texts but certainly indicates an awareness of Hindu thought.[11] Part of the action in Poe's "A Tale of the Ragged Mountains" takes place in India and the theory of rebirth of the soul is floated indirectly making it a precursor of American fiction set in India. This is discussed more elaborately in chapter three.

Hawthorne had read Heber's *Travels in India* and had treasured his father's logbook, 1785-76 relating to his voyage from Bengal to Salem aboard the ship *America* His father had been on the ship which carried the elephant Old Bet to America. Jack Tharpe in "Hawthorne and Hindu Literature" argues that in "Rappaccini's Daughter" and "Roger Malvin's Burial" Hawthorne made use of motifs and situations drawn from *The Ramayana* and Kalidasa's *Shakuntala*. Luther S. Luedke in *Nathaniel Hawthorne and the Romance of the Orient* (1989) argues that Hawthorne was attracted by "the audience, storytelling, and exoticism that the centuries had made the 'gorgeous East' the most common stereotype of Asia, and an antithesis to the West" (qtd. in Gupta 1989, 124).

Herman Melville's place in the Indo-American encounter is comparatively more obvious than those of Poe and Hawthorne. Howard P.Vincent in *The Trying Out of Moby-Dick* (1949) proves conclusively Melville's acquaintance with Thomas Maurice's *Indian Antiquities* and points out that in *White Jacket* Melville quotes from Cameon's *Lusiad*, an epic dealing with Vasco da Gama's expedition to India.

Many of Melville's allusions to India in his works are casual and incidental. In *Redburn* (1849) the hero meets the passengers in an Indian Steamer and is impressed by their ascetic self-denial and apparent indifference to death. *Mardi* (1849), *Omoo* (1847), *Moby Dick* (1851) and *Billy Budd* (1889) have numerous references to India's teak, jugglers, architecture, religion and mythology. Both James Baird and Walter Weber identify some of Melville's most potent symbols with India and the Orient in general (R. Gupta, 68). Melville also showed awareness of not only Hinduism but also Buddhism. He wrote a poem, "Buddha" and his protagonist in "Rammon" professes, "It is Buddha I love" (1947, 416). Interestingly Melville's canto "of Rama" in "Clarel" according to a critic "is colored by the cultural myth of the American Adam and turns him over into a divine frontiersman running an errand into the wilderness, around the bend of the river" (Raghavacharyulu 1949, 37).

Another novel in which India figures is Lew Wallace's *The Prince of India* (1893). A story of a wandering Jew who tries to establish an Universal Religious Brotherhood, it has numerous references to India and the Vedas. The Prince in one of his earlier existences is shown to have been a disciple of Siddhartha and a Rajah of Rajputana (Schramm 1964, 43-44).

John Greenleaf Whittier, a poet whose works place him in the Age of American Romanticism had read Oriental books Apart from poems on the Indian religions—"Brewing of Soma" and "Oriental Maxims", Whittier also showed an awareness of the tribes of India in "The Pipes of Lucknow".

Walt Whitman had also caught the Oriental spirit. Though there is no complete evidence of the extent of Whitman's reading of Indian texts his works show remarkable affinities with Indian thought and his *Notes and Fragments* (1899) reveals his exposure to Indian texts. Also Whitman himself had claimed in *Backward Glance* that he had read "the ancient Hindoo poems" (qtd. in R. Gupta, 73).

In "Passage to India" India is seen as the beginning, the cradle of civilization, the land of the spiritual origins of man and the title refers to both the physical and the spiritual voyage. In "Chanting the Square Deific" he writes,

> Jehovah am, I
> Old Brahm I, and I Saturinius am
> (1982, 559).

thus showing a belief in the recognition of God in various forms and oneness with self.

William Rouseville Alger's *The Poetry of the East* (1856), an anthology of specimens of Hindu, Persian, Sufi and Arabic Poetry with Alger's own improvisations also highlights the American enthusiasm for the Orient. Gupta points out that his ruling theme seemed to be:

> Young and enterprising is the West
> Old and meditative is the East
> Turn O Youth! with intellectual eyes,
> Where the sage invites thee to his feast.
> (qtd. in R. Gupta, 99)

Though he had stated that it was unfair and misleading to view Oriental poetry as one monolithic product without distinguishing them as Indian, Arabic, Persian he too fell prey to the same fallacy. Alger, like Emerson, also sees India and America as passive and active respectively.

Sidney Lanier who wrote a poem on "Nirvana" and "Sketches of India", confessed that "he under hardship turned to the effacing philosophies of India" (qtd. in Schramm, 36). James Russell Lowell's "An Oriental Apologue" is a 300 lines abuse

of Hindu-Moslem controversies in India It involves two rival holy men on opposite banks of a river,

> Somewhere in India, upon a time,...
> There dwelt two saints whose privilege
> sublime
> It was to sit and watch the world grow
> worse,
> Their only care (in that delicious clime)
> At proper intervals to pray and curse;...
>
> One was a dancing Dervise, a Moham-
> medan,
> The Other was a Hindu, gymnosophist;
> One kept his whatd'yecallit, and his Ram-
> adan,
> Laughing to scorn the sacred rites and laws
> of his
> Transfluvial rival, who, in turn called
> Ahmed an
> Old top, and , as a clincher, shook across a
> fist
> With nails six inches long, yet lifted
> not
> His eyes from off his navel's mystic knot (Lowell n.d , 161-162).

Some of the American travelers visiting India also wrote about their impressions of the country. Caleb Wright's *India and its Inhabitants* (1858) was according to R. K Gupta "full of false and calumnious information" (111) but enjoyed enormous success as did Hezekiah Butterworth's *Zig-Zag Journeys to India* (1889) . Bayard Taylor and Henry Seward presented India in a more sympathetic light. Bayard Taylor was the first American correspondent to visit India and he was sent by the *New York Tribune*. His experiences are chronicled in *A Visit to India, China and Japan in the Year 1853* (1855) .[12] Gupta comments that "for the most part travelers' books tended to emphasize the more sensational aspects of Indian life and others to reinforce negative stereotypes of the country in the American mind (112) .

On the official side, the first American Consul General Charles Huffnagle reported for the first time about matters other than trade. Though he considered the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 as a 'peculiar state of affairs' and did not mention it in his

dispatches, he nevertheless transmitted an awareness of happenings in India (D. Singh 1974, 18) The Americans' sympathy at this stage of the Indo-American relationship was connected to the Anglo-American relationship also. At the time of the Mutiny many Americans expressed sympathy for the English position (Bhagat, 97, 125). Thus at times of crisis the American sympathy lay with the West.

Two Indian women who captured America's interest during this time were Anandibai Joshi and Pandita Ramabai. Anandibai Joshi was the first high caste woman to set sail to America in 1883. After the death of her child she was heart broken and felt the need for women doctors in India. Her husband Gopal Vinayak Joshi wrote to an American editor for assistance. Though the reply was not encouraging a copy of his letter published in the Editor's magazine fell into the hands of Mrs. Carpenter of New Jersey who longed to help India. Friendly correspondence led to Anandibai setting sail for America and she did medicine in the Women's Medical College, Philadelphia and graduated in 1886. She died in 1887 within a few months of her return to India. After her untimely death, the Unitarian Charles Dall's wife Caroline Healey published *The Life of Anandibai Joshi* (1888).

When asked to deliver a speech in America on child-marriages in India she praised the system. "Great astonishment was caused, for the audience naturally expected caustic criticism of the retrograde system still prevailing in India". Dean Bodley commented about her friend's views thus: "If there are any who still cherish the feelings of disappointment and regret engendered that April afternoon(1884), let them return to Ramabai's chapter on married life in this book (referring to the third chapter in *The High Caste Hindu Woman*) and learn how absolutely impossible it was for a High caste Hindu to speak otherwise"(qtd. in Sengupta 1970,155).

Pandita Ramabai traveled from England to America at Anandibai's invitation in 1886. She made many friends among missionaries, educationists, doctors, and teachers. She wrote the book *The High Caste Hindu Woman* which "electrified American Society" to defray the cost of printing illustrated textbooks for her schools in India where high-caste Hindu women would be teachers (Sengupta, 159). The book won attention for high-caste child widows. In the introduction to Sengupta's book, Clemintina Butler said "modern , bustling America hardly knew that such a class existed, and the missionaries were not fully aware of the weight upon the girl-child's

heart, of feeling condemnation because of the belief that the curse of the gods was the cause of the death of the boy or man to whom she was betrothed" (3-4) . The book focused in Pandita Ramabai's words on the "hated and despised class of woman" who were to be "educated and enlightened" to "redeem India" (Sengupta, 159) . Pandita Ramabai was in America till 1888. A Pandita Ramabai association was formed in Boston in 1887. Though a small group it nevertheless continued to finance her work. Though Vivekananda and Ramakrishna did not approve of her because she became a Christian, yet in America it was she who along with Anandibai startled the New World. Both by them their staunch Indian modes of living, inspired respect among Americans.

Thus the American image of India in this period is an amalgam of constructed reality and imagination, disgust and admiration and of an idealized vision of the past and a bizarre, stark vision of the present. The missionary picture of the poverty and misery of the people in a land of 'peculiar' practices was different from the Transcendentalist picture of the yogis in a land of rich theological literature. But the Transcendentalists also had a dichotomous vision. On the one hand they saw India as the land of spiritual treasures and on the other hand they saw it as the land of popular barbaric religious practices. Emerson had written in 1845 thus: "Indian mythology a lace veil, clouds of legends, but the old forms seen through, he should infer a country of sages and devotees but there seems no relation between the book and the actual population" (qtd. in Gokhale 1992, 20) . The travelers also found the reality different from their conception of India. Gokhale points out that "the Indian image assumes a dichotomous nature, wherein the contemporary Indian reality of political subjugation, economic deprivation and religious and intellectual atrophy stands starkly against a glorious past of lofty achievements in philosophy and literature" (31) .

Though the scholars showed much interest and studied the Orient for the general public, "India remained a vague, fabulous and at times vaguely repellent presence" (R. Gupta, 97) . Though this period saw the beginning of the systematization of the academic study of India, and a cultish interest in India, the general population remained largely ignorant of these developments and images of Indian religion dominated the American consciousness of India.

III-1890s-1940s

The 1890s saw the emergence of the U.S as a colonial power with the acquisition of the Spanish possessions in the Caribbean and the Philippine Islands. The age of Transcendentalism and Romanticism had given way to the Age of Realism. America entered an era of expansion. India became peripheral to American interests. News of India came largely through the British Foreign Office and the British in India. Kipling's works became a major source for the understanding of the East. Many Americans grew up on the works of Kipling and India for Americans was Kiplingesque. For the American critic possessing little or no knowledge of India, Kipling's stories revealed the only India they would ever know. Harold Isaacs' interviews also shows 61 of 181 Americans mentioning Kipling. America was also beginning to understand the "White Man's Burden". Significantly, Kipling addressed a poem with the "White Man's Burden" to President William Mckinsley. At about the same time Indians also began to combat the facile generalizations about India, and to represent their country in their own way.

Swami Vivekananda reached the United States in 1893. At the World Parliament of Religions (WPR) he made a memorable speech and made an impression on the Americans. As Thomas Wendall reviewing this moment in history notes, "The princely swami... was the first real Hindu many Americans had seen, and the *first missionary from the East to the West*" (emphasis added) (qtd in Glazer 1990, 112). Later Vivekananda gave a series of lectures in various parts of the U.S on India, Hinduism, and Buddhism. In these lectures he saw the East and the West as complementary and attacked Christian Missions in India. He founded a Vedanta Society in New York in 1894 and established a Shanti Ashram in 1899 and two other Vedanta Societies in Los Angeles and San Francisco in 1900.

Marie Louis Burke in *Swami Vivekananda in America: New Discoveries* (1958) discusses his activities in the U.S and its impact on the U.S. Vivekananda tried to present a balanced picture of India. Berating the negative conception of India spread by missionaries, travelers and even by some Indians, he asserted the following:

> the product of the slums of any nation cannot be the criterion of our judgment of that Nation. One may collect the rotten, worm-eaten apples under every apple tree in the world and write a book about each of them

> and still know nothing of the beauty and possibilities of the apple tree (1971, 503-504)

Vivekananda also stressed that the East was spiritual and the West material and extended this stereotype to imply that each could learn from the other (1971, 18) . Burke claims Swami Vivekananda was "the first great prophet sent to this America by God" to light the fire of spirituality in innumerable hearts (477-488) . Though this is a partisan view of Swami Vivekananda there is no denying the fact that he opened up new vistas of experience and by stressing the spiritual image of India as a contrast to American materialism gained many devotees. Unfortunately Vivekananda also indirectly contributed to what Stern calls "the spurious Indianism". Around the Vedanta movement, "developed rapidly a periphery of spirituals, astrologers, clairvoyants and magicians whose activities helped to deepen the old stereotypes about the 'mysterious' East" (Stern 1956, 241) .

The other Indian delegates at the WPR, Narasimha Chari, Virchand R. Gandhi, B.B.Nagarkar, Professor G.N. Chakravarti, Jean Sarabji and Chunder Mozoomdar, spoke on Hinduism, Jainism and Parseeism. Of special importance was P.C. Mozoomdar who had made an earlier lecture visit to the U.S in 1884. A Brahmo Samaj leader, he in an address on the World's religious debt to Asia urged the "need for the West to counterbalance its materialistic achievement with the spirituality of the Orient" (Jackson, 249) . Lucy Monroe a reporter at the WPR suggested that perhaps the "most tangible result" of the Parliament had been the "feeling it aroused in regard to foreign Missions. The impertinence of sending half-educated theological students to instruct these wise and erudite Orientals was never brought home to an English speaking audience more forcibly" (qtd. in Jackson 250) .

Another major Hindu movement in the early twentieth century was the Yogoda movement, later called the 'Self-Realization Fellowship' launched by Swami Yogananda in 1925. Yogananda went to attend a conference sponsored by the Unitarians and stayed back to lecture in various places in the United States. He established the first headquarters of the Yogoda Satsanga in Los Angeles. Diana L. Eck in her study of Indian religious movements in America says that until 1965 it was the most important and extensive Hindu organization in the United States (1990, 113) .

Though the Parliament of Religions was hailed as the most important religious gathering, the greatest event so far in the history of the world, most lay Americans were quite unaware of it. During the Parliament of Religions Americans had found the spectacle of Orientals as interesting as the subject of the conference if not more interesting Mark Twain, the next significant personality in the history of the Indo-American encounter also found the superficial more interesting than any real understanding of India. Arriving in India in 1896 he was in the country for nearly two months and wrote about his experiences in India in *Following the Equator* (1897) . Twain had read much on India before he began his tour and most of his sources were British like Sir William Sleeman's *Rambles and Reflections of an Indian Official* (1841), *Institutes of Menu*, Macaulay's *Minute*, and Sir Henry Lawrence's work on Punjab. Kipling was a friend of Twain and Twain was familiar with his works also. He felt that "the most fortunate thing that has ever befallen that empire was the establishment of British supremacy there" (1925, 301) . In 1869 Twain had stated that in India helpless widows were in imminent danger of being burnt alive "the moment British rule relaxes"(qtd. in Gupta, 127) . About his projected trip to India, Twain wrote to Kipling, "I shall come riding my ayah with his tusks adorned with silver bells and ribbons and escorted by a troop of native howdahs richly clad and mounted upon a herd of wild bungalows; and you must be on hand with a few bottles of ghees, for I shall be thirsty" (1917, 629) . He saw India largely through Kipling's eyes and through those of other British writers. The story of Thugee as told by Sleeman is told in two chapters. Sati, infanticide, famine, plague, all come for their share of attention. His visit to India reinforced his 'Arabian Nights' image of India. He writes,

> This is indeed India, the land of dreams and romance, of fabulous wealth and fabulous poverty, of splendor and rags, of palaces and hovels, of famine and pestilence, of genii and giants and Aladdin lamps, of tigers and elephants, the cobra and the jungle, the country of a hundred nations and a hundred tongues, of a thousand religions and two millions gods, cradle of the human race, birthplace of human speech, mother of history, grandmother of legend, great-grandmother of tradition, whose yesterdays bear date with the moldering antiquities of the rest of the nations-the one sole country under the sun that is endowed with an imperishable interest for alien prince and alien peasant, for lettered and ignorant, wise and fool, rich and poor, bond and

> free, the one land that *all* men desire to see, and having seen once, by even a glimpse, would not give that glimpse for all the shows of all the rest of the globe combined (1925, 16)

India remains 'a land of wonders' for Twain.

> India has many names, and they are correctly descriptive. It is the Land of Contradictions, the Land of Subtlety and Superstition, the Land of Wealth and Poverty, the Land of Splendor and Desolation, the Land of Plague and Famine, the Land of the Thug and the Poisoner, and of the Meek and the Patient, the Land of Suttee, the Land of the Unreinstatebale Widow, the Land where All Life is Holy, the Land of Cremation, the Land where Vulture is a Grave and a Monument, the Land of the Multitudinous Gods .... It is wonderful, the power of a faith like that, that can make multitudes upon multitudes" undertake long and difficult pilgrimages.. we all talk self-sacrifice, and this makes me hope that we are large enough to honor it in the Hindu. (146-149)

The next traveler of note was Rabindranath Tagore. Though Ezra Pound was instrumental in introducing Tagore to America, Tagore came into the limelight when he won the Nobel prize for literature in 1912. In 1914 his works were available in the American market. His critical reception was mixed. Where Pound lauded Tagore's "mythopoeic sense" and found a serenity in his poem lost in European poetry, there were others like Joyce Kilmer who accused him of tempting Christians to "substitute fatalism for hope, Nirvana for heaven and... Krishna for Jesus Christ".[13] But it is significant that both types of critics saw him as a religious and mystical man and though Pound deprecated Tagore's image as a prophet and spoke of him as an artist, for the Americans, "Tagore remained a mystical and prophetic figure imbued with the mystery and religions of the East" (R. Gupta, 133). Tagore visited the U.S five times between 1912 to 1930 and had varied receptions and experiences [14] He gave a series of lectures on 'Race conflict', 'The cult of Nationalism', and religious philosophy all of which tended to emphasize his image as a religious philosopher. He was addressed as 'Reverend Master' by Will Durant. Sinclair Lewis, Theodore Dreiser and other well-known Americans acknowledged his genius.

Tagore was not the first person to have turned American attention towards the rise of Nationalism in India. As early as 1905 Lala Lajpat Rai, an Indian freedom

fighter, visited the U S and then again in 1914 to gain support for the nationalist cause (Manchanda, 118-125) . Another Indian, Tarakanath Das, who went to the States in 1906 to study at the University of Washington, was also instrumental in publishing an English monthly *Free Hindustan* from 1908 which advanced seditious propaganda against Britain rule in India. Later it was stopped at the instigation of the British. Lala Hardayal, an arch Indian agitator went to the States in 1911 and established the Ghadar Party in America (Manchanda, 27-28) along with other leaders. Das, along with other leaders, was arrested in the so called Hindu conspiracy case of 1917. After his release he organized the "Friends of Freedom for India" an organization which attracted many American supporters.

Gandhi's non-cooperation movement in 1919 found sympathy in America. Rev. John J. Holmes, J.T. Suderland and the *New Republic* and the *Nation* supported the Gandhian cause. Sunderland's *India in Bondage* (1929), a collection of his articles and essays on India supported the Indian cause, but its Indian edition was suppressed by the Government of India and its publisher and printer were fined and given prison sentences (Lavan, 177) . Both Unitarians, Suderland and Holmes did much to bring the attention of the Americans to the Indian cause. Holmes met Gandhi in London and remained a devotee. President Carter acknowledged that Mahatma Gandhi "exerted a deep and a lasting influence... His teaching and example had an immense impact on the most significant American social movement of the twentieth century—the struggle for racial equality" (R. Gupta, 149-150) . Indians living in the United States also made significant contributions to Indo-American understanding. Sudhindra Nath Bose, Dan Gopal Mukherji and Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar through their writings and talks interpreted Indian civilization and Indian issues to American audiences. (Barrier 1986, 9-10) . British efforts to combat the growing sympathy for the nationalistic cause brought Katherine Mayo to the shores of India.

The American interest in the "rotten apples" in India which Vivekananda and Tagore had tried to fight reached its apex in 1927 when Katherine Mayo published her controversial book *Mother India*. A.M. Rosenthal in his article "*Mother India* Thirty Years After" (1957), Harold Isaacs in *Scratches on Our Minds* (1958) and Manoranjan Jha in *Katherine Mayo and India* (1971) have stressed the tremendous impact of

Mayo's book on the American imagination. For the Americans Mayo's picture of India became *the* picture of India

Jha convincingly argues that Mayo's book was an officially inspired piece of propaganda to discredit the nationalist struggle from gaining sympathy in America. Gokhale also points out that her love for the British and their empire, her distaste for Asians, and British interest in her hatchet job on Philipinos and their culture in *Isle of Fear*, combined to create conditions for her to do a similar work on India, with the connivance of the British. Edward Thompson in *An Indian Day* (1927) criticizes the British attitude towards American tourists like Miss Mayo indirectly.

> And Hilda thought, Britain is restive about this Empire of hers, she does not care what her own people think, but she is anxious to conciliate___ if necessary, to deceive___ these spies who come from outside, especially if they come from that annoying, powerful, wealthy America that is so highly moral and meddling. So instinctively, as well as from deliberate policy, the administration had gone out of its way and fed this woman with flattery as a prize cat is fed with cream. She was now purring and happy; she was going back to America, she told Hilda, to tell her people that "these natives" were "very unreasonable" and there was "more real democracy" in the British Government of India than she had ever believed. (214)

Whatever the cause of the book there is no disputing its effect. No book on India created such a furor among the Indians and a wide interest in the Americans. Exaggerations and distortions, disgust and revulsion in the guise of a factual scientific document were the hallmarks of Mayo's works.

Mayo's *Mother India* (1927) and her short story collection, *Slaves of the Gods* (1929) and *The Face of Mother India* (1935) (a collection of photographs) all had a profound effect on the image of India in the American mind in the 1920s and 1930s and its lingering effect could be seen much later also. India emerged as a land of innumerable barbaric practices and horrors like child marriages, Sati, untouchability, animal sacrifice, malnutrition, health problems, barbaric Hindu rituals. She wrote, "Inertia, helplessness, lack of initiative and originality, lack of staying power and of sustained loyalties, sterility of enthusiasm, weakness of life-

vigor itself all are traits that truly characterize the Indian not only of today, but of long past history" (1927, 16).

Mayo was a contemporary of T.S. Eliot and one wonders if she was aware of his works which once again emphasized the spiritual image of India. Though critics are divided about the extent of T.S. Eliot's interest and debt to Indian thought there is no doubt about his awareness of Indian philosophy. Even as a boy he had read Kipling's stories and Edwin Arnold's *The Light of Asia*. Between 1911 and 1914 he had taken three courses in ancient Indian languages and literature at Harvard. Eliot as the editor of the *Criterion* must also have been familiar with material dealing with Indian culture and thought, including Mayo's *Mother India* as well as E.M. Forster's *Passage to India*. But it is Indian philosophy which was of abiding interest for him and he himself acknowledged in 1948 that his poetry "shows the influence of Indian thought and sensibility" (113). *The Waste Land* is liberally sprinkled with Indian references as are the *Four Quartets* and *The Cocktail Party*.[15] T.S. Eliot was one of the few American writers who knew his sources first hand and not merely through translations by Western Orientalist. In his poem "To the Indians who Died in Africa" (1943) he refers to Indian troops fighting in the cause of the Empire, but predominantly as Gokhale points out "Like the India of Emerson and Thoreau, Eliot's India is largely an intellectual and spiritual construct, an abstraction rather than a place"(62).

The other writers of 1930s who actually visited India were Will Durant and John Gunther. In their books *A Case for India* (1930) and *Inside Asia* (1939) respectively they dealt with contemporary India. Other writers of the pre-1947 era, Theodore Dreiser, Henry Miller, John Steinbeck and Eugene O'Neill also stress the spiritual image of India. Dreiser's series on the great financier *Trilogy of Desire* ends with the visit to an Indian ashram. Beatrice continuing Frank Copperhead's search finds in India an answer to the rapaciousness of Western industrialization and the self-obsession of its people in "Non attachment."[16] For Steinbeck also the alternative to the materialism of United States was the spirituality of Hinduism. The characters in his novel *Tortilla Flat* and *Cannery Row* exemplify non-attachment. His other works like *To a God Unknown*[17] and *The Grapes of Wrath* also show identifiable Indian elements. Henry Miller an admirer of Sri Ramakrishna, Vivekananda, J. Krishnamurti, and

Swami Prahavananda reveals considerable Indian influence in his works He too looks at detachment as a desirable goal Eugene O'Neill also makes extensive use of Indian religions especially Buddhism in his plays. *The Fountain, Marco Millions* and *Lazarus Laughed* contain numerous references to Indian thought.

Others like J.D. Salinger, Truman Capote, Tennessee Williams have threads of Oriental Wisdom in their works and they also saw the East as a corrective to the West. Saul Bellow and Thornton Wilder have created characters who are influenced by Gandhi in varying ways. Muriel Rukeyser's poem "Ajanta" uses Indian vocabulary of line, color, space and dimension (R. Gupta 1986, 185-202).

This period also witnessed the influence of Gandhi on the American mind and increasing American involvement with India's independence struggle. Apart from Sunderland and Holmes, Sherwood Eddy, Kirby Page, Richard Bartlett Gregg, Frederick Bohn Fisher and Josef Washington Hall also wrote about Gandhi. "India was top news for several periods between 1930 and 1934, particularly on the occasion of the Salt March, the bloody raid on the Dharsana Salt Works and the Round Table Conferences" (Barrier 1986, 18). A group of Indians and Americans went from new York to Philadelphia and were greeted by the Mayor. Later they garlanded the Liberty Bell and held demonstrations. The American League for India's Independence and Foreign Policy Association sponsored many programs on the Indian Independence issue (Barrier, 18).[18]

Apart from the Mayo phenomenon and America's role in India's Independence struggle there were other minor threads of connections. From 1885 to 1915, "no American institution of higher learning showed anything like the interest in Indian thought evinced by Harvard University"(Riepe 1970, 77).[19] Harvard played a central role in the academic study of India during this period. George Santayana discussed Indian doctrines of *maya*, transmigration, *karma* etc., in his writings.[20] This period also saw the beginning of an interesting exchange of cultural forms. Ruth St. Denis the famous dancer who inaugurated an experimental form of ballet was a pioneering figure in the Indo-American cultural transactions. Seeing an Indian village peopled among other things, by snake charmers and dancers at the Coney Island amusement park she began learning Indian dance forms. Her performances 'The Cobras', 'The Incense', 'The Yogi' and 'Radha' were a novel exhibition for the Americans. Later in 1925 she

and her dancers began their tour of the Orient and won acclaim from Tagore and others Tagore had been present at her earlier performance in Broadway also. In 1940 St Denis and La Meri an exponent of ethnic dance founded the school of Natya in New York In Joseph H. Mazo's words, "Americans in the 1900s thought little of Orientals—plays made them either villains or buffoons. St. Denis' dance gave America some idea that Orientals are cultural human beings" (R. Gupta 1986, 152-153).

St. Denis' husband Ted was instrumental in introducing the Indian dancer Balasaraswathi to Americans. In the field of art Ananda K. Coomaraswamy and Stella Kamrisch enormously contributed to the growth and awareness of Indian art in the United States through extensive art collection exhibitions, lectures and books. Once begun, the traffic of dancers, musicians, and actors continued and flourished. The traffic which had started prior to independence continues to flourish till date.

IV-1940s—1990s

Indian independence saw some interesting developments in the Indo-American relationship as diplomatic relations were established with a free India American sympathy for India's independence and Franklin D. Roosevelt's attempts to persuade Churchill to do something about the 'Indian problem' made the new government of India look with friendly eyes on America America had to deal with Indians now. Initially Americans wanted to strengthen their relationships with India because of its strategic importance in the context of the conflict between America and the Soviet Union But India's choice of non-alignment during the inception of the Cold War made the relationship between the two countries problematic. A detailed discussion of the political relationship of the two countries is beyond the scope of this study, nevertheless a brief knowledge is essential for any study of the Indo-American encounter, as these relations reflect differing national perceptions on both sides It is especially important to stress on the impact of the Cold War on the Indo-American relationship.

In the late 1940s, when America engrossed in its "holy war"[21] against Communism, paid scant attention to South Asia as its,

> population and size alone did not translate into importance for U.S policymakers....The newly

> independent countries of South Asia seemed to most senior policy makers, and to *the American populace as a whole, to be lands as remote as they were exotic.* The New York Congressman hardly exaggerated when, on the eve of partition, he remarked that, 'most Americans still think of India as a land of minarets and performers of the rope trick'. (emphasis added) (qtd. in McMohan 1994, 4-5)

But India which was 'on the periphery of the American consciousness' became important as America became aware of its strategic position. America wanted India to ally herself with it in containing Communism. India's policy of non-alignment only made the Indo-American relationship more difficult.[22] America's "short-tether approach"[23] when requested for aid led to further misunderstandings. India saw America as attempting to substitute economic imperialism for the political imperialism of the British. Ambassador Chester Bowles' efforts to improve the Indo-American relationship were partially successful but the Congress which wanted to maintain a balance of power in the region could not accept all his recommendations. India's stubborn refusal to align itself with America, led America to lean towards Pakistan.

The Kennedy period saw a more warm and sympathetic American response to India. But the U.S 'unconditional' support to Pakistan in the 1970s during the Bangladesh crisis widened the official differences between the two nations. The issue of Vietnam deepened the differences. India has always believed that the U.S wants to create its own brand of balance of power in Asia and that America has been interested in India only in so far as its own national interests are concerned. Mutual misunderstandings and distrust, shifts from friendship to suspicion and vice versa, ignorance about the Other have been the hallmarks of the strange, paradoxical Indo-American relationship. But the relationship of "unfriendly friends" also created more opportunities for interaction. As a great number of Americans visited India and Indians went to America for a variety of purposes, the middle-man/nation Britain was overthrown. New institutional links were forged and a network of American professionals started to participate in India's development programs. New relationships at times cemented old perceptions and at other times created new links and understanding.

Gary Hess concludes his study of American perspectives on India during 1947-1990 stating that, "In the 1990s, the American images of India are still a blend of stereotypes competing with expectations of a democratic society and economic advancements These perceptions remain today—as they have for more than forty year--at once hazy, contradictory, and illuminating"(1991, 28) . A brief glimpse of this amalgamation of new awareness and old stereotypical imagination can be seen in the writings of ambassadors, journalists and other American visitors to India.

In *The Voice of Asia* (1951) James A. Michener through a series of interviews, ranging from Dr. Ambedkar's to a student's at a college in Calcutta, highlights a variety of issues like the Hindu Code Bill, Caste system, Partition riots, the modern Indian woman's battle for freedom and the famine and drought situation. His conclusion about India is very significant :

> When I think of India, I think of the Kashmiri Gate. It stands in the Western Wall of Delhi and through it have passed conquerors, new religions, old beggars and the princely viceroys of British India.
>
> But I remember the Kashmiri Gate because of a somewhat different traveler. There was a young woman who haunted their gate and in some ways she spoke of India. I could pass through the gate to Sohan Lal's for a fine evening and I could think that India was a land of brilliant philosophy, I passed through the gate for dinner at the expensive hotels and I could imagine that India was a center of great wealth. And drive in the countryside where the prolific growth of the soil impressed me, but when I came back through the Kashmiri Gate I would see this stray woman and I could never forget that she was India too.
>
> For she was naked... was either a madwoman or someone protesting the bitterly high price of cloth...No one thought to arrest her.
>
> *There is much in India that no American can understand. It is a different land requiring different approaches.* (emphasis added) (293- 294)[24]

Eleanor Roosevelt in her book *India and the Awakening East* (1953) draws a sympathetic portrait of India. India to her is a land with daunting problems of economic construction, caste and untouchability and religious and linguistic pluralism. She sees India as awakening from a long slumber into the dawn of freedom, its people rising from misery and despair to heroically marching into a promised land of peace,

prosperity and human dignity [24] A contemporary of Eleanor, Margaret Burke-White in *Halfway to Freedom* (1949) also expresses optimism about India's future. She emphasizes the caste system and has a chapter on the untouchables whom she calls, "the children of lime pit" (qtd. in Hess, 4).

Chester Bowles recollects his experiences during his stay in India as ambassador of the United States in *Ambassador's Report* (1954). He finds clichés about India, collected in the United States, turning upside down (26). Condemning the American lack of knowledge about Indian history, he states that, "India, we thought, was a land where history cannot be lightly brushed aside" (47). His experiences in India and his opinion about the Indo-American relationship provide an insight into a lovable India emerging as a strong nation. He finds Indians no worse or better than other people. Addressing Americans he stated, "Now a new frontier awaits us, working with peoples of all races and religions in the economic, social, and political development of every underdeveloped continent and country, which is this century's main adventure"(401-402).

Chester Bowles' daughter Cynthia describes her life in India in *At Home in India* (1956). Narrating her experiences, in Delhi Public School, Shantinekathan, Kahirati Clinic and Village India, she confesses her love for India and her friends. India emerges as a nation striding forward, as a land of villages and a place where Americans can feel "at home". She concludes by stating that "East and West *can* meet" and true friendships, a realization that people everywhere share the same dreams can promote sympathy and understanding in the world and surmount cultural barriers (178).

Another ambassador, John Kenneth Galbraith also wrote about his years in India. His voluminous *Ambassador's Journal* is an edited version of his journal written during his stay in India. It records events and India emerges as a proud and beautiful nation awakening to new challenges and desperately (at times pathetically) trying to assert itself. Interestingly, we find Pearl Buck and Welthy Fisher being mentioned. Galbraith met Pearl Buck during her trip to India and Mrs. Galbraith calls Welthy Fisher a "remarkable American" for her contribution in establishing Literacy Villages in India. In Gokhale's words, "Galbraith's account is a matter of fact, unemotional, and in places, a sardonic comment on India in a period of crisis"(71).

Saunders Redding, an English teacher and Carl Rowan, a well known journalist came to India sponsored by the State Department in 1952 and 1954 respectively Recounting their experiences in India in *An American in India* (1954) and *The Pitiful and the Proud* (1956) respectively they show very clearly the other side of the picture. As Gokhale points out, "there is an added element of bitterness in the writings of the two Black Americans ... the reason ... Black Americans had both to defend their Blackness and America. Such a burden cannot make for ease of communication and lucidity in perceptions"(74).

Saunders Redding came to India having "depersonalize[d] [him]self". Feeling free, as an American Negro who had "no spiritual investment in it [America]" and to whom "the national unit called America meant nothing" he is prepared to give the "clinical truth" about America to India (1954, 11). But from his accidental glimpse of Americans in Geneva airport enroute to India till his return to America he found "the old, bedeviling duality—the two-in-one feeling" within himself. He states, "I had not shed them—American, Negro; American-Negro— and the realization made me gloomy" (13). And India does not allow him to forget this duality. Caught in a vortex of hostile questions about America and personal welcome extended because of his color he finds India argumentative, opinionated and obstinate. Searching for the "mind of India", accepting that the village is the key to India, he is nevertheless unable to understand the village or India which is indifferent to the spread of Communism and spouts against progress. He is sought out by a Jain sadhu who asks him to spread the message of renunciation in America. He is bewildered by students, who had attacked America bitterly, asking for help in getting into America. If at times he is ashamed of brash America which questions Indians, other times he is questioned by Indians. The overall impression remains of an India which is blind to the truth and chooses to see only the negative side of America.

Carl Rowan also faced a similar barrage of questions ranging from race issues to government policies. He was seen by the Indians as a "meddling capitalist tool" defending the indefensible (racism), and was repeatedly heckled by Indians because even though he was a black American, he was defending American culture. He was followed by CID agents. Thus, he shows the darker response of Indians to Americans at that period. He finds the Indians procommunist with entrenched ideas that

Americans are imperialists, materialistic, hypocrites, war mongers who talk about untouchability when asked about racism and are full of clichés of spiritual India Accepting the truth of some of the accusations of the Indians he is yet bitter about the Indian experience where he was made the scapegoat for the Indian anger against America.

Though the experiences were different both, Rowan and Redding, also point out the fact of America's interest in developing a better relationship with India. Prior to Indian Independence, the second World War period had seen a serious American interest in contemporary India as American soldiers had been stationed in India and India's help was needed by the Allies in combating the Axis forces in the World War. The period after the second World War saw the initiation of South Asian Studies Programs in various universities and colleges. Indian Studies in America broadened from a study of religion and philosophy of ancient Indian civilization to social sciences, modern languages and literature. At a conference at Utah, William Mulder stated that:

> Before the Second World War few Americans other than Christian missionary and official embassies traveled to India. The war itself brought the hearty GI, far more approachable than the British Tommy. Today a jamboree of friendships finds Point Four technicians and Fulbrights, United Nations and United States government employees – the diplomats in gray flannel and dungaree – in unsuspected corners of India.... (1961, 229)

Thus American Studies on and experiences of India were widening. Peace Corps, Ford Foundation, Rockfeller Foundation, the USAID and such like organizations continue to play a role in India even today. Lilian Carter published her letters written to her family from India as a Peace Corp volunteer entitled, *Away from Home* (1968). The letters give a picture of Village India and a Peace Corp volunteer's contributions in the development of India. Fulbright scholars have also helped in spreading ideas about India. A few like Lacy Fosburg have written novels and others have written about their experiences in India.[26] Americans students visited India in vast numbers and carried back stories about India. The University of Wisconsin, University of Pennsylvania and other universities introduced programs in India for their students. This period saw both the rapid expansion of government funding and grants and gradual retrenchment of funding in the field of South Asian programs.[27] Yet the

religious image of India persisted in the American mind Meher Baba and Sri Aurobindo had followers in America in the pre 1947 period itself. After India's independence, especially in the 1960s, the religious image received further currency in various forms and variations because of an increase in religious groups or 'personality cults' in America.[28]

Mr. Abhay Charan De or A.C. Bhaktivedanta, called Swamy Prabhupada went to the U.S in 1965. At sixty-nine, having renounced the world he went to preach spirituality and speak of the religious traditions of India. He taught that Krishna was the original form of God and Vishnu was a form of Krishna and attracted numerous followers. In 1966 he established the ISKCON (International Society of Krishna Consciousness) . Its success in attracting disaffected young Americans was taken as a proof that the ancient teaching and spirituality of India represented the best hope of saving Western society from materialism, addiction to drugs and alcohol (Williams 1988, 131) . ISKCON appealed to the drop-outs and people of counter-culture mentality. Though from the 1970s Indians outnumbered the American converts the Society made India a living presence in many other American minds also. As Williams points out "White American Hindus dressed in Saffron robes, dancing, selling books and chanting "Hare Krishna Hare Krishna / Krishna Krishna Hare Hare / Hare Rama Hare Rama / Rama Rama Hare Hare" were visible in the 1970s (129) . The Spiritual Regeneration Movement started by Maharishi Mahesh Yogi and the Divine Light Movement of Guru Maharajji also left their impact on the American mind.[29]

Another Indian who attracted the Americans from the counter-culture was Harbhajan Singh Puri called the "Straight-freak-Yogi-Sikh" by Verne A Deusenkery. He started a Yoga center and later established (in 1969) Healthy, Happy, Holy organization where he taught a form of Kundalini Yoga. Later he led his followers to embrace the Sikh religion. In 1973 he founded the Sikh Dharma Brotherhood which initiated American disciples into Sikhism. The organization established centers in 100 cities and the 1970s saw two or three thousand white American Sikh converts. The converts wore white dress with turbans, chanted songs, visited Gurudwaras and even sent their children to school in Mussoorie. American Sikhs were of assistance in attempts to establish Sikh identity and rights in the U.S in matters like seeking

government approval for Sikhs to wear the turban in the military (Williams, 148) Jains, Muslims and St Thomas Christians also founded their own organizations in the 60s and attracted Americans.

In 1985-86 the headlines of some American newspapers like the *Chicago Tribune* screamed that "Folks Fear losing their Independence to Hindu group" (qtd. in Williams, 152) referring to Swami Narayana Sanstha's attempts to purchase land in New Jersey for a $ 100 million project to build a temple, a residential school, a Hindu University and a housing complex. The project's emphasis was on preserving Hindu especially Gujarati culture, and the Swaminarayan religion as protection for the children of Asian Indians in America against the perceived evils of that society (Williams, 153). What is significant from our perspective is the American response to this project.

Town meetings were held to discuss the proposed complex and a video-cassette tape "Gods of the New Age" was circulated which reveals American shrinking from modern day Hinduism in the U.S. Examples like the Commune of Bhagawan Rajneesh and ISKCON ashrams were cited. The tape displays what are thought to be the objectionable aspects of Hinduism, its 'missionary activity', yoga as mind control, tantrism, and many scenes of activities of Rajneeshpuram. Mahatma Gandhi is 'criticized as a sexual pervert'. Finally the tape associates devotion to a guru with Nazism. The thesis of the script seems to be, 'the religion that has all but destroyed India has now infiltrated every area of the Western Society" (qtd. in Williams, 153-154). Williams notes "Prejudice against Hinduism and Hindus seems to contribute to the notion of the opposition by some, although the pastor of the traditional white Methodist Church said "It's fear of the unknown" (Williams, 154). Though India and Indian immigrants were rated high in the estimation of the American public, 'high flying gurus' and movements like the Hare Krishna movement brought Hinduism into disrepute. This more than anything else shows the extent to which the notion of Indian spirituality had impinged on the American mind. "From being a lofty philosophy it now becomes a means of escape for a generation of tired and jaded minds, a kind of an opiate to temporarily soothe and lull them into a sense of upliftment and transformation from a world of surfeit and frustration. Secondly, it is an illustration of how a once respectable idea now becomes a 'cult' used by persons of gray intentions

and vaulting ambitions for personal aggrandizement" (Gokhale, 94) . Diana Eck argues that the New Age Hindu movements are big issues as they "both are and are not a minority They are minorities that may be perceived, not as a 'fringe', but as a 'vanguard'" (137) .

Allen Ginsberg, Jack Kerouac, Gary Snyder, and Robert Pirsig were part of the 1960s Beat generation of Americans who came into contact with Indian religions and reflected their experiences in their writings. True to the Beats' quest for an adequate personal faith, all four turned towards the East for a better and richer life. All were attracted towards Buddhism and Ginsberg and Snyder traveled to India in the early 1960s in search of a better understanding. Jack Kerouac's novels *Dharma Bums* (1972) and *On the Road* (1957) reinforces the motif of the eastward journey. The Bums are men who wander like Indian 'saints' and want to live a simple life and devote themselves to meditation. Zen offered the Bums an escape from American civilization. Robert Pirsig uses Indian thought but not in a confrontational pose. *In Zen and The Art of Motorcycle Maintenance* (1974) he interweaves the journey on a motorcycle with the journey of the mind and seeks to harmonize Indian concepts with Western concepts. Ginsberg's *Indian Journal* (1970) and Gary Snyder's *Passage through India* (1972) give accounts of their journeys to India and reveal attitudes and perceptions of India from a Western perspective. Familiar with Indian thought and religion prior to their visit to India, they seek the land of higher reality through drugs and gurus. Both view the multitude of sadhus and yogis as holy in intention yet not really holy.' Their accounts support the stereotypical picture of India as a land of beggars and yogis and expands to include drug haunts and drugged yogis. Snyder's touristic journey of spiritual India and Ginsberg's beatnik journey of India only reinforces the image of India as spectacular, disgusting, repulsive and fascinating.

Another traveler to India in the same period but not of the Beat generation was the Catholic Monk Thomas Merton. His journal emphasizes a seeker's search for wisdom. He felt that the Indian tradition of meditation might have something to contribute towards the Catholic tradition of contemplation. He finds India as a "totally religious culture with plenty of good and bad mixed up together" (1975, xxiv) .

In the field of cultural exchange the earlier ties expanded. M.S. Subbulakshmi, Uday Shankar, Ravi Shankar, Bismilla Khan are but a few of the better known artists

in this traffic of cultural forms The Beatles, Jazz musicians, and Philip Glass' 'Satyagraha' are some pointers to the consequence of the considerable exposure of America to Indian music and dance.[30] A cultural extravaganza—the Festival of India in 1985 was but a natural product of the history of the cultural relationships between the two countries.

But the increased exchanges did not lead to a dismissal of old stereotypes. Arthur Bonner's *Averting the Apocalypse: Social Movements in India Today* (1990) parallels Mayo's work in some ways. Bonner talks about the devadasis, female feticide, and other social blots in Indian society. Gary Hess states, "In Bonner's book, India emerges as a gruesome place— a home to the impoverished, of violence against women, of caste and communal violence—where life is empty and without meaning"(28) . Yet Bonner also sees hope in social movements in India. Thus this period sees an amalgamation of new awareness and old stereotypical imagination about India in the American mind.

Conclusion

Thus one observes that the Indo-American encounter consists of many strands but in terms of the images of India the encounter is full of similarities as well as contradictions. On the one hand India was seen as the land of spiritual Utopia and on the other as the land of spiritual and social dystopia. India was the land of wonder and yet was also the land of incomprehensible barbarity. Though one should be cautious in seeing India as the most important object in their imagination there is no denying the fact that India was on the periphery of the American mind for a long period of time. The Anglo-American connection as well as the American experience in India contributed to the knowledge about India. The next chapter gives a survey of the American fiction set in India and explores the Anglo-American connection as well as images of India in the American mind as through fiction.

NOTES

[1] In this context, America refers to the United States of America and not the continent. The present study does not include Aztec and Maya Civilizations connections with the Indian Civilization which has been dealt with in Chaman Lal's *Hindu America*. In this chapter, the references to Gupta and Jackson refer to R.K Gupta 1986 and Carl T. Jackson 1981 and the terms Oriental, Orientalist and Orientalism refer to the pre-Saidian denotation of the words. The spellings of the titles of Indian texts is used according to usage of the writers referred to in this thesis.

[2] Refer to R. K. Gupta's *The Great Encounter* (1986) for more details.

[3] For further details refer to Manchanda 1976.

[4] J.P. Rao Rayapati discusses at length the early discovery and exploration of Indian thought in America in *Early American Interest in Vedanta* (1973).

[5] I am indebted to J.P. Rao Rayapati for information in this section.

[6] A Hindu reformer and patriot he had a Western Education and joined the Indian Civil Service. Later he became a crusader for English education for natives and successfully lobbied for laws against Sati. He wanted to reform Hinduism from its corrupted state and organized a new religious society called Brahmo Samaj to propagate the pure monotheistic faith of Vedantic Hinduism.

[7] For a list of books see Gupta, 30 and Jackson notes.

[8] Ganguli was the well-known Unitarian Charles Dall's first convert to Unitarianism.

[9] I am indebted to Carl Jackson and William Norman Brown for insights in this section.

[10] New Thought movement rose into prominence in the 1890s and was also known as Unity School of Christianity, Divine Science, Mental Science, etc. (Jackson, 173)

[11] D. Ramakrishna's article, "Poe's Eureka and Hindu Philosophy" in the *Emerson Society Quarterly* traces Hindu affinities in Poe's "Eureka."

[12] For more details refer to A. G. Noorani. "An American in India - 1853." *Span* July 1982, 15-18.

[13] Gupta, 132. Gupta quotes from Joyce Kilmer article in the Catholic magazine *America* (July 1915). It is interesting that she later changed her mind and saw him as an extraordinary prolific Man of Letters who had a keen appreciation of Western thought.

[14] For further details of Tagore's encounter with America refer to Stephen N. Hay. "Rabindranath Tagore in America." *American Literature*. 24, 3 (Fall 1962), 439-463.

[15] Amarnath Dwivedi has written full length studies of Eliot's connection with Indian thought in *Indian Thought and Tradition in T. S. Eliot's Poetry* (1984). Cleo McNelly Kearns in *T.S Eliot and Indic Traditions* (1987) places Eliot's interest in Indic philosophy in the context of his poetic practice.

[16] For a detailed study see my essay "An Indian Coda for an American Quest: Theodore Dreiser's *Trilogy*." *American Fiction in Perspective*. Ed. Satish K. Gupta. New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers, 1997.

[17] M.R Satyanarayana in his article, "The Unknown God of John Steinbeck" in *IJAS* 3: 1(June 1973), 97-103, argues convincingly that the 'unknown God' is Lord Shiva.

[18] R.C.Jauhari in *American Diplomacy and Independence of India* (1970) and Diwakar Prasad Singh in *American Attitudes towards the Nationalist Movement*

(1974) have discussed at length the Indo-American connection during the Independence struggle

[19] For further information on Harvard's connection with the advancement of Indian Studies refer to Riepe 1970.

[20] See Riepe 1970 for a detailed study on 'Santayana and Indian Philosophy.'

[21] McMohan uses this metaphor for the U.S crusade against Communism and stresses the U.S bewilderment and incomprehension at India's refusal to choose sides in the "holy war".

[22] For a more detailed discussion of this subject refer to Parvathi Vasudevan's *Non-Alignment as a factor in Indo-American relations: The Nehru Era.* Delhi: Kalinga Publications, 1996.

[23] Chester Bowles on the "short tether approach"(so referred to in Washington, holding up authorization for new shipments until the very last moment thus placing the Indian rationing system under great strain. The expressed motives of the President according to Rudolphs was to enlist other countries in the food effort and to shock India into a more expeditious approach to agricultural reforms and to persuade Congress that he was hard-headed about food) of President Johnson: "It is a cruel performance; they must be made to fawn; their pride must be cracked. Pressure to improve India's performance was sensible, but .... in this way.... distrust and hatred are born among people who want to be friends." (qtd. in Glazer, 7)

[24] One observes a similar image in Lacy Fosburg's *India Gate* (1992), indicating maybe the repetition of images of India in the American mind, consciously and unconsciously.

[25] The image of the awakening India is also reflected in Louis Bromfield's *The Rains Came* (1937).

[26] For Fulbrighters experience in India refer to Margaret Wiley Marshall, "Fulbrights in India: Cultural Interchange in Madras, Bombay, and Hyderabad." *Western Humanities Review*, 25: 2 (Spring 1961), 133-148 and Sachidananda Mohanty's *In Search of Wonder* (1997).

[27] For further details refer to Gerald Barrier's essay "America Encounters India: A Historical Perspective" in *India and America* (1986).

[28] Marvin Henry Harper uses the term "personality cults" for organizations like the Divine Life Society, the ISKCON etc. He further states that the cult movement is apparently an urban phenomenon attracting mainly youths. He also finds that the extensive use of Bible by these Masters makes the transition from Christian faith to fellowship of the cults for many Americans easier (1962, 248). Thus the syncretistic nature of their message attracts larger number of Americans. Harper concludes that as "the cults are aggressively missionary", "Hinduism is striking its roots deep into American soil" (250).

[29] For further details and a select bibliography of books on various movements see Diana L. Eck's essay, " "New Age" Hinduism" in *Conflicting Images* (1990).

[30] For more details refer to CDG's article entitled "Satyagraha: Opera on Mahatma Gandhi", *Span*, Jan. 1982, 5-8 .

Chapter Three

"Different Geometries" or Intersecting "Sets"?

A Brief Survey Of American Fiction Set In India

Passage O Soul to India
Eclaircise the myths Asiatic, the primitive fables.

Walt Whitman

I was tempted to deal with American fiction about India, but by now such writing constitutes a full subject for study in its own right.

David Rubin

Amrita in Dan Simmons' *Song of Kali* (1985) rejects the metaphor of incompatible sets for India and America and wonders if Calcutta and the West belong to different geometries explaining that, "If we think in terms of set theory, then I'm convinced my two culture sets are incompatible. And *I* am the product of these two cultures. The common element in sets without common elements, as it were....What if the differences we're reacting to in Calcutta are the result of the culture's not being another *set* but a different *geometry*?" (Simmons, 142) . She adds, "Different Geometries are based on different theorems, postulate different axioms, and give rise to different realities" (143) . Her location as an Indian who lives in America suggests the idea in the mathematical jargon of "sets" which intersect. She is the common element who occupies the zone of intersection. The novel seems to see Calcutta as a metaphor for evil and dark chaos and the West for light and hope. I borrow the metaphor of "different geometries" and intersecting "sets" to analyze how different novelists perceive India.

Like writers all over the world the Americans also have grappled with India in their novels.[1] David Rubin points out that American fiction about India deserves an extensive investigation in its own right (1986, 174) . These novels need special attention not only because of their numerical largeness but also as texts that capture myriad American images of and responses to India. The novels are 'documents' that

display an engagement between two cultures and American attitudes towards India (Mukherjee, 211) This chapter seeks to categorize and give a brief survey of this genre in American Literature As has already been pointed out in chapter one, American fiction set in India cannot be neglected as mere fiction by any student of the Indo-American encounter. David Rubin points out, "...it is above all in the imaginative literatures of people that one can find the most basic, characteristic, and dependable exemplifications of intercultural tensions and misconceptions, and sometimes at least, their resolution" (1986, x) . Joseph Conrad asks the question, "And what is a novel if not a conviction of our fellow-men's existence strong enough to take upon itself a form of imagined life clearer than reality and whose accumulated verisimilitude of selected episodes puts to shame the pride of documentary history?"(qtd. in Rubin 1986, ix) In the early novels there was a conflict between the East and the West but this trope was later abandoned and the conflict was internalized as conflict between Asians and Westernized Asians and also between Asian traditionalism and Asian modernity. As James Rush states, "Stereotypes persist ... but new and complex visions constantly appear alongside them, adding subtle and confusing designs, and cumulatively truer ones, to the mosaic of literary images we call upon when we think of Asia" (1990, 11-12) .

This group of novels reflects both the marginal, non-establishment responses as well as authoritarian responses to India. They present "scratches" on the American mind regarding India in all its complexities. India was first fictionalized in American literature by Marion Crawford in *Mr. Isaacs* published in 1882 and it continues to hold the American novelist's imagination as evidenced by Henry Scholberg's *The Return of the Raj* (1995). Written over a period of hundred years the novels about India constitute a definite category and can be further sub-divided into various categories. Yet except for a few critics like Bhupal Singh, R.H. Schramm, R.K Gupta, David Rubin and Sujit Mukherjee others have shown a lack of awareness of this vast area in American fiction. Even these critics have explored this area in a very limited way.

David Rubin and Bhupal Singh analyze American fiction set in India as part of the Anglo-Indian fictional tradition. On the other hand R.K Gupta's task in *The Great Encounter* (1986), his historical survey of the Indo-American encounter, is merely to

introduce a few of the novels which belong to the category of American fiction set in India He finds that the novels with a few exceptions like Robin White's novels, "emphasized either the exotic or the mystical aspects of India, so that their worlds have the paraphernalia of saints and ascetics, ashrams and pilgrimages, jugglers and snake-charmers, all the way down to tigers and elephants" (1986, 179) .

R.H. Schramm in his study of the images of India in American periodicals, divides the fiction as stories dealing with Anglo-India and natives, supernatural stories, mystery and detective stories and stories that had Indian themes in a foreign setting. He also finds that the fiction was largely written by English writers whereas Americans wrote more poetry about India than their English counterparts. He states that in the fiction, "India contained the romance of mystery, the lure of the supernatural, and the appeal of the colorful—if at times grotesque—pageantry of Hinduism" (1964, 298) . Schramm confines his study to stories and serialized novels published in the periodicals and divides the modes of knowledge about India as "imaginative", "realistic" and "informative". His study also reveals the extent of the presence of British works in American literary circles. The periodicals published stories and views on Indian art, literature, religion which were largely written by British writers.

A more enlarged introduction to the subject is given by Sujit Mukherjee in an essay entitled "The Indias of American Fiction" (1990) . He argues that American novels set in India is worth a detailed study as they, "portray the changing perceptions of America about India and of Americans about Indians, ... offer a series of self-portraits of Americans abroad for the consideration of Americans at home, ... provide a mirror, not always dark, in which Indians can see themselves, ... reveal a basic problem of international relations in the twentieth century ... [and] prefigure the growing together of two peoples who have never been in armed conflict with each other" (233) . He lists briefly five broad categories of American Fiction about India. The first category comprises novels featuring missionaries or other do-gooders and is the focus of the present study. The other categories are novels dealing with the theme of miscegenation (which incidentally is also present as a motif in missionary novels and will be discussed in chapter seven); novels which seek to recreate India's past or in other ways exploit her history; novels in which Americans use India as a place where they can relax or indulge themselves. But his categorization, though useful in

introducing the reader to the subject of American fiction set in India, is flawed as he mixes themes with images and attitudes. The theme of miscegenation is used as a defining principle for a separate category along with the image of India as a land of adventure and the exploitative attitude towards Indian history as criterias for categorization. Whereas, miscegenation is a theme which is prominent in other categories of Mukherjee like missionary novels [e.g. Pearl Buck's *Come My Beloved* (1960), Stephen Alter's *Renuka* (1989), etc.] and novels which exploit Indian history [e.g. William Shirer's *The Consul's Wife* (1956), Robert Augustus Tower's *The Necklace of Kali* (1960), etc.]. Another flaw is his neglect of the earliest type of novels so akin to their British counterparts. Mukherjee fails to identify novels of Anglo-India like Francis Marion Crawford's *Mr.Isaacs: A Tale of Modern India* (1882) as a distinct category which though written by an American can be mistaken to be an Anglo-Indian novel.

The categories I propose therefore are: Novels of Anglo-India, Novels of missionary experience, Novels of spiritual India, Novels of Indian history, Novels of crime, political intrigue and adventure, Novels of Anglo-Indians (Eurasians) and Novels of Indian myth. But these categories overlap and sometimes the novels belong not only to more than one category but also to two genres. Kipling and Wolcott Balesteir's *The Naulakha : The Story of West and East* (1892) is a classic example of this. It could be said to be a missionary novel by virtue of the American girl Kate's experience as a missionary. Also the fact that it was partly written by Balesteir, the American brother-in-law of Kipling, makes it possible to include the novel under both Anglo-Indian and American Fiction. Balesteir had written in a letter to a friend, "(the novel) begins in the West where I have a free hand for several chapters. Then we lock arms and march upon India" (qtd. in Schramm, 83) . Thus it belongs to the category of missionary novels, mystery novels and also to Anglo-Indian Fiction and American Fiction set in India. Novels of Anglo-India can also be included in the category of novels of Indian history as Anglo-India is part of Indian history. Yet the novels of Anglo- India are distinct from novels of Indian history as the emphasis in the former is on British characters and their life in India, whereas in the latter India is the focal point. Yet another confusion with categorizations occurs because the order is imposed from the outside. The novelists do not begin with categories in their mind. This is evident

in novels which belong to more than one category like Emmet Alter's *Mann of the Border* (1937) . Alter's novel shares characteristics of both novels of missionary experience as well as novels of the American frontier spirit. (The novel deals with an American missionary doctor's life in the North-West frontier of India and will be discussed at length in chapter four). Hence the categories are only used to make an understanding of the image of India clearer and are not meant to be prescriptive and absolute.

Not only in fiction but also in short stories and in children's fiction, India is the locale of many American works. Katherine Mayo, Edison Marshall, John Berry, Robin White and Paul Theroux have published short story collections involving themes similar to those seen in American novels set in India. Mayo's *Slaves of the Gods* (1929) consists of 12 episodes taken from real life in India. Marshall's *The Heart of Little Shikara and Other stories* (1922) and *Love Stories of India* (1950) tell stories of adventure and romance in Anglo-India. Berry's *Flight of White Crows* (1962) and White's *Foreign Soil* (1962) present vignettes of life in India. Theroux's *Fongs and the Indians* (1968) and *Sinning with Annie and Other Stories* (1972) contain a few stories set in India. Missionaries have also written stories of India. Jacob Chamberlain's *The Tiger Jungle* (1896) and *The Cobra Den* (1900), S.E.Stokes *Arjuna* (1911), Irene Mason Harper's *Shera of Punjab* (1938), Richard A. Welfle's *Pieces of India* (1963) and Grace McGovran's *The Golden Coin* (1963) are some examples of missionary stories. Dorothy Bonnell's *She Wore a Star* (1965) tells an inspiring story of an American girl doing social service in India. Jean Bothwell has written many stories set in India for young adult.

The present study focuses on American novels of missionary experience, the second sub-category of American fiction set in India. The novels belonging to this group are very important as they reflect the experiences of the first largest group of Americans to have come into contact with India. Chapter four gives a brief introduction to this category and American missionary activity in India. Chapter five, six and seven explore representation of India in these novels. But before concentrating on the missionary novels, it is necessary to examine the other categories to identify areas of similarities and conflict in American representation of India. The present

chapter provides a survey of other categories of American fiction set in India and highlights the important themes in this genre.

One of the earliest known novels, Crawford's *Mr. Isaacs* (1882) belongs to the sub-category of American novels that focus on British life in India. These novels of Anglo-India, but for their American authorship, can be mistaken for Anglo-Indian fiction as they share the main ingredients of Anglo-Indian fiction and also deal with the British in India.[2] In his analysis of the images of India in American periodicals, Schramm states that the fiction dealing with Anglo-India and the natives was, "not only the largest but also the most varied group of imaginative interpretations of India" (82). According to Bhupal Singh:

> A typical novel begins with a voyage, bringing the hero, more often the heroine, to the shores of India. On her arrival in a Presidency town or a mofussil 'station' she is welcomed by a father, aunt, or some distant relation, and invariably causes a flutter in the small Anglo-Indian colony there. She becomes the belle of the season, is much sought after, and goes through the usual round of Anglo-Indian gaieties. There follow accounts of *burra-khanas*, shooting parties (generally tiger hunts), picnics, visits to places of historical interest, balls and dances with their *kala-juggas*, and race-meetings. There are scandals and gossips at the club regarding her 'doings', interlaced with love-rivalries and misunderstandings, and finally everything ends in a happy marriage. A baboo, a begum, a nawab or a rajah, or a political agitator is thrown in for local colour, or to supply the villain indispensable to a work of fiction. There are variations of these themes, but this may be taken as a skeleton of a typical Anglo-Indian novel. (1934, 2)

In *Mr. Isaacs* the events are narrated by Paul Griggs, a thinly disguised characterization of the novelist himself. It is set in Anglo-India and includes tiger hunts and parties. It is the story of a merchant who through an act of charity on the part of a minor English official becomes wealthy. He meets the sister of the English official and falls in love with her but before they can declare their love for each other, she dies. Arthur Quinn in his study of American fiction states that, "The mistaken theory that an American novelist must limit himself to the American scene was triumphantly refuted by Marion Crawford's achievement" (1936, 385). The novel is

also about the relative validity of Eastern and Western philosophies and the progress of Mr Isaacs' sensual conception of love to a spiritual one (Quinn, 386).

This novel also belongs to the category of mystery novels set in India. In some of the mystery novels the element of mystery is connected with precious stones like Wilkie Collins' *The Moonstone* (1868). In *Mr Isaacs*, "The prototype of Mr. Isaacs was Mr. A.M. Jacob, the Hebrew jeweler who was involved in the famous Hyderabad Diamond case. The esoteric Buddhist who captivates the English girl is said to have had for his model a notorious Persian merchant who had a dispute with the Nizam about a famous diamond" (B. Singh 1934, 268-269).

American Anglo-India novels are also stories of love and adventure in Anglo-Indian society.[3] Interestingly, Kipling is said to have been influenced by Crawford's novel which was very successful in England and India (Moore-Gilbert 1986, 21). Some of the other novels in the category of American Anglo-India novels are George B. Percy's *Uncle Peter's Trust* (1912), Eleanor Wylie's *Jennifer Lorn* (1923) and Edison Marshall's *Gypsy Six-Pence* (1947), *The Bengal Tiger* (1952) and *Love Stories of India* (1950). They all give descriptive sketches of English society in India and have English characters as their protagonists. *Uncle Peter's Trust* deals with the Revolt of 1857 and like *The Bengal Tiger* has affinities with another distinct group in Anglo-Indian fiction—the "Sepoy Mutiny" novel. Of these novels *Jennifer Lorn* is a romantic extravaganza, set in late eighteenth century India, England and France. It tells the story of a young girl who becomes the bride of an Anglo-Indian nabob who travels to India only to fall into the hands of robbers. Later she falls into the clutches of the procurer Banou who decides that Jennifer must gain weight to meet the standards of a rajah's Harem. The story becomes a gothic plot with exaggerated Eastern characters.

Edison Marshall's novel *The Bengal Tiger* is the story of Simon Peeltower. Born of an American mother and a British father, Simon rebels against the class snobbishness of the English people. He is seen to have inherited bad blood from America and starts for India to make his fortune. On the way he meets Vivian, an audacious, outspoken, unladylike British girl who becomes the toast of Anglo-India. She is a complete contrast to Mildred who is forever pretty as a picture, daintily dressed and always perfectly behaved and lady-like. Vivian in her eagerness to belong to Anglo-India society chooses to marry a pukka officer though she loves Simon who

once again chooses to be outside English society. But in a moment of crisis both, Mildred and the pukka officer are unmasked and shown as disloyal cowards and Simon and Vivian are united. Here pukkahood is not praised. Marshall almost completely subverts the theme of the mutiny novel, a sub-category of the Anglo-Indian novel. S.D Singh states the following after an analysis of 50 British novels on the Mutiny:

> In the Mutiny novels there are two situations to begin with. The fictionalisation of history demands a romantic situation to go alongside the historical situation of the mutiny. The hero who is an officer, meets the young charming lady, just out from England, who happens to be in India from before, and falls in love or both come to India in the same ship, and strike a liking on board the ship itself. In India the historical situation is already ripe for mutiny, and the lovers are suddenly pitched into the upheaval. How should these two situations be resolved? The hero takes a lead, he plans, and soon, by his courage, strategy, perseverance and luck, the action begins and the opposing forces are gradually defeated. His rival in love, if any, is discovered to be a villain and any other complication is resolved by the death or disappearance of the person causing obstruction. In this way the two parallel plots of action are resolved by the hero, who, in most of the cases, gets a V.C , as well as a wife, if not also an estate and a title to lord it over at home in England. (1980, 183)

Unlike in the Anglo-Indian Mutiny novels, the heroine Vivian, in Marshall's novel, falls in love with an officer who has different values from the pukka sahibs. Simon is also of mixed blood and as such deemed an unsuitable companion for the heroine who also because of her upbringing in India has certain qualities not worthy of a memsahib. Simon's involvement with the Mutiny only lies in his giving a timely warning to the British soldiers and rescuing Vivian and he is given no estate or title. Thus Marshall subverts the conventional plot of a Sepoy Mutiny novel.

The attack on 'pukkaness' is further enlarged in Marshall's *Gypsy Sixpence*. Richard Burton, an eminent Victorian who had many adventures in the East was the inspiration for this novel. In the foreword, the author states, "The conception of this novel, its main character suggested by, but by no means patterned after, that of Richard Burton ..." (1949, 1) . The novel attacks the Victorian mores and the concept of the pukka sahib as in *The Bengal Tiger*. The protagonist, the bastard son of an

English man and a gypsy, is the other half of the civilized half-brother who is the epitome of Englishness Both Gerald, who accepts that all Gypsies are dirty, thieving knaves, and Rom (meaning gypsy), who loves adventures and travel, enlist in the Indian Service. Rom who does not belong to the English community, wants to make his fortune in India as he can be one of the few Englishmen who can understand natives. He is advised by an India veteran to master Arabic as it is the key to knowledge of the Orient , and reads Hindi, Urdu and books on India, Arabia, Persia and the Northwest. "Most English men and women live only in the facade of India—a gay and pleasant life, a bit on the swagger side" but he "being dark—and having perhaps some of the traits that go with it" will be able to go beyond that (12-13) . Here one finds skin colour deciding the character of the person. Throughout the novel one finds other characters accepting or rejecting him with this understanding of his personality. He is set apart as he has imbibed the free spirit of his mother as also of America.

Gerald proves false as he plots Rom's death in order to marry Sukey. Sukey, another Vivian like character who wants to belong to the Anglo-Indian community for her father's sake finds love winning over prudence and she declares her love for Rom. Even as they are planning to marry, Gerald betrays Rom.

Rom who admires Gerald says, "The really pukka, *burra* British Sahib is a slightly comic character to us left-siders-I suppose because he's so romantic in a tough, real world- but we revere you no end" (42) . The Honorable Henry Bingham cautions him, "What you admire in the British sahib is mainly a well-dusted jacket by a headmaster. You obey the rules, or you catch it" (44) . Rom's blindness to the true character of the pukka sahib proves his undoing.

Thus one observes that Marshall's British characters fall short of the true Kipling standard of British characters. Avtar Bhullar's statement about Forster is pertinent in the context of Marshall also: " to Forster (one can substitute Marshall here), this belief of Kipling is a hollow myth as in reality, the British administrators in India, instead of growing "greater" than the "gods" became even lesser than the common Englishmen in England. In India they were not elevated but diminished, not deified but decimated; they didn't grow large-hearted but conceited, not altruistic but

arrogant, not free minds in opinions and ideas, but pawned imaginations and hardened hearts seeking refuge in the strict code of the 'the *pukka* sahib'" (1985, 77) .

The novel also subtly critiques the colonial project. When the rebel leader is caught, Rom is uncomfortable witnessing the hanging for he knows that , " If I wore a lousy lungi and had to salaam to an alien conqueror, I'd slay and burn too" (45) . The doctor who can empathize with this statement says sarcastically, "What're a few hangings, if the country's going to get civilized thereby ?" (45) .

Marshall appropriates the form but not the essence of the Anglo-Indian novel and eulogizes the American character vis-à-vis that of the British. The Indian characters are also portrayed in a different way though Marshall never penetrates the native world. The natives in both the novels are either servants or princes. As opposed to the thieving servants of Anglo-Indian fiction, Marshall portrays servants who are loyal even at the cost of their allegiance to their country. The Oriental Prince here is also a much more attractive personality than the debauched weaklings of Anglo-Indian fiction. Marshall also makes clever use of the history of Alexander's invasion of India.[4] Sithiria, the young girl whom Rom rescues is probably a progeny of intermarriage of the Greeks with the natives.

A short story that deals with a section of Anglo-India's history is Poe's "A Tale of the Ragged Mountains". It gives an account of the escape of a native from the British and the defeat of the British posse of soldiers because of mob attack. This story is based on a historical incident. It is also a story which uses the Indian doctrine of transmigration of soul or metempsychosis to good effect. The narrator tells the story of Bedlo who in 1827 on his way to the Ragged Mountains walks into the Benaras of 1780. Killed by a poisoned arrow in Benaras, he sees his soul rising from the body and returning to the place in Ragged Mountains from which he had crossed to Benaras. There he becomes Bedlo again. His doctor then shows him a portrait of his friend Oldeb who had been killed in Benaras which is Bedlo's likeness. A few days later Bedlo dies and the narrator realizes that Bedlo spelled backwards is Oldeb.

The third sub-category, similar to the Transcendental image of spiritual India, shows India as a place of enlightenment and solace to disturbed Americans. These novels narrate stories of American accommodation or opposition to Hinduism. They reflect the religious ferment caused in America by the Hindu movements that stressed

the image of India as a spiritual land Books like Harrison Pope's *The Road East* (1974), Harvey Cox's *Turning East* (1977), Robert Ellwood's *Alternative Altars* (1979) reveal America's fascination with "New Age" Hinduism. An artist who has lost his inspiration, a wife who is estranged from her husband, an American suffering from the material Western civilization all come to India in search of peace. They either return to America enriched or disillusioned by their experience or elect to remain in India. A critic states that, "India, multifarious and overwhelming India, has thrown up to Western observers the richest variety of alternative spiritual visions, and has often provoked crises of personal and cultural identity" (Rush, 10) . Novels like Harry Hervey's *The Veiled Fountain* (1922), James Vincent Shean's *The Rage of the Soul* (1952), John Berry's *Krishna Fluting* (1959), Joe David Brown's *Glimpse of a Stranger* (1968) and Pearl Buck's *Mandala* (1970) which handle the theme of India as a spiritual country at greater length and are set in India belong to this category.

The protagonists of these novels are in flight from their worlds and seek in India spiritual solace. India for them means less a real country than a state of mind. Their flight becomes a religious quest and Richard Cronin calls this "Indian Fugues" in *Imagining India* (1989) borrowing the term Fugue from psychology.[5] [Interestingly "The Fugue" is the title of a novel within the novel *Bombay Meeting* (1955) by Ira Morris Victor. In *Bombay Meeting* Jason Coles, a brilliant American novelist and handsome young man suffering from early and unexpected success comes to India and is convinced by his experience there to start anew as a writer. The novel which sets him on the early road to success written when he was only twenty three is *Mongolian Fugue* (Mukherjee 1990, 230)] . Talking about two Englishmen in the novel *Heat and Dust* Cronin remarks "They came to India as to a spiritual treacle well in which they might drown themselves. They came looking for embrocation to ease their modern aches, and they found dysentery, ringworm and pickpockets. Their careers are a brutal comedy of disillusion" (Cronin 1989, 91) . The characters in American fiction set in India also go through a period of disillusionment yet in an unexpected way they do find some measure of peace.

In Shean's *The Rage of the Soul* Elizabeth Redwood fleeing to India because of an act of momentary aberration reaches the Santa Rosa ashram to find an answer as to why she, a devoted wife, had succumbed to sexual attraction when her mind had

rebelled The ashram resembles a mental asylum for her and its notion of worship is caricatured She returns finding nothing but when she is with Shri Kesavan in Calcutta she has a 'darshan' and his advice "The truth is in your own heart. There is no guru in India for you" (Shean, 237) gives her peace and she returns to her husband Charles. Thus India without giving her what she seeks yet gives her understanding and peace. It seems significant that the ashram Elizabeth visits loosely resembles the Aurobindo Ashram and has the name of Yogananda's ashram in Los Angeles. All the novels in this group are variations of the same theme.

Berry's *Krishna Fluting* is the story of Arjuna Bruff, half Indian and half Philadelphia Quaker and his spiritual experiences in India. He comes to India in search of his cousin and meets the mystic Ananda Mahadeva and his sister Janaki. He decides to write an epic on Krishna and also kills a sixty-foot man-eating python, a reenactment of the Kaliya *daman* to protect the orphanage founded by Ananda and his friend. In the end Arjuna and Janaki get together and decide to run the orphanage.

In Brown's *Glimpse of a Stranger* a playwright Paul Fraser comes to India to get over his acute depression After the failure of his attempted suicide, a chance meeting with Madame MartineValois makes him decide to go to India for in India self-realization is not a joke, the question of 'who am I?' is not frivolous. But as the omniscient narrator of the novel points out, "he had no way of knowing that, like all people who visit India for the first time, he really had a vague presentiment that he was likely to encounter any number of unpleasant things: drought, famine, flood, pestilence, and, perhaps, even cobras in his bathtub" (1968, 105-106) . He meets a French Sanyasi, Bhaiji who tells him, "I am not the stranger you are seeking....The stranger is yourself" (178) . Though the Sanyasi is killed in a riot, Paul feels cleansed and returns home to face life again. An Indian Judge and Bhaiji alias André Valois tells Paul that India is a better place in which to seek spirituality than the West because it makes it easier to seek truth by allowing the seeker to walk in peace. Paul also understands that spiritual illumination is a personal gift and unexplainable to the world at large. Though the narrator points out that God is beyond dogma and Jesus could have been a yogi an element of paternalism is present in the novel. Paul attains spiritual illumination through a French sanyasi and not an Indian sanyasi. The French

Sanyasi who feels one with all India finds the Indians to be only his children and Paul alone is considered to be his brother.

In David Rubin's *Enough of This Lovemaking* (1930) (a collection of two novellas) also the main character meets a Hindu holy man and attains a new vision of life. In Hervey's *The Veiled Fountain* the English musician is inspired by Indian musical Ragas and his experience with a woman who, though English, was brought up among Indians and feels more akin to them than to her own race. In this novel the only American character is a music publisher who caters to the commonplace taste of his customers in order to make money. For him music unlike the European protagonist is not a *sadhana* but a money making venture. Frederick Prokosch's *The Asiatics* (1935) set in a series of exotic locales, though a picaresque novel, has overtones of a spiritual quest. The protagonists in these novels seem to feel like Larry, the American character in Somerset Maugham's *The Razor's Edge* (1976) "that wonderful day, with the brilliant sunshine, the colored, noisy crowds, the smell of the East, acrid and aromatic, enchanted me; and like an object, a splash of colour that a painter puts in to pull his composition together, those three enormous heads of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva gave a mysterious significance to it all. My heart began to beat like mad because I'd suddenly become aware of an intense conviction that *India had something to give that I had to have*" (emphasis added) (262) . Larry abandons his wealthy American circle and comes to India, where he wanders and studies and finally finds illumination in an ashram. According to David Rubin, Larry is "probably based on Christian Isherwood[6], who had become a sort of acolyte of Swami Prabhavananda of the Ramkrishna Mission" (1986, 52) .

These novels emphasize an exotic aspect of India in the imagination of the world from time immemorial—the Indian ascetic life-style.[7] The Indian holy men who engaged in self-mortification and received respect and deference from the Indians were objects of curiosity to many a traveler to India. The Americans are seen as seeking spiritual gurus among these famed Indian ascetics in these novels. They reflect the experiences of Americans like Neal Rosner, Andrew Cohen and others.[8]

Novels that attempt to create India's past belong to the fourth category. Frederick Prokosch in his novel *The Dark Dancer* (1964) creates his own interpretation of Shah Jahan's reign in India where Shah Jahan has a romantic

relationship with his stepmother Nurjahan William Shirer's *The Consul's Wife* (1956) is a story of an American Consul and his family who are drawn in varying degrees to the Indian struggle for freedom in the 1940s through their admiration for a Sikh revolutionary freedom fighter. A member of the American Consulate is the protagonist of another novel also. Robert Augustus Tower's *The Necklace of Kali* (1960) is about John Wickham the American Vice Consul who is later trapped in the communal riots in Calcutta. This novel belongs to more than one group as, though it describes the historical events in the 1940s, history is used only as a backdrop for the story of the Americans in India. A study of these two novels reveals the double-dimensions of the Anglo-American and Indo-American relationship and offers "a contrast between the official American policy and individual liberal response to India" (Paul 1994, 106) .[9]

Stanley Wolpert deals more fully with historical events in his novels *Nine Hours to Rama* (1962) and *An Error of Judgment* (1969). The first novel which tells the story of Gandhi's assassination seemed to justify Nathuram Godse's deed and was duly banned. But his second book tells the story of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre and is anti-British in tone. Howard Hirt in *The Heat of Winter* (1984) creates a history that never happened. The story is about a plot to kill Nehru which is foiled by a Muslim police officer. It is also about the failure of an American and an Indian Muslim's marriage. Stephen Alter's *Silk and Steel* set in 1813 is about Anglo-Indian(Eurasian) life. Augustine, the Eurasian protagonist wants to take revenge on the British as his Rajput father was killed in a battle with them and his English mother was raped and killed by British soldiers. In order to fulfill his ambition he seeks the help of an English rebel Webley. With Webley's army he plans a victory over the British. Webley is killed and his mistress commits Sati. Ultimately the British army is destroyed by flood and Augustine and the British general ride together empty of all emotions.

The fifth category consists of novels which view India as an exotic backdrop to situate a political thriller, a crime story, a romance story of Americans in any foreign place. Mary Abbott's *The Beverleys: A Story of Calcutta* (1890), which apparently tells of an "army officer on various missions while his ladylove languishes in Calcutta," and Louis J. Vance's *The Bronze Bell* (1909) where an American young man is mistaken for an Indian Prince and is drawn into strange adventures can be said to be

some of the earliest examples of this kind of fiction (Mukherjee 1990, 223-224). William R Manchester's *Shadow of the Monsoon* (1956) and Jack Denton Scott's *Elephant's Grass* (1969) shows India as a land of big game hunting Manchester's novel also deals with the theme of self-fulfillment. Though the English character is destroyed by India because of his weakness, his wife and the American protagonist find themselves and each other. Scott's novel criticizes the American hunter who comes to India without having sufficient knowledge of hunting and yet would like to boast of his prowess, who insists on a tiger hunt and flouts all good advice, which result in the death of two persons. Louis Jordan Milne's *Green Goddess* (1922) Harry Hervey's *Caravans by Night* (1922) and David C. Cook's *C/o American Embassy* (1967) are thrillers. Cook's novel is about a CIA Agent who foils a Chinese attempt to collapse the Indian economy and falls in love with the Indian agent of the CBI who is helping him. Marshall's *Darzee: The Girl of India* (1937) tells the story of the romance between an American engineer and a Bengali girl and their adventures in India and Tibet.

Melvin Casberg's *Death Stalks the Punjab* (1981) deals with a series of murders of a Sikh, a Muslim and a Hindu who were responsible for the death of a young man in police custody. The mystery is solved by Captain Prem Narayan of the CBI who later solves other crimes in Casberg's *Five Rivers to Death* (1982) and *Dowry of Death* (1984).[10] Casberg's novels are populated by Indian, Pakistani, Afghan, Afro-American, American, Russian and Chinese characters. There are second generation Indians from America and second generation Americans who were brought up in India. The mysteries take Prem Narayan to Punjab, Kashmir, Delhi and Bombay. Henry Scholberg's *A Hindi Movie* (1994) uses the Phoolan Devi story as inspiration for an American novelist. *The Return of the Raj* (1995) anticipates Operation Crown Jewel in September 1996 which involves India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Khalisthan and Kashmir joining to form the United States of South Asia (USSA) and handing over the leadership of this new nation to Britain. But the new nation when threatened by McDonalds, revolts against the administration (a parody of the Sepoy Mutiny incident of greasy cartridges). Though his dream of a India free of bribery and corruption vanishes for ever, Gen. Pedro who had started the operation and who had been shot

without court-martial is seen as a visionary. Both Casberg and Scholberg are mish kids and use their knowledge of India in their novels.

David Rubin's *The Greater Darkness* (1963) and Stephen Alter's *Neglected Lives* (1978) deal with communities of Eurasians and belong to the group of novels about Eurasian life. Rubin's title is taken from a line in the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad: "All who worship what is not truth enter into blind darkness; those who delight in truth enter, as it were, into greater darkness" (2) . Kirun Rau, against her English aunt's wishes, decides to return to the "greater darkness" knowing well that she would be called an Anglo-Indian. In India, living with her grandparents, she is pulled in different directions. Rootless, her attempts at relationships with an Indian and an American fail and she returns to England and Tom Grant. *The Greater Darkness* also tells the story of an American couple's experiences in India. Carol in Rubin's novel is attracted by India and decides to stay back in India. Carol's approach to India is very different from her husband's. "Whereas she floats happily and open-mindedly on the unknown and therefore exciting social waves of their Indian socio-cultural environment, her sociologist husband acts self-consciously and mainly in accordance with preconceived notions. Inevitably, she feels irritated by his attempts to neatly label his hosts and colleagues to make them fit into sociological categories" (Hoffman 1990, 416) .

Hoffman says, "To talk about the impact of India in Rubin's novel would appear a euphemism. The locale 'India' only provides an exotic setting and an opportunity to deploy a couple of well-worn, stereotyped characters which neither cheer nor improve this rambling narrative about love's labors and inscrutable ways" (417) . One can only partially agree with this statement for if there was no India, or rather the idea of India, Rubin could not have written the novel. The novel is about foreigners who try to understand India and attempt to belong to it. Kirun, Ames and Carol all arrive at the same time in India and try to grapple with the reality in India. Kirun, in spite of her Indian blood, fails to belong and returns to her home in England. Ames's ambitious plan to write a book on the Indian family structure fails even as his own family breaks up. His wife Carol is the only one who enjoys India and belongs to it but she is killed in a riot. The writer's message seems to be to leave India alone, to leave it for those who belong to it by their birth like the Anglo-Indians, or by their dedication- like Muskett the English doctor and Janners-the Austrian musician. The

rest of India is dismissed as superstitious, confusing and unpredictable in a very predictable manner The communist father who wants his modern son to have a religious marriage, the atheist modern couple who succumb to family pressures and have a Hindu wedding, the engineer who believes that everything is Maya and the board members who take people to court for having verbally abused the "sacred cow" and are responsible because of their carelessness for many deaths, are the parts of India that are penciled in bold strokes, whereas the India that the Dean and Leslie want Ames and Kirun to see remains a mystery to the readers also.

The novel is neither a romance about India nor is it a realistic portrayal of it. It is about a few characters' inability to accept and to adapt to India. Though Rubin set out to write an entertaining novel, it leaves a negative image of India in the readers' mind in spite of the writer's attempts to convey a deeper meaning as is evidenced by his title. Yet, for its portrayal of the Anglo-Indian community it does deserve special attention. The novel seems a combination of John Master's *Bhowani Junction* (1954) and Ruth Pawar Jhabwala's *An Experience of India* (1974). It continues the theme of the Eurasian caught between the two worlds in post-Independence India and intertwines it with the theme of the disintegration of an American marriage in India.

The Anglo-Indian community without any intrusion of Western characters is the subject of Alter's *Neglected Lives.* Here the community is seen as the lost race, forgotten as well as hidden from both the British and the Indians. But the novel, unlike Rubin's novel, does not end in hopelessness but in hope. The community does not die but rejuvenates itself and its connection with India. Leslie's and K.M's connection with India is real, they are Indians but yet different and live in a house full of empty rooms. Augden and his wife in Debrakot in *Neglected Lives* have severed their connection with India and are in hiding. Debrakot later is taken over by Lionel who becomes the symbol of the Anglo-Indian community's legitimacy in India. Kirun can go back to England because she grew up there but Lionel belongs to India as he grew up in India. Though Lionel's romance with Sujeeta ends like any Kipling story of miscegenation, it leads him to Debrakot and a fuller realization as an Anglo-Indian in India. The novel also refers to historical moments: the post Independence riots and the American presence in India during the World War.

David Stacton's *Kaliyuga* (1965) and Gore Vidal's *Kalki* (1978) belong to the category of novels that exploit Indian Myth Mukherjee states, "They are fantasies which exploit some more exotic items of Indian customs and beliefs" (236) . In *Kaliyuga* Stacton uses the myths of Shiva-Shakti-Parvati and Ardhanarishwar in a story about Denise and Charlie, two lovers who quarrel and are later reunited. In the foreword Stacton claims that the subject of the novel "is the comedy of male and female" and as "The best, and indeed the only all embracing cosmogonic myth of the matter, is the Hindu legend of the relations between Kali and Shiva" (11) he uses it in his novel where, "Charlie and Denise become the gods. The gods become Charlie and Denise, in all *their* different aspects" (14) . The plan seems grandiose but the reader is left bewildered. Gore Vidal uses another Hindu myth of the awaited incarnation of Lord Vishnu as Kalki in his novel. Kalki in Gore Vidal's novel turns out to be an ex-G. I American. *Kalki* is more than a mere fantasy. It is also a satire on cults that are involved in drug trafficking and spurious spiritualism. A bisexual aviatrix writer sets out to interview Kalki in his ashram in Nepal as he has announced the end of the world. Kalki plans to destroy the world using bacteria and hopes to create a new human race through his children. The plans work out almost perfectly but for the treachery of one of his Perfect Masters. Giles loves Laksmi (another American) and wants to start the new race with her, hence neglects to tell Kalki and Lakshmi about the incompatibility of their bloods because of the Rh factor. Once Kalki becomes aware of the truth he kills Giles and leaves the world devoid of the possibility of a future through procreation. He had hoped to become a creator but becomes the destroyer. The intricately worked out plot is ingenious but the writer's aim seems to be to demolish another icon. It is not just Hindu Cults but humanity at large that is attacked using a Hindu belief.

Humanity is attacked in Dan Simmons' *Song of Kali* (1985) also. The novel *Song of Kali* once again uses the Kaliyuga or Age of Kali theme. Robert Luczak, a poet is hired by Harper to trace a noted Indian poet Das who has reappeared, under strange circumstances, years after he was thought dead. This search leads him to Calcutta and to the heart of evil and darkness. He encounters members of the Kali cult who practice human sacrifice and other abominations. His daughter is kidnapped by kapalikas- people belonging to a kind of thugee sect and her fate is unknown. He

and his wife go through a nightmare of terror and return to the States having experienced the song of Kali— destruction and evil.

The novel gives a disgusting, revolting, ghoulish picture of Calcutta. If Mayo's *Mother India* was a "drain inspector's report", *Song of Kali* is Mayo's *Mother India*, Dante's *Inferno* and Bram Stroker's *Dracula* rolled into one. But it is interesting as it captures various aspects of the Indo-American encounter. The novel shows the American discovery of India changing from initial idealism to disillusionment and revulsion. It projects an apparent knowledge (as evidenced by the quotations from Indian poets and Sanskrit texts and references to Indian history and politics) of India but mutilates India.

Das, the poet of compassion and optimism, who had written "The Song of Mother Teresa" becomes the poet of Kali, the Dark Mother. Das, a Gandhian, a disciple of Tagore who had resembled Nehru becomes a vampire and sees beauty in power, death, violence and corruption. He can be seen as a metaphor for the two contradictory images of India, and of the contradictory impulses of humanity. Luczak, the American narrator also sees himself as part of the violence when he recalls a childhood incident, yet in the end he redeems himself and conquers the "evil" but his India remains a "miasma", "a black hole".

Apart from the above categories there are other minor groups of novels set in India. Graham McInnes' *Sushila* (1957) tells the story of children of mixed marriages. Daughter of Ashok Sikri and Barbara Gordon, Sushila grows up to be a great painter and her passion for painting dominates all her relationships. Though not explicitly stated it is made clear that her creativity as well as her tempestuous nature is a result of her mixed heritage. Her death cuts short a brilliant career.[11] Stephen Alter's *Silk and Steel* can also be included under this category as it is the story of the Eurasian Augustine's manipulations to win a war against the British.

Novels like Bromfield's *Night in Bombay* (1939) and Buck's *Mandala* have characteristics of more than one group. In *Night in Bombay* India is seen as a playground for the West but it also talks about the missionary zeal of Col. Moti and the English doctor. *Mandala* is the story of princely India, of spiritual quest as well as miscegenation. An American girl Brooke comes to India in search of enlightenment and falls in love with Prince Jagat who has recently lost his only son Jai in a war and is

searching for his body. His wife is attracted to a Jesuit priest. His daughter thinks that she is in love with an American but in the end falls in love with her Indian fiancee. Brooke decides to return to America as Indians will never accept her as Prince Jagat's love and she may thus indirectly interfere in his philanthropic plans and come between him and his people. Before leaving she asks him to look at a child who she thinks is Jai reborn.

Lucy Fosburg's *India Gate* (1992) and Jacqueline Singh's *Seasons* (1991) are novels that do not fit into any clearly defined categories. Lacy Fosburg was a Fulbright scholar in India and Jacqueline Singh is an American married to an Indian. *India Gate* is a story set in modern India. It is a story of "obsessions and love" of Louis and Thalia and their children Phoebe and Cully, of Suraj and his ambitions to serve his country, of Suraj and Phoebe and of Maharajah Deeg and Durr. Louis a famous American Collector in India has a massive insecurity problem that spoils his relationship with his wife. His obsession to belong to India and Thalia's passionate interest in the orphanage in Delhi only serves to separate them from each other. In the end Louis shoots Thalia and then himself. To keep this a secret from Phoebe with whom Suraj is in love, Suraj becomes even more embroiled with Deeg. Deeg and Suraj had made a bargain, that Suraj will marry Durr, Deeg's love who is with a child and in return Deeg will further Suraj's political ambitions. Suraj marries Durr but is not able to accept her as his wife and she continues her relationship with Deeg. Suraj hates Deeg and yet is unable to break away from the older man. The novel starts with Phoebe's return to India in search of her brother Cully who had come to India to work for Deeg. Both the children had been brought up in a dysfunctional family and that leaves many scars especially on Cully as he had always felt unloved by Louis. Cully's insanity causes him to murder two men and then he himself jumps in front of a bus. Phoebe and Suraj get back together and Durr the one obstacle to their marriage renounces the world and goes to Benaras.

India Gate as the blurb puts it, is about "how the deep continental forces of this land [India] touch and twist, destroy or sometimes salvage Americans." Louis brings the germs of insecurity within him from America but they surface with full force in India. Thalia hates India and Cully is drawn to it and yet is destroyed because of the psychological scars made by the relationship between his parents and his father's

neglect of him Phoebe who studiously tries to forget her Indian connection for twenty years comes back to India and loves it and through Suraj finds that she belongs to it. The narrator, an American kid who grew up in India and after spending her youth in America returns to India after her broken marriage is the only character who does not generalize about India or try to explain or understand its deeper spiritual significance. She sees it as any other country struggling with change, modern views and traditional ways, and this is a very refreshing point of view from the rest of the American characters' obsession with it. The novel tries to convey the idea of cyclical life, of Hindu dharma and the consequences when it is not followed, of life as a process of destruction and creation. Each act becomes part of what the gods plan.

A distinct feature of the American novels set in India is that they were predominantly written by Americans who, however briefly, had visited India. Most of the novelists were more or less connected with India. Francis Marion Crawford came to India in 1879. He was also the editor of *Indian Herald* (Allahabad). John Berry and David Rubin both were faculty members in Indian Universities. Katherine Mayo toured India, William Manchester was a foreign correspondent for *The Baltimore* in India, Robert Payne was a war correspondent, Lacy Fosburg was a visiting Fulbright scholar in India, Melvin Casberg was a missionary, Jacqueline Singh married an Indian and lives in India and Stanley Wolpert had read widely on Indian history. All the novels belonging to the missionary category were written by Americans who had either lived in India as missionaries or had grown up in India.

The above list of novelists indicates that, for the most part, the novels set in India with some exceptions were written by writers who had been to India, or studied India, thus affirming Gokhale's notion of "received" and "perceived" images. What one critic has said about McMurray probably holds true for all these novelists. Margaret Parton in a review of *Call to Murralla in New York Herald Tribune Book Review* says, "India seems to have lain in the memory of the author, full of smells and sounds and conflicting emotions, and ready, when the time was ripe, to emerge and live again in all its contrast on the pages of the book" (1960, 5).

The answer to the question, why the novelists came to India also shows insights on the question of images of India in American mind. Berry claims that there is no single answer to this question, "because the truth seems different ... every time I

think seriously about it Every new experience affects the meaning of the whole past, and if we agree that this is so, we can add to our worries, the thought that not even the coffined past holds still..." (1961, 3) . The novelists and the characters in their novels came to India in pursuit of a career as missionaries, students and teachers of Indian studies in America, as seekers of spiritual knowledge and peace and as adventurers in search of new adventures. India seemed to be the answer for their various quests. Mukherjee states that, "From missionary aspiration to save Indian souls to individual anxiety about self-fulfillment many stages of American expectation of India can be traced through these novels" (233) .

Though most of these novels are forgotten on dusty shelves, some of them did enjoy a huge initial success. As Mukherjee points out, among this body of literature, "not many would pass the highest test of the art of fiction and not a few were written to provide easy reading" (233), yet Crawford's *Mr.Isaacs* and Bromfield's *The Rains Came* were bestsellers and were very popular. Bromfield's novel was twice produced as a movie. Robin White's *Elephant Hill* won the Harper prize and John Berry's *Krishna Fluting* won the Macmillan Fiction Award. There were attempts to make *Elephant Hill* into a Hollywood blockbuster but nothing came of it.

These novels throw up interesting insights on the Indo-American encounter. The novels reveal not only India as seen by American eyes but also portray the changes and continuities in American perceptions of India. They reveal a spectrum of American attitudes towards India. But the question arises as to whether there was a clear linear shift in perceptions or whether it was a more diverse kind of perception existing simultaneously at any given time? Though the writers obviously exemplified the consensus of a particular historical period about India did each novel have a place in an evolutionary progression of images and attitudes? Aijaz Ahmad states that,

> to 'describe' is to specify a locus of meaning, to construct an object of knowledge, and to produce a knowledge that will be bound by that act of descriptive construction. 'Description' has been central, for example, in the colonizing discourses It was by assembling a monstrous machinery of descriptions- of our bodies, our speech acts, our habitats, our conflicts and desires, our politics, our socialites and sexualities, in fields as various ethnology, fiction, photography, linguistics, political science- that those discourses were able to classify and ideologically master colonial

> subjects, enabling the transformation of descriptively verifiable multiplicity and difference into the ideologically felt hierarchy of value (1992, 99)

In the light of Ahmad's formulation an exploration of how descriptions figure in the novels becomes necessary. Some answers to these questions will be suggested through an analysis of the American missionary fiction in Part II of the thesis.

Whatever the answers, in the voyage of discovery of these texts one thing is clear in the beginning itself and it is that "interests structured the knowledge that was acquired" (Tharu 1993, 43) . The novelists are "like the conductor bent upon his own interpretation of a musical composition ...(muting) all that was not in accord with his taste. Thus the India that he savoured was of his own scoring..." (Hervey, 5) . India in itself was not important, but India as the place to enact their tragedies and comedies, their self-discovery or disillusionment with the world was important. There was no single India but to use Sujit Mukherjee's word many "Indias". The question in the context of representation of India remained one of essentialism and plurality. India in its various aspects and guises was captured by the American novelists yet there are certain common threads.

In the absence of an overt imperial relationship Americans were more sympathetic towards India than the British. Also implicated in the Indo-American connection were the Indo-British and Anglo-American connections. In the background chapter it was mentioned that Britain had been a major source of knowledge about India. Also Americans always saw themselves as benefactors of India, in contrast to the British, to whose role in India America at times reacted to ambiguously or with hostility. The novelist Robert Augustus Towers admits to being an anglophile. Harry Hervey's novel also contrasts the money minded American music publisher who lacks artistic taste with the generous, cultured English music publisher who grew up in India. In contrast Edison Marshall deliberately attacks the English characters. David McArd in *Come My Beloved*, and the American businessmen in *The Consul's Wife* appreciate the role of the British in India whereas Ted McArd in *Come My Beloved*, and Harold in *The Consul's Wife*, support India's nationalist aspirations. Thus the novelists reveal contrasting American relationships with the British. But even when the Americans are critical of the British they place America in a positional

superiority over Britain as well as India Of the pre-independence novels, except for *The Rains Came*, the other novels place Americans and American culture as the ideals.

India is seen as sinister, malignant, violent and destructive in novels like Simmons' *The Song of Kali* and Towers' *Necklace of Kali.*[12] In all these novels Kali becomes a symbol of the destructive side of India. India means living on the edge for Louis and Cully in *India Gate* and the sculpture of the dancing Shiva becomes the symbol for destruction. Thus one perceives a selective use of Indian mythology to emphasize the image of India as a land of darkness. Martin in *The Necklace of Kali* states, "India is the ravenous womb of the world. It devours the light. It spreads and absorbs—pulls everything to it. Its conditions are already those of most of Asia...this insatiable darkness" (Towers, 56) . For Luczak, Calcutta represents a black hole, "I think there are black holes in reality. Black holes in the human spirit. And actual places where, because of density or misery or sheer human perversity, the fabric of things just comes apart and that black core in us swallows all the rest" (Simmons, 308) . Though he adds, "they are not restricted to strange cities in distant countries" (Simmons, 308) still the Song of Kali remains a peculiarly Indian reality. In contrast, we have characters like Carol in *The Greater Darkness* who finds that, "That is the gift of India, that you feel inescapably like a part of something bigger, an instant in an eternal continuity ... It was not that India was more spiritual...but simply...simply elusive, perhaps, for it eluded her, elusively simple, a matter of change, new horizons" (206-207) . Another explanation for the mystical aspect of India is given by Fosburg in the following assertion: "One cannot be serene in India, one has to think deeply or not at all, how else can one cope with the poverty and the sheer horror of life around one" (463) .

For the majority of these novels, in Anita Desai's words "This India-of-the-West, by-the-West, and for-the-West ... is as far as most Europeans and Americans wish to go. Beyond this, they feel, lies the jungle" (qtd. in Glazer, 59) . *The Necklace of Kali* and *The Consul's Wife*, tell stories of Americans caught in the bloodthirsty "jungle" of India . John Wickham in *The Necklace of Kali* leaves the security he enjoys as a spectator in the unfolding drama of India's independence and plunges into the horrors of Hindu-Muslim riots. The American sociologist's wife in *The Greater*

Darkness rejecting his analysis of India tries to plunge into India and is killed in a riot. Cully's obsession with India in *India Gate* leads to his destruction.

Thus the Americans who dare to step away from the demarcation of 'us' and 'them' get killed in the "jungle" or are forced to encounter bloodletting. This "jungle' in all its brutality is revealed in *Song of Kali* also. The narrator penetrates the secret society of Kapalikas, the sect of Kali worshippers, and in the end kills the leprous poet of Kali, an act reminiscent of the lone ranger fighting the evil all alone. It becomes an act of the symbolic ritual cleansing needed to restore order.

In this body of literature we have both the comic maharajah of *Nights in Bombay* as well as the progressive maharajah of Ranchipur in *The Rains Came* and the philanthropic Prince Jagat of *Mandala.* Also the progressivesness is not shown as entirely the influence of Western education but also as a reaffirmation of the 'raja dharma' as depicted in Indian tradition.[13] The novels tell us, "Do not expect romance, for that is a European invention that has not yet reached India" (Rubin, 12) . On the other hand India is shown as the land of elusively haunting music, of Kashmir—the paradise on earth, of romance, of predestination and of mystery. For Fosburg, India is a place "where god lives, the dead are reborn, and all contradictions are the same"(127) . For some Americans like Thalia in *India Gate*, Indians were merely black men, they were a "national population of somewhere around eight hundred million people colored various shades of brown and white" (Fosburg, 129) .

Other themes that the novelists grapple with are the East-West differences and India as a contrast to America. The spiritual India and material America, the dead East and living West, family oriented India and America as the land where the family structure is highly unstable, are a few clichés that are dealt with in varying forms in the novels. The bustling Mr.Nicholas Tarvin, of Topaz, in *The Naulakha* finds the East completely opposite and different from his own world. "Dealing with the dead East from the standpoint of the living West" (Balesteir, 333) . He states that, "They're dead. They're mummies. They're wooden images. There isn't enough real, old-fashioned downright rustle and razzle-dazzle and 'git up and git' in Gokral Seetarun to run a milk cart" (333) . The West as the society of free individuals and Indian society as informed by the caste system and family is an essentialist trope found in Orientalist discourses. An Indian character, Bhave comments in *India Gate*: "What do we any

of us care for freedom? We only care for belonging. You sound American, like your Mr. Guthrie We Indians only care for family and Community ..." (Fosburg, 238) . For Rom the East becomes the land of vitality as opposed to the repressed White society and when he manipulates Sukey into dancing with him he comments: "My darkness and her blondness, symbolic of the East and West which when rubbed together give off sparks. We two were in conflict and so was each of us within himself, and so was the pair of us with the assembly" (52) . The East-West divide is more clearly articulated in *Song of Kali*. As has been mentioned earlier, Amrita using mathematics tries to grapple with the difference between the two cultures and posits that the East and the West are not merely incompatible sets but probably belong to different geometries.

The theme of miscegenation has often been used by novelists to explore the theme of the East-West encounter. The notion of incompatibility is stressed by the unfruitful conclusion of love between individuals belonging to the two cultures. The strange coincidence wherein one of the partners is killed as in several Anglo-Indian novels, is seen in the early novels written by Americans also. In Marion Crawford's *Mr. Isaacs* (1882) the English girl in love with the Indian merchant dies suddenly of jungle fever. Mr. Isaacs is consoled by the thought of a spiritual reunion with her. He says, "Think of me as not alone but as wedded for all ages to her who has gone before me" (320) . The American narrator seemingly regrets his earlier skepticism about the inter-racial union, "I must have been mistaken in thinking this marriage impossible and incongruous...why not?"(58) but the conclusion of the novel proves his skepticism legitimate, for the novelist uses Nature to separate the two people. Illness destroys other inter-racial relationships also. In *Jennifer Lorn* (1923) Jennifer dies before the tender friendship between her and Mirza Abbas can fully mature into love. Mirza dies at her tomb mourning her death like the famous lovers of yesteryears. Stephen Alter's novel *Silk and Steel* (1982) set in colonial India sees a reversal of this situation— an Indian woman dying with her English lover. When Webley dies in the battle, Khasturba commits *Sati*. Edwina dies of the plague even as Major Safti, the Poona Brahmin doctor is ready to leave everything for her love in *The Rains Came* (1937). Interestingly, the fear that an Indian's marriage to a foreigner will cause problems with his people regarding his credibility and trustworthiness was shared by Buck in

Mandala also [14] Major Safti and Edwina like Prince Jagat and the American girl in *Mandala* are aware that their relationship will never be accepted by the people of Ranchipur. The American girl decides to return to India believing in the reunification of souls after this life; Edwina chooses to die rather than live to see him abandon Ranchipur for her love. Bhupal Singh claims that "Bromfield has much less difficulty than his British contemporaries in showing that Europeans and Indians of good will can understand one another quickly and spontaneously"(1934, 67) yet he also resorts to the ploy of introducing an epidemic to solve the issue of interracial marriage, because the epidemic convincingly disposes of lovers.

Such a drastic device is not used by later novelists, especially missionary novelists. They use separation either through mutually taken decisions or through force of circumstances to prevent the fulfillment of inter-racial relationships. For example in *Hindu Heaven* and *Come My Beloved* the couples part ways. This will be discussed in chapter seven. In Edison Marshall's *The Bengal Tiger* (1952) and William Shirer's *The Consul's Wife* (1956) there is an amicable separation. In Marshall's novel the Kuki girl who is cohabiting with the British protagonist—Simon Peeltower—is happy in the knowledge that it is a temporary arrangement. Her status in her tribe is enhanced by her affair with a white man and when Vivian reenters Simon's life she goes back to her tribe quite happily. She even helps both of them during the *Sepoy Mutiny*. In his other novel, another Kuki girl type character, Sithiria who is bought by the hero Rom as a slave, in order to rescue her from cruelty, proves to be his final and enduring choice, even after his white love comes back into his life. This is so probably because Sithiria is of Greek blood and Rom himself has gypsy blood. Thus Rom finds his mate not in an Indian girl but in a girl who combines the East and the West in her. Though the Anglo-Indian community objects to Simon's affair with the Kuki girl on racial grounds, the same reason does not apply in Shirer's novel.

In *The Consul's Wife* the Consul says maybe before his stay in India he might have objected to his daughter's marriage to a Sikh, yet it was not on racial grounds he was objecting but "just that Isobel is too young, and that they come from different worlds" (Shirer, 35). Though in this particular case one has to agree with Leighton as Govind Singh is 35 and a revolutionary freedom fighter and Isobel a 18 year old

American girl, it does not disguise the fact that this seems a favorite argument for the so-called liberal minded and practical objectors to interracial marriages.

In other novels' like *Krishna Fluting* (1959) and *The Necklace of Kali* (1961) interracial couples marry. Peter Arjuna Bruff, the Quaker— Buddhist—Hindu, half Kashmiri and Half—American chooses the Indian girl Indira as his life partner. Liliu, his mistress who uses witchcraft is killed by a snake and his first love— the American Quaker who had married his cousin and who is now a widow and would like to marry him, finds her partner in Jim, a Chinese American who had run away from America as Americans were prejudiced about his mixed blood and did not accept him. The fate of the children of the mixed marriages seems also to be a cause of rejection of the mixed marriages. Martin who marries Annila in *The Necklace of Kali* is shaken to realize that he might just be a founder of a Eurasian dynasty. His marriage only seems to increase his drunkenness and it is clear that he belongs to the world of "Good mixers" whom he despises, and who belong nowhere as both Indian and American society reject them. Prof. Krishna Maliviya and his wife from Boston in *The Consul's Wife* seem very happy but the American Consul wonders if it would last after the children are born.

Buck's second novel set in India *Mandala* (1970) also shows separation as the only option for American and Indian couples. Written much later than her earlier novel and set in the 1970s, a further dimension is added to the problem—class as a barrier rather than race. Prince Jagat is not free [because of his class obligations] to be involved with an American and his daughter's relationship with an American is also doomed to failure as she comes from a different social class. In the end the Princess falls in love with one of her own kind.

In later novels the interracial love ends in marriage and happiness also. In Dan Simmons' *Song of Kali* (1985) Amrita, an Indian by birth, but brought up in the West, and Robert Luczak, a Polish American, lead a happy married life with their daughter. Even the horrifying death of their daughter in India does not destroy their marriage. The focus seems to be to exploit India as a land of darkness and as a country which belongs to a "different geometry". Darkness is seen as present in America also but the core of darkness is India.

Relationships rather than the idea of India are more important in Jacqueline Singh's novel *Seasons* (1991) explores the theme of interracial marriage. In the Preface, the novelist quotes from Dickens' *Bleak House*, "I hope anyone who will read what I write will understand that if these pages contain a great deal about me, I can only suppose it must be because I have really something to do with them, and can't be kept out.". Jacqueline Singh is an American married to an Indian, living in Delhi. The novel is very autobiographical in tone. The novel is a family drama as well as a saga of cultural crossing. It is the story of Helen, the second wife, whom her husband Tej loves, and the desperation of Dilraj Kaur, the first wife, who tries to outwit her. Dilraj, who is wife only in name, is actually the widow of his elder brother whom he had married under the custom of *chaddar*.[15] In the end Tej and Helen decide to go to Delhi and live there.

The story is narrated by Helen, the American wife, and by Carol, Helen's American friend, who is trying to piece together letters and memories to make sense of it all. Helen makes a decision which her friend Carol and her family cannot understand. She chooses to marry an Indian and live with him in a village in Punjab with his family. Carol says, "I knew coming to grips with her— the *idea* of her—would take up too much energy ....She remains for me, after so many years, an enigma" (3) . Her decision is seen as "unusual", as an escape from being mediocre, and she tries to tell them, that "she was *not* having an adventure, *but simply living life* (emphasis added)" (4) . Carol wonders,

> What it was to go back in time by centuries. Surely there would have been the initial thrill, followed by a seizure of panic at the realities of life lived without technology.
>
> There she was, becoming part, of at any rate living intimately with, the fixtures of another culture, knowing that she was not remotely like someone on a guided tour, but locked into a process that offered no end in sight. The language factor, daunting enough in itself, would have been just one dimension. And what was it like to be taken in like that, into the household of strangers ten thousands miles away, not as a guest or casual visitor, but as a *bride* (4) .

Helen is accused of "crossing over" when she shows a preference for her Indo-Pakistani friends to her English and American friends. Helen had been interested in

India even before she met Tej, that is why she moves to International House to meet Indians When she meets Tej she falls in love with him and after knowing that Tej is married agrees to be his second wife and live with him in India. Later Helen refuses to accept that this decision is a bewildering one as seen from the average American point of view. Helen tries to be convinced like Tej that, "Whatever happens, we are like no two other people. There are no two other people quite like us. Not now, or ever" (59) .When Helen sees him in the crowd from the window in the restaurant, "A single conviction took hold for a period of time that was briefer than a second and brighter than the sun: I had to marry that man or no one else. *I had denied some loyalty deeper than family and country and culture when I had believed otherwise"* (emphasis added) (151) .

When Carol suggests that she was being brave, she insists, "That's another strange word ... That and *adventure*. I'm not going tiger shooting ... I'm not even going to live among elephants. Just people. Like you and me" (8) . Carol has her doubts, "Perhaps it *had* been a peculiar way to put it, an *adventure* ... Did it suggest something exploitative, some disgraceful motive that denied someone of their humanity?" (8) In her letters Helen tries to bridge the myth of the total dissimilarities between cultures and nations. Carol comments, "The one impression she was bent on conveying was that there were everywhere and in every situation correspondences, similarities in degree or kind, to life as she'd always lived it" (5) .

Later in spite of her optimism and idealism Helen accepts that maybe Carol was right when she talked about psychological bravery in facing a different culture. She also understands that she and her friend cannot continue their friendship. She says, "we belonged to different worlds now. The one I was in was as untranslatable as a Martian's would be" (122) . Her silence after the last letter when she is on the verge of going back, indicates that once she has chosen to remain, she cannot ever go back.

At a deeper level Helen's decision challenges the deep-seated assumptions of the superiority of the American life-style. Carol cannot understand that love could be sufficient cause for Helen's decision. She ponders as to "What exactly she went to India to find and whether, indeed, she found it."

> Comparisons are almost impossible to avoid. And I admit one reason, the main reason, I was so obsessed

> with finding out the answer to this insistent question all along was to satisfy myself that I had got a better deal in life. ...Jealousy or envy has nothing to do with it.....It's simply that what she did was altogether provocative. It turned upside down all our notions about ourselves, our values, our culture, our "progress", our sheer power. Things we took for granted. She put them to in question. With her sudden flight to an unfamiliar world she'd raised doubts that lifetime could not put to rest. She ought not to have succeeded....Otherwise what did my life prove? What did it add up to? A professorship, achieved at last after the males on the staff had been accommodated? An award or two? (180).

Thus the story of Helen and Carol becomes also the story of conflicting discourses on interracial relationship as well as a apparent conflict on the Indian and American way of life.

Lacy Fosberg's *India Gate* (1992) tells yet another story of a romance between an American woman and an Indian man. But here Phoebe is returning to her land of birth. Phoebe and her brother had left India after their parent's death. Both return and fall in love with Indians. Cully's romance fails as his obsession to belong in India destroys him. Phoebe's love for Suraj, rescues him from an empty life and she again belongs to India completely.

In Henry Scholberg's *A Hindi Movie* (1994), Sylvia Lawrence, an Indian Christian rebel and Damon Carter, an American novelist fall in love but decide to part as he is already married. Fortunately for them, his wife Nancy is also in love with someone else. Nancy and Damon divorce and Damon marries Sylvia. Rod Stanton and Niti Gupte (the hero and heroine of the movie based on Damon's novel) also fall in love but Rod never thinks of marriage till Damon suggests it. Rod has to confront his racial prejudice before he can decide his future with Niti.

> "Rod considered himself politically correct in the context of the 1990s. He believed he was totally devoid of racial and social prejudice, he thought "gays" and "lesbos" deserved equal treatment by society and the laws of the republic, he thought it was fine and dandy for people of the same sex to marry each other, he figured all politicians were crooked and he supported concerts to raise money for AIDS research.

> "But the idea of a lifetime commitment to a woman of dark skin made him stop and question his political correctness" (130) .

When Damon asks, "Isn't it the color of her skin holding you back?" Rod agrees, "Maybe it is"(131) . Damon points out that both do belong to the Caucasian race. In any case love conquers all and even though the Bombay movie makers disapprove of this romance, Rod and Niti are married. In America she acts in a sitcom *Indian Girl* as a newly married Indian girl adjusting herself to the world of America and Rod acts as her husband. "The first episode evolves around this nice Indian girl trying to prove to a skeptical immigration official that she did not marry an American only to get herself to America" (146) .

Amrita teaches in America and was brought up in the West. Helen meets Tej in America, Phoebe was born in India and Sylvia refuses to have an arranged marriage and lives an independent life away from her family. Thus one observes that in later novels, the East and the West no longer come across as different cultures, they meet in a cosmopolitan western world or western educated Indian world. Indians who are shaped by western ways of thinking or Americans who had childhood links with India meet and marry, believing in love.

Thus these novels largely focus on "different geometries" rather than perceive India and America as intersecting "sets". The Amrithas, Kiruns and the Phoebes, are the common elements between the largely incompatible "sets". India remains the "Other Voice" in most of these novels. Nevertheless these novels give memorable glimpses of India and at the same time capture the idioms and phrases of native languages and Indian English also.

The use of native language idioms and Indian English illustrates not only a familiarity with India but also the extent to which India has entered the being of the Subject. The mastery of the native language becomes the marker for the relationship of the characters with India. Sukey and Phoebe all show their intimacy with India in this manner. Rom marvels, "how completely and perfectly [India] had mastered Sukey through some strange childhood experience. Truly, not nominally it was her native tongue" (Marshall 1949, 62) . In *India Gate* Phoebe is able to communicate with

Indians because of her mastery over Indian English. The following passage illustrates this:

> "My brother lives upstairs," began Phoebe speaking English... The woman's face was blank. Phoebe tried again. "My brother is living upstairs since one year, "she said slowly, taking on the singsong rhythm that distinguishes Indian English. "He is a scholar loving Indian art, and I am coming from America"—only she pronounced it "Am-ri-ka"— "to see him. May I be asking if you are knowing where he is?" (Fosburg, 119)

This chapter has so far only highlighted a few themes in the American fiction set in India using the metaphor of "different geometries" and intersecting "sets". The following chapters will examine American missionary fiction in particular, which is the largest distinct category in American fiction set in India, because it not only deals with many of these themes but also illustrates some dominant representation of India which continue to find their place in the American psyche.

NOTES

[1] Refer to Abhai Maurya's *India and the World Literature* (1990) and Rita Sil's *Images of India in World Literature* (1990).

[2] Bhupal Singh states, "The phrase 'Anglo-Indian Fiction' may be used in a broad or narrow sense. Broadly speaking, it includes any novel dealing with India which is written in English. Strictly speaking it means fiction mainly describing the life of Englishmen in India. In a still narrower sense it may be taken to mean novels dealing with the life of Eurasians, who now prefer to be called Anglo-Indians" (1934, 1). I use it to mean only novels written about India by English writers, as novels written about India by Indian writers, British writers and American writers, are very different because of the different trajectories of the writers.

[3]In this study Anglo-Indian refers to the British in India. To avoid overlaps of meaning I have used Eurasians for children of British and Indian marriages and their generations after them though the word is substituted by Anglo-Indians in the present times.

[4]Sedlar expands on this trope in his chapter "Alexander's Indian Expedition" (53-60) Rom like an Orientalist historian wants to expand his knowledge of India's history and uses Sithiria (Cytherea) to learn her language and the history of her people.

[5]Psychiatric hand books refers to "fugue" as a condition wherein the patient travels far, appears self-possessed and lives in everyday like a normal person except that he is not where he should be (Cronin, 100).

[6]The novelist, Christopher Isherwood was a British citizen by birth but made America his home.

[7]For instance, Alexander's conversations with Indian wise men finds mention in various medieval manuscripts. Pyrrhorn of Elis (365-275 B.C) was inspired by Indian holy men. See Sedlar's *India and the Greek World* (1980) for further details.

[8]Glazer states that, "Young Americans seeking a richer religious or spiritual experience than ordinarily available in American middle-class religion often surprise their parents by adopting some element of exotic Hinduism or Sikhism, or by finding a spiritual guide in a swami" (Glazer, 16). Neal Rosner has been living in India since 1967. Another American, Andrew Cohen has established sangha/centers in US, Germany, Israel, etc.

[9] See Paul 1994 for more details.

[10] Though Sujit Mukherjee includes Ellis Peters, she is actually a Anglo-Indian writer but her novels concern themselves with American character and hence rate a special mention. In *Death for the Land Lords!* (1972) deaths are caused by naxalites in their attempt to annihilate a rich landlord's son who is actually planning to hand over estates to a cooperative. It is well written mystery, with the identity of the naxalite within the group surrounding the landlord's son well hidden. Later it is revealed that she is a misguided American who is manipulated by the naxalites for their own purpose.

[11]In Ellis Peters' *Mourning Raga* (1970) Anjali, daughter of an American actress and an Indian father, comes to India to meet her father. She finds that he has disappeared

and later she herself is kidnapped The story does not focus on clash of cultures but is any thriller set in a romantic locale.

[12] William McClowskey's *The Mallore Affaire* (1967) also reveals India as sinister and violent.

[13] One is reminded of Gita Mehta's *The Raj* (1989) when in the end the Princess files a nomination for the post of member of parliament. Even as the British Officer and the Nationalist friend of the Princess dispute as to who was responsible for grooming the effete aristocracy to think of the people, she inwardly remembers her Raj guru who had taught her the duties of the Raja towards the Praja.

[14] One is in particular reminded of J. C. Ganguli. The idea of Miscegenation was one of the reasons for the falling out between the Unitarian Charles Dall and his protégé J. C. Ganguli. Ganguli had become engaged to an English woman and this shocked Dall. Dall tried to counter the marriage plans as he feared that this marriage with a European might nullify Ganguli's effectiveness among the Hindus. The racial prejudices of the English Unitarians also did not favor this (Lavan, 98).

[15] A custom where the younger brother marries his elder brother's wife. The couple may or may not decide to consummate their relationship.

Chapter Four

The Story Of The Pillow-Case Which Turned Into A Dress

Missions In India

The real story of life in a Mission station has never yet been told. When it is told it must be told, if it is to be told truthfully with such vast understanding and tenderness and ruthlessness that perhaps it never can be done justly. The drama in it is terrifying.

Pearl S Buck

Our identity is at once plural and partial. Sometime we feel that we straddle two cultures; at other times, that we fall between two stools.

Salman Rushdie

Margaret Wilson in *Daughters of India* narrates the anecdote of the pillow-case which turned into a dress. Davida, the American zenana missionary hearing about the Begum's earache decides to give a feather pillow to her. The decision is a hard one for her because she finds it difficult to be giving all the time. Also she is tempted to keep the pillow because her Western guests would be uncomfortable without it. After many days on her visit to the Begum's house she sees the Begum's son in a new shirt and trousers made of the pillow-case. The goose feathers had been thrown away and Davida sees, "The outraged Anglo-Saxon pillow ticking, not accustomed to covering Oriental nakedness, [standing] out stiffly and fully to just below the little bare knees" (M. Wilson 1928, 101) .The Begum explains, "But after all, Miss Sahib, it is only my *ear* that aches sometimes, you know. And it was his whole body that was always shivering with cold. And see how nice and warm he looks" (102) . Amused, Davida thinks, "Jesus probably thought they were just dear little garments. 'I was naked, and ye clothed me in your pillow-case,' Jesus would say. He wouldn't add "accidentally" (103) .

The story with its comedy/pathos touches throws light on the Mission enterprise. Davida wants to help, but her idea about what is needed by the Begum is different from the actual need of the Begum. Davida's sacrifice was actually not needed but the sacrifice does pay dividend in an unexpected manner. At times the dividends were not so obvious nor were they so beneficial. The story of the Mission

enterprise is the story of the pillow-case transformed into a dress. The missionaries came to India to preach Christianity but Indians benefited more from their means to propagate faith (education, health care, rural upliftment, etc.) rather than from the new faith itself. At the same time the Missions also destroyed native culture in many places and posited Western culture as superior to Eastern culture. Many times the question was asked, were the Missions the "moral equivalents of imperialism"? (Hutchison 1982, 167). Thus the American Mission history in India is the story of the pillow-case which turned into a dress.

Gerald Barrier states that, "The literary record of the missionary experience is both voluminous and virtually uncharted" (1986, 5). The present chapter deals with fictional and non-fictional records of Mission life. It identifies American missionary novels set in India and deals with themes connected with the Mission enterprise in the novels. The chapter also briefly deals with the records of the American Mission enterprise in India to create an awareness of the background in which the fiction was written. It is not an orthodox history of the American missionary encounter but a brief survey with added emphasis on those aspects that are revealed in the novels.

The intellectual and spiritual life of any nation is the result of the interplay of fundamental ideals, assumptions and emotions. To understand American missionary fiction set in India one needs to examine the ideals, assumptions and emotions of the nation which produced it. Faith as well as national character shaped the American missionary movement. William Hutchison says, "Retrospective criticism is in order but, to use John Higham's useful distinction, retrospective judging is not" (1987, 14). The present chapter is an attempt at "retrospective criticism" of American Missions in India through a particular emphasis on the issues examined in American missionary fiction set in India.

India had been a 'Mission country' for centuries.[1] St. Thomas is believed to have preached Christianity here as early as 21-52 A.D (Kaul 1997, xxi).[2] The first Englishman sent perhaps by King Alfred to visit the shrine of St. Thomas was Sighelmus around A.D 883. It is not clear if he came as a missionary. It was with Vasco da Gama's opening of the Cape route in 1498 that the European contacts with India became more regular. The first Italian missionary, a Franciscan Friar called

Odrorico da Pordenone landed in India in 1321. In his travel accounts he talked about Sati and other unusual customs of India.

A number of Jesuit missionaries came to India in the 16th Century. When Francis Xavier came to India in 1542 there were already nearly thirty Jesuit missionary stations in India. Some of the Jesuits like Father Antonio Monserrate reached Akbar's court in 1580. Father Jerome Xavier was received by Akbar in 1595. Czech missionaries joined the Jesuits in the end of the sixteenth century.

English missionaries like Father Thomas Stephens, who came to India in 1579 wrote *The Christian Purana* in Marathi and Henry Lord who came in 1630 produced works on the Hindus and the Parsis like, *A Discoverie of the Sect of Banias* [sic] and *The Religion of the Parsees.* Father Raphael du Mans led the Capuchin missionaries to India in 1643 and later they disseminated information about India in France. Roberto de Nobili who died in 1656 had a radically different method of propagating Christianity. He practiced what was known as the "accommodationist" tradition of evangelization. Hutchison states, "According to this way of thinking, the language of Christianity would be adapted to concepts already existing in the native languages, while sacraments and ceremonies were to be linked to native rites, and natives trained as clergy and workers" (1987, 20). A later generation would call it "going native".

Bartholomaus Ziegenbalg, a German Lutheran missionary came to India in 1682. French Jesuits came from Siam in 1689 and established a Mission in Pondicherry and later at Vellore, Golkunda and other places. A Dane, Benjamin Schulze, came to India as a Lutheran missionary to Tranquebar in 1719 and founded the S.P.C.K Mission at Vepery in Madras in 1728 and published works like *Hindustani Grammar* (1745).

Claudius Buchanan came to India as a missionary in 1797 and wrote among other works, *Christian Researches in India.*[3] William Carey came to India in 1793, Joshua Marshman and William Ward arrived in 1799 as Baptist Mission Society missionaries from England. *The Theological Magazine*, published in New York from 1795-1799, was the first American journal to give publicity to the work of the English missionaries in India. As the East India Company did not encourage Mission activity, Carey, Marshman and Ward decided to start their Mission in the Danish territory of Serampore in 1800.[4] Francis Xavier, Claudius Buchanan and William Carey were well

known in American church circles William Carey was conferred an honorary degree of Divinity by America's Brown University in 1807.

Inspired by the European, especially the British missionary efforts in India the American Board of commissions for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) was formed in 1810. The ABCFM operated outside denominational structures though majority of its members were Congregationalists. Given its late entry to the Mission field in India, America's national character as well as the India they encountered, the American missionary history in India is different from the European Mission history in India.

Thus American missionary work in India began only in the nineteenth century. Yet in the history of the Indo-American encounter missionaries and merchants were among the earliest Americans to come to India. Talking about Bayard Taylor who came to India in 1850s, A.G. Noorani states that "the only American residents Taylor found in Bombay were some missionaries who had established a school and a church, and a Boston ice merchant" (1982,16) . The missionary group was later to expand and become the largest group in India.

Expansion has been a characteristic feature of the American nation as well as of their Mission enterprise. Frederick Turner states the following:

> The larger part of what has been distinctive and valuable in America's contribution to the history of the human spirit has been due to the nation's peculiar experience in extending its type of frontier into new regions.....This experience has been fundamental in the economic, political, and social characteristics of the American people and in their conceptions of their destiny. (Turner 1962, xx)

America being a nation with a strong Puritan past, religious consciousness also played a major role in the formation of her national character. Americans believed in their manifest destiny. Turner states that, "In spite of his rude, gross nature, [the] early Western man was an idealist withal. He dreamed dreams and beheld visions. He had faith in man, hope for democracy, belief in America's destiny, unbounded confidence in his ability to make his dreams come true (214) . The missionaries also shared these dreams. They wanted to be the "City upon a hill" and wanted to bring the heathen to the "light". Hutchison's observation seems very pertinent here. He states that the missionary movement in its American expressions was rooted "both in a Christian, a-

nationalistic zeal for expansion and active evangelization, and equally in a fervent belief, less obviously Christian but just as religious, that Americans were under special obligation to save and renovate the world" (1987, 8) .

America first started its Missions for the native Americans. Though Cotton Mather had talked about the conversion of the Hindus, little attention was paid to it, but as British missionary contacts with Americans grew, America also decided to send its missionaries to India (R. Gupta 1986: 7, 19) . British Tract and Bible Societies, missionary appeals and missionary figures all contributed toward the evangelical awakening in America.[5]

In 1812 the first group of American missionaries to India consisting of Samuel Newell, Adoniram Judson, Samuel Nott, Gordon Hall and Luther Rice were sent to India. Clifton J. Phillips states that, "Christian duty and romantic adventure both called forth the first student volunteers" (1969, 23) .Though they were sent by the ABCFM, on their way to India Judson and Rice, though traveling on different ships, became Baptists. Because of the Company policy of discouraging missionaries all of them were turned back. Newall left Calcutta for the Isle of France with the purpose of establishing a Mission there. Later he came to Bombay and along with Nott and Hall established the first American Mission in 1813. Judson[6] and Rice laid the foundation of the American Baptist Mission in Burma in the same year. Rice returned to America in 1814 and worked at arousing American Baptists towards their missionary responsibility.

Despite a hostile response from the East India company and adverse conditions the band of the faithful continued to expand. The introduction of the missionary clause in the East India Company's Charter Act of 1813 was conducive in furthering missionary activity in India. The first American medical missionary to a foreign land, Dr. John Scudder I [the first] arrived in South India in 1819 under the auspices of the ABCFM. Though there was a growing interest in Indian philosophy in American intellectual circles for the average American citizens it was the missionaries who brought India to their attention. Through letters, lectures, and pleas for monetary help the early missionaries created an image of India as a land of disease and poverty teeming with black heathens who needed to be redeemed. Yet at another level they were involved in printing Indian texts and establishing hospitals and schools.

After the ABCFM, the American Baptist Union arrived in 1814, the American Bible Society in 1816, the Presbyterians in 1833, Baptists in 1835, Lutherans in 1841 and Methodists in 1856. Within the different denominations, different stations were set up at different times. For instance, the Presbyterian Church had different Missions under it. The Lodiana Mission was started in 1834 and had its branches in Jalandar, Ambala, Lahore, Dehradoon, Rawal Pindi, Woodstock, Ferozepore and Saharanpur. The Furrukhabad Mission was started in 1836 and had its branches in Allahabad, Futtehgurh, Manipur, Furruhkhabad, Etah, Gwalior, Jhansi, Etawah and Futtehpore. The Kolhapur Mission was started in 1853 and had its branches at Kolhapur, Panhala and Sangli. The Mennonites arrived in India later than others in 1899. The ABCFM concentrated on the Mahratta Mission in northwest India and the Madura Mission in Madurai district in South India. The Baptists concentrated on Telegana District of Andhra Pradesh and the North-East. The Reformed Church and the Lutheran Mission concentrated their activities in the South. Thus the various Missions were careful in choosing their "field" and did not largely intrude into another Mission's territory. Markus Bishwas states that, "Zones were made for convenience's sake, subjected to readjustment according to the changing circumstances and growing requirements" (1986, 9).

The first Mission had to meet the question of the means of intercourse with India, the extension and methods of propagation, of religious, medical and educational activities. The answers to these and similar questions for one Mission served as a guide for the others. . The earlier missionary methods to secure converts were the same in different denominations and in different countries. William Gammell states the following:

> The labors of missionaries in founding their stations and commencing their system of measures for the conversion of heathen people, [were] substantially the same in every land. The opening of schools, the operation of the press, together with frequent excursions into the country around them ... [were] the principal agencies on which they rel[ied] for the promulgation of the gospel. (1850, 215)

Later health services and rural upliftment projects also became means to spread the faith along with schools, press and bazaar preaching.

The paths of the missionaries were not smooth If the missionaries preached "Christ only" then they were accused of ignoring the need for social upliftment and of insular thinking. At other times to undermine others religion was seen as the ultimate cultural aggression. They were criticized as promoters of Western ideology and of being hypocritical. They found the climate and the people very difficult to adjust to. India was the, "Land of extremes [where] even familiar ailments became strange and magnified" (D. Wilson 1959, 80). The Mission cemetery became filled with women and children. Mary Ramsey, the wife of the first Presbyterian missionary to India died along with her son (see appendix two) . In her letters home during her brief stay in India ill-health is an ever-present subject. Apart from physical distress the missionaries also had to face criticism at home and abroad. Benjamin Crownshield, trader with East India in a speech explaining the futility of sending missionaries, stated that, 'there were those among [the Indians] who had examined our religion & were familiar with its doctrines, & who could teach our missionaries the history of their church; that those people were perfectly satisfied with their own religion, & wanted no change" (qtd. in Bhagat 1970, 116) . Nathaniel Ames, another visitor to India in the early years of the Indo-American encounter talks about missionaries as "obnoxious" cargo and states that he did not see any signs of their victory in the "battles between Calvin and Vishnoo" (qtd. in Phillips 1969, 52) . Mark Twain observed, "It is a most strange vocation, the missionary's. There is no other reputable occupation that resembles it..In all lands the religious deserter ranks with the military deserter; it is considered that he has done a base thing and shameful. It is the mish's trade to make religious deserters" (qtd. in Schlesinger Jr. 1974, 362) . In India also people were critical of the missionaries. At times they had to face opposition from Brahmins as well as from a few British missionaries. For the early missionaries, "religion was still a banner under which to fight" (Buck 1964, 45) .

Many volumes of *Forum* reveal debates and discussions about the missionary enterprise. In it Virchand Gandhi accused missionaries of indulging in "religious trade", of ignorance about the Aryan religion, of beef-eating and wine drinking and claims that, "not withstanding their great efforts, not a single true Aryan ha[d] been converted" (1894, 163) . Fred Powers responded to this article using statistics to prove the number of converts and quotations from various people, mostly British

officials in support of his statement that the Missions were successful in India and that 'the Lights of Asia dispel[led] no darkness" (1894, 480) . Continuing the debate, Telang, a Brahmin accused the missionaries of living in luxury and breaking up Indian families and preventing, "normal progress in practical things in India, which the introducing of Western education and material civilization, without the Christian religion, would further" (1894, 485) . Though acknowledging the role of missionaries in uplifting "pariahs", he nevertheless found: the attempt to preach Christianity to the Hindu, "who had a religion and was civilized before the dawn of history" as "ridiculous" and "audacious" (483) . He concludes by stating that "India would bless the Americans" if instead of spending money on the missionaries, they would spend it on the lower classes of India and adds, "If your object is truly to improve the condition of India's poor, then, instead of teaching them religion, send teachers and open schools ; and give them education and let them select any religion they like" (488) .

The missionaries after spending a few years in India did develop a liking for India and then were as ready to learn as much as they were to preach. William Ramsey, the first Presbyterian to have gone under the aegis of the ABCFM, confessed after reading the *Gita*, "It does seem to me that the writer, whoever he may have been, had some knowledge of the word of God" (qtd. in Jackson, 94) . Henry Scudder's letter after nearly four years stay in Madras also shows a different picture from the American preconceptions of India. He states, "I love India. I love her soil; I love her people... I repudiate as a calumny many things that have been said of this country" (qtd. in Jackson 1981, 95) . Thus missionaries after their visit to India found it different from their preconceived notions. As Nathan Glazer states, "American missionaries generally bec[a]me understanding of the societies in which they work[ed] and sympathetic to them" (1990, 16) . Rufus Anderson, the secretary of the Mission Board, visited India and held conferences which led to a new emphasis on vernacular instruction and greater attention to preaching and less to the press and school (Phillips 1969 , 52) .

The 1880s witnessed further changes. The emergence of the Social Gospel which is regarded as America's "Unique contribution to the great ongoing stream of Christianity" (qtd. in Pathak 1967, 95) occurred at this time. The social gospel stressed the social aspects of Christianity. Social activism became the hallmark

of American Missions Sushil Madhav Pathak points out that, "In the realm of evangelism [the] social approach expressed itself in the following activities:

> In the efforts designed to bring communities rather than individual within the Christian fold, which came to be known as Mass Movements of Depressed classes and primitive tribes....In the promotion of the spirit of self-support in the Indian Christian community.... In the new movements of Sunday Schools, student Volunteers, the Y.M.C.A and the Salvation Army. (97)

Yet one must remember that even social activism was motivated by evangelical considerations. The mass conversions also became the subject of much criticism. In the Indian eyes the missionaries belonged to the ruling class by virtue of their race and skin color. They were able to provide benefits for the Indians. This also led to many conversions. Indians and Americans, Christians and non-Christians including Gandhi, Bishop Azariah and many others criticized the mass conversions. They felt that the motives of the converts were "worldly or unworthy" and "that inadequate provision [had] been made for the spiritual and intellectual nurture of the converts after baptism" (105). A few of these early converts were also motivated by a strong faith. Stories of Sadhu Sunder Singh and Pandita Ramabai are the better known stories of Indian Christians.

The first World War affected the American psyche and various attitudes towards imperialism were manifested. This generation went through an intense self-questioning which cast doubts on the earlier certainties about the civilized Self and the heathen Other.

In 1910 the World Conference of evangelical Missions proposed ecumenism as the watchword. The late 1920s and 1930s also revealed many changes in the Mission movement. For instance, "evangelization of the world" had become the watchword for the SVM in the late nineteenth century but now a more ecumenical approach was appreciated. Phillips states that the 1928 convention of the Student Volunteer Movement made it evident that the missionary movement had entered upon an era of mutuality and cooperation between Christians of all races and nations joining in a single enterprise of making Christ known around the world. He adds, "No longer is it the West over against the East, the >> (sic) Christian<< Occident versus the >>heathen<< Orient, the missionary vis-à-vis the native. The new word is

>>sharing<< and fellowship in service is the key to the future enterprise" (sic) (1982, 143).

The one volume version of the seven volume Laymen's Report on Missions initiated and funded by John D. Rockfeller Jr., appeared in 1932 as *Re-Thinking Missions.* It proposed that "Christians devote themselves to the battle between spirituality and materialism, a battle they would need to collaborate with other world faiths almost to the exclusion of traditional competitive stance" (Hutchison 1987, 152) . The Hocking commission said it was, "clearly not the duty of the Christian missionary to attack the non-Christian systems.. (it must) know and understand the religions around it, ...recognize and associate itself with whatever kindred elements there are in them" (qtd. in Schlesinger Jr., 359) . The commission's chairman Prof. William Ernest Hocking of Harvard said that it was, "as if 'salvation' had begun to take on a new meaning" (qtd. in Hutchison 1987, 159) . In 1935 an article entitled, "I Don't want To Christianize the World!" could appear in *The Christian Century.*

The conferences revealed these changes in attitudes. In a 1938 Mission conference, it was said:

> What does not the world owe to India's ancient, yes, and its modern saints, sages and reformers! Modern—this at once suggests to all of us the name of Gandhi. It would be hard to find a modern parallel to the moral influence of this one personality....Where save in Christ does he find a warrant for this course? Surely not in the non-Christian faith or in agnosticism.
>
> Here in India we find ourselves among people characteristized by reverence for religion, and also by large religious tolerance....In India we are in the presence of one of the greatest areas of poverty, of human need and suffering and of burden-bearing in all the world. India today presents the world's most instructive laboratory of Christian experience". (4-5)

The above statements reveal many interesting facts. Firstly the impact of Gandhi's presence, the attempt to appropriate him into a Christian framework and the continued attempts to proselytize India. Gandhi unsettled Christian certainties because he was a Hindu yet had understood biblical truths. Christendom's basic premises of superiority were thus opened to questioning because of him. In India, many Hindus had included Christ in their pantheon of Gods yet they refused to accept Him as the only God. There was a fundamental difference between the missionary belief and the seeming

recognition of Christ by the Indians. T. K. Thomas states that, "They [Missionaries] believed in Christ as the *"perfection"* of human nature and Gandhi and dare I say Indians believed in *"perfectability"* of human nature and that Christ came as near as possible to perfection (1969, 164) . The growth of nationalism in India led to the increasing emphasis on the need for national churches run by the Indian converts themselves.

After independence the Indian government imposed restrictions on missionaries. Indian Christians had begun to demand for devolution of powers and the Missions also felt that Indians should take over the church duties themselves. The American Marathi Mission was one among the early missionary bodies to offer Indian Christians important positions in their Mission. Reacting to complaints against the missionaries, the Indian government instituted inquiry commissions. The *Niyogi Report,* for example, gave various recommendations. It proposed that those missionaries whose primary object was proslytization should be asked to withdraw. The report stated that the influx of foreign missionaries was undesirable and should be checked.. Maintaining that the right of propagation belonged only to the Indians themselves, the report recommended that no foreign assistance was acceptable except through government channels (1956, 163-165) .

Thus the Missions faced new challenges with the dawn of an independent India. Charles Ryerson whose link with India continues till today states that, "Evangelism" became a "maligned and misunderstood" notion in the 60s. The question for him seemed to be, "How can we make the Faith relevant and meaningful, not only to the old religions such as Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam or to the "new religions" of Communism and nationalism but also to relativistic, questioning, secularization?" (Ryerson 1965, 15) . He adds, "as an American *and* as a Christian, I have no option but to be a responsible internationalist" (60) .

In the face of criticism many missionaries felt like Sherwood Eddy who ends his autobiography with the following lines:

> What matter we or they?
> Ours or another's day?
> Others shall sing the song
> Others shall right the wrong
> Finish what we begin
> And all we fail of, win. (1955, 255)

Among these missionaries were scholars, doctors, teachers and preachers. In 1836 William Robinson arrived in India. He later published *A Grammar of the Assamese Language*. Appleton Danforth and William Ward edited *Orunadoi* and Samuel Kellogg wrote, *Grammar of the Hindi Language*. Clara Swain was the world's first woman medical missionary. Sponsored by the Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America she started for India in 1869. John Scudder's granddaughter, Dr. Ida Scudder helped to establish a medical school for women in Vellore.

The American missionaries came from different backgrounds. The majority were from the Mid-West, a few others were from the East Coast and could trace their ancestry to British forefathers and founding fathers of America. Phillips states that, "Not many from the cities and coastal towns felt impelled to plant the standard of the cross abroad. Rather it was the farm boy and the villager who dreamed in their homes in the Berkshires or the Mohawk Valley of the evangelical conquest of distant shores" (Phillips 1969, 30) . Controversies, disappointments, tragedies, laurels and triumphs marked their lives. Some were iconoclastic and others were conformists.

Sadhu Hagenstien in the Central Provinces decided that the best way to communicate with Indians was to establish ashrams and to change one's life-style so as to approximate that of Indians. He became a landlord, teacher and worked for the British government George Bowen came to India in 1848. His career was marked by controversy as he tried to apply his own understanding of Christianity to the Indian Missions. Often he did not receive a salary from the American board and supported himself by teaching and writing.

Congregationalist, David Coit Scudder was one of the descendants of John Winthrope. He served in India for nearly one and half years before he died in 1862. Before leaving for India he learnt the Tamil language and devoted years to Oriental studies and published essays on Hindu philosophy, the aborigines of India and the tales of the heathens. His vocation for India was a soul stirring adventure for him. He writes to his friend who had gone before him to India, "so you are at last fairly staggering on India's coral stand! How do things look? Could I but be trudging by your side, gazing, like a raw Yankee, as I am, at sights and *sounds!* ...And you are

really there! Do you feel the crowds around you? Are you impressed with the fact of your being in a land whose history is so dark? That these swarthy ones love not God?" (Scudder 1864, 145-147) . In India, he writes, "I see these false gods; I see men bowing to them. I have the whole, pure word of God in my hand, and the capacity of speech in my head. My work is plain and full in sight" (221) . Managing to hide and watch the believers in the sanctum sanctorum which is not open to non-believers he is disgusted by native religious sights. He equates the caste marks as the "mark of the beast" in Revelation, admires the sword-dance, finds the Hindu character favorable, and laments at the condition of Indian women.

Later generations of missionaries were caught in the vortex of the Indian freedom movement. The Mission policy was non-interference in the political sphere yet they had private opinions and sympathies which led them into controversial situations at times. Officially they were discouraged from getting involved. Many were sympathetic to the British cause but others identified with the Indian cause. Still others continued with their task without offending either sides. Rev. Robert A. Hume was born of missionary parents in Bombay. His sympathy with the cause of Indian freedom led to his being elected as a delegate to the Indian National Congress in 1907. Sam Higginbottom reached India in 1903, developed the Allahabad Agricultural Institute, administered leper colonies and worked extensively in North India He and his wife were involved in rural upliftment for women. He had the confidence of the colonial government and the Indian nationalists. Barrier states that, "Serving as an informal advisor to Gandhi and Nehru, he helped lay the foundation for the new types of agricultural education and experimentation that were to become widespread in the 1950s and 60s" (5) .

E. Stanley Jones, a Methodist missionary came to India in 1907 as an evangelist. He wrote many books about the need to preach the Christ of the Indian road instead of a Western Christ. He also founded Sat Tal residential Christian ashrams in the Himalayas and Lucknow. He sums up the difference of his ashram from other ashrams thus, "The spiritual quest through the Ashram form has gone along three lines—the Gyana Marga, the way of knowledge; the Bhakti Marga, the way of devotion; and the Karma Marga, the way of works. They correspond to the modern division of the personality into intellect, feeling, and will ... We feel that in Christ all

three ways are gathered into one, for He is the Way— a method of acting, the Karma Marga, the Truth—the way of knowledge, the Gyana Marga; the Life—the way of devotion, the Bhakti Marga" (1964, 183) . He was sympathetic to the Indian nationalist cause and signed in 1928 the statement in *The Guardian* supporting the Indian national cause. Jones stressed the need of the missionary to be "a white native".

Yet another missionary, Frederick Bohn Fisher, believed that missionaries came to learn as well as to bring learning to them. Francis J. McConnell in the foreword to Fisher's biography says, "He was essentially a pioneer and fulfilled remarkably the spirit of the remark of Davy Crockett, one of the greatest of American frontiersman, "When in doubt, go ahead" (Fisher 1962, vi) . He was acquainted with Annie Besant and numbered Tagore and Gandhi among his friends. His wife and biographer Welthy Fisher states, "As an American, he could take no part in the Nationalist aspirations which had fired all of India, but he could work for self-determination within the Indian Methodist Church" (148) . Welthy Fisher promoted education in villages in India.

The relationship of Missions with the various governments of India in their more than one hundred eighty five years links with India, was controversial. They always had to negotiate with the government. Lord Harris, Governor of Bombay testified in a particularly relevant way in the *Missionary Herald* (1892):

> I do not think that I can too prominently say that our gratitude to the American Marathi Mission has been piling up and piling up all the years of this century... I take this public opportunity of conveying, on behalf of the Government of Bombay, our most grateful thanks for the assistance the people of the United States are rendering this Government in pushing forward the cause of education in India. (qtd. in Powers, 478)

Medical missionaries like Dr. John Scudder, Dr. Louisa Hart and Dr. Ida, Dr. Carol Jameson were given Kaisar-i-Hind medals by the British colonial government. Dr. Hilda Lazarus, an Indian Christian was also awarded the Kaiser-i-Hind medal. The Nawab of Rampur gave Clara Swain the gift of forty acres of land to establish a hospital. She was told that the Nawab would never sell his land to a Christian. But hoping against hope she made her request, he told her, "The land is not for sale...But I *give* it to you. Take the whole estate. I give it with pleasure for such a noble purpose" (qtd. in D. Wilson 1979, 73) .The Maharaja of Kolhapur gave an old

military hospital to the American Presbyterian Church of North India in 1909 so that the needs of Indian women could be met (Scovel 1966, 56) . Stories abound of the support by governments and rulers supporting the Mission activities in the social sphere and of their objections to Mission activities in the spiritual sphere.

Thus the life-stories of many missionaries reveal their varied responses to their vocation. These changes were a reflection of the changes in America as well as in India. Though the American missionaries came from different backgrounds and belonged to churches with vastly different beliefs, they did share a few common attitudes towards their "work" in India. Missions promoted new beliefs and attacked older beliefs. They attempted to universalize their beliefs. For them, India was the Other. J.S. Dharmaraj states that in the nineteenth century Mission history, "every non-normative social entity (caste, brahminical order of societal structure, tribal and rural ceremonies and festivals, and so on) and non-European religious-cultural practice (idol worship, temple sacrifices and so on) were exiled to an irreconcilable other" (1993, 138) .

The connection of Missions with imperialism has also been a consistent idea in Mission history, though the connection between Missions and the colonial administrators remains a controversial area. As Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. points out, "The classical theories of imperialism generally ignored the missionary" (1974, 337) . John K. Fairbank in discussing the works of American historians called the overseas missionary, 'the invisible man of American history" (qtd. in Schlesinger Jr., 341) . Yet he was not invisible in India. In India he was at times associated with the British rulers. In the early years the connection was more obvious. American missionaries helped the colonial project, by representing India as a country which needed intervention. There criticisms against India often justified the colonial presence in India. At times the colonial administrators used the missionaries for their own purposes. For instance, in the history of North-East India missionaries played a significant role. H.K Barpujari states that it was , "political and security reasons, not so much of evangelism, that had actuated the local authorities to welcome the missionaries into Assam and north-east frontier. It was felt that pacification of the Khamtis and the Singhpos could be done by the spread of gospel and invitation was extended to American Baptists to establish Mission at Sadiya" (1986, xiii) . Yet later

the missionaries were also accused of fermenting political unrest. They were the pioneers of ethnological studies in Assam yet they obliterated the tribal cultures to a great extent.

Regarding the connection of Missions with imperialism there are different opinions. Schlesinger Jr. argues that:

> One must begin by acknowledging the autonomy of the missionary impulse...Whatever links the missionary enterprise might develop along the way with traders or bankers, politicians, generals, or diplomats, however much it might express in its own way the aggressive energies of the West, the desire to save souls remains distinct from the desire to extend power or to acquire glory or to make money or to seek adventure or to explore the unknown. (1974, 342)

He adds, "If from time to time the missionary effort facilitated the capitalist effort, the missionaries themselves remained a force independent of, and often at odds with, both the white trader and even more the white settler" (346). Missionaries were motivated by a number of motives. At times and at different places they were at war with secular interests in exploitation and possession. Did commerce and conquest follow the Missions or did Missions follow trade and colonial powers is a question for which there are no easy answers. Going into the wilderness was also meant to nurture and preserve the home Church. Pierce Beaver states, "It was not until the announcement that the first party of missionaries would actually sail for India in 1812 that money began to flow into the treasuries. Soon the foreign missionary enterprise raised the level of stewardship in the churches of the country to such an extent that more adequate resources became available for home Missions and many church related activities" (1968, 19). Another historian also holds similar views. Hutchison states that, "one of the most common arguments for Missions was that Missions must be pursued for the health and fulfillment of the churches at home. Christianity itself would expire, Mission publicists warned, if it denied its true nature and ceased to expand over all the world" (1987, 8).

Hence the missionaries claimed a number of identities -- Christian, Westerner and American -- and for varied reasons. Though in theory the missionary's purpose was to preach a faith which transcended national boundaries, they were products of their cultures and were partisans of America. Schlesinger Jr. states that, "Patriotism

and evangelical emotions often ran together" (347) . Therefore the missionary movement contained within itself strong drives towards political, national, technological and religious evangelism. The "Christ and culture" (Hutchison 1987, 4) dilemma was ever present. Yet though education might have been a lure to spread Christianity, medical aid to convince the cured patient of a better God, rural reconstruction to establish Christian villages yet there is no denying the fact that they did improve the quality of life of Indians. Christian Missions might have been "moral equivalents of imperialism" but their contribution towards awakening Indian minds cannot be denied. Unconsciously they were partly responsible for anti-western feeling which ultimately overthrew the yoke of colonialism.

The above history only hints at certain main events and trends. There were different denominations and different doctrinal disputes. The history of Missions was not a uniform one. R.E Frykenburg states:

> There was and is no simple or single "missionary approach" .Missionaries often differed with each other, quarrelled furiously over approach, behaviour, culture, doctrine and emphasis. In this century [twentieth], some were "social gospel", and even avowedly "atheistic" . Many differed with and quarelled, not only with the field committees which sought to dominate or impose uniformity. Others fought Home societies, going so far as to resign or secede or to found separate societies. (1997, 1)

The history of American Missions is ridden with denominational rivalries as well as gender differences. For instance, when Methodist women decided to organize the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, "'Good,' approved the all-male Board of Missions. 'You raise the money, we will of course administer it'" (qtd. in D. Wilson 1979, 71). Wilson adds, "But to their dismay the women had other ideas. They would administer their own funds ... and did" (71) . In the fictionalized biography of Dr. Ida Scudder one finds other examples of different rivalries.. When the idea of a Union Medical College for women was proposed many women from different denominations volunteered to help but Dr. Anna Kulger who was working in a Lutheran hospital was asked to "stick to her Lutheran work". Dr. Ida Scudder fumed, "People! How can they be so small! As if we were fighting Dutch Reformed germs or Methodist Guinea worms or Baptist rats!" (D. Wilson 1959, 156-157). After many years when Dr. Ida

Scudder wanted to expand the hospital and make it into an All Indian Christian Medical College with coeducation, many in the Women's association who had helped with the funding initially for college for women objected. They said that they had worked for a women's college, and when Ida Scudder went ahead with her plans, Mrs. Peabody who had previously been her sheet anchor broke away from her.

Thus the various phases of Mission history show contrary tendencies which complicate the simpler generalizations of historians. Missionaries came to preach about Christ but they packaged their preaching in Western garb. A few missionaries at any given point in the Mission movement questioned the imposition of one's own culture however glorious. There were always dissenting and assenting missionaries. The pillow-case kept turning into a dress which fitted at times and at other times it turned into a dress which did not fit.

The present study concentrates on novels on the missionary experience and sees them as representative of the American attitude in general rather than as of the individual Missions. The novels are seen as interesting in the context of the Indo-American encounter in a broader way than as representative of different denominations. They also concentrate on the subversive and dissenting voices to emphasis the complexities of the Mission story as well as the Indo-American encounter through a study of American missionary novels set in India.

American missionary novels set in India were either written by missionaries themselves or by the children of the missionaries. Social and religious critique determine the genre rather than formal characteristics. These novels are neglected texts of Mission literature.

Mrs. Campbell talking about literature and Missions states that "Christian literature performs the double office of instructing and inspiring". She adds:

> This is especially true of missionary literature. Its efforts has been to unveil the conditions which exist in places where the Gospel is unknown, and to picture the heroic lives and men and women who for the sake of Christ and of perishing humanity, have toiled, have suffered, and in many cases have laid down their lives in the effort to bring into the darkness of heathenism the light and the glorious Gospel. (1911, 76)

Mrs. White feels that missionary literature gives a "world vision" (1912, 103). Both Mrs. Campbell and Mrs White perceive missionary literature as any written matter on Missions including leaflets, tracts, letters, etc. Though they do not mention fiction, ··· a considerable amount of the inspiring stories were written in the form of fiction. These stories of early Missions were written to stir the imagination and quicken missionary zeal. The phrases, in the tiger's den, encounter with a ten-foot serpent, the stick-to-it missionary, were frequently used to create a sense of adventure. The missionaries were portrayed as heroic men and women striving against great adversities to bring the Word of God to the pagans. India was the arena of religious adventure and the setting for display of virtue and heroism. Novels like *Kardoo: A Hindu Girl* (1869) are plain tales of conversion written for the purpose of propaganda.

Missionary novels selected for study in the present context do not deal with these missionary tracts. Though the study shows an awareness of the purely propagandist novels, I focus on novels which critically engage with the subject of Missions and capture the assenting and dissenting voices as literature.

The American missionary novels have precedents in Anglo-Indian fiction. The earliest Anglo-Indian missionary novel is Sydney Owenson's *The Missionary* (1811).[7] The hero Hilarion is apparently modeled on Roberto de Nobili, the well known Jesuit missionary (Drew 1987, 241). At the end of the novel, Hilarion is seen meditating in the Himalayas. John Drew points out that, "it is clear that Miss Owenson has taken from Jones' writings a poetic concept of the Indian Vedanta as a mystical philosophy so all-encompassing that the finest type of platonizing Christianity must eventually succumb to it" (253-254). Mrs. Alice Perrin's *Idolatry* (1909), and *The Outcaste* (1912) also belong to this category.[8]

In Sir William Hunter's book entitled, *The Old Missionary* (1895) one observes the conflict between the spirit and the literal acceptance of Christ's message. The old missionary emphasizing the "humane elements of his religion" and by the "charm of his spirit and his charities" builds "a peaceful and happy parish of native Christians". But a Hindu youth of his parish insisting on becoming a clergyman studies 'the Bible and the church formulas critically", insists on 'the letter of the creeds and sacraments" and splits up the parish and ruins all the work of the old missionary (qtd in Conway 1906, 320).

The German Indologist, Richard Von Garbe's *The Redemption of the Brahmin* (1896) prefigures the themes that are prevalent in a majority of the missionary novels of pre-Independent India. The story takes place in the holy city of Benaras and concerns a Brahmin, his travails and his conviction in the end that he needs to be redeemed from the laws of Brahminhood. The novel attacks the ritualistic way of treating a widow and caste barriers that divide society into higher and lower beings. It also sets the tone for another theme—the Hindu-Muslim conflict. Keeping with the German Indological tradition he talks about India's rich past and present misery. Though the protagonist Ramachandra decides to marry Gopa a widow from another caste and claims, "I am no longer a Brahmin, but a man" (Garbe 1896, 71), he also adds "I shall not become a Christian" (77).

Many of the early American missionary novels set in India also attack the laws of Brahmins but in the end the protagonist accepts the Christian faith. Other novels question the Mission enterprise. Bhupal Singh states that, "Most of the novels when not written by missionaries, are satirical in tone" (1934, 151) . Yet in American missionary fiction even some of the novels written by missionaries like Max Wylie's *Hindu Heaven* are satirical in tone.

Situated in American Missions in India or in an Indian village the novels reflect a whole range of attitudes about India. As early as 1855 one finds a missionary to India as a protagonist of an American novel. Caroline Lee Whiting Hentz's *Robert Graham* (1855) is a sequel to Hentz" first novel *Linda* (1850).[9] In *Linda* Robert Graham a spoilt Byronic figure experiences remorse when he hears about the heroine Linda's supposed death after running away from him to escape his attentions. He repents and becomes a minister and later even solemnizes Linda's wedding with her lover Roland. In the sequel he returns after spending many years in India as a missionary and after many events marries his Linda after the death of their respective partners.[10] Caroline was a Massachusetts native and probably missionaries returning from India were not an uncommon sight to her. Though this novel is not a missionary novel set in India it indicates an early American interest in the subject of missionaries to India.

Louis Bromfield's *The Rains Came* (1937), though set in India, belongs to more than one category. It is about Princely India but the spirit permeating the novel is

a missionary one Indians and Americans attempt to rebuild India Though not a missionary novel, it reveals interesting dimensions of Mission history. It shows a clear division of missionary roles. The Smileys and the Simons concentrate on differing aspects of the Mission. Smileys are involved in educating the untouchables and other kind of social work, whereas the Simons are involved in evangelism. In contrast to this novel, evangelism is privileged in the early missionary novels set in India.

The early novels resemble missionary tracts, yet they are multidimensional and are not linear prose of conversion. Their characters are well drawn and the narrative is not a monotonous retelling of martyrology or hagiography. Novels which tell stories of the atrocities of the Brahmanical laws belong to the earlier period in the category of American novels set in India. Maude Johnson Elmore's *The Revolt of Sunderamma* (1911), Pearl Dorr Longley's *The Rebirth of Venkata Reddi* (1938), Dorothy Clarke Wilson's *House of Earth* (1952) and Margaret Lee Runbeck's *The Year of Love* (1956) end with the characters embracing Christianity as the only answer against the shackles of Hindu traditions. Winifred Heston's *Blue Stocking in India* (1910) and Margaret Wilson's novels *Daughters of India* (1928) and *Trousers of Taffeta* (1929) concern themselves with the Zenana and Medical missionary work in India. Kipling and Balestier's *The Naulakha*[11] (1970) as has been mentioned earlier can also be included in this category.

Emmet Alter's *Mann of the Border* (1937) narrates the life of a heroic man in the service of God. The novel is about the life of a medical missionary Dr. Earnest Mann working in the northwestern province of India. The story has both a romantic theme and a religious theme. A rebellion is instigated by a Maulvie who is outraged by the missionary preaching of another missionary George. Though the rebellion is suppressed by the British, Dr. Mann is kidnapped by the rebels to minister to the wounded. By his physical stamina and fearlessness he conquers the Pathans and returns home with a peace treaty. The Maulvie who remains his enemy enters the province to kill him but is visited by a vision of Christ and becomes an Indian Saul of Tarsus. Dr. Mann's story ends with his union with his long-lost love.

India as the new frontier to be conquered by the Americans is a theme in Alter's *Mann of the Border*. The hero of the novel, Ernest Mann represents man in the frontiers fighting against all odds for the greater glory of God. A doctor living in

the frontier he calls his hospital Sarhad meaning border/frontier. Dr. Mann claims, "I belong to the hospital—to Sarhad, and to the frontier" (E. Alter 1937, 22) . George tells his sister, "personified at your side, is the real Good Samaritan of Sarhad. Despised and reviled as a *kafir*, he has come to the aid of those who persecuted him" (61) . He had sacrificed his all for the "call". A solitary man who had renounced his lady love for India, he is physically and mentally very strong. The novel actually metaphorically plays out the battle between 'god' and the 'devil' in the frontier. It is a moral tale were the good [here Christianity] wins. Bhupal Singh uses the term "Frontier novels" for novels which "consist of romances of Frontier life". He adds:

> The life on the North-West Frontier of India is full of danger, excitement, and adventure.... A Frontier novel of Anglo-Indian life (when it is not a copy of the ordinary Anglo-Indian novel) is a record of human valour and courage, both Eastern and Western (B. Singh 1934, 136) .[12]

Alter's novel is also "a record of human valour and courage, both Eastern and Western." The Afghans in the novel are courageous and are loyal friends and bitter enemies. Once Mann wins their heart by his courage, they accept him as a friend When the Maulvie challenges him to a wrestling match, he earns their appreciation by his physical strength. Like Jacob's struggle with God in the Bible, Mann's struggle with the Maulvie has symbolic overtones. Jacob's wins God's love after wrestling with God, Mann also wins the frontiersmen's love. The physical struggle conveys a spiritual struggle also. The Maulvie is a worthy opponent of Mann. He was a "man of power, both in personality and position" (E. Alter 1937, 10) . Through out the novel, the metaphor of battle is used. The native preacher Faquir Masih is called the "Christian champion" (9) .The bazaar where George tries to preach unsuccessfully becomes the "field of battle" and a "scene of temporary defeat" (12) .

Nowhere in American missionary novels is the link between the American missionary and the British Raj explored at greater length Alter makes it clear that the missionary was also seen as the Sahib. The Maulvie watching the bazaar preaching of the American missionary thunders, "Would that I had you where the British Raj does not reach, or back at Kabul—you, and all *kafirs* of your kind—then we might bury you under heaps of stones cast by the true and faithful!" (11) .The Indians are aghast at his condemnation for, "What might become of this uproar? Were they not still under the

British Raj? Was this not a European who was being grossly insulted?" (11) . When George posts his mail a little later— the postmaster says, "Ten minutes late...But you are a Sahib, so I'll take them...It's nothing —you are a Sahib" (26) . Mann warns the British about the Maulvie's attack which leads to the Maulvie's defeat and to use the British Major's words, "a great slaughter" of the natives. Thus though Ernest Mann tells the Major, "...I'm not in India to carry a gun, nor yet to run away from my post. My job is saving life—not killing—life both physical and spiritual" (90) he does become the instrument of death. And Mann is affected because, "he loved those who were his enemies. He loved these sturdy, independent, but ignorant, superstitious men of the trans-border tribes. He longed to minister to them in their suffering and in their darkness of soul" (103) . Later Mann also is involved in making peace between the slaughtered people and the British Raj.

The novel raises interesting issues. Was political power (of the British) instrumental in allowing the Word to be heard? Even the conversion is won by a physical fight. The Khan is very clear, if the British were not there the missionaries would not have been tolerated. Dr. Mann is needed there because of his skills, but George with his pidgin Urdu would definitely have been defeated and routed completely.

In contrast to the glorifying of the Mission in some of the early novels, a critique of the missionary enterprise is the theme of some other missionary novels like Max Wylie's *Hindu Heaven* (1933), George McMurray's *Call to Muralla* (1960) and Stephen Alter's *Godchild* (1987) and *Remuka* (1989) . *Hindu Heaven* is a satire on the American missionary activities, British officiousness and the hypocrisy of Indian converts. Bruno Hall, a professor of English is the protagonist of the novel and through him the novelist lashes out at the Mission which is greedy for converts, interested only in figures - at the revivalists who did not preach Christ but Christian mythology, for they did not know Christ. Arthur Papp who had come to the college 'to repair" the religion of the Christian students and increase their numbers is a disagreeable figure even to his own countrymen. The only admirable missionary is Kurt Stanley "who does not preach but labours". In Bruno's words, "he's not like any other missionary you ever heard of, he gets things done. His first interest is not making proselytes. Instead, he goes out in his district getting latrines

dug, widows remarried, cataracts removed and crops harvested..." (M Wylie 1933, 42) . Yet this Stanley is a unique person. The general aspiration of missionaries seemingly remains salvation of the souls or in Bruno's words - "counting the scalps or the errant heathen". Bruno lashes out against the missionaries, "Too many revivalists. Too many resuscitators. Indians get so much artificial respiration they don't know how to breathe properly when they're let up again... It needs teachers. It doesn't need preachers" (29) . *Call to Muralla* is the story of an American missionary family as narrated by the son of the family. The boy Paul emerges as constantly struggling against his family's attempt to make him worthy of Mission life. *Godchild* is a story with several threads. It is the story of an Indian girl's search for her roots, of a tribal girl Mamta's struggles, of an Indian Christian boy, Gautam's frustration with the Mission and of Dr.Fry, an American missionary. Tricia had been adopted by an American couple and returns to India to the Mission where she spent the first few months of her life. She meets Dr. Fry, Gautam and Mamta and returns to America realizing her future lies there. *Renuka* is the story of a friendship between an Indian woman and an American missionary wife in a hill station. The novel criticizes the pettiness of missionary wives in the hill station. Renuka and Rachel through their friendship reveal that barriers of race can be overcome.

Pearl S Buck's *Come My Beloved* (1960) deals with the story of generations of missionaries. Another aspect of the novel is the Anglo-American dimension . From the beginning the difference between the Americans and the English is established. The narrator comments in the very first page of the novel, "only America breeds men so assured so naive and so humorous. He surveyed even the English men with eyes amused and tolerant..." (Buck 1960, 3). This instinctive use in Americans to assert a separate identity from the British is seen time and again the novel (17, 19) . And though Americans are portrayed as more sympathetic to the Indian cause they are also shown as appreciating and admiring the English for their belief in the "White man's burden".

McArd's Scotch ancestry might make him toy with the idea of refusing the Viceroy's summons yet when he sees him and his wife, he can admire their dignity and "could not but acknowledge, too, was not to be found in his own country" (19). David feels, "If the law and order of the British Empire were destroyed there would be

chaos" (195). Though sympathetic with Indians he feels Darya, misguided by Gandhi's fervor, was forcing an era out of its time." Much later he even contemplates being a liaison between church and Government (256). Ted on one side of the nationalist cause can also see in Agnes a certain nobility. He thinks, she was like all other English of her class, she assumed their burden, she recognized their cause. He had to confess a certain nobility here, however mistaken he felt it might be" (225). Though Agnes accuses him of not understanding the British point of view because he is an American, he does see it though he is unable to accept it.

The novelist also makes the British attitude towards India's nationalistic fervor very clear though indicating her skepticism towards it. The Governor-General and later Agnes and her family all see the demand for freedom as disloyalty. Their voices echo Prospero's complaint against Caliban. The Governor-General says, "...British tradition has taken the young Indian intellectuals by storm. We've taught them English and they have read our English newspapers and have learned our ways... and so they criticize us and are disloyal" (17).

In *Come My Beloved* a notion similar to Margaret Wilson (of Christ as an Indian carpenter) is voiced by Pearl Buck. The character, Jehar conveys a distinct revolutionary idea in the history of Indian Christianity. Born a Sikh he embraces Christ but not Western Christianity. He decides to spend his life as a sadhu but a sadhu who will preach only Christ. "I shall travel on foot over India, Jehar said Teaching and preaching as Jesus did, but I shall remain as Indian As an Indian I will portray an Indian Christ, such as He might have been had He been born among us" (229) This idea is so revolutionary that David cannot accept it. Though there is no evidence to prove that Pearl S. Buck knew about Sadhu Sundar Singh a Sikh convert who traveled widely preaching about the Christ of the Indian road, Jehar seems to resemble him very closely.

Sadhu Sunder Singh was born in 1889 in Punjab in a wealthy landowner's family to a devout Sikh mother and went to a Mission school. The Bible at first made him angry and when his mother died when he was thirteen he became embittered He had rebelled and even burnt the New Testament but three days later he had a vision of Christ and declared himself to be a Christian to his father. He was but fifteen years old and he joined the Christian boys Boarding school. But he returned saying that he

must follow Christ in his village. In spite of opposition to his decision , he remained steadfast and later lived with two American missionaries for sometime and was baptized. But the church with its western clothes, music etc., did not satisfy him and he wore yellow robe and a turban and became a sadhu. He traveled to villages preaching Christ. He met Samuel Stokes in 1906, an American Quaker and with him toured the kangara valley, worked in a leper hospital etc. till Stokes returned to the States in 1908. Stokes had taught him much about the Franciscan ideal of the preaching friar. Later he traveled to Tibet, Ceylon, India , was friends with C.F Andrews, stayed with Tagore etc. He went to England and America and preached Christ.

Robin White's novels on the missionary experience in India concentrate on the unique relationship with India of American missionary children and the story of the East-West encounter. *House of Many Rooms* (1956) is the story of the Fisher family as partly narrated by Samuel Fisher. Aaron, Barney, Samuel, and Clare the four children of the Fisher couple weave their way into the reader's hearts in the novel. Love is a central theme in the novels of White. Explaining the opening scene in *House of Many Rooms* White states that it was his own creation to convey that, love was inclusive, not exclusive; accepting, and not rejecting. Elephant Hill is about the misunderstanding between the East and the West. Set in Kassapur (place of bitterness) , the novel tells of the possibility of the East-West reconciliation through the story of Beth, Algarsami and Muthu. Of his third novel on India, White states, "*Men and Angels* is not really about Luke Baber's father, who departed from the traditional or acceptable missionary approach in order to preach Christ as a new Veda (as I would have done). Rather it is about the rediscovery of love that transcends national, cultural, and religious boundaries" (1995, 2) . In *Men and Angels* love is seen as a transforming force in Thornton Baber's sympathy for Harijans. Thornton from a bumbling failure becomes a "great and good man" because of his love for the Harijans. Indignant and angry with the Mission he resigns from it, applies for Indian citizenship and enters into the heart of the country he adapts. Even as his love and his efforts, to improve the Harijans, begins to prove successful, the Maravars, finding their authority over the Harijans threatened, nail him to a door as a warning. He has a nervous break-down and is taken to a hospital. While coming out of the hospital he cries out to the

waiting Harijans "God and man have forsaken me. I clasp thee, brethren, to the whirlwind of my soul" (1961, 264). Later his body is thrown out of a train apparently a victim of the Marawar-Harijan war.

The war is a historical fact and an Indian Christian Emmanuel, a Harijan leader was killed by the Maravers for the same reasons as Thornton in *Men and Angels*. According to M. Natarajan for whom the novelist expresses his appreciation in the dedication to *Men and Angels*, Robin White was very much aware of this incident and had used it for his novel. White uses it and changes the facts to suit his purpose to show that only when the White man is free of organized white institutions whether it be an evangelical Mission or a colonialist power structure, can he see the "real India". But this interpretation seems too complex especially when one realizes that India here seems to be heart of a darkness where the white man faces disintegration. Thornton's sojourn into the interior of the country, his experiences only see him in hospital room full of mad cases. Probably the novelist used the incident for local color yet this is too easy a way of explaining the novelist's motivation. Whatever the reason it is clear that Thornton's death his love for the Harijans shows him in light of another Jesus who dies for his people. Just as Luke confesses a certain ambiguity the reader too is bothered about the sub-text and Thornton's involvement with the people (1961, 172)

A similar story of a White man going and living with the Indian in a remote Indian village, adopting their ways--not necessarily preaching Christ but helping people is the story of "Shower of Ashes". Here the Travers go to remote town because of personal choice and as the narrator puts it "they not only *tried* to be like Indians, they at times even seemed to have actually *become* Indian." The narrator who is the young son of the Mission council's Chairman says, "And in a way I sensed an implied threat in it all, as if the Travers had succeeded in drawing a line between East and West and had rejected us for the other side" (1962, 65). Travers not only wears a dhoti but also puts a small white cross on his forehead like an Indian bindi, salaams [Indian way of greeting] rather than shaking hand and talks about vegetarianism. All this gives a threatening quality of rightness as an Indian for the narrator. The Rev. Butler waits to meet the lady in a closed room of Travers woman who is rumored to be a mad person. (Butler's business seems to be poking and peeking at other missionaries under him) Travers refuses but when the door is forced open they see Travers wife Mary a

victim of leprosy. She had only wanted to hide her humiliation and shame from them and it is then that the narrator's mood changes from sarcasm to a feeling of shame. He says, "I felt cheap, ridiculous, exposed--as if in imagination we had sacrificed Mary Travers up to the demon of our suspicious, mentally mutilated and destroyed her in the belief that no man can exist without hidden guilt, only to find that we had convicted not Travers but ourselves" (1962, 67) . Travers too like Thornton asks to be relieved of the Mission. Though unlike Thornton in character, Travers is tall, dignified, and a gifted personality who had given up brilliant opportunities to enter the Mission field, they yet share a similar fate. They enter into the heart of the country and heart of darkness in India and become victims of a feud, of a disease.

India is also looked upon not only as many Indias but is approached also differently. Thornton becomes an Indian Sadhu. He wears a dhoti, moves among many villages helping the Harijans, gets so involved with the people that he has a nervous breakdown and is murdered. For the Mission council India is a place to spread Christianity and here no breadth of scandal can attach itself to its members as they are the upholders of Christianity. For both Thornton and the missionaries at one level, India is the receiver but this changes when Thornton moves out of the Mission. He helps the Harijans and they give him a sense of belonging. They are his only friends when God and man have forsaken him. For Luke, the symbol of the younger generation, India is a place where family is. Luke becomes a part of an Indian family not as a white social savior but as an equal. Luke is loved and he loves in return. The novel thus manages to hint at the generational differences in the American attitude towards India.

For Robin White even "names have symbolic significance". Thappur means "mistake town" Chellapa-- "beloved father" And Baber is a throw-back to Babar of 1483, founder of the Mogul Empire in India" (1996). He also displays a knowledge of Tamil and exploits Indian English also to create various humorous situations. A discussion of Robin White's language is also very important in any analysis of his works. Apart from Dorothy Clarke Wilson and a few others very few novelists have explored the possibilities of using translation of Indian languages in the novels. Robin White not only uses a few Tamil words and translates Tamil idiom but he also uses

Indian English with great humor. In the genre of American fiction set in India he is the first novelist to do this and do it successfully. For example:

> You have had a pleasant trip, she said. I was not sure whether I was being questioned or informed. (1961, 16)

> How will you be *knowing of him*? (emphasis added) (24)

> "Two Four Oh three," I said.
> At this point the clerk wearily got down from his desk and ... spoke into the phone, "thoo-forre-seroh-thiree,"
> ... "If you wish a number," the operator said, "kindly say it initially..."
> I heard the clerk say loudly, for my benefit in English, "not only do these American fellows have no read for Tamil, they cannot even be speaking their own language properly". (42-43)

At the meeting with Professor Mahalingam who is practicing Yoga standing on his head. B.K. says:

> We may await your imminent resurrection. Resurrection, "I explained, is something that happens to the dead, and the Professor looks very much alive to me."
> "Oh," B.K. said, "it is erection I mean, then. My apologies sir. We shall await your imminent erection." (117)

These are but a few examples of White's successful use of Indian English The Indian's penchant for "ing" forms, for asking questions in the form of statements, for using long words without fully comprehending the meaning is delightfully captured by an American novelist for the first time in the genre of American fiction.

Robin White had stated, "there is an enormous difference between being born and brought up in and of a country and just traveling to it on a student or tourist visa Twain was a tourist; I grew from the soil" (qtd. in Rao 1984, 24) . The language of his works more than any other characteristic shows this difference clearly. India is not alien country to him but his former home and in this respect Robin White shares his protagonist Luke's attitude towards India.

The above mentioned novels are the focus of the present study. Later chapters analyze with the various themes in this sub-genre and attempt to arrive at some conclusions about the Indo-American encounter.

At this juncture it is pertinent to mention the reasons for the non-inclusion of two novelists. Melvin Casberg was a missionary but his novels are adventure novels

and novels that exploit India's history. Casberg's novels belong to the genre of detective fiction where he creates an Indian detective like Keating, called Prem Narayan. The other writer, Henry Scholberg was born in Darjeeling to missionary parents, yet as his novels do not deal with the missionary experience they are not included under the category of American missionary fiction.

American missionary novelists, like the majority of other novelists belonging to the genre of American fiction set in India, had personal experience of India. Harriet Brittan came to India as a missionary. Winifred Heston was a Presbyterian medical missionary in India from 1902 in Miraj and Kholapur for five and half years (see appendix two) . She resigned her job and then applied for another post in 1910 and came back to India she retired nearly five years later because of ill-health . Margaret Wilson worked in the Presbyterian Mission field in India from 1904 to 1916 and retired because of ill-health. Emmet Alter served as a missionary in India from 1916-1950. Max Wylie applied for educational missionary work in 1929 and worked in an American Mission college in British India for two years. He states:

> I did not go to India to find out any facts, cultivate any philosophy, convert any heathen, inspect any drains, shoot any tigers, interview Gandhi, or see the rope tricks. In other words, I did not go to write a book. I arrived in the far east without a single important prejudice ... After two years in the country I began, inevitably, to develop a few important convictions.

His epigraph reveals this conviction, "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte; and when he is made, ye make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves". Robin White was born in South India to missionary parents in 1928 and went to America only in 1944. Stephen Alter was born in India and studied in Mussoorie for many years. His family has been living in India for three generations.

The experience of the older generation of missionaries and the younger generation differed. Gerhard T. Johnson states that when he came to India as a missionary,

> [he] was particularly surprised at how quickly foreigners (whites!) Assimilated [sic] SOME of the practices/attitudes of the 'British Raj' ... Older ones didn't appreciate our younger generations total

> friendship with all!! Sad but true ..All come to "serve" - but motivations of power, or falling into those roles, happen. Often self-deception since it seems 'nice' to be the 'sahib' for some persons. (n.d)

Margaret Wilson's Davida also makes a similar observation. The older missionaries disapprove of herself and her friends for their idealism and their approach towards the Mission work.

The early novelists can be seen as using ethnographic vocabulary to situate the story in a particular village in India, in a family of a particular caste or claiming the fiction writer's prerogative to tell stories in absolute terms. They argue that the novels are not fictions but are based on facts and the real experience of the missionaries. Winifred Heston starts her epistolary novel, *A Bluestocking in India* claiming that they "afford so personal a glimpse into a certain phase of life and work in a particular Mission field that, in presenting them to the public, it has been deemed wise by the writer to change names of the persons and places most concerned" (1910, 8) . In the foreword to *The Revolt of Sunderamma,* Helen Barett Montgomery says that instead of the "usual missionary story of diluted value" she found "a real human document" and that 'the story interpreted the life of the women of India to the women of America by the simplest means: no argument, no oratory, just a plain photograph, not even touched up!" (Longley 1911) . The writer herself pens numerous comments on the belief and customs of the people in that particular province in Andhra Pradesh (see appendix three). Pearl Dorr Longley in the foreword to her novel, *The Rebirth of Venkata Reddi* claims, "this is a story of India, a simple story, but not one woven merely from imagination" . Emphasizing the differences in customs in various parts of India, she adds:

> What has been written into this narrative of custom and creed applies specifically to the Telegu section of South India. The purpose of this book is not merely to entertain. The incidents woven into the story are almost all founded upon fact. ...It is my desire, as far as possible , to create in these pages an atmosphere of Indian life which shall reveal worth of character and personality, and which shall give to those who read that feeling of warm sympathy and friendship without which there can be no understanding (1938, vii-viii)

Dorothy Clarke Wilson though not claiming personal experience as a starting point to her narration, acknowledges William and Charlotte Wiser for sharing their "rich knowledge and experience of Indian village life" . D.C. Wilson in her biographical essay states, 'the Wisers, or their prototypes, appeared in it [novel] ... (1979, 35) . The novelist sees her novel as the fruit of intense research on missionaries and on Indian life.[13] In 1949 the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church had sent her to India to gather material for a novel on Missions and the novel is the fruit of that trip. Her knowledge of India led her to write biographies and she returned to India in 1957 to Vellore to gather material for a biography on Dr. Ida Scudder.[14]

The later novels avoid such easy constructions of India and reveal many Indias without attempting to generalize. The novels of writers like Robin White and Stephen Alter evolve from their experiences in India but as their relationship with India was different they do not use ethnographic vocabulary. Both of them grew up in India and felt part of it. India was also their country. They are all "third culture kids (TCKs)".[15] On this point, David C. Pollack states, "A Third Culture Kid (TCK) is an individual who, having spent a significant part of the developmental years in a culture other than the parent's culture, develops a sense of relationship to all of the cultures while not having full ownership in any" (1988, N. pag) . TCKs include business kids, military kids and other children who grow up in different culture. White learnt yoga and gave a concert playing the miruthungam. His middle name is Thihagaraj [sic] . He states that, "There was an India that I knew and loved, and I wrote about it as persuasively as possible, wrote about being an American in India" (1995) . Alter claims that, "It [India] is my home, even when I live abroad in places like Egypt....At the same time, because of my background, I am still an outsider in many ways and to be honest, probably carry my own share of colonial baggage" (1995). He adds, "I tend to write about things that I have seen and felt, rather than things that I have read in books. To be honest, though. My experience of India began at least within confines of Mission compounds and Mission schools, which does color some of my perceptions" (ibid.) .

Yet the division between early and later novels is not always clearly defined Margaret Wilson's novels, though belonging to the early period, contests the ahistorical representation of India and situates her novels in a "particular moment in history" [16] It is only in Margaret Wilson's novel *Daughters of India* that one finds the

more common preface, "The author wishes it understood that all the characters in this novel are purely imaginary" . Yet in her other novel *Trousers of Taffeta* she states that, "What follows here is not a treatise about India, nor about Punjab, nor about the City of Taffeta Trousers, nor about Mission hospitals....I do not even say it is true. I say that what I have related, I saw happening, and I have described it as accurately as I could" (Wilson 1929, 17). George McMurray's novel and Max Wylie's novels also belong thematically to the later category. Thus one can only say that in general the early novels advocate philanthropic intervention. The later novels are not so involved in projecting a 'them' and 'us' but try to build bridges through personal relationships. Both the novels at times support the Mission enterprise and at other times subvert the missionary message and seem to argue against Missions.

The novels reveal various aspects of Mission life. Adventure is also shown as part of the missionary life in India in some of the early novels. Frida visits various tourists places in India and goes on a shooting expedition. She kills a tiger. Stan invites Jack for an alligator shoot . Rugh also indulges in shooting and gets his son a new gun as a present.

The novels also reveal different responses to India's freedom struggle. Heston is not sympathetic. Frida dismisses the first freedom struggle of the Indians. For her Cawanpore is merely a city where the British were butchered by the blood thirsty natives, a city which is in a "constant scene of unrest and right, [where] hatred smoulders in the breasts of the natives and scorn in the hearts of the English" (Heston, 52) . In Max Wylie's novel, even Bruno, the rebel missionary, refuses to support the Indian freedom struggle. His friend Shonti is involved in the struggle yet he does not take it seriously. He is disgusted that his students can support Bhagat Singh. For him the Indian freedom struggle is a spectacle which amuses him. He states, "There was something ludicrous about the Indians' burst for freedom anyway. Little children playing cops and robbers in the back yard" (M. Wylie, 238) . In contrast, Bill Sahib teaches the natives Tagore's dream "where the mind is without fear" and says that the men of India are right in refusing to be a conquered nation (D. Wilson 1952, 210) . In *Come My Beloved*, David supports the British but his son Ted is sympathetic to the Indian cause.

Yet whether sympathetic or hostile, the novelists also convey that the missionaries were paternalistic. Max Wylie's *Hindu Heaven* conveys indulgent paternalistic acceptance of Indians. Bruno tells Shonti, "I didn't find them [Indians] foreign. I found them very much like other people, so much so in fact that they could be treated as people. Very young people, for the most part—for you are a *race of incorrigible children*—but very much people none the less" (emphasis added) (M. Wylie, 85) . But where other missionaries see reform possible through Christianization, Bruno dismisses Christianity's ability to reform the childlike Indian. He tells Jack that Indians are like little children but it is still very difficult to prepare them for God's Kingdom (120). In *The Year of Love* also Indians are the children and the lady missionary is the Memsahib *Mom*. Thus the novels places the missionaries in the "Ma-baap" position.[17]This very explicitly stated in *Call to Murralla*, where Alice is said to be the "Ma-Bap" (sic) of Jaya (McMurray, 94).

The novels use both "authoritative discourse" and "internally persuasive discourse". M.M Bakhtin makes a distinction between authoritative discourse and internally persuasive discourse in his "Discourse on the Novel" (1981, 342) . Authoritative discourse is that "which may not be challenged, beyond dialogue" and internally persuasive discourse is that:

> which is in constant state of renegotiation, flux and extension. The internally persuasive word starts out as the word of another, in competition with other words that have similarly been internalized; the process of ideological becoming is one in which these different words are more and more throughly assimilated, brought into contact each with the other, made more throughly one's own though never becoming wholly so and thus always remaining in some sense double-voiced (Dentith, 57)

If Emmet Alter's novel *Mann of the Border* is a classic example of authoritative discourse than D. C Wilson's novel *House of Earth* is a masterpiece of internally persuasive discourse. Both novels support the Mission enterprise Alter's novels contain no dissenting voices but Wilson's novels contains other voices and yet in the end the reader is persuaded to accept that conversion is the only answer to India's problems.

Conversion is an important theme in many of the novels. Conversion continues to be an issue in India even now. It was reported in *The Hindu* by Dr. Saraswathi that the, "VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad] at a meeting in Madurai on Dec.27,1997 complained that both Christians and Muslims were pumping foreign funds into India to aid conversion of poor Hindus to their faiths and wanted this practice to be banned" (1998, 25) . In her article entitled "Religious conversion: Social aspects neglected" in *The Hindu* she sheds light on the opinions of the Indian national leaders on conversion and a possible solution for avoiding it. She states:

> Nehru had said "It stands to reason that any faith whose roots are strong and healthy should spread, and to interfere with that right to spread seems to blow at the roots themselves. Unless a given faith proves a menace to public order, or its teachers attempt to thrust it down the unwilling throats of men of other persuasions, there can be no justification for measures which deprive any community of its rights."... Dr.Ambedkar advocated mass conversions of "untouchable" castes to Buddhism; Periyar EVR first thought of Islam and later Buddhism as escape routes; and under the influence of social movements, the term "Dravida" was preferred to "Hindu" as the name of their religion by many backward "depressed" classes in the census returns. (25)

She states that given this history, it is futile to think of banning mass conversions. Given that conversion is an option to avoid caste discrimination and also get material benefits, one needs to pay attention to removing these factors. She adds:

> A crusade against caste-based discriminations and disabilities are likely to be far more effective under religious leaders than under a social/political reformer hailing from a disabled community.
>
> At the same time, temples and other religious institutions may consider coming together to formulate and execute a plan for utilising their vast recurring resources for welfare and relief to the poor and the needy. Law, unaccompanied with social action cannot stall conversions effectively. (25)

The early novels also reveal mass conversions because of caste oppression. In novels like *The Revolt of Sunderamma*, *The Redemption of Venkata Reddi*, and *House of Earth* conversion is shown as the solution to escape Hindu social and religious evils.

Given that these novels deal with Missions one would have thought the novels uniformly praise conversion. This assumption would be wrong. Max Wylie states that:

> Many or most Christian missionaries, on the field for converts, were as greedy in their way as Gengis Khan. They rendered no service. They built nothing...They merely fastened themselves to the supine carcass of this vitiated nation and sucked a little and excreted a little and finally died off like fleas on the body of bubonic rat...None of them preached Christ because none of them knew Christ.... (98)

In Stephen Alter's *The Godchild* the Christians try to convert the tribal girl, Mamta. Gideon, the protagonist narrator feels uneasy about it and hopes that she will remain the same. On the verge of conversion, Mamta disappears one day and Gideon hears that she had been raped by a Christian man in the Compound. In the context of Anglo-Indian fiction rape has been shown as the manifestation of racial aggression. In Paul Scott's novel *Jewel in the Crown* Daphne becomes a rape victim of her racial others. Rajeswari Sunder Rajan states that:

> Literally, rape as the forcible penetration of the female body by the male sexual organ is the expression of male sexual domination and hence of patriarchy itself....Rape figures, as metaphor, as the feared and fantasized possibility in the scenarios of all struggles. Women's sexual vulnerabilty is heightened by their identity as class/racial subjects. Rape as an act of male sexual violence may be viewed either as the paradigm of all heterosexual relations or as the manifestation of aggression, the index of social [religious] lawlessness.(1993, 77)

In Alter's novel also Mamta's rape has symbolic overtones. It becomes the symbol for the violence of conversion. Conversion involves a mental and spiritual penetration to establish a religion's domination over other religions. Isolated by an arbitrary act of violence, Mamta disappears. She appears later, living at the edges of a village, in full control of her body. She uses her body to establish her independence from men She chooses to have sexual intercourse only with the village men and refuses to sleep with others. But for the incident of rape she might have remained in the Compound as a

Christian Yet though she emerges as a strong independent woman, she also becomes a prostitute Thus the novel reveals ambiguous feelings about Mamta and the notion of conversion.

Stephen Alter's *Renuka* is much more clearly vocal about conversion. Except for Rachel all the other missionary women in the hill station try to convert Renuka. Rachel finds the whole process obscene and nightmarish. Renuka is amused but Rachel becomes upset.

Thus the novelists react differently to the theme of conversion. Wylie and Alter capture these differences in their novels. The novels also mention that there are no uniform missionary opinions on the matter. The missionaries held different opinions. They were the products of their nation and their faith. Mann in Emmet Alter's *The Mann of the Border* and Thornton Baber in Robin White's *Men and Angels* resemble the lone ranger of the American West, fighting disease and ignorance with faith. In *Daughters of India* Davida exclaims that Ramsey the American missionary was the nicest thing that Christianity and the American frontier ever produced! (Wilson, 119). Bruno in Max Wylie's *Hindu Heaven* states that, "Like many white men in India, Tom had come at the irresistible tug to see, to seize, and to save" (133).

The missionaries came as skeptics and doubters and believers and crusaders. A Frida could state that " Yes, I used to say I was not coming to preach but to practice medicine; but...Everybody has a soul, and I am beginning to find out that my chief concern is not, after all, with the body" (Heston, 66). There were also Miss Bouncers who Frida states "is of the heroic type, which wades rivers infested with crocodiles; pursues burglars who run off with her strong box; preaches in the stronghold of heathenism, and considers herself peculiarly blest if she gets a stoning or two thrown in" (22). Missionaries like the Merwins refused to go back home as they would not have been allowed to come back by their Mission. Frida comments, "Their hearts are in their work, they have practically laid down their lives for it, and they wish to complete the sacrifice by dying for it" (120).

A Bruno says shooting missionaries is the solution. Though this is a flippant answer, there is no doubting his antipathy towards missionaries. He appreciates only Stanley. He states:

> there had been many visionaries in India's long roll of reformers, but the vision of most had been so badly bent by their impingements with fact and reality that it no longer dwelt in a fine play of rapture upon the intangibles of the nation's immense woe. Most of them went to sleep like Papp and forgot all about the heathen, or forgot what to do about it. Many lived on in the country to distribute tracts and Bible portions, then died off ignominiously....One or two in a century appeared and saw India through the practical eyes of Kurt Stanley and attempted to do something about it. (M. Wylie, 133-134)

Stan's wife and his children died in India of diseases yet he continues to work in India. There are also missionaries like Thomas and James in *Hindu Heaven* who had a religious difference and had not talked to each other for six years. Netty is shown as the "mechanism of extravagant incompetence, conveying on her endless belt of religious uplift a consignment of decay...[which] stunk but it did not fertilise" (72).

In the other novels, Bill who believes in conversion through producing a climate of change through education, Ted who goes and lives in the village to understand and help, Dr. Fry and Frank who silently do their work are a few memorable missionaries. Bill claims, "we have lost a lot of our smugness. We have discovered that this business of truth is a matter of sharing, not giving" (D.Wilson 1952, 117). The missionaries are also confused about their vocation Their's was the story of the pillow-case which had turned into a dress They had come to preach but they became involved in the means rather than the end A visiting preacher's sermon in *Remuka* disturbs Rachel. She states:

> He talked about the "Calling of a missionary" and he said how we must never forget that our real purpose was to "lead people to the Lord Jesus Christ". He said that a lot of missionaries were involved in other kinds of work, agriculture, education, medicine, administration, social work....If we did not actively and aggressively seek to convert those Hindus and Muslims whom we met each day, then we were not fulfilling our Mission and there was no reason for us to be here in India at all (S. Alter 1989, 77)

Rachel does not agree with this viewpoint and finds living a Christian life to be the most important thing. She argues that for the preacher, 'the world is black and white,

Christian and non-Christian ... To me it seems so false, so full of prejudice and inconsistency...." (78) . Rachel earlier summation seems very apt in the present context. She states:

> Amongst us there are visionaries and prophets, there are do-gooders and holy joes, and maybe even a few Christians. There are frauds and people with perverted vanities, there were recluses and weirdoes. There are Mennonites and Baptists, the Assemblies of God and Pentecostals ... and unknown little denominations with their peculiar theologies....On the surface there is always a veneer of Christian fellowship and fraternity, but underneath there is conflict and acrimony, bigotry and intolerance. (43)

Thus American missionary novels capture myriad reactions to the Mission enterprise and to India. The present thesis focuses on their various representation of India which subsequent chapters will examine.

NOTES

[1] In an interview Mother Teresa also gave this is a reason for coming to India (Brijnath 1997, 34).

[2] There is no concrete evidence of this fact. A few Christians in India trace their roots to the early days of Christ. Sedlar devotes a chapter to the question about St. Thomas' arrival in India (176-185). Her conclusion is that it is historically possible but very far from being proven.

[3] I am indebted to H.K Kaul's introduction and select chronology in *Traveller's India*.

[4] William Carey became one of the architects of the Indian Renaissance. The Serampore missionaries translated Bible into Bengali and printed the New Testament in Bengali in 1801. Carey translated it in 29 languages. The Mission started school, college and first Science laboratory in India; provided medical care; protested against Sati and were instrumental in various social reform activities. See *William Carey and the Indian Renaissance* (1996) for further information.

[5] Refer to Phillips 1969 for further details.

[6] *The Splendour of God* (1930) written by Honoré Willisie Morrow deals with the first Baptist Mission in the East and is a tribute to the work, service, and trials of Judson and his wife in Burma.

[7] Refer to Drew's *India and the Romantic Imagination* (1987) for more information on the novel. Drew traces Shelley's interest in the novel and of its influence on Shelley's image of India (240-254).

[8] For Bhupal Singh's analysis of "Novels of Missionary life of Europeans and Americans" see 1934: 148-156. He includes Margaret Wilson also in his survey Brijen K. Gupta's bibliography provides other texts of this genre

[9] I am indebted to Shika Bhatia for bringing this book and Agnes Smedley's novel to my attention.

[10] I am indebted to Nina Baym for the synopsis of Caroline Hentz" novels

[11] Bhupal Singh points out one of the imitations of this novel. Talbot Mundy's *Guns of Gods* (1921) where there is an American mining engineer searching for gold near the palace of a Maharaja and a Rajput prince a copy of the Maharaja of Gokarl Sitarun though more cruel (1934: 101).

[12] Anglo-Indian novels of this category are G. Morgan Curtis *A Frontier Romance* (1926) Mrs T. Pennel's *Children of the Border* (1926). For more details see Bhupal Singh 1934.

[13] The biographical information was gathered from a telephone interview with the author and her preface entitled "Myself" in *Twelve Who Cared* (1979).

[14] Her works on India apart from the novel are *Fly with me to India* (1954), *Dr Ida* (1959), *Take My Hand* (on Dr. Mary Verghese) (1963), *Ten Fingers for God* (Dr Paul Brand's biography) (1965) and *Palace of Healing* (Dr. Clara swain) (1968).

[15] Though it is still a controversial label I use it as a convenient label to distinguish authors who were second and third generation missionary family and grew up in India Robin White said he was not one, and Alter I must decide for myself. Scolberg wrote in his letter that on his return from India to America he was painfully homesick and wrote a poem "An Ode to India" in which he "expressed [his] feelings of nostalgia for

"[his] home". He adds, "I was filled with anguish that I might never see "my India' again. Sob! Sob!" (1997: 3)

[16] Refer to Rose Subramaniyam 1990 for further details.

[17] "Ma-baap" means mother and father. Theorists of colonialism have used the term to indicate parental authority.

PART TWO

Chapter Five

American Missionary Constructions Of India

A Study Of The Representation Of Religion, Caste And Village

To thee old cause!
These chants for thee, the eternal march of thee.

Walt Whitman

Come, my beloved, let us go forth into the field; let us lodge in the villages.

The Song of Solomon

A distinctive trait of the first generation missionary novels is their preoccupation with religion, caste and village in India. The majority of missionary novels perceive the "real India" as a land of Hinduism, caste structure and as a country predominantly consisting of villages.[1] Religion and caste were major issues for the American missionaries in their study of India. It was the Presbyterian missionaries, William and Charlotte Wiser who were pioneers in the study of Indian village communities in America. Their book, *Behind Mud Walls* (1963) was acclaimed as a classic in the field of anthropology. Like their real life missionary counterparts, the novelists also constituted religion, caste and villages as defining parts of India and through them highlighted the differences between India and America. This strengthened the mythology of the East-West opposition. Yet even within these novels there were strands of ideas that questioned the simplistic reduction of the complexity of India. The second generation writers also, by their different emphases and themes, contested the notion of perceiving India only through *knowing* the religion, the caste structure and the village life in India. The present chapter seeks to examine these themes in the American missionary novels through both a synchronic and diachronic study of the missionary novels.

Mainstream America was not unaware of these three representation of India. On the contrary, India was understood in terms of its religion. Transcendentalists, Theosophists and members of the Free Religious Association revealed an

understanding of the "glorious spiritual past" and the inglorious present. Katherine Mayo, dissatisfied with the average American's knowledge of India as "an ordinary American citizen seeking test facts to lay before [her] own people" (Mayo 1927, 13), begins her work with a description of Kalighat. Throughout *Mother India* she projects Hinduism as the root of all Indian evils. She mentions Muhammadans, comparatively more favorably and describes villages with their unhygienic, illiterate masses and Princely India. Yet superstitious, bigoted, orthodox religion remains a constant trope at the root of the physically, religiously, socially and psychologically diseased India. A polluted Ganges, germ-infested village tanks, the devadasi system, animal sacrifice, ill-treatment of widows, child-marriage, mental derangement, child abuse are some of the diseases she attributes to India. Lloyd Rudolph comments, "Katherine Mayo was obsessed by two evils, Hinduism and disease. The two seemed to be linked in some kind of ontological nexus" (1990, 167).

Harold Isaacs also in *Scratches on Our Mind* finds the image of "the very benighted heathen Hindu" as the strongest image in the mind of the Americans. He states, "It appeared, vivid, clear, and particularized, in the minds of a large majority of our interviewees, 137 out of 181" (1958, 259). In contrast to the image of India as a land of barbaric religions, the West has also often visualized India as a spiritual land. Novels like *Rage of the Soul*, *Krishna Fluting*, *Glimpse of a Stranger* and *Mandala* perpetuate that myth.[2] Milton Singer also perceives "spiritual India" as a persistent image in the American mind.

Nathan Glazer states, "that though much has changed since Isaacs' interviews in the mid - 1950s, one aspect of Indian civilization and culture seems to underlie American responses, both the mass responses, and those of the better educated and more informed who have dealings with India and Indians: *Hinduism, along with the prevalence of caste*" (emphasis added) (1990, 15). More recently the American press has chosen to call India's nuclear bomb as the "Hindu bomb". Thus India as a land of Hinduism and caste was and is a persistent image in the American mind.

Apart from religion and caste, another theme constantly reiterated in these novels is the understanding that the real India lies in the villages. Monier Williams' picture of the village seems an archetype. He states,

> It has existed almost unaltered since the description of its organization in Manu's code, two or three centuries

> before the Christian era It has survived all the religious, political, and physical convulsions from which India has suffered from time immemorial. Invader after invader has ravaged the country with fire and sword; internal wars have carried devastation into every corner of the land; tyrannical oppressors have desolated its homesteads; famine has decimated its peasantry; pestilence has depopulated entire districts; flood and earthquakes have changed the face of nature; folly, superstition, and delusion have made havoc of all religion and morality -but the simple, self-contained Indian township has preserved its constitution intact, its customs, precedents, and peculiar institutions unchanged and unchangeable amid all the other changes. (qtd. in Inden, 134)

The American anthropologist, McKim Marriot says in his study of Village India, "A focus upon the small half-world of the villages and a perspective upon the universe of Indian civilization thus remain mutually indispensable for whole understanding, whether of Hinduism or of the traditional forms of India's social structure" (Madan 1990, 186) . Thus, Americans and Indologists seemingly agree on the importance of the study of Indian villages.

Ronald Inden in *Imagining India* had identified caste, Hinduism, the village (Asiatic mode of production), oriental despotisms (divine Kingship) as the four pillars of the Indological constructs (1990, 4-5) .[3] Inden points out that, "Historians of religion and Indologists have not only taken Hinduism to be the essential religion of India; they have viewed it as the exemplification of the mind of India, the mentality that accompanies caste. The essence of that mind was its "feminine" imagination, source of the dream-like world-view of the Indians. She was an inferior substitute for the West's masculine, world-ordering rationality. So, in the end, Indians were seen as concerned more with the renunciatory quest of the individual for mystic absorption into an Absolute than even with the ordering of their caste society" (4) . For an understanding of Hinduism and its caste structure, Village India was seen as the best place to begin. The missionary novels echo these perceptions of the Americans and the Indologists yet reflect these perceptions in a more complex manner.

Interestingly the novels express disagreement with another 'Western Indological image of India— "the fabulous India"[4] only to reduce India to another

stereotype— the Mayoesque India, in other words, the diseased India. Before examining the three constructs of India it is important to understand the Oriental India and its counterpoint, the diseased India, because Hindu religion and caste are synonymous with diseased India in the perception of the first generation of American missionaries in pre-independent India.

Isaacs finds that India stood for "maharajahs, jewels, wealth, snake charmers, elephants, tigers, tiger hunts, cobras, snakes, ..." in many Americans minds and that the image of "fabulous India" remains a persistent image (243-244) . Heston's ecstatic description of her first glimpse of Bombay in *A Blue Stocking in India* (1910) contains all these elements. Mark Twain had found Bombay, "a bewitching place, a bewildering place, an enchanting place—the Arabian Nights come again" (1925, 13) and had described snake charmers, jugglers, bazaar, men in turbans, and woman "slender and shapely" with bare legs and feet with silver rings on her ankles and arms. Heston also gushes to her friend, "Bombay is the most fascinating city you have ever dreamed of!" and goes on to describe "the changing, brilliant throngs in the streets...market girls with jewels in their noses; ... snake charmer ... magician. Oh, I am in the Orient all right, without joking!" (1910, 18-20) . In Agra she enjoys the beauty of the Taj and in an orphanage meets a "wolf-child—a human foundling which had been reared by a mother wolf with her cubs (55) . At Jaipur she says, "... it is like living in the Arabian Nights, or like a multi-coloured dream..." (59) . But later Frida states that India is a "forsaken country" (82) . Thus India is both "paradise lodge" and "madhole". In the end the protagonist exclaims, "The whole country is physically, socially, morally, spiritually corrupt" (179).

In Max Wylie's *Hindu Heaven* (1932) India is a "land of sudden insanities" (247). "You know it is a crazy place", says Jack, and Bruno agrees with him (M. Wylie, 48) . Sylvia feels that in India her sanity will snap. Yet another missionary Thomas does go insane. Bruno tells Jack in the beginning itself that in India, "you classify "em [people in the college] according to gradation of insanity, incompetence, fanaticism, deception or viciousness" (11) . Even Bruno who is the most-sympathetic of persons towards Indians and who "defensively" declares about Indians, "Modesty and ostentation in equal proportions. It's a very funny arrangement" has to admit that his biggest impression in India is, "Everybody dies....Sooner or later everybody dies"

(13) . The novel contains deaths of the Mali, Netty, Thomas, Sylvia and Tom. The India that emerges in this novel through Sylvia Perry's eyes is the extreme opposite of India through Frida's eyes. Sylvia had come to India with her own pictures of India - "India was the land of the veiled lady and the scared cow, land of the cobras and the bird of paradise, land of beggars of leprosy and the funeral pyre, land of oriental mysteries" (63) . But the India that meets her is a wilderness. Prepared as she is "for mild ignorance, with uncouthness and inevitably with nutshell systems of religion and hare brained theologies," the reality of the desert India is too horrifying and frightening (64) . It is made clear that India is not merely a desert but is many countries and consists of many races. Shonti, who is from Madras, feels homesick in Punjab. She tells Bruno, "That is strange, in my own country, isn't it? India is not one country, my friend. It is many , many countries and many, many races ... the Punjabi faces, they are as foreign to me as Russians (85) . However, this idea that India cannot be constrained into a single image remains a stray comment and is not elaborated.

A later novel, Pearl Buck's *Come My Beloved* (1960) also opens with the scene that could be from any novel on India. As Cronin after examining the texts on India states, "It has become obligatory to include at least one description of the Indian bustle, the crowd and the confusion of Indian streets" (1989, 156-157) . Pearl S. Buck's India is constructed out of "received" and "perceived" images. India is a country full of myriad colors and races of mankind. Added to this, it is a land of contrast where beggars starve outside the shops in the "street of Jewels" where the finest gems were sold. To the Americans' the Indians "were a pageant to look at..." (Buck 1960, 11) . It was a land of heat and dust; of famine and plague; of exotic palaces and mud huts and where faith was a living presence and religion a way of life. Thus added to the "fabulous India" is the diseased India.

Significantly, one similarity in both the images of India—fabulous India and diseased India is the presence of religion as an integral part of defining India for Western eyes. Twain's perception is central to both images. He says, "India has two million gods and worships them all. In religion all other countries are paupers; India is the only millionaire....On top of all this she is the mother and home of that wonder of wonders—caste" (1925, 72) .

Thus the novels constantly invoke the "fabulous India" image only to discard it. Through descriptions of the Hindu religion, the Indian caste system, and the village, the India they project is that of a diseased India which needs to be treated with Christianity, Western science and education before it can become healthy again. Yet this diagnosis is not shared by all the novelists, and within a novel like *House of Earth* (1952) itself there are contradictions that subvert the Christian solution to India's problems by painting a vision of a new India and negative pictures of Indian Christians. Novelists of the second generation also usually question the equation of East = poverty, superstition and West = wealth, enlightenment. They do not attempt to define India in any one way and, as has been mentioned earlier, do not use religion, caste and village as signifiers of India. Before focusing on the subversions and contradictions, it will be appropriate to examine the three constructs of missionary novels-religion, caste and the village- at some length.

In missionary novels, religion remains central in identifying India. The idea of India as a land of ancient Hindu wisdom and spiritual knowledge is attacked in order to emphasize India's need for a new religion—Christianity. In *Hindu Heaven* the narrator ponders:

> Mysticism, intellectual penetration, Hindu profundity, Mohammedan zeal, what a pandemic delusion that was, and in what sort of conscientious misrepresentation did it have its rise?
>
> That was easy. Plenty of places. Furloughing missionaries spell-binding their Rhode Island retainers. Tagore, inscrutably and impressively ancient, behind his flow of beard and flow of toga, standing benevolently amidst the imitation of Paris hats of wag-tail American clubwomen. Gandhi pouring a tin of goat's milk into his scrawny gullet, entrancing the world with his thin bromides, professional fact-finders too busy collecting fake rugs to collect any facts. Schoolmarms from Memphis absorbing the meringue of Hindu philosophy on a pidgin English Cook's tour....But it ran so indelibly in the tide of current credibility that the Indian himself had read the signs upon the waters and assumed the indicated posture. (M. Wylie, 153-154)[5]

In short, the notion of Indian spirituality is criticized and spirituality is seen as a "posture". Caroline Mason's *The Little Green God* talks about a missionary being

horrified by the American fad for Hinduism which depends on verbal mystification to communicate an aura of mysticism India has nothing to offer but can be patronized and offered help is the message of an epistolary novel, like *A Blue Stocking in India* Heston declares, "If enthusiastic American theosophists would come and see their cult in all its practical workings, they might sing a different song" (47) . Frida the protagonist writes, "You cannot conceive of the moral degradation of this people, indicated by the low castes in such ways as this [devadasi system], and by the higher castes in ways which I have yet to learn; but it is always a matter of religion and most religious rites are accompanied by the most immoral sentiments and deeds" (Heston, 30) . Amidst talk of cow worship, a girl-child's marriage to god, Holi, Village India is brought to the readers' attention though not too minutely. It remains a space where western intervention is necessary for the improvement of its inhabitants.

Maude Johnson Elmore's *The Revolt of Sundaramma* (1911) is situated in Village India and deals with the oppression of women caused by following some rules in the Hindu religion. The novel comments on the belief and customs of Hindu India through the story of a child bride and her sufferings. The villagers are aware of America and surprised to know that it is a land where there is no caste. The novel that gives an extensive appendix explaining marriage laws, laws of Manu, etc. (see appendix three) . Brahmins are seen as cheating the credulous village women and Sundaramma's mother dies saying, "if you ever hear of another religion, examine it and see if it is more sensible than this one" (Elmore 1911, 82) .

Max Wylie's novel entitled ironically *Hindu Heaven* introduces us to a India that is neither purely Hindu nor a heaven. Set in a Mission college and a neighboring village it attacks the Mission enterprise but India is also not spared. Here Jack's first introduction to Hinduism is his glimpse of "an ancient sadhu, ash-daubed and naked, contemplating the everlasting mystery of the navel" (M. Wylie, 14) . Later Thomas meets another naked sadhu who speaks "good university English" and knows about motors and drives the car away efficiently (This is once again part of the stereotype of the "Incomprehensible India") .[6] Moti is "the Hindu" who can take care of himself, who is allowed by the novelist to hold up to ridicule the English customs at their wedding and defend the "meaningless pageantry" of Indian weddings. Yet it is significant that though Moti had "slough[ed] off the whole skin of Hinduism," and is

non-religious, he remains "the Hindu" for the American characters in the novel. He is a Kashmiri Brahman by birth and Bruno and Jack also see his identity as only that.

The public apathy regarding everything is seen as "belonging primarily to Hindu philosophy" and this "epidemic" affects not only Indians; it also attacks the foreigners amidst their midst. The narrator says, "It attacked people and ate into their brains and their principles with such morbid effect that they lost the use of the first and their power to recognize the second. Rubbing elbows with the raw Orient, too many had worn through to the flesh and in the resultant exposure pristine vigor had atrophied" (104) . India is not spared and the blame is placed on the tentacles of Hindu philosophy which ensnares Indians and foreigners alike.

Wylie's novel also offers the readers a glimpse of Village India. Netty and Stan both work in the villages of India. Stan, the ideal missionary and Netty, the slovenly missionary react in different ways to India. Stan cures the villagers, settles their disputes, and even whips them when necessary to discipline them. Netty on the other hand becomes as dirty as the villagers and shows them pictures of Christ, Mary and mistakenly Ali Baba pouring oil on the forty thieves. For Sylvia who is visiting Netty, the village was "the most hopeless social snarl in the world" (66) . Disease, dirt and death stalk the village.

Interestingly, the Mayo tradition of blaming India's religion as the cause of India's sickness is articulated by Pearl Buck's character McArd but other opposing voices are allowed to dispute this. David Hardworth McArd tells Dr. Barton, "The Indians need a decent religion, a creed that will make men of them instead of supine animals" (Buck 1960, 44) . The implication being that it is the "evil and superstitious religion" (49) which is the cause of the Indian malaise. Though Darya tries to dispute this argument his words instead of being mystical are only mystifying. Ted's words provide a more concrete argument. He tells his father, "We have tried our way, preaching Christianity, for some hundreds of years, Churches and hospitals and universities....The villages are as they have been ... the same old poverty, the same old misery ... then of what good is Christianity?" (238-239) . Ted taught by Jehar's example learns "that faith comes from many sources....Thus Moses and the Hebrew prophets, thus David and Paul were brothers to Tukaram, the Sudra grainseller" (282) . But in spite of these dissenting voices there are no clearly thought out arguments

against the stereotypical reasoning of the Western mind where Hinduism is seen as the root cause of India's poverty and misery.

Following Gandhian advice, Darya visits the villages to understand India and urges Ted also to do so. To see the 'real' India the villages have to be seen. In a movement towards closer relationship with India, the novelist makes Ted settle in Village India. The message seems very similar to the message in *House of Earth*, where it is made explicit that if India has to be changed, the villages ought to be the beginning place. The missionaries like Stanley Jones and Welthy Fisher also seem to have shared this mission as seen in *Along the Indian Road* and *To Light a Candle* respectively.

Emmet Alter's India in *Mann of the Border* (1937) is the frontier India. He does hint at the superstitions of the natives, the dirty living conditions of the village but does not elaborate. The novel concentrates on the hero and his spiritual victory through physical wrestling among the Pathans. The narrator is very instructive about the appearances and characters of different Indians and attributes their characteristics to religion. The avaricious Hindu and the greedy Maulvi are juxtaposed against the selfless Christian.

Pearl Longley in her foreword to *The Rebirth of Venkata Reddi* (1938), states in clear terms, "This is a story of India, a simple story, but not one woven merely from imagination... What has been written into this narrative of custom and creed applies specifically to the Telugu section of South India" (vii) . Set in a village it deals with the Reddi family story. Rajanna the mischievous boy who thought "why did one consult a crowd anyway? It was much better to do things yourself and take the consequences" (Longley 1938, 2) reminds one of D.C. Wilson's Roshan. His innocent prank earns him the bitter hatred of the Brahmin priest who tries to murder his father, Venkata Reddi, when all attempts to get more money from him fail. Venkata Reddi converts and all the members of his caste also decide to converts when they find the Brahmin's avariciousness too much. The village system is glorified and the consultations of the village elders on important matters are shown in a very positive light. When the village elders discuss village or personal affairs the boys stand around listening for "needless to say, this was an important part in the education of these future citizens; many a youngster absorbed more of the practical common sense in this

school of mature experience than in attendance at the village Board School-where caste prejudice was often a part of the curriculum along with an inconsequential learning in the three R's" (23).

It is a converted untouchable Christian who inspires the higher caste Hindus to revolt against Hinduism. The Madiga Christians community's improved conditions, the intelligence and goodness of David, their leader, makes Venkata Reddi support them whenever they face problems and later Reddi also converts. David also helps Seethamma, the Brahmin widow to escape from the ill-treatment meted out to her by her in-laws and she finds refuge in a Mission. Again the oppression of women becomes a reason for castigating Hinduism.

Dorothy Clarke Wilson's *House of Earth* (1952) follows on similar lines. The narrator using an objective tone tries to convey similar criticism of Hinduism and the caste system and appreciation for the village system. Wilson's novel is very "unified" in structure.[7] In her novel, the Village is the Country and moreover the earth itself. Wilson's novel is a poetic, sympathetic and realistic story of India from the 1920s to the 1940s told through the protagonist Roshan's life-history. Born in the village that is used as an archetype for the villages of India, Roshan is a representative of Everyman's struggle between the Old and New worlds. Struggling against the laws of Manu, Brahmanical customs and prejudices, he seeks answers for the injustices, misery and unhappiness caused by them. A series of events which destroy his father, aunt, sister, wife and child shakes the foundation of his Hindu belief and inspired by Bill Sahib, an American missionary, he ultimately turns towards Yesu's message of love to redeem his people, to build "a new country—a new Earth" (D. Wilson 1952, 308).

The novel deals thematically with the oppression Hinduism is capable of in matters regarding gender and caste and though many solutions for the redemption from these oppressions are hinted at, the triumphant one is the message of Guru Yesu—the message of love.

As Tharu and Lalitha point out, "Though their characterizations of it were sometimes totally opposed; colonizers and colonized alike from all schools of thought regarded ancient India as holding the key to the understanding of the subsequent history of the subcontinent" (1993, 42). *House of Earth* also attests to this statement. The novelist's exploration of India is done by explaining Brahmanical rituals and

customs. Ramlal, father of Anand, sees Manu as the ultimate answer to all questions and subsequently Roshan sees it as reason for all the ills in the society especially for the plight of the women in his family. Usha, Tara, Shanti, Sushila—all victims of oppression---make Roshan question the Hindu values because in contrast to there broken lives, he sees Kamala untrammeled by restrictions by following the Christian message of love and service. The novelist's implication is clear—only a bhangi convert can be a liberated woman. Though we get glimpses of modern liberated woman who had fought for India's independence in Maharani, Shri Narayan's daughter, it is made clear that the future of India rests not in women like her but in Kamala.

The other victims of Hindu oppression—the untouchables are also able to throw away the yoke of tyranny by becoming Christians. Beyond the pale in their own religious community they do menial, dirty work, are subservient as recompense for past lives and the sins of those lives. They are not even considered men. Roshan's grandfather declares, "They are not men... If we touch them, we also become unclean. If the shadow of their bodies so much as falls upon us when we are bearing water or eating or drinking, the water must be thrown away and the food cast into the refuse" (D. Wilson 1952, 32) . When young Roshan, unconscious of these taboos enters their street, it is they who are punished. Insulted and shunned they are able to free themselves and gain a modicum of dignity only through Bill Sahib's help. Bill Sahib teaches them to be clean, dig their own well, weave and sell the yarn and this self-sufficiency taught by a Christian gives them the courage to defy Brahmanical authority. They go on a strike and are able to draw water from the wells of other castes and coerce the others to refrain from calling them sons of pigs and other such epithets. In the narrator's words, "in three days the banghis climbed further out of servitude than their ancestors in as many centuries" (213) . It is only Gandhi and Christian faith that are shown to have recognized them as human being, as children of God

Roshan is a witness and a victim of these and other oppressions caused by his religion. He sees the Bhangis as ministering angels when his Brahmin cousin instigates a communal riot and concludes that Bhangis are helpful because they are Christians. In an earlier riot he had found his Brahmin teacher, Pandit Shriman Das, neither helpful nor involved but preaching the negation of earthly life. He had asked Roshan to pursue abstract truth and freedom of soul from all Maya. Where his teacher had failed

the Christian had won Realizing that one must learn to live a more abundant life rather than seek an escape from it in meditation or accept it with patient resignation, he finds an answer to his struggles in the message of Christ and the Christian work ethic.

"The Village" is almost a flesh and blood character in the novel. D.C Wilson's portrayal of the village owes much to the experiences in India of the Wisers, authors of *Behind Mud Wall*. She had stayed with the missionary couple during her research trips to India and in her acknowledgments in *House of Earth* mentions them for sharing their knowledge of India with her. In fact, as has been mentioned in chapter four, Bill Sahib and his wife are modeled on the Wisers . The Village lives and vibrates in the pages of the novel following the events. The Village is the center of India, and moreover of the Universe. The worlds beyond the Village hardly has an effect on it as it survives over the centuries. This image of a timeless India is present in other novels also. The idea that religion, caste and village are the three pillars of India, is so skillfully woven into the fabric of the novel that the novel will collapse without even one of them.

Thus like the earlier novels, *The Revolt of Sundaramma* and *The Rebirth of Venkata Reddi*, Wilson's novel also attributes the oppression of women to Hindu laws and seek their liberation through conversion.

The Year of Love is the story of another village and the novelist here warns us, "Villages are self-sealed, so that the customs in some other parts of India are as different as if they existed in an alien country" (Runbeck 1956, 1) . The village is called Marvali and most of its people belong to the farmer caste— the Kumbi caste and "like villages of India have always been, is truly a republic, electing its own leaders by ballot" (1) . The narrator tells us, "souls are busy in Marvali, where ritualistic religion gives them much to do" (2) .

The story starts with Soni's preparation for her wedding. She is instructed in wifely duties according to the Hindu sacred scriptures. Anand, her husband reads her stories from the Upanishads. He is an educated youth whose mind has been expanded by his contacts with the Christian Mission. Unfortunately he falls ill and she is asked to perform a goat sacrifice and later the sacrifice of her baby at the Ayie temple to save him. He dies and she loses her baby only to find it again in the Mission where she goes in the end to help and be helped in creating a new India her husband had dreamed of.

Superstitions and social customs ruin her family. Her husband had been the one beacon of hope among the villagers. One wonders why the novelist chooses to kill him in the novel. This decision of the novelist raises many questions. Anand had acquired his dreams of education and progressive methods in the Mission but had wanted to fulfill them in the village without rejecting Hinduism as pure heathenism. As an alternative to superstitious Hinduism he dreams the nationalist dream of Tagore and Gandhi. Like them "Progressive man though he was, he still had need of the gods. He would always have need of them" (107) . Yet his death puts an end to that dream and leads his wife to the Mission. One wonders if his death was a strategy to prevent the realization of his vision of independent educated India without the benefit of Christianity.

The novel's portrayal of Gopal, Soni's father, seems to reveal the ideal villager. Gopal is honest, hard working and wise. He understands that change is inevitable and tries to equip himself for it. He sits on village council and gives valuable advice to others. Inden states that "peasants were concerned neither with mystical nor moral knowledge, but fundamentally with the knowledge of survival, with food and reproduction. That is theirs was a religion of mere existence" (Inden, 128) . Through Gopal, the novelist raises this religion to the level of the universal struggle of man to survive, of a passionate love for the land and man's struggle to preserve his land.

In all these novels it is clear that Village India is structured on the caste basis. Though one cannot entirely dismiss this perception as false, it is still noteworthy that where other fiction set in India does not deal with this subject, only early missionary novels deal with this. In fact, as has been mentioned earlier, even in the field of anthropological study, it was a missionary couple (the Wisers) who were the pioneers in the study of Village India.

Thus, the novels so far reveal Americans describing India according to religion and caste. One perceives that in novels dealing with pre-independence years American images of India were largely shaped by negative images of Hinduism. Stanley High, editor of *Reader's Digest* wrote in his 1928 book, *A Waking World: Christianity Among the Non-White Races*, "There would be poverty in India without Hinduism, as there is in China but not such despair. *Hinduism has written it indelibly on the consciousness of the Indian people that the lot of those who suffer is irremediable.*

And it has created a structure of society that is an effective guarantee of the truth of that condition" (emphasis added) (qtd. in Harrison, 58).

The novels show different levels of Hinduism— philosophical Hinduism, Brahminical rituals which apply to day to day life and superstitions which lead the villagers to sacrifice goats and children. Men like Bill Sahib in D. C. Wilson's novel want to learn about philosophical Hinduism, yet in the same novel there is also a critique of it, thus negating its value. The spiritual teacher's blindness reflects his lack of concern for the world around him as all is maya. It is used as a metaphor for Hinduism's inability to confront reality. Yet anyone who has a basic knowledge of Hinduism would realize that the belief that life is maya does not negate the need for action and Roshan's turning away from his teacher after the latter's platitudes during the riots is flawed logic and reflects the misunderstanding about Hinduism among many Western writers. Roshan's grandfather, Ramlal, follows the second level of Hinduism, wherein religion is reduced to Brahminical rituals. Sushila, Soni and others believe in a Hinduism which consists of only superstitions and rituals. Robin White also provokes laughter at the propensity of Indians to believe ridiculous stories as miracles. Luke and Sarojini make love near a ruined temple and are seen by a shepherd who misunderstands the situation. The newspapers report that the shepherd claims to have seen an incarnation of Vishnu with thousand damsels, and this leads to heated debates and varied responses among people ranging from extreme disbelief to belief. Thus the "higher" religion is either perceived to be lost or of no value and Indians are shown as trapped within a religion that has lost its spiritual essence. Popular Hinduism is shown as a blind adherence to rituals rather than to any essential faith. These perceptions share structural features with Orientalists.

Inden had summarized the Indologists' depiction of Hinduism as consisting of three levels: a mysticism, adhered to by the priestly elite, which treated external reality as illusion; a theism, followed by the urban educated, which is emotive or even erotic but not ethical in its essence (idol worship, phallic cults etc. with two principal gods) and an animist religion, followed by the villagers, that motivated sacrifices and an obsession with fertility as a gift of the goddess which inspired fear of disease and disaster-bearing demons. Thus, Inden's conclusion that Hinduism was basically

construed as bodily or organic rather than spiritual or rational in its essence seems to find its exemplification in the early missionary novels also.

This negation of the spiritual aspect and the emphasis on the so-called essential darkness of Hinduism is also seen in the treatment of the holy cities and temples of India by novelists. The holy city, Pandrapur in Heston's novel is described as a "perfect breeding-place for cholera and kindred diseases (Heston, 79) . Frida finds temples, "dark and forbidding" (55) . She calls Benares, "Oriental, crowded, insolent" and adds sarcastically, "the presence of charred corpses and the filth from constant clotheswashings contribute the flavor so highly prized by the worshipful Hindu!" (47-48) . Benares emerges as the heartland of Hindu India in *Come My Beloved*.[8] Parya asks David not to go to Benares without him, because for a Westerner's uninitiated eyes, Benares will only be "a filthy city", full of the "dregs of India". But Darya can make David realize that it is also full of people, "who most earnestly seek God and with every breadth and every act, so that all their life is religion" (Buck 1960, 37) . Vrindaban, where Shanti plans to lead a life of piety, makes her into a prostitute. Sushila and her baby become victims of an epidemic after a visit to a temple.

The novels also hint that a key Hindu trait is the capacity for absorption without changing. The narrator in *Hindu Heaven* claims that the Hindu listens but then retires (M. Wylie, 130) . In *House of Earth* this is explicitly described. The villagers listen politely to the "white sadhu-who-was-not-a-sadhu" and even indulgently watch him baptizing the Bhangis but "after his departure,...the patience, the pitying courtesy...had ended. The nonsense was over. Bhangis were not Christians, and no amount of sprinkling could make them say so" (D. Wilson 1952, 55) . And when another missionary arrives the villagers are prepared to do the same.

> "One Comes'
> *What does he want?*
> "We do not know"
> *Then wait.*
> "What shall we do?"
> *Nothing.* (55)

In *Men and Angels*, the robber tribe converts continue with their customs even after conversion. The gods have changed but the approach to life remains the same. Hinduism or rather Indianism seems to be like a "sponge" absorbing but not changing.[9]

The novels also depict Hinduism as a vast complex network of beliefs, customs and rituals The attempt of these novelists to grapple with it shows the Western love for definition, of "knowing" of an attempt to define the "other". Jack in *Hindu Heaven* wants to, "comprehend it all" (M. Wylie, 45) . This is very evident in *The Rains Came* also. In this novel the word "know" is italicized sometime in the novel. The Indian servant *knew* his Western master and Miss MacDaid *knew* her India. Miss MacDaid is able to understand the condition of three Indian women during their childbirth according to their caste origins:

> The Bunya woman, as if she felt she owed it to the superiority of her caste, groaned and screamed and complained,....the mason's wife ... was patient, with the hopeless resignation of the very poor....the Untouchable woman...case was easy and natural....For five thousand years they had been simple scavengers, unhampered by the rites and ceremonies and taboos of a decaying faith, so they were never starved and deformed like the mason's wife or even the Bunya woman whose diet was all one thing. The Untouchable women ate meat too, and one saw it in the fire in their eyes and the tough strength of their bodies. (Bromfield 1974, 16-17)

Missionary novelists Elmore, Longley, Wilson and Runbeck also reveal caste as a defining feature of India. Kenneth Morgan in an article in *Asia in American Textbooks* (1976) had reported that Hinduism was depicted "almost entirely in terms of caste, neglecting its rich artistic and ritualistic aspects" (qtd. in Glazer, 59) . "The idea of an India lost in dreams and divided into castes is not an isolate based on empirical research. It exists as part of a wider "Orientalist" discourse that not only distinguishes between India and the West but also among the lands in Asia itself that are still reproduced in the discourse of scholars today" (Inden, 49) . A knowledge of the caste system was seen as central to an understanding of India by Indologists.[10] The majority of first generation missionary novelists shared a similar perception.

Some of the novels mention various castes, Kumbi, Reddi, Madiga, but two castes are mentioned in all the novels—the Brahmins and the untouchables. In all the novels they are the two extremes—one testimony to the sickness of Hinduism and the other testimony of the redemptive powers of Christianity. In all the novels, the untouchables are the model community who inspire self-reflection on the part of the

higher castes leading to their conversion. Brahmins are also contrasted with Christian missionaries. There is an implicit contest between the Brahmin and the missionary, the Maulvi and the missionary for the soul of the Indian but the Brahmin is interested in the people only as a source of his income. He tries to keep the other castes under his rule, so that he can get money from them. The Maulvi is motivated by religious frenzy but the missionary alone is motivated by love. Both Brahmins and the missionaries are hegemonic agents but the missionaries are constructed by the novelists as free of self-interest in contrast to the greedy Brahmin. Brahmins are also shown as hypocrites, aware of a higher truth but keeping the masses in ignorance and superstitious beliefs to promote their own importance.[11] Heston's pundit Bhow, throws sugar-cane at Frida's feet as he feels he would break caste if he was to hand it to her as, "so holy is he, so vile are we" but he conforms to American customs in the American's bungalow (24).

D. C. Wilson's novel adds another dimension to the representation of Brahmins. Though the Brahmin priest is a vile creature, the poor Brahmins are shown as victims of the priests. Also Brahmins are shown as intelligent and having potential. Roshan, the intelligent Brahmin boy who rebels against a blind acceptance of Manu's laws is the future of India. Roshan and Moti Lal, the Kashmiri Brahmin in *Hindu Heaven* are the educated people who will help India in its path towards progress. This leads one to wonder if this was an indirect affirmation of the fact that missionaries were always anxious for converts from the higher castes.

A reviewer in *The Christian Disciple* had written: "We think that any important revolution in the belief of the Hindoos will begin with the Brahmins; that whoever among them will embrace Christianity will do it because he sees good reasons; and that those reasons will, for the most part, be exhibited to them in the writings of sensible and learned men in the original or in translation (qtd. in Lavan 1977, 60) .The Unitarian Charles Dall's protégé Ganguli had also observed, "You see that in India the high castes have all the knowledge about religion and when these missionaries convert a low caste... who know nothing even of their own religion, they cannot open their mouth before the high castes... In India, if you convert one of the high castes, you convert ten of the low caste" (96-97) .[12] This is affirmed in the novels. Kamala, the untouchable girl, David the untouchable leader can build a new world for their community but to build a new India they need the help of Roshan and Venkata Reddi.

Roshan and Kamala plan to build their new India in the village itself. Inden states that "scholars have depicted the Indian village as the archetypal peasant community....The essence they attributed to this village was antiquity or traditionality- an organic social solidarity composed of collective actors and a specialized, but closed, economy of subsistence exchanges" (4-5) . The villages of Roshan and Kamala, Anand and Soni, Venkata Reddi and others also share similar features. These villages belonging to a world reminiscent of the ancient past and surviving till the present are seen as symbolic of India itself.

Discussing events like the World War, the stock market crash which led to a world-wide depression and the Dandi March which heralded India's freedom struggle, the narrator in *House of Earth* writes, "But The Village had never heard of Dandi. A stock market was the town maidan, where they went at fair time to trade bullocks. The World War had been fought long time ago between the Pandavas and the Kauravas. And the depression was already three thousand years old" (D. Wilson 1952, 20) . This description is reminiscent of Monier Williams' description of Indian villages as an unchanging world in itself.

The Indian village as an idyllic but static rural community is projected as existing in a timeless bubble that is only recently being penetrated. The village which is also the epitome of the poverty and despair of India needs missionary intervention to rise from its death-like slumber and lead the nation to freedom from all oppression. Inden states that the Indological discourse constituted Village India, "not as an Other that threatened the European Self" but as "a patient, non-social community that was both radically different from itself and easy to dominate" and as something the "West's world-ordering rationality, could, if it wished, preserve....or, it could, alternatively, improve and reform them" (148) . The missionary wishes to "improve and reform" the villages. Bill Sahib tells the villagers, "I have a dream for our village and for all the other villages of India. I see it clean and strong and free from its burdens of disease and ignorance and poverty....going to school and learning....no man-is higher or lower than any other..." (D. Wilson 1952, 211) . Though this dream is shared by missionaries like Ted McArd and nationalists like Darya, Anand, Tagore, Gandhi and others, the privileging of the missionary solution —conversion— is suspect.

Incidents of religious riots and discussions of religious hostility in the novels of Max Wylie, and D. C Wilson reflect another aspect of India for which the Western presence is needed. Bill Sahib's sacrifice stems the Hindu-Muslim riots in *House of Earth* and the common enmity against the British unites the two communities in *Hindu Heaven.* This theme of Hindu-Muslim riots also emphasizes India as, to borrow Twain's phrase, as a "land of multitudinous gods" and as a land of religious frenzy.

The novels also project a sympathy for Hindu India and seek to "help" but this sympathy has other dimensions also. Sympathy can also imply cultural, even racial, superiority . It is this that made possible the propagandistic use of the pain of satis in missionary discourse in nineteenth-century Bengal. As Rajeshwari Sunder Rajan and Lata Mani have argued, the need for proselytism and indirectly of colonial intervention was facilitated when the missionaries widely evoked the screams of the burning sati to attack Indians for their barbarity and displayed their own contrasting religious pity. Frida cries out, " The thought of leaving my beloved India is a sad one....Oh, India! If I have penetrated thy almost helpless gloom with one tiny bright ray, I am more than repaid..." (Heston, 211-212) . Thus the novels display the need for the Mission intervention through a sympathy for diseased India. The paradigm of redemption is central to these early novels on the missionary theme.[13]

The notion of India as a land of a pagan religion, unnatural caste system and poor, disease ridden villages in need of redemption not only shapes the understanding of India in early missionary novels but also constitutes it. Characteristic of the missionary enterprise was the continuum of the notion of a particular kind of India—diseased India and Christianity as its means of redemption.

Though a majority of the novels share this image of India there are a few exceptions. *The Rains Came* (1974), set in a Princely state of India, does not concern itself with the villages . The theme of religion is also handled more complexly as India is not a dead, timeless land here but a land alive and throbbing with vitality. We get glimpses of a superstitious faith that shackles the people, but it is not elaborated upon. "Hindu sickness" is seen as the root of all evils (Bromfield , 24). Yet at other times the Hindu is admired for his faith. Ransome comments, "... in the spectacle of the cremation itself there was a kind of faith and certainty which gave him peace and pleasure....In their detachment there was a kind of reality never attained by any

Christian Here they *believed* that the body was nothing and refused to honor it. In the West they only pretended to believe that the body was dust. In the West the clodlike body held people forever in subjection" (11) . The novel critiques the West and the East, Hinduism, Christianity and Islam and projects a dream of new India awakening from its slumber. Active intervention is seen as necessary but Bromfield radicalizes the need for intervention by making enlightened Indians themselves agents of intervention. Rashid, Jobnekar, Safti, Gopal Rao, Mrs Gupta, Moti and the Indian royal couple are the people who undertake to help their country. Smiley and Ransome are co-opted into the project of rebuilding India because of their love for India. Smiley resigns from his Mission and joins the Maharani. Thus neither missionary nor colonial intervention is sought.

Margaret Wilson's novels are also not set in a Hindu village. Set in a city predominantly populated by Muslims, the novelist criticizes Islam for polygamy but the criticism is not harsh and shows the Muslim women as having their own methods of coping with it. There is also no question of conversion as an answer to their problems—a possible reflection of American partisanship for Muslim believers. Wilson subverts the notion of India as Hindu India and the notion of Christianity as the answer to India's problem. The flowery basti, untouchable Christian colony is as devoid of peace as any other place and the padri confesses that he finds facing 'heathens' easier than settling the disputes within the colony.

Of the second generation writers, George McMurray's novel *Call to Murralla* (1960) has Mahoun, the Muslim syce as an exemplary character in contrast to the comic and pathetic Indian Christian servants. Robin White's novels do not highlight themes of religion, caste and village. They are more concerned with human relationships and caste and religion are not seen as markers of India, as they deal with Mission activities or a search for East-West reconciliation. *House of Many Rooms* (1956) tells the story of an American missionary family in India. India intrudes in the manner of Indian Christians and superstitious beliefs. The converts are from a robber tribe and they wear caste marks and follow other customs though the gods have changed. Aaron, a missionary's son tries to be a Hindu sadhu but gives it up defeated. In *Elephant Hill* (1960) and *Men and Angels* (1961) religion is not even mentioned explicitly. Race is seen as a major barrier between the Americans and Indians but

religion is not mentioned at all. Caste division lead to riots and the death of a missionary in *Men and Angels* but no effort is made to elaborate on it. The novelist finds other themes more significant for an understanding of India and the East-West relationships.

Stephen Alter's novels also deal with a criticism of Indian Christians and Missions rather than of Hinduism and the caste structure. Alter's Gideon in *The Godchild* changes his name to Gautam, rejecting the Christian compound and decides to lose himself in the worker's India. Thus not only the notion of Hindu India but also the notion of the redemption of India through Christianity is absent in these later novels. The earlier novels also contain within them seeds of subversion. They contradict the dominant paradigm of redemption through Christianity. This is very obvious in the manner in which the novelists handle the theme of "new India" and native Christians.

The new India that they dream of reflects the attitude towards India in the 1940s and the 1950s. "Those were the days of bright-eyed hope or, perhaps innocence. Everybody believed then that India had begun well to build a path for her passage to modernity (Madan 1990, 180) . Indian nationalist leaders, Eleanor Roosevelt in *India in the Awakening East* (1953) and others shared this hope.[14] Bromfield's novel captures this hope. The war torn West looks towards the East as the last hope for rejuvenation of the human race in his novel. The sleeping East was awakening from its long slumber in novels like *The Rains Came*, *House of Earth*, *The Year of Love* and *Come My Beloved*. Tagore's poem, "When the mind is without fear" (qtd. in D. Wilson 1952, 159) seems to echo in *House of Earth*. This awakening India subverts the notion of a static India. In this new India of Ranchipurs (Maharani's kingdom), Vhais (Ted's village) and Vardhanas (Anand's village), Indians are educated and ready to build their country and caste and class divisions are not rigidly followed. In this new India a Princess delivers an untouchable child (Bromfield 1974, 18) and a Hindu upper caste girl moves freely in Indian society without the purdha restrictions (D. Wilson 1952, 248) .

The characterization of Indian Christians also indirectly raises questions regarding redemption through Christianity. Gopal Rao in Heston's novel, Aziz Khan in Emmet Alter's novel and Roshan in Wilson's novel are all positive pictures of

Indian Christians Significantly, all of them are doctors (Roshan decides to become a doctor at the end of the novel) . It again emphasizes the metaphor of diseased India needing doctors to cure its sicknesses. The untouchable converts, Kamala and her community, David and his community also show the positive effects of Christianity. But in contrast to these characters, Durga Das, Christian students specially Rashid in Wylie's novels are hypocrites who use religion to extract favors. Moti Lal says of Durga Das that he was a bad Hindu before he was a bad Christian. Durga Das is mean, callous and has an exaggerated importance of himself. His arbitrary actions lead Belden to suicide but he excuses his part in it saying it was "an act of God". Rashid feels that since he is a good Christian he is entitled to have pass grade in the exams. The other Christian students use Tom, the evangelist to get favors. These instances highlight another apprehension—that Indian Christians are always rotten.[15] Flowery Basti in Margaret Wilson's novel and the Compound in Stephen Alter's *Godchild* are devoid of peace and its inhabitants are vicious gossips. Vincent Ayinar in White's *Men and Angels* is a cheating unscrupulous bad guy. Paul and Gautam both do not want Mahoun and Mamta to convert as they fear that they will lose their integrity and individuality and become like other semi-comical and pathetic converts.

Thus, the negative portrayal of Indian Christians and the representation of new India raise doubts about missionary intervention. Yet there is no denying the fact that Hinduism and Islam, caste structure and village structure emphasize the East-West dichotomy and the difference between the American Self and the Indian Other. Heston's novel states that Christianity might prove to be a means of reconciling the East and the West.

Frida who finds that, "It seems odd, some way, to find that these dark-skinned people have the same feelings hopes and aspirations as ourselves; that they love and hate, and respond to any interest as we do" (Heston, 37) says,

> I long to rend the veil between us, to come to an understanding of them, to see their point of view; but every one says it is impossible, that between them and us a great gulf is fixed; we cannot cross to them nor they to us, even after they have become Christianized. It may be so, but I doubt it. At any rate, I shall not leave any method untried to bring myself *en rapport* with someone of them at least, and if one is understood, that will be a sure getaway to the rest. It is not strange—they are perfectly antipodal to us. Their different

> heredity, history, mental processes, moral nature, climate, training, religion, their fatalism, mysticism, laziness, lack of initiative, their abstractions, philosophizings, their physique—in fact, in no particular can a point of contact be found. But I believe that in common religion—that is, in Christianity—a point of contact may be found. (71-72)

Lady Footel-booj who gives a lecture in Bruno's Mission college has a similar idea. She believes in "Christian Reconstruction as a Wedge to Universal Brotherhood" (M. Wylie, 71-72) . Bruno sneers at the whole idea. For him conversion is not the solution for all problems. He asks Tom, "After everybody's a Christian, then what?....religion never made a man out of nobody....I'll find a hundred and fifty thousand Hindus for every good Christian you produce" (221-227) . He finds in conversion not a "point of contact" but only a means of exploitation. The missionary needs the number of converts for his reports and the converts seeks the missionary for material benefits. The American missionary Smiley states it more clearly, "The real benefits which the missionaries brought to Ranchipur were not heavenly but material" (Bromfield 1974, 54) .

Thus, so far we have seen that the novels depict Hinduism, caste and village as the three pillars on which India as a culture is constructed and at the same time ignore or contest it. In the majority of missionary texts, these pillars are shown as the cause and symptoms of India's diseases and the need of missionary intervention to cure the disease. Vincent Smith had said in his *Oxford History of India* (1919) that, "If all reference to Islam, Christianity, and other foreign religions be put aside for a moment, it may be said that India excepting uncultured tribes, is essentially[!] Hindu, the land of the Brahmans. The unity underlying the obvious diversity of India may be summed up in the word Hinduism" (qtd. in Inden, 86) . This statement has been proved essentially true if we focus on missionary novels set in pre-independent India. But for Margaret Wilson and the second generation novelists of post-independent India, India is more than the land of Hinduism. Hinduism which many writers used as a contrast to Christianity in order to emphasis the need for missionary intervention is still seen as having positive factors while the contradictions within Christianity is also mentioned. The complex explorations of later texts and later writers provide a much more balanced picture.

To conclude, the formulations of both Said and Inden throw only a partial light on the subject of representation of the East and West, of India by Americans. These novels go beyond these essentialisms and dissenting voices are now heard within themselves. Though religion, caste and village are present in all the novels, they are examined in different and complex ways. This provides us with a somewhat denser tradition of missionary writing.

NOTES

[1] The American traveler Samuel John Thomson who came to India in 1913 stated, "There are indeed two Indias: The India of the large towns from which the casual visitor draws his impressions, and which with considerable clamour voices the aspirations of perhaps a tenth of the total population of the country; and the India—the real India—of the silent millions who lead a simple rural life, contented with the thoughts and occupations of their fore-fathers, inherited from the distant past" (Kaul 1997, 14).

[2] In fact these novels belong to another major category of American fiction set in India called "Novels of Spiritual India" An analysis of these texts can be seen in chapter three of this thesis.

[3] For a historical survey of the idea of caste and caste as race in the Indologist tradition see Inden's chapter, "India in Asia: The caste society (49-85) for Hinduism see, "Hinduism: the mind of India" (85-130) and for Village India see "Village India: Living essence of the ancient" (131-161).

[4] Isaacs discusses this image in *Scratches on our Mind.* The idea is also discussed in Milton Singer's introduction in *When a Great Tradition Modernizes.* (1972)

[5] The idea of internalization of the Western image of India is supported by Inden also. He chooses Sudhir Kakar as an example. Sudhir Kakar states that Indian culture is one," in which mother-religions and the worship of Kali in her many manifestations...forms the deepest layer of Hindu religiosity" (qtd. in Inden, 123) to prove how the notion of a feminine Hindu mind has been internalized even by Indian psychoanalysts.

[6] This stereotype of "A self torturing fakir" is mentioned by one of the American travelers to India in 1873. William Butler states, "some few of these Fakirs are undoubtedly sincere in their profession of giving up the world, and its social and domestic relations, to embrace lives of solitude, mortification, or self-torture, or to be honored and worshipped by their deluded followers; while both of these classes expect, in addition to accumulate thereby a stock of merit that will avail them in the next transmigration, and hasten their absorption into Brahm. But no one who has seen and known them can doubt that the majority of the Fakirs are imposters and hypocrites" (Kaul, 128).

[7] I borrow the sense of this word from Inden where he defines "unified" as "all its parts operate together toward the same goal or in accord with the same design" (13).

[8] Richard Von Garbe's novel also perceives Benares as the heartland of India. It describes the burning ghats and the religious frenzy in the city.

[9] See Inden's *Imagining India* for elaboration on Indologists' perceptions of Hinduism as a "sponge" and a "jungle".

[10] Refer to Inden 1990 for further details.

[11] Garbe's Brahmin accepts that while most Brahmins knew better, they also knew their means of livelihood would be destroyed should the idolatry, rites, ceremonies be suspended. Indologists also attest to this fact. For example, Mill also discusses the "ritual excesses" of Hinduism, "The precepts, which are lavished upon its ceremonies, bury, in their exorbitant mass, the pittance bestowed upon all other duties taken

together. On all occasions ceremonies meet the attention as the pre-eminent duties of the Hindu" (qtd in Inden, 92).

[12] Ganguli himself a "fugitive slave from Brahminism" had returned from America to India to take, "the light of Christianity" to "the superstitions of the Hindoos" (Lavan, 97).

[13] Rajeshwari Sunder Rajan identifies the "paradigm of rescue" as central to the narratives of Sati (48) I see a paradigm of redemption as central to the American narratives of mission in India.

[14] See Madan 1990.

[15] Albert Hervey (1850) statement seems pertinent here. He states, "If it should so happen that any natives are converted, they are so to answer their own purposes, and become worse than they were before. Can there be a greater set of rascals, drunkards, thieves and reprobates than the generality of native Christians? And they profess to be Christians, too! They are looked upon by their fellow countrymen as the most degraded of all castes. The worst characters in our regiments are Christians!" (Kaul, 58)

Chapter Six

Women As Victims Or Agents Or Women With Fluid Identities

Representation Of Women In American Missionary Fiction Set In India

Depending on the political motivation and climate, specific images of Asian women are mobilized for particular arguments.

Pratibha Parmar

Bakarpur, Kanyakumari, Garag, Mathura, Jamkhed. All Indias within India, not one landscape and not one people but many that slip in and out making the Indian state of mind. In this complex pantheon of diversities the Indian woman remains the point of unity, unveiling through each single experience a collective consciousness prized by a society that is locked in mortal combat with the power and weakness of age and time.

Anees Jung

In the genre of American missionary fiction set in India a continual presence is the Indian woman. The "tragedy of the mute and suppressed Indian women" (Cawasjee 1990, 11) is an important theme of many of the early novels. The plight of Indian women is the cause of not only many a missionary venture into the heart of India but it is also the cause of the conversion of Indian men who are troubled by the condition of their womenfolk. Majority of the early novels portray women as flat characters, as either victims or agents. In this context, victimhood implies helplessness and agency implies self-sufficiency and a ability to bring changes in other the lives of the characters. The traditional Indian Hindu and Moslem women are victims of patriarchy and Indian religious traditions. Parallel to this theme is also the theme of the subaltern woman and the modern Indian woman as an agent of change. The subaltern woman becomes an instrument of change either because of her conversion to Christianity or because of her freedom from the rigid rules of the Hindu traditions. The modern Indian woman becomes an agent because of the influence of reform movements and higher education.

In most of the later novels their are no victims or agents but only women who are presented very naturally in different moods. They are neither victims nor agents, but women who inhabit their world in varied ways. They have fluid identities. I use the term fluid identities to imply identities which are not constrained within categories but which accomadate a multiplicity of identities. This chapter explores the representation of Indian women as victims or agents and as women with fluid identities. The chapter also focuses on a significant subtext in these novels— the interface of race and gender in the relationship of the American woman with the Indian woman.

In her dedication in *Kardoo, The Hindu Girl* (1869) Harriette G. Brittan sees her object in writing the book as threefold. Harriette was a missionary sent to Calcutta by the Woman's Union Missionary Society of America for Heathen Lands. Addressing American friends she states,

> My principal object has been *to give insight* into the manners, habits, and modes of life of these poor heathen sisters....I wish also *to interest many others* ....If this little book shall arouse others to join you in your labor of love, in working and praying for these poor helpless beings, one object will be accomplished.
>
> I trust also that *by comparing your lives with those of Hindoo girls, you will learn to think less of the little privations you may sometimes be called to endure*, and have hearts more filled with gratitude to God, that you were born in a Christian, and not a heathen land. (emphasis added) (3-4)

These three motives: providing information, attracting women to work in the Missions and showing Indian women as a contrast to their own self, seems to be the motivating factors for a majority of the women novelists whose subject was Mission life in India. The missionary men also used the last factor for their own purpose. When American women asked for more rights they were told to consider themselves as infinitely better off than their 'heathen' sisters.

Katherine Mayo in *Mother India* and *Slaves of Gods* also concentrates on the Indian woman. Both her works consists of attacks on the devadasi system, female infanticide and Sati and describe the Indian widow's plight . *Mother India* deals with

other aspects of Indian culture also, but *Slaves of Gods* deals more specifically with the Indian women. In it Mayo addresses the Western world thus,

> the twelve narratives are episodes taken from real life....Their sole purpose is to restate... the general nature of the disease, not political but social and religious, that saps the life of Hinduism at its source... although the incident described may be illustrative of tendencies or practices found only in certain areas or among certain classes, the underlying bed-rock of ignorance cruelty, callousness, and pain remains characteristic of all. (Mayo 1929, 18)

Aware of the criticisms against her she addresses the "women of Hindu India" and says, "Your culture will be judged by its present working ... not Western judgment but common humanity should be satisfied... you have discipline... you must break through like Pandita Ramabai" (205).

Thus both in missionary tracts and in secular journalistic writing the emphasis seems to be on the atrocities on the Indian women. This becomes a lesson for the white women not to misuse their liberty and to bear their comparatively little troubles with more equanimity. The novels reflect these themes. They either repeat or subvert these representation of Indian women. They also add more dimensions to it. The theme of the "woman question" is particularly important because the novelists used the status of Indian women to legitimize missionary intervention at a time, at a time when the women in America were battling for their rights.

The novels set in colonial India reflects the growing concern for the Indian woman in the Orientalist discourse and shows Christian faith as their liberator and redeemer. Using the realist mode these tales of the woes of Indian women are reminiscent of the concern expressed in works of Indian women like Catherine Mueller's *Phulmani Karuna Biboran* (The Story of Puhlmani and Karuna) (1852), Krupa Sattianandan *Saguna: The Story of Native Christian Life* (1895) and Pandita Ramabai's *The High Caste Woman* (1886). All these were stories of individual struggles against repressive orthodoxy and pleaded for a better education for woman. They also resembled the propaganda materials like the early missionary tracts.

American missionary fiction like Wolcott Balestier's *The Naulakha* (1970), Maude Johnson Elmore's *The Revolt of Sunderamma* (1911), Margaret Wilson's two novels, *Daughters of India* (1928), *Trousers of Taffeta* (1929), and Margaret Lee

Runbeck's *The Year of Love* (1956) all concentrate on Indian women. Winifred Heston's *A Blue Stocking in India* (1910) provides stereotypical representation of Indian women. Other novels like Pearl Dorr Longley's *The Rebirth of Venkata Reddi* (1938) and Dorothy Clarke Wilson's *House of Earth* (1952) uses the plight of Indian women as the crucial factor in convincing the male protagonist of the need for questioning his Hindu or brahmanical beliefs. In the novels which exclusively deal with the woman theme, except for Margaret Wilson's novels -- which are multidimensional and portray Indian women as not merely acted upon by the patriarchal values of the Indian society but also as actors in their own rights-- the other novels portray Indian women as voiceless figures bowed down by tradition.

Interestingly, complex interconnections between the Indian social reform movements and Christian Missions are evident in the novels. The novels mention Pandita Ramabai, Annie Besant, and members of the Arya Samaj and the Brahmo Samaj. The rhetoric of the social reform movement leaders was not very different from the missionaries. The well known social reformer, Keshub Chunder Sen said the following when he was in London:

> At the present moment a thousand Hindu houses are open to receive and welcome English governess--well-trained, accomplished English ladies, capable of doing good to their Indian sisters, both by instruction and personal example.... *I speak to you not for one, not for fifty, but for millions of Indian sisters, whose lamentations and wails penetrate the skies and seem to come over to England to stir up the hearts of their English sisters.* (emphasis added) (qtd. in Ware 1992, 121)

Kate, the American missionary in *The Naulakha* is inspired by Pandita Ramabai. In her second year in St. Louis School because it was a "school duty" she had "listened to Pundita (sic) Ramabai's account of the sad case of her sisters at home. It was a heartbreaking story, and the girls, making the offerings begged of them in strange accents, went from it stilled and awed to the measure of their natures" . Kate on whom the "mantle of Spirit" had descended dedicates herself to "to spend her life in the East in the effort to better the condition of the women of India" (Balestier and Kipling 1970, 246) . This pattern of the call to action is consistent in many of the missionary stories.[1] Ramabai is mentioned again in *A Bluestocking in India* and *Call to*

Murralla. In the former novel Frida mentions visiting Ramabai in Kedgaon and assumes that her friend in American also knows Ramabai's life-story In the latter novel, the narrator very casually mentions that Ramabai had asked for help with the widows in Poona from the woman missionary Alice. Dorothy Clarke Wilson quotes Tagore's poem, "Where the mind is without fear" as an inspiration for Kamala, the Christian outcaste. Incidentally this poem is also cited in *The Women's Missionary Magazine* (1914) by Mary Campbell, a missionary from Pathankot.

However, unlike Indian social reformers the missionaries perceived religion as the sole cause for the Indian state of affairs and failed to consider the role of social and economic factors as crucial in shaping the feminine condition. The social reformers sought to reform Hinduism by a rereading of Indian texts and saw "mass education as central to progressive change in India; [and felt that] it was through education that people would come to question idolatry, polytheism and the immutability of caste" (Ware, 125) . This concept of education without interference in religious or social customs was an ideal shared by these reformers and by some policy makers as well. But for the missionaries, it was only through an acceptance of Christianity that reform was possible. The novels capture the spirit of reform in various ways but at the same time they privilege the conversion option. They also reveal that the women missionaries did not inhabit a purely philanthropic realm free from issues of race and gender.

The early women missionaries were all dedicated to the Mission work and worked under trying circumstances of ill health and loneliness. Their perception of India was very clear- India was a land of poverty, sickness, child marriage, widow-burning and needed to be redeemed for Christ. Their writings end with a reconfirmation of the earlier conviction that India needed help. They worked with their husbands or alone for the glory of their God in a "heathen" land and introduced countless women to education and health awareness. Their contributions are invaluable. They served as role models. Even as they were inspired by social reformers and other missionaries, their criticisms provoked the Indian social reformers into action. No one can deny the missionary contribution in all fields of changes in India. Yet with a few exceptions they were also involved consciously or unconsciously in a subtle cultural sabotage. They also a inhabited a space where race was a factor

and where philanthropy was motivated by reasons other than faith also. Faith was the main motive but issues like assertion of independence and demand for more rights were also minor factors in their decision to come to India.

A study of the background of the Missions of the times when these texts were produced shows interesting parallel narratives to the "woman question" . Missionary wives were not mentioned in the reports and later in spite of their contributions they were paid very negligible amounts and were mentioned as assistant missionaries. Letters to the Mission Board question the negligible amount women were paid (Heston, 1902) .There were many debates about single women missionaries. Work among women was considered their sole sphere of action. Pierce Beaver writing the history of American Protestant women terms the Mission movement as the first feminist movement in America. He states that "women were generally conceded the right to organize for fund raising, for prayer, and for educating themselves and their children with respect to Missions" (Beaver 1968, 34) . There were also objections to sending single women to India for "employment of single women grievously offended the public opinion about proprieties" (59) and "stronger arms" were felt to be needed to protect the "defenseless woman". Beaver says, "It just did not seem to the average Churchman of that day either possible or proper that a woman by herself, without a husband to make decisions and take responsibility, could venture to be a missionary pioneer" (60-61). Single women were allowed to go only if she could live with a married couple. Though this changed later, the single missionary woman was still considered as a responsibility of the male missionary. Reports further highlight the running battle many single women had with the Board.[2] In the report to the General Council of Presbyterian Missions in 1929 Rev. Young presents the results of examination of the question of enlarged opportunities for women in Church raised in the 1919 general assembly. This question was to be debated for a long time. Margaret Mead in her article on the status of women in the churches across various denominations gives convincing statistics to prove the disturbance felt by many women about their status in American Churches. She cites how a need for women's representation in the Board was felt as much needed even as late as 1940.

Thus one observes that even as the Indian woman became a question to many women missionaries, the status of the American woman was also as much in question.

Rajeswari Sunder Rajan defines representation of women "as the process by which the female subject is constructed in response to a variety of ideological imperatives" (1993, 5). The Indian female subject was constructed in the novels in response to the needs of the missionary feminist movement. Interestingly it was the woman's role in Missions that gave them increasing visibility and power in the churches. Beaver states that, "To gain support for their concerns many missionary women urged others to tell 'American women about the state of Indian women and remind them that women can be reached only by women'" (1968, 95). Hence, as women were needed to reach women in India, the church had to accept and even encourage their participation. But this encouragement demanded adherance to the prescribed rules in white society.[3] It was women's fund raising activities that led to their recognition. Women gave generous gifts to the Foreign Mission Boards and participated in fund raising activities and won token representation in the churches. Even as men tried to contrast the situation of women in pagan lands with the situation in Christian lands as a proof of the rise from their "low and servile state" (qtd. in Beaver, 32-33), women themselves were arguing for increasing space in the public sphere in the churches. Success stories like Mrs. Holcomb[4] and Dr Ida Scudder[5] in their work among the Hindu women strengthened the legitimacy of woman's participation in public concerns The men had declared,

> We must not allow the major vote of the better sex, nor the ability and efficiency of so many of our female helpers, nor even the exceptional faculty for leadership and organization which some of them have displayed in their work, to discredit the natural and pre-destined leadership of man in Missions, as well as in the Church of God. (qtd. in Beaver, 114)

But the women proposed an idea of an international representative body of woman Missions for among other reasons, "for the relief of the 20 million widows of India" (146).

The American missionary novels also reflect the history of the struggles of the single woman missionary. They are not merely stories of Indian women but also of American women, in fact they are stories of American women working among Indian women. They are the stories of American women who challenged the expectations arising out of their place in the patriarchal system by living independently, courting

scandal, loneliness, and frustration. They had to face opposition at home and in India. Nick Tarvin says, "You can call it what you like...call it duty, call it woman's sphere, or as that meddling missionary called it at church to-night, 'carrying the light to them that sit in darkness'.... But for *me*, what I say is, it's a freezeout. ....You've got a call to stay at home" (Balestier and Kipling, 247) . The Queen in *The Naulakha* tells Kate that she failed to convince Indian women to return to her hospital because she being a virgin was incapable of communicating in the universal language of mothers. The Queen questions, "Thou hast given thy life to the helping of women. Little sister, when wilt thou also be a woman?" (Balestier, 497) . Heston's heroine is also unable to convey her "call" to others meaningfully, especially as she is young and fun loving and cannot act piously. She is laughed at by her fellow students in the medical college and is able to gain their support by telling them "some of the agonies of a woman's life in the thick darknessess of heathendom" (Heston, 10) . Her hospital staff also cannot understand her motives and either call her a fool for going to India or wonder if she is going on a trip.

In *Daughters of India,* the male missionary is uncomfortable shouldering the burden of the single woman missionary. Ramsey had objected to Davida's coming to the Mission. He had not seen India as a fit place for a single white woman. Inside the mission compound it is Ramsey's authority which has to be accepted. Davida is refused permission to stay outside the compound. Ramsey thinks of her as "a necessary evil, a cross to bear—a part of his hardship" (M. Wilson 1929, 118) . He had said in a Mission meeting that he did not want Davida living alone in the Compound. Wilson states that, "She could not sign the Sahib's checks but she could say whether the preparations for the monthly dinner were to go on" (123-124) . Occasionally she was also allowed to superintend the boys' school and "if she by chance left orders contrary to the last which the Sahib had given, not one of those Indians doubted that it was the Miss Sahib's orders that were to be obeyed" . Yet the Indians are in the wrong and Davida reflects, "They haven't an idea how he hauls me over the coals privately for what he submits to publicly ..." (125) . Ramsey also lodges a police complaint when she does not come back one night because he feels that it was his assigned duty to look after her (119) . His action is also motivated by his fear of a White woman lost in a place where he never considered her entirely safe. In the process of lodging the

complaint, he breaks his promise to the men who had mistakenly kidnapped him earlier. He mentions them as suspects leading to the men being caught and punished for minor crimes committed earlier. Later the Judge in defense of Ramsey says, "We take it for granted that any Englishman—any American—in the station would have been under obligation to go to the rescue of any lady of his—family—of his race—in such a danger" (352).

In McMurray's *Call to Murralla,* Alice also faces prejudices in America as well as India. Major Payne as well as India were opposed to a Mission run by a single woman living alone with only a single white man as her neighbor. Alice's husband Rugh explaining the situation to their son Paul states the following, "Fact was, that did embarrass Payne, though your mother was so wrapped up in her Call that it never occurred to her. An unmarried woman, unattached in India—a white woman, at that! Well, weren't those the very notions she'd come out to fight in India?" (McMurray 1960, 77).

Thus, one perceives that the American missionary was the agent who had rebelled against her subordinate status in America. Negating a purely domestic space, she had tried to inhabit a public space. In her rebellion she had found the victimized Indian women very useful. By portraying the Indian women as helpless victims she had been able to justify her presence in a non-domestic space.

Yet in the American missionary novels set in India, it is clear that the missionary woman is not "the white woman" of the Anglo-Indian discourse who had supposedly widened the gap between the whites and the natives. Ware states that, "Gender played a crucial role in organizing ideas of "race" and "civilization", and women were involved in many different ways in the expansion and maintenance of the Empire. The presence of the white women, for example, demanded that relations between the "races" be highly regulated. The increasing number of white women who traveled out to join husbands and families in the colonies, or to work in their own rights as missionaries, nurses and teachers, often had a far-reaching effects on the social lives of male settlers" (37). Most of the memsahibs in the missionary novels help bridge the gap between the natives and the whites. They mirror the status of the American woman as a responsible moral, spiritual and cultural guardian. The novelists show white women as being more attuned and sympathetic to Indians and the

strong bonding between the women of two races is seen to transcend racial barriers and the essentialist polarities of white and native, West and East.

In contrast to the independent memsahibs, the Indian women are portrayed as mute and oppressed in the early novels. Indian women either belong to the Brahmin community or other higher castes. The untouchable women in contrast are seen as liberated and as liberators. They are equal to their men. Under the influence of Christianity they become as active, articulate and progressive. They are the agents of change in the life of the victims. The outcaste women are seen oppressed not by gender issues but by caste issues. It is through the contrast between the outcaste Christian women and the higher caste women that the novelists justify the missionary role in India. Later novels reflect the influence of the nationalist movement and social reform movement on the Indian woman. In the novels dealing with post-independence India, the voice and the focus shifts and the women are seen not as belonging to a general category of Indian womanhood but as radical individuals, educated and independent. Yet, this linear development theory is not completely acceptable. Margaret Wilson's novels also belong to the early twentieth century yet deals with Muslim women and questions the notion of Western notions of independence and oppression. Stephen Alter's *Godchild* (1987) and *Remuka* (1989) also portray the Indian woman in a different guise.

Heston's perception of Indian women reflects the general image of Indian women till the mid 1950s. She perceives Indian women as children. Frida states, "I long for the time when I can be on really intimate terms with such as she (a patient who is a lady of quality), but they are veritable children, with no interest above buttons, and hobnobbing together would be as difficult for me as for them" (Heston 1910; 38) . She and the others like her in India feel, "With little, immature girls the mother of nation, wives uneducated and untrained, widows condemned to a life of drudgery or shame and prohibited from respectable remarriage, what can be expected?" (179) Frida uses the paradigm of redemption of Indian women as did the Indian nationalists. She states that, "this country will never achieve freedom or anything else desirable until she emancipates her women" (179) . But unlike the Indian nationalists, Frida finds that redemption is possible only through a new faith.

There are minor contradictions in her narrative also. In *A Bluestocking in India* as the narrative proceeds one observes the tension in Frida's mind between being a "career" woman and a woman sheltered within a certain framework of the society. Talking about an Indian woman she says, "she is a retiring, modest little thing, somewhat afraid of me, not knowing --in view of my career and bold ways--whether I am a real woman or not...The blessed state of spinisterhood is absolutely inconceivable to them....Matrimony is their salvation" (38) . Yet, she herself is also caught up in seeing career and happiness as mutually exclusive. When she falls sick she writes, "you will forgive my being just a woman without a career for a bit, frail and shattered, longing and loving. I will get over it when my strength comes back" (139) . One of the "new woman" of the 1890s--self-supporting, independent, free to embark on new adventures of life, she is aware of her marginal status in her society. When hearing about a friend's wedding she writes, "You say Beatrice has drowned her prima donna ambitions in matrimony. Can it be that I am the only one who is true to her career?" (141) .

Thus Heston's novel is more about Frida's experience than about India woman. But Elmore's *The Revolt of Sunderamma* focuses on the Indian woman. The protagonist of Elmore's novel is a Naidu girl who is forced to marry when she is but a child. Her mother knowing that her sons would not like their dear sister to be married young and fearing the Brahmin and the society which insists on child-marriages, arranges Sunderamma's marriage as a second wife when her brothers are away. Later when Sunderamma's mother becomes a widow inspite of all her prayers and donations to the priest, she asks, Sunderamma, "if you ever hear of another religion, examine it and see if it is more sensible than this one" (Elmore 1911, 82) .

The Indian widow is also the subject of Longley's novel. In *The Rebirth of Venkata Reddi*, Seethamma is a Brahmin child-bride who is confined within the walls of her home. Her husband, largely indifferent to her, dies of Cholera and then her plight as a widow becomes unbearable. She runs away and tries to commit suicide and is rescued by a childhood playmate, a Reddi boy who harbors tender feelings for her. Later she once again runs away as her father-in-law consents to his brother's plan to force her into sexual intercourse. She is believed to be dead by her village. In actual fact she stumbles across the outcaste Christians leader and takes refuge in a Mission

and becomes a trained nurse Her story ends happily with her marrying the Reddi boy who had grown up to be an educated patriot, and later a Christian.[6]

The woman's role in various spheres--domestic, social and national is not forgotten or ignored in *The House of Earth.* The women in this novel are- the ancient old one, Ma Devi ruling the *"chulha"*, Usha and Shanti rebelling against this rule, Ragawati, Premwati, Shushila who are conformists, Tara rebelling in a different way against injustice done to her, Sita the untouchable dai, Kamala the untouchable convert and a citizen of New India and Maharani, a modern young woman. The ancient old one is the one who is respected by her male children and it is she who prevents Shanti's return to her in-laws after her widowhood and instead manages through the protagonist, Roshan's help to send her away to Vrindavan. Usha, Roshan's mother and his sister, Shanti, both listen to a tune different than that of conventions. Both enjoy pleasure in Nature, hate being confined and would like to have their husbands as partners who share life with them rather than be only mere objects to them. Tara, Roshan's aunt, commits suicide when her husband brings home a second wife because she is barren. Shushila, Roshan's wife, on the other hand is a conformist and cannot understand her husband's love when not expressed through beating and curses . She would much rather be mastered by her lord than be treated gently. She is definitely one of the mute women of India who needs to be educated and emancipated but who is herself were unaware of this need. Where Usha and Shanti listen to a music luring them away from the well trodden paths of their ancestors, Sushila is "controlled, dedicated by some careful inner voice which permitted no exercise of freedom" (1952, 195). Yet life treats them all harshly.

The untouchable women, Sita and Kamala, are the contrasts to the other Brahmin women. They are agents and not mere victims. Sita is an independent woman who shares not only her body but also her thoughts with her husband. Later it is she who is instrumental in bringing change in the form of the missionary's wife into the Indian courtyard. Kamala, her daughter becomes a trained nurse and is the ideal helpmate for Roshan, the future "redeemed" citizen of India. It is she who persuades Roshan to see the city and the changes happening in India. In the end, he too decides to be a Christian like her and serve the villagers like Bill Sahib, the missionary who had brought education and health services in their midst.

Significantly, any possibility of Maharani, the modern Indian girl, becoming the life-partner of Roshan is not explored by the novelist. Her nationalist father, Shri Narayan, is a selfish hypocrite who instigates Hindu-Muslim riots for his own gain and Roshan's discovery of Shri Narayan's character puts an end to the budding romance between Roshan and Maharani. Yet it seems significant that Roshan's partner is the Christian convert and not the liberated Hindu girl.

Soni in *The Year of Love* combines in herself the characteristics of both Sushila and Usha. Her husband Anand tells Soni, "You are shackled in your mind and in your body. You have worn chains so long you don't feel them. I hate them. And I'll break them" (Runbeck 1956, 80) . He wants to see her free from the ignorance and the bondage of being a woman and wants her soul to be reborn from an open mind.

The novel shares with Tagore and other patriots a zeal to awaken India to a glorious future. Hinduism's superstitions are attacked but Anand does not forsake the gods. But Soni does and one sees her entering the Mission compound in the spirit of service to India and not to embrace Christianity. Set in the context of immediate post-independent India, the village remains remote from any nationalistic struggles yet winds of progress through the government school and the Mission reaches the village too.

The novel tells in almost lyrical fashion the story of village life. Anand and his wife, Soni, become the symbol of the future of India. Growing in love, freed from oppressive codes of behavior and educating others who are thirsty for knowledge, they plan to build a new India. Yet, this idyll is broken because of Anand's death. The reader is introduced to the ensuing evils in Indian society. Soni is forced to shave her head and live the life of a widow. According to the priest and believers in the old ways, Anand is stricken down because he mingled with Westerners and talked of modern ways. On the other hand, the Western world sees his return to his land as a betrayal and as lowering himself into the mud. Caught between the two he has no choice but to die and Soni is left to fulfill his ambitions in helping to build a new India. From being a victim, Soni moves on to become the mistress of her destiny. She decides to leave the home of her in-laws and enters the Mission. Though not explicit, the argument seems to lead to a faith in Christ and the Mission with its modern methods bringing hope for the future of India.

This seems to be a very contrived conclusion to show the Memsahib Mom once again reestablished as the sprit of Christian love which will succor the widows of India and usher in a new India. The novel initially uses the vocabulary of the nationalist social reform movement but the ending is typical of missionary discourse.

Yet the novels also contain germs of subversion of the missionary discourse. Soni becomes the icon for the march of Indian women towards freedom of the mind. Yet it is an aspect of Indian culture which motivates her action. It is to please her husband, to fulfill her wifely devotion as taught by Mira bai, "*Her sole rule of life should be that her good works to please him*" (240) that she starts on her "great journey". Soni decides, "Her work would be among people who needed what she had to give, which was love and the art of making happiness" (240). In the Mission, Soni says that "She did not want anything *from* anyone, but that she had brought something she wanted to give" (242).

Margaret Wilson's novels are more radically subversive of missionary discourse on the oppressed Indian women. Her novel deals with the Muslim women of India. A reviewer in *The New York Times Book Review* states,

> though keenly and ironically aware of the essential differences between our own civilization and that of India, [she] does not necessarily deplore them. She has viewed them with eyes as little as possible self-consciously Western. She has entered completely and sympathetically into the life of the purdah. (1929)

Though showing Indian women as suffering, Wilson at the same time sees them as strong women. They are definitely not silent victims of oppression. Wilson's novels shows the community of women as stronger than the East-West divide, and ends with pity for the male figures who cannot overcome differences of race and beliefs. She rejects a one-dimensional reading of women for a multidimensional portrayal of the child mothers and daughters of India. She contests generalizations through her novels and subverts the notion of Indian women as the "other". She states,

> It is simply a story about a few women and myself, and I wish it to be understood that anyone generalizes from it at his own risk. (M. Wilson 1929, 17)

She claims, "In our city men, to be sure, don't respect women. But, after all, why should they, when women in so few places in the world respect men?" (16) Claiming a notion of universal womanhood she sees the white woman as gendered more than "raced".

In *Trousers of Taffeta*, Taj, the woman who has a child after thirteen barren years, Rashid the barren wife, who retains the love of her husband even after his marriage to the younger, beautiful wife, Bilkis, the second wife, Nur the vibrant sister whose husband educates her, and who talks about women's rights, all have larger role to play than the male members of their families. In the novel, The women though veiled and confined do not perceive themselves so and are happiest as mothers. Their supreme role is that of a mother and they can no more understand western women who may not want children. But the western woman cannot understand their obsession with children. Yet Bilkis dies contemptuous of the notion that a woman can be happy with her child alone even though she does not have her husband's love. The novel ends with Rashid surrounded by the children and her husband's affection securely resting on her. She remains an enduring picture of the triumph of the patient, quiet and loving womanhood. Bilkis and rashid are very different from each other. Thus, contradictions persist giving diverse pictures of the Indian women.

In Wilson's other novel *Daughters of India*, the focus shifts. This is the story of Davida and her experiences in India. The Indian women, like Miss Bhose, founder of the girl's school, Taj the charming widow who marries an Arya Samaji, Begum wife of the Indian pastor of the pariah community are of a different world from the zenana world of *Trousers of Taffeta*. Wilson was creating a zenana history in *Trousers of Taffeta* but in *Daughters of India* she creates a missionary history where through female bonding the race question is overcome.

Women in Wilson's novels definitely are more vocal than the women in other novels. Their bodies might be confined but their minds are not enslaved. They may not discuss politics, may not be literate yet they are by their love of children transformed and become worthy of praise and admiration. They can wield enormous power within the four walls of their household as mothers and mothers-in-law. Raja Sahib who orders his women folk to stay at home and not go to the purdah party is fooled and tricked by them and forced to give them his consent. A Moslem man puts

the question, "what use to fight a government which could keep the women speechless in the church" (M. Wilson 1927, 58-59) because in his own household he is unable to silence his women. His wife is of a strong personality, controlling the whole household and opposing her man if need be. The lives of the women are pitiful because of polygamy yet they assert themselves as mother of children and form ties among women which transcend their loyalty to the men folk. The Jain mother can think of her husband as the "silly old fool of an orthodox father" and other women can register protest against their menfolk through lamentations and bitter complaints about his atrocious behavior. Davida claims kinship with these women.

Margaret Wilson's novels thus go beyond binaries of Self and Other, East and West and through a notion of universal sisterhood provide a radically different viewpoint. Wilson also at times reverses the gaze of the narrator. Davida is at times aware of her exotic status amidst the Indian women. Instead of observing, American women are observed, they become the object of the Indian gaze. The doctor in *Trousers of Taffeta* is made to wear the native dress and her home is explored thoroughly by the Indian women.

The women of modern India who are not part of the traditional Hindu, the Moslem or the Christian world are also mentioned by Margaret Wilson. The Rani in *Trousers of Taffeta* is upset that Nur in her Mission school associates, "with all suspicious characters of all sorts-- not only low-caste Indian Christian women with college degrees, and daughters of idolatrous Hindus of the most objectionable new fangled type, but with the offspring of Moslem women who so far forgot themselves as to speak barefaced at public meetings of women discussing women's right" (Wilson 1929, 37) . Later, Anand in *The Year of Love*, mentions, "Even in India there are many women who want to serve the needs of humanity ... They bring their motherness out... into a wider circle. They find their children everywhere" (Runbeck 1956, 110-111) . Though this development seems a progress, Wilson expresses her doubts about it. When Nur is pregnant she tells the English lady once the baby is born she will learn driving. The narrator wonders,

> There it was, the impact of the West upon the East....There were other things in the world besides children....Did it portend good or evil? Was it the end of defeat or the beginning of victory? She was learning from the West to defend herself against the ultimate

> sorrow of women. She believed that barrenness was not wholly a tragedy—and perhaps that conviction was itself the greater tragedy . (M. Wilson 1929, 180-181)

Thus Margaret Wilson's novels are unique as they have no prefabricated answers for everything. They pose questions and instigate reflection on the status of women in India as well as America. Indian women in Wilson's novels are both victims and agents. Their positions keep interchanging and their identities are much more fluid.

In novels written by second-generation writers, the emphasis is not on the Indian woman's plight even though the Indian woman plays an important role. Probably the participation of women like Shonti in the Indian freedom struggle and their increasing visibility as doctors, nurses, teachers rendered it unnecessary to focus on their cause. Also male novelists who had little interest in the women cause mainly wrote the later novels. Even the early novels written by male novelists like *Mann of the Border* (1937) and *Hindu Heaven* (1933) are silent about the Indian women. These novelists focused on the missionary enterprise and the life as lived within the Mission circles.

Pearl Buck's *Come My Beloved* (1960), Robin White's *House of Many Rooms* (1956) and *Men and Angels* (1961) and Stephen Alter's *Godchild* and *Renuka* are some of the later novels. The "woman question" is not an issue in the novels written by these writers. Evasions of the more dynamic, modern non-Christian women and repetitions of the "pitifulness of womanhood" is absent in the novels of post-independent India written by second and third generation writers.

Leilamani in *Come My Beloved* is the only vocal Indian woman character in the novel. The novel does not deal with the "woman question" and shows Leilamani in a very endearing form. She is yet another representation of the Western image of the essential femininity of the Indian women. She is an example of Davida's characterization of Indian women as graceful and charming. Shy and retreating, charming and graceful, feminine and dainty her world revolves around her husband and her children. A woman more comfortable in purdah for she has been brought up so she is a sympathetic portrayal of the idea of the Eastern women. She also serves as the "other" to Olivia. Where Olivia is open and vibrant, Leilamani is veiled and submissive yet it is Leilamani who persuades her husband through her cajoling ways to intercede on David's behalf and write to Olivia asking her to accept David's proposal.

He encourages her to be less shy but she is seen as warm-hearted and loving and Olivia when discouraged finds comfort in her warmth. Once she dies, Darya's world is empty.

Robin White belongs to a category of his own as his themes are different. His women characters are not mere stereotypes. For a change, Robin White is not concerned about the status of women or their problems. In his short stories, White talks about Sati and caste consciousness but his treatment of these subjects is very different. In "Satthi" (sic) an American boy chooses to burn on the funeral pyre with his friend Mangalam. Unable to prevent her Sati, Joseph also jumps into the fire with her. In "Indeed Other Mortals" a Brahmin woman is unshaken in her love for her husband even after discovering that he had only masqueraded as a Brahmin but is an outcaste by birth. Thus the 'diseases' of India are mentioned only to reveal that love is a strong bond which defies caste and race.

In *House of Many Rooms* Manikam's mother-in-law, the Matron amma, Mariamma are all affectionate, warm-hearted , intelligent Indian women. Svamidas' wife Virammal is a woman of disrepute. She is thought to be a devadasi but this is denied by her husband. She is obviously a very sensual woman and when the husband asks, "They do not make white women like this, eh?" Aaron, the son of the American missionaries replies, "Sure" and explains their absence in India as due to the climate. He says, "It's the climate ... It does not attract them" (White 1956, 86) . Thus the novelists makes it clear that not all white women were the role models like the missionary memsahibs.

Sarojini occupies a more central place in *Men and Angels*. She is a modern, educated Indian woman who is still trying to find a place for herself in the India of the 60s. Her main problem is finding the right mate who can understand her. Major social evils had given way to problems of compatibility in Indian marriages. Her problem is solved when she falls in love with the protagonist who is a third culture kid. Through Sarojini, the novelist attempts to prove that the East-West distinctions are not "real" . Robin White states that Sarojini was modeled on his wife and that it was "the demonstration of the fact that differences were conceived and not real" (1995). Women were women, whether Eastern or Western.

Sarojini reminds one of Shonti of Max Wylie's *Hindu Heaven.* Shonti is an educated Indian woman who teaches at a college. She smokes, voices her disagreements aggressively, is involved in the independence struggle and takes an American as her lover. Max Wylie does not generalize on the Indian woman issue and Shonti remains a bold individual.

In Stephen Alter's novels also the Indian characters are seen as individuals rather than types. Mamta, the tribal girl who comes to the compound, remains a figure of resistance inspite of her brief stay in the compound. Even as there is talk of her conversion she is raped and leaves the compound. Much later one finds her, as a figure at the edge of the village, independent and alone, living her life on her terms. A hill tribe woman, Savithri who is Renuka's servant is another strong individual. Renuka is artistic and talented and puts the missionary wives to shame. Through her relationship with Rachel the notion of female bonding across different races is explored.

Another novel written by a second generation writer, *Call to Murralla* (1960) also does not deal with the "woman question" yet it is important for our study as it provide insights into the white woman-Indian woman relationship within the compound. Jaya-Bai is a victim of famine who has been brought to the Mission as a child. She considers Alice as her mother, and in accordance with Indian custom does not marry Mahoun because it is against her mother's wishes. Alice gives her permission only when Mahoun converts. But once Jaya-Bai is married she leaves her mother because Alice does not understand the role of a wife in the Indian context. The daughter once married belongs to the husband's household, and her first loyalty is to him. When Alice still tries to assert herself as a mother and treats Mahoun as a slave who has earned a wife above his station, she loses her daughter too. Mahoun is angry with Jaya because she is at the beck and call of Alice who even after the marriage continues to resent the relationship and tries to keep them apart. When Alice sees Mahoun beating Jaya she loses control and shames Mahoun by beating him One wonders if by beating Mahoun she was satisfying her unconscious urge to dominate a male figure as well as the figure who represents the racial Other. In any case, Jaya does not applaud Alice for coming to her rescue but curses her for interfering in a

private affair between a husband and a wife. Jaya and Mahoun ultimately leave the compound.

Alice's relationship with Jaya and other natives in her Mission reflects shades of the "ma-baap" paradigm. Mahoun fails to accept this paradigm and hence leaves the compound.

Interestingly, in this novel for the first time we have a white woman who is not an upholder of a civilization, nor its index. A guest at the Mission she drinks, smokes and prostitutes herself and brings shame to the white community. The novel also describes the role of the white missionary woman. Alice had come to serve and serve on her terms. She resents Mahoun because he refuses to be converted and even later she is offended that his dignity is different from the slavish deference she is used to from the natives in her compound. But not all women missionaries are like her. Memsahib Mom also resents the fact that Anand wants to go back to his land after all they had done for him but it is a more benevolent resentment. Anand sees in her only the "worried Western face, full of troubles of the hundreds of people she carried so thanklessly, their stubborn resistance to change, the superstitions of which they sometimes died, their stiff pride which concealed real reasons and put forth only sham ones..." (Runbeck, 128).

Unlike Alice, the other American women like Davida, Ruthie and Bill Sahib's wife acted as bridges between the two communities. In *Come My Beloved* Ruthie, Ted's wife is much more at home in India than he is, as she accepts Indians as they are. Her presence also makes Ted part of the village more fully than missionary characters in earlier novels. Davida, the first-person narrator and the doctors in Margaret Wilson's novels and the Memsahib Mom of Runbeck's novel, all seemingly transcend the differences. They also offer female bonding as a means of overcoming the race barriers.

Gender status as superior to race status is hinted at in *The Naulakha* also. The hill woman tells Kate that, "Let her hear truth...We be all three women here, Sahiba ..." (Balestier and Kipling, 495). The Queen adds, "Forget that thou art white, and I black, and remember only that we three be sisters" (496). Thus, when the women are together the race factor does not matter. Bill Sahib's wife is able to gain the trust of Roshan's female relatives because she can empathize with their love for children.

When Roshan's grandmother is reluctant to hand him over to the memsahiba for a medical examination, the memsahiba says, "Perhaps the boy is asleep....I can wait. When my own sons are sick, sometimes they go to sleep better close to my arms....They know I love them and will try to let no evil come near them" (D. Wilson 1952, 74) . The narrator comments,

> In the long look which they [memsahiba and Ma Devi] exchanged something flowed between them which was as old as mankind and as universal as motherhood.
>
> "From our wombs we have each borne sons," they told each other silently. "And with our breasts we have suckled them. By day we have watched over them, that their feet should lead them into no harm, and by night we have risen to tuck the covers about them. We have held them in our arms and laughed and wept and prayed". (75)

Thus, the shared experience of motherhood proves a bond stronger than differences of religion and race. These themes are given a greater significance by Margaret Wilson.

In Margaret Wilson's *Daughters of India* even Jesus is appropriated by these women as they see him as a favorite uncle who loved children and said, "Bring them to me" . The tale of the birth of Christ also belongs to them , by right of their "passionate maternity". The women ask, "A holy virgin [Mary], an angel from heaven [Gabriel], a sweet little baby to nurse [Jesus]—is it not a delicious salvation?" (M. Wilson 1928, 151-152) It is the common experience of motherhood that links the women from the different races, as in the case the Englishwoman who talks about her children to them and wins them over. Wilson declares,

> *Nothing can divide women.* Philosophies and religions and politics and wars, all those really negligible things never really divert them from their one productive and united purpose. All knit into one defensive passivity, they go on, undisturbed, the world over, in spite of all maddened male activity, worshipping with one heart their little teethcutting gods, repeating their creeds of baby talk, the women of the East as definite, as concrete as a new-born child, the women of the West as speculative and vague as the baby's future, and the more veiled they are toward men, the more naked they are to one another. *So I am with my own, my very own,* chortled Davida. But the poor old Sahib, standing there aloof, a terrible price he pays for his inheritance of precious scruples. (emphasis added) (344-45)

Thus the white woman is shown to be free from prejudices and is able to claim kinship with native women while the white sahib is unable to penetrate the barriers.

Yet this question of female bonding must be understood in the context of the place of the women missionaries in her white world. The whole discourse of female bonding between the white-brown women can be seen as an opposition to the patriarchal white sphere were they were subordinated. The brown woman helped their white counterparts to contest the boundaries of what was acceptable activity for women either as a rebel figure or as one still working within the parameters of the white sphere by doing tasks particularly suited to women. Ware states that, "Philanthropy became a legitimate form of activity for women since it allowed them to use their moral and spiritual influence for the benefit of their community. Thus it offered a chance to move beyond the private sphere of family into a more public world" (67).

Thus one observes that women missionaries though rooted in their white culture that saw the women of the Orient as the "Other", also challenged it unconsciously. Faith in Christianity as the true religion was a major contributing factor in their actions, yet one cannot deny that they also used their perceptions of the world as markers for civilization. The different cultural practices and ways of behavior were included in their narrative as "perverted" by some and contested by others. These women's narratives do not destabilize the power positions of Orientalist discourse yet interestingly neither do they stabilize them strongly. Though many of them reveal a more subtle "white solipsism"[7] that passively colludes with a racist culture, others are able to place themselves outside their racist culture. Their experiences were heterogeneous.

They were superior when it came to the East-West relationship but they were also inferior when it came to male-female relationship in America. Davida sees herself as equivalent to 40 Indian men, the women folk of the kidnappers say that since she is white, she must have influence with the government, she has enormous power over the women because of her skills, she can advise Indian men against polygamy and though not assured of obedience is assured of a respectable hearing. She also seemingly rules over the compound, yet when it comes to authority it is Ramsey and Rugh who have the last word. Kate, Alice, and Frida all accept the shoulder of a white

man in the end for comfort. In relation to the East, the missionary woman is supposed to be the civilizing Christian point of view, whereas the native woman is the oppressed heathen and in need of help in her upliftment, yet in the white sphere she is a subordinate and it is the male voice which is the arbiter of what white civilization is.

In the later novels, the rationale is different, though they also share the view on female bonding. *House of Earth* and *Renuka* also reveal the theme of the strong bond between women, irrespective of distinctions of race and nation. Hazel Fisher in *House of Earth* arranges a marriage for her butler Mannikam on his request. He panics after the negotiations are over and refuses to marry Mariamma. Hazel and Mrs. Gopala (Mariamma's mother) concoct a plan and without breaking the proprieties, manage to allow Mannikam to see the rejected bride after the broken engagement. He falls in love and to secure his consent more strongly the women mention a rival and Mannikam is even more zealous in winning Mariamma. At the wedding, Hazel's son Barney realizes that there never was a rival and comments, "there must be broad areas of knowledge and technique common among all women, regardless of marital status, age, race and religion" (White 1956, 72-73) .

Alter's novel does not mention friendship based on the notion of universal womanhood but shows a friendship based on mutual liking and respect. Race has no role to play in this relationship. In *Renuka*, the narrator Rachel, senses a bond with Renuka, "as though our lives had come together not by chance, but as if we had found each other after years of searching" (Alter 1989, 20) . Rachel finds this bond stronger than all her relationships including her relationship with her husband Frank. She adds, "Actually, I never thought of Renuka as Indian or anything else, except herself, as if she belonged to a country all her own" (21) . In this novel female bonding reaches the level of a subtle homoerotic relationship. Renuka is neither a victim nor an agent, but an individual as any other individual. Renuka and Rachel help each other to come to terms with their problems. Renuka returns to Calcutta and Rachel to America but in the hill station they had established a strong friendship.

Hence one observes that these writers and their women belong to a category of their own where there is a complex interface of gender, race and national location and where their is no homogenized Orientalist perception but a multiplicity of voices and representation.

In the early novels, Indian women are perceived as blindly oppressed (Soni, Sushila), passive rebels (Usha, Tara), active modern rebels (Nur, Taj) all vis-a-vie the American women. The outcaste women, tribal women and hill women are all shown as different. They are stronger than the upper caste Hindu women. Yet even these exceptions are not seen as contesting the universal notion of Indian womanhood but are used to emphasize it by contrast. The Indian Christian women do not belong to these categorizations as they, under the influence of Christianity find, an active roles for themselves. Indian women are seen as victims and victims who are transformed to agents with the help of the Christian faith. The early novels with a few exceptions like Margaret Wilson's novels, portray the Hindu women as oppressed. They are in need of emancipation. They are victim and become agents through the intervention of the missionaries. The novelists use women belonging to different castes to generalize on the condition of the Indian women. In this context Lata Mani remark is apt. She states:

> The representation of Indian women has been a fertile ground for the elaboration of discourses of salvation-colonial, national and western feminist. The Indian woman is not seen as someone who acts but as someone to be acted upon. (1992, 397)

Said extends the fact that the Oriental women was always spoke for to be the pattern of relative strength between East and West and the discourse about the Orient that it enabled (1978, 99) . The early novels prove the veracity of these statements. They reflect how a particular representation of the Indian woman strengthened the missionary discourse.

Yet the same novels also use the Christian outcaste woman as "someone who acts". Though they appropriate her to support their arguments on faith, they also provide a voice for her. Gayathri Spivak states that,

> Both as object of colonialist historiography and as subject of insurgency, the ideological constructions keep the male dominant. If in the context of colonial production the subaltern has no history and cannot speak, the subaltern as female is even more deeply in shadow. (1988, 28)

In missionary writing this is reversed. Women are the focus of the early novels and the converted subaltern woman has an important role to play as the guide to the Brahmin and other high caste women.

Though in the later novels there are no oppressed Indian women, here also the subaltern women emerge as strong individuals. In these novels, the subaltern women do not justify the missionary cause but at times emerge as rebels who defy the missionary cause. Though the subaltern women remain in the margins, their visibility and their role in shaping the lives around them is very significant.

Kamala, Jaya-bai, Prema and Taj emerge as strong women who are both strong in their faith as well as in their inherent adherence to a traditional Indian domestic ethos. Jaya-bai and Taj both leave the Mission when there respective husbands need them. Taj even manages to stir longings for conjugal happiness in the American missionary's heart. Taj tells Davida, "A woman's place is in her home" which makes Davida's question, "Perhaps I am a pervert. There must be another man like mine, some place in the world.....I'm tired of being allied with that which does provide, and not partake...A woman's place-how sweet that is when a woman says it, rejoicing. I have no place in this world. O God! Take me out of it" (Wilson 1927, 337-338) . Kamala leads Roshan towards redemption and Prema looks after her husband as well as the Mission. All these subaltern women are agents of change and pursue active careers.

In *Godchild,* Mamta, the tribal girl is also an agent but her agency changes Indian lives in a totally different fashion from the earlier novels. Her entry into the Christian compound changes Gideon's perception. In his change from Gideon to Gautam, Mamta plays an important role. The stories she narrates to him give him a glimpse of worlds beyond the compound walls and when she is raped by a Christian, something changes for Gideon. In the end he leaves the compound. Mamta is a victim of male violence but she emerges as the victor when she overcomes her trauma and lives her life according to her own standards.

Thus, the early American missionary novels set in India use stereotypes of Indian women to justify the missionary cause, yet they contain subversions within themselves. The later novels are different in their attitude. Taken together, the Indian women in American missionary fiction, from being victims or agents move on to

become part of a world which does not judge them. They emerge as people who go beyond categories like victim and agent and come through as people possessing fluid identities.

NOTES

[1] In *Punjab Pioneer* (1977) Charles Reynolds mentions, that Dr. Edith Brown's sister married the son of a missionary in south India and her letters made a lasting impression on Edith's mind. "She read of the millions of Indian women who lived behind the veil of purdah, for whom no medical care was available ... of custom's which bound women so that they were no more than some man's chattel or property. She learned of the millions who poured out their hearts in prayer, making sacrifices to gods and goddesses, but remaining unsatisfied and unanswered. These stories built up in her a determination to go to India to tell these women about Jesus and share with them the joy and security she had found in Him" .

[2] Refer to Miss Seward's case in 1870s and 1880s as reported in *The Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A's Board of Foreign Missions Calendar* Vol. 13.

[3] Refer to Barbara Bardes and Suzanne Gossett. *Declarations of Independence: Women and Political Power in Nineteenth century American Fiction.* New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1990.

[4] Mrs. Holcomb in her book entitled, *In the Heart of India* (1905) talks about her experiences in India from 1886 to 1902.

[5] Dorothy Clarke Wilson's *Dr. Ida* tells the story of Ida Scudder's work in India.

[6] This has many parallel situation with Richard Von Garbe's novel. Lilavati in *The Redemption of the Brahmin* is a child widow who has nothing but indignities to suffer, and her plight makes her brother question the traditions and also to make radical decisions regarding his daughter Gopa. He has Gopa educated and postpones her marriage as much as possible and later when she becomes a widow refuses to allow her to be seen in widow's garb.

[7] Adrienne Rich's defines white solipsism as, "not the consciously held belief that one race is inherently superior to all others, but a tunnel vision which simply does not see nonwhite experience or existence as precious or significant, unless in spasmodic, impotent guilt reflexes, which have little or no long-term continuing momentum or political usefulness" (qtd. in Ware 1992, 21) .

Chapter Seven

Attempts At Displacing Binaries

Miscegenation In American Missionary Fiction Set In India

Passage to India!
The races, neighbors, to marry and be given in marriage.

Walt Whitman

East had never been East, and West had never been West, and the twain had always been one, even as the world has always been round.

Robin White

Miscegenation means mixing of races, marriage or cohabitation between a man and woman of different races. The novels that narrate the love story between a man and a woman of different races deal not merely with love but with issues of belonging, of boundaries, of nations and of race. Novelists use this sexual union as a device for personalizing and humanizing the political, social and cultural relationships.

Kenneth Burke states, "All sociological relationships are expressible in terms of intimate, personal relationships — and these in turn are reducible to analogous sexual relationships. For instance, a general condition of conflict between classes can be stated in terms of private conflicts between individuals" (1966, 226) . Gomathi Narayanan in *The Sahibs and the Natives* (1986) illustrates through her analysis of Anglo-Indian and Indo-Anglian fiction the way in which the variation of interpersonal relationships represents the various shades of inter-group responses in novels of cross-cultural encounter.

The theme of miscegenation attains special significance in the context of American missionary novels because they not only highlight the nature of the Indo-American relationship in a particular context, but they also prove to be the ultimate test of the convictions of the Americans on both religious and national levels about the equality of mankind. It is the test of their rhetoric about all races being equals

Aware of the pervasive prejudices against the Other and the consciousness of national and racial superiority, the missionaries felt that they ought to be free of both They also suggested that through a common religion the East and the West could understand one another. Mrs John P White's views are representative of the views of

other missionaries on the subject. She poses the question: "Are the East and West incapable of mutual understanding?" and states:

> The people of the East are different from the people of the West. Language, customs, modes of thinking, traits of character, all seem different....Tourists and missionaries alike dwell on these differences until we all are ready to exclaim with Kipling....
>
> For East is East and West is West
> And never the twain shall meet....
>
> [This] must be answered by other lines—
>
> But Christ is Christ and rest is rest;
> And love true love must greet;
> In East and West hearts crave for rest,
> And so the twain shall meet—
> The East still East, the West still West
> At Love's nail pierced feet. (1912, 300-302)

Thus she like the fictional characters, Frida and Lady Footel-Booj, believe that, "*through Christ* the East and West do understand each other" (302).

Hence the theme of miscegenation in the context of the missionary novels implies another alternative to the "through Christ" solution. It suggests that interpersonal relationships can also promote East-West understanding. It privileges secular love over Christian love in the promotion of East-West reconciliation. Yet to sanction the secular love a Christian love and an absence of race consciousness seems necessary. Miscegenation becomes a means of establishing the "complete brotherhood, in flesh as in the spirit" (Buck 1960, 299) .The novels by their acceptance or rejection of miscegenation reveal not only racial attitudes but also the strength of the Christian faith of the missionary characters.

These interpersonal relationships also throw light on Orientalist projections of East and West in terms of the feminine Orient and the masculine West. The novelists using this theme challenge or accept the mythology of the East-West dichotomy. At a larger level, these relationships also reflect the national attitudes, provide insights into the difficulties inherent in any cross-cultural encounter and unravel the race factor in intercultural relationships.

Ruth Frankenburg states that on "examining the discourse on interracial relationships [in the United States] or, as one might more accurately state it, *against*

interracial relationships (since it seems to me that there is at this time no popular discourse specifically *for* them)" (1993, 71) , one finds seven common elements:

> First, it entails a range of radicalized masculinities—images of what it means to be a man differentiated by race and class and drawing at times on the racist stereotypes of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Second, femininity is also radicalized...white women who choose interracial relationships are presented as sexually "loose," sexually unsuccessful, or (at the least negative) sexually radical. Third, the discourse generates a view of interracial relationships as transgressing fixed racial or cultural boundaries. Linked to this, a fourth element views children whose parents are racially different from one another as "mixed" and therefore doomed not to fit into the social structure as it is currently constituted. These four elements presuppose a fifth, the idea of "race" as a fixed and essential axis of differentiation, and a sixth, the idea of cultural differences as absolute and tied to "race" and biological belonging. The seventh and final element of this discourse is the hierarchical ranking of the essential nature and character of racial and cultural groups. (77)

Before we commence an analysis of this theme in the American novels set in India it is important to realize that experiences which are depicted in the novels are shaped by earlier historical moments and elements of the discourse on interracial relationships are to be found from earlier times. Since the beginning of the Anglo-American settlement in America, this issue has remained charged with various controversies. For nearly four hundred years miscegenation was not constitutionally allowed. In 1661 the first anti-miscegenation law was passed in Maryland and only as late as 1967 did the U. S. Supreme Court declare anti-miscegenation laws as unconstitutional.[1] Though primarily the law targeted the relationships between the Native American and the white person later it expanded to include relationships between whites and Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Malays and Hindus. Oregon, Virginia and Georgia passed laws that mentioned "Asiatic Indians" in this context. In the Marie Antoninette Monks case the California Court passed the statement that as she was a descendent of a Caucasian, "she is prohibited from marrying a Negro or any descendant of a Negro, a Mongolian or an Indian, a Malay or a *Hindu*, or any of the descendants of any of them" (qtd. in Pascoe, 1966) .[2] Even the Motion Picture

Production Code of 1930, states that, "*Miscegenation* (sex relations between white and black races) is forbidden" giving as its reason that motion pictures have "MORAL OBLIGATIONS" and that "love which society has always regarded as wrong and which has been banned by "divine law" or in other words "impure love" must never be "made to seem right and permissible" (285-291).

American movies that dealt with miscegenation between Indians and Whites reflect changing attitudes towards miscegenation. In the 1918, Fox film- *The Soul of Buddha*, the Indian Dancer is murdered for marrying an Englishman. R.K Gupta states that, "the film suggests that an unbridgeable gulf divides the East from the West" (1986, 175). In the film adaptation of *The Rains Came*, Major Safti is made into an heir apparent to the throne and Edwina is an American married to an English Lord. Even though in the film, as in the novel Edwina dies, one wonders why it was necessary to change the status of Major Safti. Could it be that for romance to be a viable element in the film, it was necessary to make him an Indian Prince. Thus the changes made in the plot reveal American attitudes towards the theme of miscegenation as well as the need to sensationalize it. The advertisement for another adaptation of the same novel called, *The Rains of Ranchipur*, showed "a really dark-skinned Indian planting a kiss on Lana Turner's lily-white throat," and written on the poster were the words, "the great sin that even the heavens could not wash away" (Isaacs 1958, 283).

Isaacs comments that the "theme of sinful or tragic interracial love between Americans and Asians of different color [was] a recurring one in films and popular literature. In order to have a happy ending , such stories usually contrived to turn the Asian involved into the long-lost child of suitably white parents and thus ma[d]e possible the consummation in the sunset. Otherwise, it was necessary to kill off one of the ill-starred pair" (282-283). Later movies display different attitudes. After India's independence, films like *The Diamond Queen* (1953), *King of the Khyber Pass* (1954) and *The Bengal Brigade* (1954) showed love relationship between an Indian and a European ending without tragedy (R. Gupta 1986, 177). Thus the movies reflect some changing attitudes towards miscegenation in the Indo-American context.

Apart from an understanding of the attitudes towards miscegenation in the Indo-American context, a knowledge of the Anglo-Indian dimension is also important.

Kipling remains a presence in these novels and the novels use him to underscore their own freedom from prejudices. American novelists were aware of the British attitudes towards miscegenation through movies and literature. Bhupal Singh in his survey of Anglo-Indian novels devotes half a chapter to "Novels of Mixed Marriages".

Curiously or rather predictably, given the racial prejudices of both sides and the master-slave relationship, romance between an Indian and an English person ends either in the death of the Indian woman or in separation. Romance between the members of the two races becomes a recipe for disaster and tragedy. Anglo-Indian novels like Sydney Owenson's *The Missionary* (1811), Mrs. Steel's *On the Face of the Waters* (1896), Donald Sinderby's *The Jewel of Malabar* (1929) and Victoria Crosee's *Self and the Other* (1901) are few examples where the Indian woman dies.[3]

Owenson's novel is of particular interest in our context as it is the story of a Catholic monk Hilarion and an Indian Princess Luxima. Hilarion who had come to India to convert people to Catholicism falls in love with Luxima, who then enters a nunnery in Goa. Hilarion charged with apostasy is condemned to be burnt alive. Luxima throws herself on the pyre with the cry of "Brahma" on her lips. They are rescued and Luxima dies in his arms urging him to work for Hindu-Christian amity and confessing her faith in Brahma. Hilarion continues with his "work." Luxima stands for India and is an embodiment of its femininity as the hero Hilarion stands for the West and for masculinity. As Ware points out, "interracial sex frequently leads to death in colonial fiction and it is important to ask what this means. Is it a discourse on the impossibility of love between a man and woman from entirely different cultures?" (Ware 1992, 233) The answer to this question is provided by the most important writer in the Anglo-Indian tradition—Rudyard Kipling.

Kipling's stories, "Beyond the Pale" and "Without Benefit of Clergy" both deal with the theme of miscegenation. They are moral fables which argue against miscegenation. In "Beyond the Pale", the Indian woman Bisea's arms are cut off and she is lost to her white lover Trajego in the maze of Indian streets. Clearly when the "twain" meet there can only be disaster. The writer states in the beginning itself, "This is the story of a man who willfully stepped beyond the safe limits of decent everyday society, and paid for it heavily" (Kipling 1987, 43) . In "Without Benefit of Clergy" Holden buys Ameera from her mother and is very much in love with her but the

narrator cannot resist adding that, "she was all but all the world in his eyes By every rule and law she should have been otherwise, for he was an Englishman, and she a Mussulman's daughter" (142). The story ends, like many others, with Ameera's death in an epidemic. Holden tries to hold on to the memories and wants to rent the house even when he is away as he does not want anyone else to live there. His Indian landlord promises to pull down the house, "so that no man say where this house stood" (168). Though both the stories show moments when love and sympathy break all barriers and leap across the chasm of race and class, in the end the lesson is clear: "A man should, whatever happens, keep to his own caste, race and breed. Let the White go to the White and the Black to the Black. Then whatever trouble falls is in the ordinary course of things-neither sudden, alien, nor unexpected" (qtd. in Ware 1992, 233). Even in novels in which the protagonists seemingly transcend the racial barrier, the undercurrent of racial tension is present.

Maud Diver's *Lilamani* (1910) called a "study of possibilities", ignores this tragedy and moves in a realm where such unions may turn out happily, but even here the hero when asked by Lilamani's father Sir Lakshman Singh, "How should it fare with a high-caste Hindu who should ask an English father what you ask of me?" replies:

> "But surely ___ there is a difference. Indians admit it, tacitly, when they speak of Western views and customs as enlightened;...your daughter's case, seems an advance: the other___ if you'll forgive me___ would be, in a measure, retrogression (qtd in B Singh 1934, 170-171)

Other novels of interracial encounters, like Philip Meadows Taylor's *Seetha* (1890), articulate the hostility towards interracial partnership which reflects the political and cultural tensions of their milieu Novelists like E.M Forster, John Masters and Paul Scott employ interracial tension in the colonial situation to illustrate the difficulties that lie in the path of cross-cultural understanding. Feminine transgressions are always punished Adela in E.M Forster's *A Passage to India* (1924) has to pay for her friendliness with Aziz with her traumatic experience at the caves. Daphne who dares to love an Indian in Paul Scott's *Jewel in the Crown* (1978)

becomes a victim of rape. Thus miscegenation in a majority of these novels is seen as strange and unnatural.

In the Indo-American tradition, Sujit Mukerjee identifies novels in which "American and Indians not only fall in love with each other but can plan to marry" as an important category of American fiction about India (1990, 228). Accepting interracial marriage was difficult for Anglo-Indian novelists because of the colonizer-colonized relationship between the British and Indians. There was sometimes an implicit assumption, at other times a stated premise of racial superiority of the white race which marred the interracial relationship between the characters. It would seem that to some extent the American novelists, free from the burdens of the colonial past would find it easier to explore different possibilities, yet in a majority of the early American novels set in India this does not happen. As seen in chapter three the various novels follow the pattern of Anglo-Indian fiction. In contrast to both the Anglo-Indian fiction and American fiction belonging to the non-missionary categories, the theme of miscegenation displays added dimensions in the context of the American missionary novels.

The American missionary novels which deal with this theme are: *Hindu Heaven* (1933), *Come My Beloved* (1953), *Elephant Hill* (1959), *Men and Angels* (1961) and *Renuka* (1989) . Yet interestingly, in these missionary novels one only finds traces of the same prejudices and hostilities one finds in Anglo-Indian novels and the early American novels belonging to other categories. American missionary novels are very different from the moral fables of Kipling, which warn about the consequences of interracial romance. They are not a cautionary exercise and contradict the binary opposition of the East-West dichotomy through conflicting discourses Though there is an acceptance of the boundaries between "us" and "them" at one level, at another level they also question these assumptions.

Hindu Heaven deals with a mature relationship between Bruno Hall, the American professor in Mission College and Shonti Chattapodya, who taught at the largest women's college in that province. Shonti with her Oxford degrees and addiction to drink is an outspoken, unconventional, notorious and fascinating personality. The missionaries disapprove of Bruno's relationship with her. They are both very fond of each other and become lovers. The missionaries disapprove of their

relationship, yet Bruno refuses to accept their reprimands as he finds their attitude hypocritical. "He could see their faces now as they rebuked him, their brows furrowed in ridges of moral indignation, their blood secretly thrilling with an urge they would never admit" (M. Wylie, 79) . There is never any question of marriage between them. But when in the end Shonti has to leave Bruno, he is bereft. He is prepared to leave his job and follow her but she says he has to stay and anyway she is very ill. The illness is neither specified nor is the reason for her leaving clear. It is made very clear that there is no future for them and a hint is given to the effect that he will find someone else. After all before Shonti he had a relationship with Janys Gupta. When Janys reappears in his life he manages to introduce her to his roommate Jack for he has Shonti. He claims he believes in the "free-swimming libido." Though this is no tale of Kiplinesque romance the ending is the same, involving separation and possibility of death of the Indian woman.

Though color is seemingly not an issue between Bruno and Shonti, in the end before parting from Bruno, Shonti asks if he had minded her being brown. He says no, but later holding her face between his face in a gesture of tenderness, he thinks, "It wasn't like kissing a white girl" (336) . Thus though the color problem is not actually discussed it is clear that it was a significant issue. The reader wonders as to why Bruno had never thought of marrying Shonti? Even the rebel Bruno cannot see beyond the sensuality of the Indian women and knows that he cannot follow Shonti to her home. He belongs to the Mission and Indian women can only be passing diversion and not suitable companions for him. Yet Shonti and Janys both are not mere tools for Bruno's sexual pleasure. They both are independent women and make their own decisions. It is Shonti who initiates the relationship with Bruno.

Ted in *Come My Beloved* also refuses to accept an Indian as a suitable partner for his daughter. Buck's imagination aware of the prejudices of her time could not conceive of a future for Jatin and Livy. Buck, through the story of missionaries explores the encounter between the East and the West, a major theme in many of her novels.[5] A manifestation of her absorption with the East-West encounter was her interest and love for the children of mixed races. She firmly believed that they were potentially brighter than other children and had a greater role to play towards peace and goodwill on Earth. In December 1947 "the world children" came to her attention

when an agency for adoption asked Pearl S. Buck's help as they could not place a mixed-blood baby in any home. The baby boy was born of an American missionary's daughter who fell in love with a young East Indian man. The mother's family was a notable one. Her grandfather had founded one of America's largest theological seminaries and her father had gone to India as a missionary before she was born....The parents violently opposed their romance and the child was born shortly after they arrived" (Harris 1969, 298) . When Pearl S. Buck heard about this, she replied, "How can one preach the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man and not accept him as human being. Send him to me" (298) . This led to the foundation of her home for these "world children" called "Welcome House Inc." Her novel *Come My Beloved* is "the story of the romance that led to that first baby boy" (299) .

Knowing the origin of the novel one would have thought that Buck would have allowed the love between the members of the two races to end in marriage. Yet this is not so. Livy and Jatin fall in love. Yet even in this special situation where Livy is an Indian in all but color and her parents, Ted and Ruthie, love India this does not happen. Ted who feels he was more closer to the villagers than Darya could ever be and who had given his whole life for India, refuses to give up Livy. The narrator comments, "in one of the rare moments of revulsion [from brown skin] which Ted considered his secret sin, he was now revolted and sick. What his Livy, his darling daughter?....for a moment his soul swam in darkness. No, and forever no! He had given his life to India in Vhai, but Livy he would not give" (Buck 1960, 284) . When the crisis comes, America and not India becomes his home and he tells his daughter Sara, "India is not your real country, and Vhai is not your own place, not really, you know" (288) .

. Though the decision is made, Ted is unable to shake off his guilt. He feels like Peter when he denied Christ yet the course is set, his white daughter cannot marry an "alien". He says, "I feel a failure in myself. I am not ready to face the ultimate [in love] nor to accept it" (301) Even Ruthie, whose relationship with India was far different from Ted and who feels completely at home in India refuses to accept Jatin-Livy relationship. She says to Livy, "I can't go so far as to think it right that a white American girl should marry an Indian. Jatin isn't even an Anglo-Indian" (227) . Jatin and Livy both realize that this is a failure on their part. Though Jatin tries to reassure Ted by saying it is "karma" and in future Livy and Jatin will allow their children to

marry people from another race, he tells Livy, "What he (Ted) does not know, is that if one does not immediately practice ideals they are lost" (306) . Thus Pearl Buck makes it clear that she doesn't agree with Ted and Ruthie. Even Jatin's analysis proves inadequate when he claims,

> It is karma between your daughter and me. We are fated to love one another, we are fated by our birth never to marry....The love of which you speak is not only Christian, it is also human, and it cannot be forced. Livy is able to feel it, but then she has been born a generation after you. I feel it, though I am not a Christian, but then I have been born a generation after my father. I shall not marry Livy ... it is not within my fate.... (301)

Pearl Buck explained her book to a correspondent: "I wanted to express my faith that one cannot achieve real religion unless one is willing to yield every last prejudice. The three men each had a noble idea but could not quite give up their prejudice. Thus I think that Christianity has never achieved its real potential because Christians have been unable to obey the principles expressed by its founder Jesus Christ" (Stirling 1983, 239) . Each generation is unable accept a change in their ideals. They try to shape things their way but fate or God decides otherwise and they are unable to accept it. Just as McArd is unable to prevent David from going to India, David cannot accept Ted going to the village and Ted cannot accept Livy living as a wife of an Indian. Through Livy, Jatin and Jehar, the novelist attempts to challenge the fundamental racism inherent in the white man's attitude towards interracial relationship.

Jehar, the Christian sadhu understands Ted's dilemma and at the same time sees the Livy-Jatin marriage as the culmination of Ted's love for Christ and his sacrifices for India. He tells Ted, "...you have lived so fully the life of a Christian in my country that you are now given *the final invitation* to accept an Indian for your own son, and his children as your grandchildren. It is now possible for you to take the step of complete brotherhood, in flesh as in the spirit. *God has made this possible for you that your life may complete the whole meaning of Christ*" (emphasis added) (Buck 1960, 299) . Thus the ability to accept miscegenation becomes the final test of faith. Jatin had voiced similar feelings earlier. He tells Ted, "...[Livy] has learned at your feet, sir, to regard all human beings as equal, alike children of God....I was converted

by the great Jehar and nourished by Daryaji towards independence....We are the fruit of all that has gone in the past ... the proof of our faith" (284) . Yet what Ted had taught his daughter, he himself is unable to practice. Livy ponders,

> He had encouraged them to play with the children of Vhai and to look upon them as brothers and sisters, telling them that God was their Father in Heaven, and they were one great family....if he had truly believed what he preached, then he would have been willing and even glad for her to marry Jatin, for that was the whole acceptance wasn't it, and if one could not accept the ultimate, then there was no real acceptance. (305)

For Ted, Jatin is not an equal and his inability to accept the love between Livy and Jatin makes Livy wonder,

> because the smooth skin that covered his [Jatin] handsome body was dark, they must never be man and wife, a coating so thin though dark, that it could be pierced by a pin and underneath the flesh was as pale as her own and the blood as red. Yet it was the paper thin darkness of the skin that forced them on their separate ways, on opposite sides of the world. (306-307)

Thus the color of the skin proves an insurmountable barrier and the novelist makes it clear that Ted fails the ultimate test of faith. Yet there is hope for the future. Jatin states, "But some day ... if her [Livy] child wishes to do that we have wished, then she will allow it. Time and the generations work together with fate" (301) .

In J.F. Muehl's words, "Within the limitations of the form she [Pearl Buck] has presented a story which is a very cogent argument for her very plausible optimism" (1953, 130) . The end signals hope in a deferred condition, it shows a vision of the future where one can reach the ultimate of one's religion, can forget racial barriers and embrace humanity as a whole.

Frankenburg points out, "given male domination within white culture, the "protection" or salvation" of white women and their supposedly civilized sexuality from men of color and their "primitive" sexuality has been the alibi for a range of atrocities from genocide and lynching to segregation and immigration controls" (76) . In Buck's novel though Livy's attraction for Jatin does not result in any genocide or lynching, it does result in a kind of death—spiritual death. Ted's link with India is

broken forever. Ted promises to return but he is aware that he may not be able to keep his promise. In his attempt to protect his daughter from marrying Jatin, he loses his soul. He is aware that he has not been able to overcome his racial prejudice completely, that as his love for India is not complete, his love for Christ is flawed.

Where Buck shows a deferred hope, Robin White, son of missionary parents, shows the possibility of interracial marriage. The short story "Salt" and the novels *The Elephant Hill* and *Men and Angels* show the consummation of interracial love. The short story "Padma" which projects deferred hope is the only exception in White's works.

"Padma" is a story of a Hindu girl studying in a Mission school. But here Padma's fate is to forget the missionary boy Ian and marry as her family wishes. The love between Ian and Padma does not cause happiness but pain as they are the hands of friendship reaching across time" (White 1962, 220) . Padma understands that "because the old could not accept the new, the new had to compromise itself and tolerate the old" and wait for "tomorrow and yet other tomorrows" where men and women of different races will not have to become "apart" (214) . The novels of Robin White like *Men and Angels* differ from the other American and Anglo-Indian novels as they consciously attempt to challenge the East-West dichotomy and contest the improbability of interracial marriages.

In "Salt" Ransome, a minister and a history teacher in a Mission college, is frustrated and apathetic about the monotonous life at a Mission where he listlessly grapples with his sermon when he is disturbed by Radha, one of the few Hindu students of the college. She has been dismissed from the college and apparently her relatives are waiting to kill her and she seeks refuge in Ransome's house (shades of the Fern and Ransome relationship in *The Rains Came*) . Ransome takes up cudgels on her behalf and fights with the Dean, Mr. Clayton, and Miss Elliot on this issue and learns that the reason the girl was being dismissed was that she had been writing love letters. No one knows the identity of the man but to avoid scandal the authorities have decided to send her home. At Ransome's insistence Radha reveals that it is him she loves. Stunned yet conscious of strings of love for Radha, Ransome rushes out to take her to his home. When Dean tries to stop him he shouts "...if the salt of life has lost its savor, how the hell are you going to resalt it?" (White 1962, 209) thus implying that it

is love which is the salt in life, the most necessary ingredient to make life tasty and meaningful.

In *Elephant Hill* love again proves triumphant. It is the story of Alagarsami, an Indian widower and Miss. Elizabeth Sumner, an American schoolteacher. It is also a conscious attempt by the novelist to challenge the East-West dichotomy. William Hogan states the following about the book:

> In a larger sense, the author hopes the book will be reviewed as an attempt to invalidate once and for all Kipling's contention that East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet"..."that, to me," he [White] declares, "seems the basis for much of the misunderstanding between us and India: We dwell loud and long on what divides us politically while overlooking the fact that the meeting of East and West has already begun on a personal level. (1958)

The novel won White a Harper Prize and was instrumental in catapulting him to instant fame. It was on the top ten bestseller's list in 1959. It was reviewed in American, Indian and German newspapers.[6] *Elephant Hill* was also intended as a movie by Ross Hunter's Universal International with Susan Hayword and Sir Alec Guiness in lead roles. Described as the "east-west opus' the movie never came to anything [7] It also led to a debate in the *San Francisco Chronicle*. Robert Durden asserted that White was not challenging Kipling for Kipling's ballads ends with "but there is neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed, nor Birth,/When two strong men stand face to face" . Robin White's answer to this was a letter to the newspaper stating the following:

> Border, breed and birth apparently don't make any difference anyway "when two strong men stand face to face." What makes Kipling think strong men are any less apt to be prejudiced? And what about two weak men? Or just two men, or two strong women? Or that part of the world population which, for one legitimate reason or the other, is neither strong nor masculine?
>
> If, then, East and West are never to meet until doomsday, the only exception being when two strong men get together, I submit that Kipling's catch phrase has not been misused or abused, and that "Elephant Hill" quite rightly puts a period to a Victorian sentiment that is as trite as it is archaic. (1958)

In the novel Agnes, discouraging Beth's friendship with Alagarsami, quotes Kipling. Beth tells her, "Hogwash....I mean that Kipling is all wet....It's a nice-sounding catchy little advertising slogan for a sentiment that died with the Victorian era and I'm sick of it" (White 1960, 169) . Caught between the Westmores and Alagarsami's dispute over Muthu, the bastard son of Alagarsami and adopted son of the Westmores, Beth tries to bridge the gulf between the two. Unlike the Memsahib whose arrival widened the gulf between the whites and the natives, Beth's arrival after many misunderstandings and controversies, ends in reconciliation between the whites and the Indians. Alagarsami refrains from exercising pressure on the Westmores to give him his son and the Westmores accept that Muthu can get to know his Indian father.

Oliver Prescott's review in the *New York Times* entitled, "A Transcendent Contention" is particularly useful in summing up *Elephant Hill.* He states, "like several more solemn novels laid in India, *Elephant Hill* is a study of the misunderstandings, hurt feelings, feuds and controversies that frequently arise when East meets West. Conflicting cultural traditions, difficulties with language, "face" and pride and love can all combine to cause trouble. Such trouble need not be viewed in a tragic light. Mr. White doesn't do so in these amusing pages. His attitude is one of ironic comedy and understanding affection" (Prescott 1959) . The vein of "ironic comedy" and "understanding affection" is the hallmark of *Men and Angels* also

Robin White's *Men and Angels* is the story of Luke's return to India in search of his missionary father. In India he stays with Bhima Kumara, his Indian friend's family and falls in love with his sister Sarojini. Sarojini, well educated and "modern" in her outlook also loves Luke and the novel ends with her father blessing Luke and accepting him as part of the family. The emphasis seems to be that in the new India, an Indian, representative of changing India and an American can marry When Luke questions Bhima's attitude towards a hypothetical interracial marriage, Bhima also, like Ted in *Come My Beloved,* falls back on Forster's solution: "Only blame it on the times In another age perhaps, and I would say differently. Now, no" (White 1960, 248) . Luke, like Jatin, questions this futuristic solution. He thinks, "... what was the good of it if we denied the context of her life and mine? Here in this family ...we had to begin, or if necessary reach an end" (274) .

Robin White once again questions the East-West business and states the following:

> Clearly East and West had little to do with geography or tradition. They implied racial difference and existed anywhere. Man was obliged to relegate his fellow men to categories determined by externals. East had never been East, and West had never been West, and the twain had always been one, even as the world has always been round. But the combined agreement of the ignorant and the fearful made the division an established social principle. (274)

In *Men and Angels* Luke overcomes his fear and confesses to Sarojini's father. Once the shock has been absorbed Chellapa accepts him, symbolically heralding reconciliation of the East and the West and the end of the race consciousness foregrounded during colonial times. Robin White's father Emmons White seems to believe like Jatin that, "time and the generations work together with fate" (Buck 1960, 300) . In a letter to David Boroff he writes, "Rudyard Kipling wrote practically entirely from the point of view of one who knew North India from the British standpoint-when India was under British rule. E.M. Forster wrote with the motive of showing how an educated Indian-in an India still under British rule—regarded its overlords. Robin White writes about both educated and uneducated Indians—in Southern India, after India has achieved political independence from the British In other words, Kipling represents the India where "never the twain shall meet", Forster, the India where the Indian hoped that they would meet; and White, the India in which they are meeting to the extent of intermarrying" (White 1962, 1) .

Emmons White's argument seems a little flawed as racial prejudices are not confined to the past alone but remain part of life even today. Even when the novel was published, the novelist attacked his publishers for being prejudiced. A novel that a reviewer had described as, "A love story as explicit and hilarious as anything literature has seen since the gamekeeper chased Lady Chatterley out in the rain" was described by the publisher as: "A superb novel of a father, a son and India". Though this description is true, White had a point when he declared in the *San Francisco Examiner Highlight*, "this is like issuing *Lady Chatterley's Lover* as a fine novel on the English industrial revolution," adding that "whether done ignorantly or deliberately, the result is silent censorship; the real nature of the thing is effectively ignored... I refuse to

accept that literature must be subjected to arbitrary taboos as a condition of its recognition" (1961).

Thus Elizabeth and Alagarsami, Luke and Sarojini are used as symbols to signal an Indo-American rapprochement. White sees Indian-American and East-West differences not as absolute or inherent but as that which can be overcome through "dialogue" and through love, and depicts this through personal relationships, especially through his treatment of miscegenation.

From the Outsider-Insider point of view, White refuses to accept that the East and the West will never meet but through his works emphasizes the meeting ground between them. He refuses to accept any difference but of the sexes and states that other differences of religion, race etc. are imposed, not inherent. Hence an Indian girl can meet an American and marry him and vice versa as in *Elephant Hill* and *Men and Angels*. This is not a conclusion arrived at easily. White does explore the tensions involved in a cross-cultural relationship but for him "love Conquers all". Even after many years of marriage to an Indian, Joan can still long desperately for an American face, can be irritated with her husband's Indian habits yet "she can also declare she wouldn't have it any other way" (White 1961, 238). Robin White through Luke states: "East-West business... It dates to a flat-world era of social thinking. People are so damned convinced there's an edge that they'd rather die fighting than go take a look" (221). Robin White takes a look and successfully too. Thornton's favorite passage is when Paul the apostle says, "though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not love, I am becoming as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal" (I Corinthians 13, 1). Robin White also thinks that without love everything is as sounding brass. Luke understands that in search for the dead father he had used the tongue of men and angels but "Sohpanam-Soppanam....nothing is as it seems" and he since he had experienced love nothing else mattered (248). Each individual is looking for his or her Dharmaveli—a state of mind a "universal moral truth made clear" and it is Love, Love that transcends East-West, Indian-American differences (127). Love redefines Indo-American relationship as of equals, of friends, of belonging to one family of human race.

Following the Forster tradition, Robin White places the climatic scene on hills, yet his attitude is totally different. Unlike the Caves, the hills in his novels—Elephant

Hill and Nagacoil, are not places where the White character is overwhelmed and frightened. They are places that initially signify the improbability of the East-West understanding, but where the ultimate union with India takes place later. Beth and Alagarsami reach an understanding about their mutual attraction and at the same time misunderstand each other's motives. Lost in the night, they also lose their tempers and even as both families come in search of them with the police, East-West understanding seems to be in jeopardy. But the quarrel forces Alagarsami to confront his uncle and establish his independence and the fear of scandal makes the Westmores confront Alagarsami, only to realize in both cases, that reconciliation is very easy. In the end, the families, as well as Beth and Alagarsami, are united. In *Men and Angels*, Sarojini asks Luke to meet her at Nagacoil so that she could introduce her lover to him. When no lover comes there Luke confesses his jealousy. He realizes that it is him that Sarojini loves and they consummate their love. Elephant Hill looms large throughout the novel unlike Nagacoil, which is used in a much more comic way, possibly because Luke is not a total stranger to India and Sarojini. He grew up in India and he lives with Sarojini's family and therefore the difference is disproportionate compared to the gulf between Beth and Alagarsami. Whatever the gulf, the hills prove symbolic of the East-West understanding rather than of horror as in Forster's *Passage to India*. Unlike Adela, Beth is not punished for her transgression, but rewarded.

There has been negative criticism about the novels which have been characterized as having thin plots and lack of depth Rosanne Archer in the *New York Herald Tribune* comments, "the trouble is, of course, that Mr. White has been content with conventions...Shades of Forster march sturdily through book after book. But Forster probed his characters and their relationships unflinchingly and in depth Robin White does not" (1959) . In the *Sunday* dated Jan 15th 1961, G. J. Advani states,

> Many explorers, before and since Columbus, have had their eyes on gold in India and some have struck rich mines. Curiously, some of the big bounty has been in the literary field, and one who struck it rich was Robin White with his "Elephant Hill" which brought him the $10,000 Harper prize and a movie contract. Nothing succeeds like success and nothing bores like excess.... India is well pictured but is full of clichés and clinches. despite Kipling and his ghost, the twain do meet in marriage and everybody is happy—except the reader.

> Men and angels will disappoint men and make the angels weep.

Advani's criticism seems extreme but Archer's argument is partly true. White fails to probe his characters fully. Chellappa's acceptance is bewildering and Alagarsami's mother's attitude towards Beth remains unexplored. Nevertheless, the novels are very important in the Indo-American context, where very few novels deal with the issue of Indo-American relationship through miscegenation at such length and with such certitude. These novels are radically different from the dominant discourse of the times.

It can be argued that it is White's bifocal vision that enables him to articulate the fulfillment of interracial love in marriage. A generation later, the absence of serious concern about miscegenation in Stephen Alter's novels throws interesting light on the changing perceptions about miscegenation, reflecting changing relationships between India and America. For Alter the East-West difference is a non-issue. He is more concerned with personalities and their interactions rather than interaction between races. Amal and Rachel are not even aware of the so-called racial barrier. They drift into a relationship that does not last because neither Amal nor Rachel wants it to last. Amal has his life to lead in Calcutta and Rachel has her sons and husband. She chooses to remain silent about Amal and to cherish their relationship as a personal memory because she has no sense of it being a sin. Against 20 years of marriage a few days of relationship with Amal cannot matter. Amal's marriage with his English wife Bethany fails because of her lack of refinement and sensibility. She a daughter of a pub owner who cannot fit into a joint family whose members resent her presence Eventually the adventure wanes and India becomes an alien, filthy and boring place The climax comes when her mother-in-law dismisses her servant for carelessness. She leaves for London with her son never to return again. One can feel that if Amal had married someone like Rachel, who is patient, understanding, adjusting and caring, the relationship would have lasted. So here the relationships fail or become strong because of the personalities of the characters rather than because of any racial barrier Unlike *Seasons* the joint family experience is a total failure. Helen wins the affection of her family but also manages to assert her wish for living alone with her husband and child in Delhi, while Bethany, on the other hand, loses her husband.

In short, all these novels encapsulate the stories of the ways different cultures meet. They perceive India not as a timeless unchanging mythic place but as a changing world which can accommodate the Westerners more easily. This is the failure and triumph of the American novelists. They subvert Kipling and Anglo-India's myth of East-West differences as delusions, yet concentrate on Western-educated India to prove their point except for Robin White and Pearl Buck. Bruno and Oxford-educated Shonti, Rachel and Western educated Amal, Joan and American educated Zach belong to modern Indian cities. Here are no traditional Seethas of a Taylor novel or Gopas of a Garbe novel, but a modern Sarojini and Shonti. Livy and Jatin, Luke and Sarojini are different because both Livy and Luke are missionary kids who grew up in India and who at the psychological level belong to India. Even Alagarsami claims with pride that he belongs to the modern set. Thus India and America meet, only when traditions and customs are not rigidly followed, when India wears the Western garb, when the East and the West overlap and become the West.

It is intriguing that given, that these novels were written by missionaries and their children, religion does not seem to be a barrier in Indo-American relationships. Unlike in some Anglo-Indian fiction, religion is not an issue here. *The Missionary* and *Seetha* both reveal the attempts at converting the Indian women who are in love with white men. In both the cases the attempts are unsuccessful. Even after having become a Christian nun, Luxima dies with the name of Brahma on her lips. Seetha also dies a Hindu in spite of her marriage to a Christian and the efforts of Mrs Pratt to instill Christian faith in her. It is probable that in the modern period, Americans do not perceive religious differences between them and Indians as a factor for misunderstanding. Racial prejudice and the color of the skin are the barriers Racism remains an absent presence as the various novelists grapple with it and attempt to overcome it. Religion is mentioned only when the Americans like Ted and Westmore feel that they are not true Christians, when they can harbor racial prejudice and anger against Indians. This one sided picture of the situation almost entirely dismisses the Indian reaction to miscegenation.

Frankenburg claims that "the *racialness* of constructions of masculinity and femininity are apparent in this discourse, as are the construction of race difference as "real", "essential," and based on "biology" and the construction of racial and cultural

groups as entirely and appropriately separate from one another" (71). Though there is an absence of the construction of race difference as "real" and cultural groups as entirely separate, the same cannot be said for the racial constructions of masculinity and femininity. Bruno's colleagues and Ted neither deny their feelings against interracial relationships nor do they claim that the Indians and the Americans are entirely different. To do so, would have been to go against their faith that mankind belongs to one family. Yet though the novelists take an anti-racism stand, they reveal their own bias in the construction of the male and female Indian and American characters.

The character of Jatin contains elements of stereotypes of the Hindu man. He accepts Ted's decision with passive acceptance. He is resigned to his fate and when Livy accuses him of being easily discouraged and of not being bold, he has no answer. The narrator comments, "His eyes ... carried in their shadows the memory of unknown sorrows, a deep racial grief which he had inherited and now possessed as his own nature. He was always sure that the worst would happen, he would not lift a hand against fate for he could not believe in happiness and he accepted the disappointment before it fell....even love may not make him strong enough" (Buck 1960, 289-290).

Shonti and Sarojini are all sensuous Indian women who take the initiative in pursuing a relationship with the white male. They represent the stereotype of Indian women as alluring and exotic creatures. Shonti, in spite of her education, is portrayed like Natara Devi in *The Rains Came*, as a sex object and a captivating Oriental woman, and no attempt is made to probe her character at a deeper level. Sarojini is a rounded character. Like Shonti, she also is a rebel but she has a larger role to play in charting her relationship with Luke. Beth at thirty five feels lonely and in need of a husband She has had only unsuccessful relationships with men. Thus, in the novels, the Indian women are portrayed as "sexually radical" and the white woman as "sexually unsuccessful" (Frankenburg, 77). Livy belongs to a category of her own as she is a product of two cultures. In her case, it is clear that she will later marry an American, for Jatin is only an interlude in her life. Even while traveling back in the ship her broken heart begins to mend.

Rajeshwari Sunder Rajan states that, "For Forster, it is the female *sensibility* (here Mrs Moore's) which has the best chance of developing interpersonal relations in the colonial situation; but because of female *sexuality* (Adela Quested's) these relations can be jeopardized" (1993, 72) . To Forster, and one may add to Anglo-Indian writing in general, this may be so. However in American missionary fiction, female sensibility and sexuality are not seen as different traits and female sexuality is seen as strengthening the bonds between the woman and the man. After Livy's relationship with Jatin, the Indians in Vhai claim her as their own. Shonti's nationalist friends trust Bruno, and Sarojini's family accepts Luke as their son. Thus, Livy, Shonti and Sarojini help in developing interpersonal relations between Indians and Americans.

Missionary fiction set in India attempts to challenge the East-West binaries and racial prejudices even as it reveals the popular discourse against interracial marriages and certain attitudes towards India. The disapproval of Shonti by missionaries is apparently because of her fondness for drinking and her explosive personality, yet the description about her and the attitudes of Americans towards Indians, makes it clear that being a brown woman she can never be a suitable partner for an American Professor. Bruno, who accepts Indians as they are, is an exception, but the dividing lines are clear. Bruno can cross it, can have an affair, but cannot make it public or see a future for their relationship, because the Mission College will never accept it.

Buck is more explicit about the racial feelings inherent in the American psyche. Of Livy she writes that she is "...an Indian, for it is not only blood that makes the human being but the air breathed, the water drunk, the food eaten, the sounds heard, the language spoken and those with whom communication is made most deeply, and for her these were all Indian" (Buck , 277) . Yet Livy who has never seen America, whose home is in an Indian village, who dresses like Indians and speaks in an Indian language is not allowed to marry an Indian. Her mother, who was also as much an Indian woman, says she cannot see Livy married to Jatin for he has no drop of white blood in him. Ruthie realizes that, "she was still a white woman and she could not see her daughter dragged down into the mass of the dark people. Jatin himself could not prevent it and Livy could not lift Jatin up. She... could not help sinking" (278) . This comment also reveals that the white race is held as superior to the brown race.

Thus in both these novels, even as the novelists try to attack the race consciousness of Americans, they are trapped in stereotypical representation of India as "feminine" and the West as "masculine". Robin White tries to overcome stereotypes by reversing them and revealing the Indian interest in maintaining racial purity. He shows that from the Indian side the hierarchy of cultural groups is reversed. It is Bhima Kumaran and Alagarsami's mother who refuse to accept the possibility of a relationship between the two races. Bhima can understand friendship but refuses to accept love; Alagarsami's mother refuses to accept friendship also. Though in both the novels of Robin White, there is acceptance in the end, it cannot be construed as an acceptance free of future pitfalls. Muthu is, in Beth's eyes, symbolic of the East-West friendship, but it is also clear that once in America he may not belong there because of his skin color. Thus the children who belong to both races are seen as problems. Livy is a third culture kid and Ruthie attributes this fact to her 'transgression'. In Alter's novel miscegenation is not a success but this is attributed to the more 'modern' reason of social differences.

More optimistic than the Anglo-Indian novels in their conclusions, American missionary novels also see miscegenation as a positive relationship. In the context of Anglo-Indian fiction miscegenation parallels the ruler-ruled relationship and thus as Brantlinger states it, "parallels the decay of adventure and imperial domination generally" and " [reveals] the white man [as] losing his grip racially as well as politically" (1988, 42) . In American missionary fiction this is not so. Even though at times the social status quo is preserved with the separation of the lovers, at other times the lovers are not separated. In both cases, miscegenation is not seen as "going native" but "growing in Christ". But Robin White displaces hierarchized binary oppositions and provides us with a radical vision without introducing even the "growing in Christ" theory. Yet there is a world within and a world without, the narrator's radical vision and the society's vision and the tension and opposed view of both also intrude on the optimism of American missionary fiction. Mainstream America remains largely disapproving.

Thus an examination of these novels reveal a variety of responses towards miscegenation and towards India. The novels contain Frankenberg's seven elements but they also challenge them and while they have stereotypical representation of India,

the characters in the novels also subvert them. The novels repeat and reject in varying ways, the Orientalist assumptions of racial differences and the East-West dichotomy. They also show a distinction between the responses of different generations to the issue of interracial marriage. Robin White and Stephen Alter are themselves third culture kids, and their perceptions are different from Max Wylie and Pearl Buck. But what is significant is that all the novelists resist the clichéd certainties of Anglo-India. They go beyond a belief in the East-West and White-Brown oppositions and try to project race as not the only determining factor in interracial relationships. Through personal relationships between Indians and Americans, they explore the theme of racial conflict and move towards a greater accommodation and friendship between the two nations. They also try to imply that, "American White...was not quite the same as English White" (Buck , 276) . They go beyond essentialism towards a rapprochement of culture through an engagement with the theme of miscegenation.

NOTES

[1] Frankenburg gives a brief history and maps the discourse against interracial relationships in her chapter "Race, Sex, Intimacy I: Mapping a Discourse" (1993, 71-101).

[2]For details of the case and the laws refer to Pascoe 1996.

[3] For more details refer to Bhupal Singh's chapter on "Novels of Mixed Marriages and Eurasian Life" (1934, 165-179).

[4] I am indebted to Krishna Nand Joshi for the synopsis of the novel in *The West Looks at India* (1969).

[5] In *The Hidden Flower* (1952) a Japanese girl and an American soldier fall in love and marry in Japan. Their marriage breaks up in America as law of the state of Virginia does not permit them to marry, and the burden of social and familial rejection preys too much on their life.

[6] Boston University's Special Collections Library has Robin White's unpublished and published works along with a file on the various reviews of his novels in Indian, American and German newspapers.

[7] See *Philadelphia Inquirer* May 30th 1959 and *San Francisco Examiner* May 12th 1959 for more details.

Conclusion

The perform'd America and Europe grow dim, retiring in
shadow behind me,
The unperform'd, more gigantic than ever, advance, advance
upon me.

Walt Whitman

I had asked questions of novels, and those who question works of art do not get answers; what they get is their own questions returned to them more precisely phrased.

Richard Cronin

Works are...not autonomous systems, "organic wholes," but intertextual constructs: sequences which have meaning in relation to other texts which they take up, cite, parody, refute, or generally transform. A text can only be read in relation to other texts, and it is made possible by the codes which animate the discursive space of a culture.

Jonathan Culler

Individual fictions are but fragments of the 'collective fiction'(Rushdie's expression) that is India. Just as at any point of time there are many trajectories/tropes in history so also there are often confluent and persisting representation of India at any given point. The responses to India cannot be encapsulated into a monolithic idea No attempt has been made in the earlier chapters to use methodological pressure to obliterate differences in perception or to fashion the responses into a linear narrative These representation cannot be explained as a linear progress of attitudes Dr. Fry in post-independent India and Stan in British India, Heston's Frida and Alter's nurse share similar images of India. Hence each chapter focuses on the subversive voices that question the dominant representation simultaneously elucidating the dominant representation. An attempt has been made to foreclose any construction of a coherent unified tradition or even a unified text.

In Sandra Harding's view, "Coherent theories in an obvious incoherent world are either silly and uninteresting or oppressive and problematic, depending on the degree of hegemony they manage to achieve. Coherent theories in an *apparently* coherent world are even more dangerous, for the world is always more complex than such hegemonous theories can grasp" (Ware 1992, 235). The thesis accepts this view

and yet attempts to articulate a viewpoint as one cannot forever postpone at least tentative conclusions. As Rajeshwari Sunder Rajan states "for a critic it is an obligation." Using the insight of Bruce Robbins she argues that the production of solutions is a political opportunity to explore and "to fashion alternative narrative[s] and an alternative rhetoric that will work in the circumstances where we find ourselves" (Rajan 1993, 12) . Hence this chapter is an attempt to exploit the opportunity. As has been stated in the introduction, my location is important as there is no theoretically pure space from which one can critique any body of knowledge. The so called empirical response is always informed by an intuitive response. The present chapter lists some of my conclusions regarding India as represented in American missionary novels set in India using it as a tool to understand the American missionary enterprise in India and aspects of the Indo-American relationship.

Exploring the imaginative life of our nation as shown by the Americans one re-discovers stereotypes, but one cannot dismiss these stereotypes as mere simplifications. On the contrary one needs to grapple with the stereotypes to understand how India is constituted in the American mind and its implications concerning the Indo-American relationship. Homi Bhaba's analysis of the notion of the stereotype is pertinent here He states that, "the stereotype is not a simplification because it is a false representation of a given reality. It is a simplification because it is an arrested, fixated form of representation that in denying the play of difference [that the negation through the Other permits] constitutes a problem for the *representation* of the subject in signification of psychic and social relations."(1994: 75)

India in the European mind is more a psychological entity than a geographical space. The 'idea' of India has attracted the ancient Greeks as well as the modern Western individual. My concern in this thesis was to ask questions from the perspective of an Indian student aware of post-colonial, Orientalist practices to make sense of a mode of constituting India in American fiction set in India, especially American missionary fiction set in India.

Of the various elements in the Indo-American relationship--trade, consuls, missionaries, transcendentalists, Oriental scholars, Beats, tourists, Indian immigrants, and South Asian experts– the missionaries have been the chief disseminators of representation of India to the average Americans. In the post 1947 era the number of

missionaries who have come to India has drastically reduced but similar perceptions of India continue to haunt Americans. Though India's defining and differentiating features remain religion, the caste structure and villages, a notion propagated by the Indologists also, the novels also transcend these stereotypical constructs of India and their treatment of these subjects is often contradictory. A collagic and composite knowledge of India which to a large extent accepts the various stereotypes of India informs these interesting stories of human encounters. What makes these novels significant are the insights they offer of the varied nature of the American response to India. They find India confounding but also simple, they undertake the 'White Man's Burden' and they also reject the notion, they contain elements of racisms and attempt to overcome them, thus making contradiction a constant presence in the novels.

The missionary's lifework is the response to the clarion call of Jesus to "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." (Mark 16: 15) In the *Annual Report of Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of North America*, the missionary's conviction is reported thus,

> " And I heard the voice of the Lord saying, whom shall I
> send and who shall go for us?
> Then I said, here am I; send me , and He said Go."

The missionary searches for the land where the "seed" has not been sown. Like the sower of Jesus' parable they sought to sow the "word"(Mark 4: 3-32) . The missionary novels also give an explanation for the reason for foreign countries like India and China being the destination for the fulfillment of the "call". In America also, sickness, lack of Christian faith and poverty exist, but this is because the Americans have not heeded the "word" but foreigners have not heard the "word" hence the greater need of missionaries there. Thus by the very nature of their "call" they seek places that are "diseased" so that they could cure it by their Christian message. Their reiteration of the theme of a heathen religion and abominable caste system gave validation for their presence here. Thus in an examination of the novels one has to distinguish between "the call" and *the manifestations of "the call"*. The "call" may or may not have been divinely inspired but the notion of India as a place to fulfill that "call" arose out of structures of knowledge about India in the Western society that perceived it as a "mission country." The missionaries absorbed this knowledge and also were the instruments for spreading this knowledge. Thus it is important to distinguish

between religious 'faith' and religious institutions that were informed by the then prevalent structures of knowledge about India and propagated it.

The missionary lecturing in Churches and public halls to raise funds for Mission work emphasized the darker aspects of India. India as a land of famine, oppressed women, diseases and poverty stirred the souls of Americans into offering their service as well as money. The request for help came from Indians also. The novels mention Pandita Ramabai. Americans continue to fund many of the Non-Governmental organizations, educational institutions supported by Missions etc. As long as this unequal relationship exists one wonders how the stereotypes of India will be dispelled.

The Rughs's relationship with Mahoun and the missionary couple with Anand in Runbeck's *The Year of Love* (1956) hint at what is wrong with the American approach. Mrs. Rugh insists on conditions before she permits Mahoun to marry Jaya, conditions which target Mahoun's pride. The missionary couple hit at Anand's national pride when they accuse him of ingratitude and call his people "poor ignorant fellows". They cannot understand that he refuses to accept the job and the increased salary they offer because he values his people and needs to help them and sees no sense in distributing leaflets when the villagers are illiterate. As long as help is offered with unpalatable strings attached, with mistaken notions of what is needed, so long shall the conflict between the helper and the helped remain.

It is also curious that Americans who came as missionaries to India did not come from the upper echelons of American society but once in India they enjoyed recognition and their mode of life situated them in a position of a "ma-baap" figure. Though they suffered numerous privations they remained superior to the natives in social status though inferior to the British rulers. They did their work in remote villages and among the outcasts of Indian society and awakened the Indians to the injustices of their society. But for every Smiley there were hundreds of Simons and even the Smileys helped in displacing native culture in certain areas. Christ came largely packaged in Western garb and Indian Christians were confined within compounds distanced from their Hindu and Muslim neighbors. The novels do not present complimentary pictures of the Indian Christian community but on the contrary attack them for not imbibing the true spirit of Christ. Ted feels that the life outside the compound wall is much more meaningful and chooses to live in a village. Gideon who

changes his name to Gautam feels stifled in the Compound and leaves it behind him as he loses himself in the India outside his Compound He who is more of a true Christian in spirit than many of the gossip mongering inhabitants of the Compound decides to build his life outside the narrow Christian community. Yet I must strike a cautious note here. Cultural loss is not unique to India but is a global phenomenon and Christian missionaries alone cannot be held responsible for it. Market forces also play an important role in this process. The process may have begun with the missionaries in the nineteenth century but the process continues because of other agencies now.

The significance of the American missionary novels lies in the fact that many of them also question the notion of Western Christianity. Davida's "mad" friend in *Daughters of India*, Jehar the Indian sadhu of *Come My Beloved*, "Poppu" of *House of Many Rooms* reflect the notion of the Indian Christ Like Stanley Jones, they advocate the propagation of an Oriental Christ in keeping with the traditions of the country. Their influence on the American missionaries provides an insight into India's contribution to the notion of Christian love. Hinduism also offers challenges to the smug certainties of some of the American missionaries. Frida's attitude differs from the attitudes of Ted and Bill, who make their homes in villages As Bill claims, "we have lost a lot of our smugness We have discovered that this business of truth is a matter of sharing, not giving" (D. Wilson 1952, 17) . He tells Roshan that they will learn from the Indians. Though this is never fully explored it is clear that the experiences of missionaries in India created a shift from the spirit of condemnation and denunciation of the heathen Other to a spirit of understanding and accommodation and acceptance of the spiritual reserves of the natives Ted reads from the Hindu and Muslim religious texts and weaves the evening messages "in some way to lead toward God, who was One, however worshipped and by whom" (Buck 1960, 259) . In his village Jesus stands next to Ganesha in the temple. This spirit of ecumenical Christianity was partly a response to the realization that not all Indians were heathens because they have other Gods. Ted and others discover that virtues like piety, honesty, loving kindness could be found among the ignorant natives and that the "word' could not be preached while sickness, illiteracy and poverty were ignored.

Thus there is a shift in emphasis from the spiritual side of the Mission to the social purpose of the Mission This is clearly articulated in Louis Bromfield's *The Rains Came*. The Simons and Smiley's are the two sides of the American Missions and most of the novels question the role of the missionaries like the Simons in India Frida shifts from the position of the Smileys towards the position of the Simons, Mann balances both as the American ideal, Bruno, David, Ted and others hold the position of the Smileys. It is the missionaries who undertook the job of the Simons who returned to America with carbuncles in their brains and who were utterly disillusioned with their Mission. It is Mann, Stan, Bill and Fisher who are the survivors. From an evangelistic to a holistic doctrine, the novels reflect the changing functions of Missions. Education and health services were always part of Mission work but as secondary means of spreading the 'word'. Later it became the part of the Mission enterprise to administer to the whole person. The Social Gospel movement and challenges in the Mission field were reasons behind these changes.

But even as the functioning of Missions changed in emphasis, the India that emerged in these novels remained largely confined to village India and explained India in terms of religion and caste. The representation of India in terms of superstitious religion and caste structure which cast men as untouchables provided a self-righteous motive for missionary intervention

The Indian woman also remains a constant figure in these novels She, in contrast to the single missionary or missionary wife, was shown as oppressed The sight of Bill's wife sharing her husband's work and showing her love for him, stirs Anand to a realization of what his marriage lacked He realizes that his wife was oppressed by him because he had not seen her as a companion but only as a body to slake his sexual hunger. Soni's husband after exposure to the Mission realizes that he should open the windows of her mind and lead her to freedom But even as the American women were held up as a contrast to the Indian women, they themselves were equally victims of gender bias Interestingly the novels also dispel the stereotype of Indian women as the victim of social and religious oppression. Margaret Wilson's novels penetrate into the zenana to show women who are very different from Mayo's helpless victims. Naz, Shonti, Sarojini and Renuka show the other side of the picture They are not oppressed victims but strong women who make their own decisions. The

"endless procession of the child widows" of the missionary tracts is not stressed upon in the novels Women of all types, widows and married women, educated and uneducated, Hindu, Muslim and Christian etc., find a place in these novels

Significantly the role of American women in the Mission enterprise in uplifting Indian women combined two discourses. They inherited the colonial baggage of their male counterpart even as they tried to bond with the Indian women, excluding the male figure. Female bonding at times proved superior to East-West differences and identification with the White race. Margaret Wilson's novel ends with Davida and other Indian women enjoying complete harmony away from the white male figure who can never achieve a similar bond with Indian men because of his consciousness of racial superiority.

The theme of East-West dichotomy is explored at greater length through the man-woman relationship. Miscegenation becomes a device to explore the nuances of the East-West dichotomy. Missionaries, in spite of their message of brotherly love that transcends race, class and religion, yet fail to accept interracial sexual relationships Yet in all the American novels this is considered a failure on their part Bruno mocks the missionaries when they question him about his relationship with Shonti just as Ted is disturbed about his decision to separate Livy from Jatin Robin White arguing vociferously against Kipling's "East is East, West is West and the twain shall never meet" allows the union to take place Beth is reconciled to Alagarsami and there is a clear indication that Sarojini and Luke will marry.

Whatever their response to India, the novels also assert an American identity independent of the British. Every effort is made to mock the British or question their role in India David and a few others can see the beneficial effects of the empire yet even David understands the spirit of nationalism that kindles his friend Darya to join Gandhi.

The novels attempt to capture India not as merely the Other but also the place where the American Self attains an identity distinct from that of the British . David and his generation might value the British Empire but Ted and Bruno are both accused of not understanding the British point of view and the tones of the novelists are to a large extent anti-British as the protagonists assert that Indians like any other race deserve freedom. The Mission as an institution had to follow British rules in pre-

independent India and emphasis was laid on maintaining proper relations with them but the novels distinguish the individual's response from the institutional response.

There is a hint of American snobbery that operated in favor of the British as in the case of the Simons, but at other times, the missionaries like the Smileys are sympathetic to the native case though most of the time missionaries like Bruno, Ted and Fry want to continue with their work using whatever support they can get. The novelists create many different kinds of missionaries in their novels. Davida, Bruno, Smiley, David, Mr. Fisher, and Thornton Baber stand out as individuals whose opinions and attitudes clash with their Mission responses. The Mission is just a faceless institution that dictates their conduct or is represented through characters like Ramsey, Papps, Simon, Fordham and others. Even the Simons do not like the Mission dictating their conduct, paying less money but demanding a large number of converts The Simons also share the American love of freedom of the individual with Mann, Bill and Ted who are pioneers striking out into unexplored frontiers like their American ancestors.

Prior to their visit to India, Sylvia and others imagine India as a land of heathens, a land of Arabian Nights and as a land of the strange Other which need to be redeemed through the Christian gospel. Later they perceive India as a land which has a strong religious spirit, yet is burdened with superstitions, disease, poverty which could be removed by practical Christianity, a land that needed help but had great potential, and a land that might need Christ but not necessarily Western Christianity.

Though the thesis attempts to recover the lost voices of the rebel figures, neglect of the element of racism in the majority response to India would but detract from a holistic approach to the novels. The novels are silent on the issue of race but as Pascoe points out, "deliberate nonrecognition of race erodes the ability to recognize and name racism" (1996, 68) . Given that missionaries also inhabited a universe of discourses on race, on Americanness/Whiteness, on racial Others, each novel reflects their coexistence in uneven and complex ways. They worked within certain parmeters, their ideas/images originated from the European/Orientalist lexicon. Repeated references to Kipling, Flora Annie Steele, Southey, Moore etc., bear witness to this fact. Frida, Mrs. Rugh, the missionary wives in *Godchild* were part of the majority

discourse Their responses to India and Indians reveal a firm belief in the superiority of the White race India is never perceived through a non-western gaze and except in Alter, the dominant voices of Indian characters are filtered through Anglo-European lens.

Interestingly the novels with missionary children as characters and Alter's *Godchild* where an Indian child Tricia grows up in America, expound the culturalist viewpoint of race wherein human history and human difference could be best explained by culture. Tricia is a stranger in India and has nothing in common with her countrymen and decides to return to her life in America. Clare in *House of Many Rooms* though an American by birth, is more an Indian than an American and dreads going back to America. Tricia, Clare and others like them reveal not the biological influence on the formation of personality but rather "the powerful influence of the cultural environment in which the group lives" (qtd. in Pascoe, 54) The missionary children are intercultural individuals occupying the psychological interzone between India and America.

The rebel missionaries and the missionary children inhabit, to borrow Homi Bhaba's phrase, the "in-between" space Yet the dominant American attitudes towards India remained marginal. If India was a land of spiritual wisdom for the transcendentalist, for the missionary, India was the land of the "benighted Hindu" where their works could strengthen the failing faith of modern America India remained important not in itself but only in terms of a critique or a support for the American Self. India in Western discourse remains very marginal in the American context It is seen as a 'different set' But the rebel missionaries can and did make a difference.

In the post independence scenario, cold war, NPT and CTBT, have replaced other concerns. The number of missionaries has considerably dwindled but the momentum of the Indo-American encounter has increased As Glazer points out, working against these negative images are two major Indian "exports" "First is the export of highly motivated, often well-trained, hardworking immigrants, many in technical and professional areas.. The second area of successful export is culture Americans know much more about Indian music, dance, painting, sculpture, and crafts than they did 20 years ago, and the impact is positive" (Glazer 1990, 17-18) . The

Indian immigrants-- doctors, computer scientists, students and others from the educated elite of India, may have some impact in the creation of a more favorable image of India. Yet this seems extremely doubtful as most of them go to America in pursuit of the American dream and are either intent on assimilation with American culture or form their own exclusive communities where not many Americans are invited. The children of the immigrants are concerned in searching for their roots, but even here Indian culture seems to denote dandiya ras, ethnic dresses, Indian cuisine and so on.

One reason why America remains more interested in Europe is the common history she shares with Europe. It is possible that as the number of Indian immigrants increase, they may play a more important link between India and America and help in building respect for India. Yet this facile picture of a happier future is also denied. Tricia alone in a missionary novel like *Godchild* can find a place for herself in America. It is doubtful that Mamta as Mamta would find understanding and acceptance there.

Some American missionary fiction set in India constitutes India using stereotypes yet also goes beyond it It highlights the theme of female bonding that transcends racial differences and of miscegenation that transcends the East-West dichotomy. It emphasizes the subversive voices that question the essentialist view of India. Against the representation that are simplistic, stereotypical, and racist, one also finds complex representation that are largely grounded in subjective experiences There are implicit presuppositions in this discourse about India, a residue of the European Orientalists perceptions of India but the quintessential American character also shapes the encounter At this juncture it is important to state that though missionary novels which are not mere propaganda tracts largely question the assumptions of a majority of Americans as well as Mission institutions, they are but minority voices. America to a large extent remains ignorant of India and draws its idea of India from Oriental stereotypes as shown in the novels themselves The characters hold an important position in the narratorial schema because they stand out as different from other Americans. They are rebel figures who resist the Orientalist mantle and strive for cultural rapprochement. Where "Orientalism failed to identify with human experiences, failed also to see it as human experience" (Said 1978 328), the American

missionary novels set in India overcome this failure thereby establishing a possibility of a better Indo-American relationship.

The voyage of exploration is far from over even after this conclusion. This preliminary study of American missionary fiction set in India leads one to various further voyages of exploration How are these novels different from Anglo-Indian missionary fiction? How do the Indian writers respond to the missionary enterprise in their novels? Do they display similar features with American fiction? If so, why? If not, why not? How do the third culture kid respond to India in their life as well as works? How does the American image of India compare with the British and other European images? Is there a difference between the rhetoric of missionaries to raise funds in America and what they actually thought and said? Why? How did denominational rivalries reflect in approaches to India in non-fictional texts? How does the reverse missionary venture (Hindu cults in America) compare with the American missionary venture in India as reflected in fiction? How does the American missionary venture in India compare with the American missionary venture in China? These queries are numerous and answers to them could lead to an understanding of the Indo-American encounter which is truly deep and profound.

Appendix I

India in Hollywood

Apart from the interpretation of India by writers another factor that contributed towards image-making of India in American minds was the movies. In fact some of the movies were based on the American novels set in India. The representation of India in Hollywood can be an area of further research. I am indebted to R. H. Schramm and R. K. Gupta for the information in this section. The Course on South Asia in Hollywood offered by David Nelson at the University of Pennsylvania also was extremely helpful in formulating this section. This section seeks to give a brief introduction to a potential mine for future researchers.

The earliest American films on India were newsreels or travelogues. In 1902 Thomas A.Edison showed a documentary reel on India titled *Hindoo Fakir* that showed India as a land of fakirs and maharajahs. Universal pictures produced one of the earliest feature films with Hindu characters in 1915 called *The Bombay Buddha*. In the 1930s the movie *Elephant-Boy* featured a young Indian Samboo who had been recruited from an elephant trainee's family in Mysore. *The Soul of Buddha* (Fox, 1918) was the story of a Hindu dancer who is killed by the high priest for marrying an Englishman. A number of films like *Oriental Mystic* (1909), *Stronger than Death* (1920), *The Green Goddess* (1923, 1929), *The Wheel of Life* (1929), *The Black Watch* (1929), *Son of India* (1931 adaptation of the novel *Mr. Isaacs*) and *The Razor's Edge* (1946 based on Maugham's novel) showed India as a mystic land Though there is little mysticism in *The Rains Came* (1939) the film critic Harrison Caroll still chose to compliment the director for capturing "the mysticism of India, the feel of a strange land" (Gupta, 176).

Some other movies like *The Wheel of Life*, *The Lives of Bengal Lancer* (1935), *The Charge of the Light Brigade* and movies on Kiplings' works—*Wee Willie Winkee* (1937), *Gunga Din* (1939) and *Kim* (1950) glorified the British and were Kiplingesque in their portrayal of India. Movies like *Man-Eater of Kumgoor* (1948), *Son of India* (1949), *The Jungle* (1952) and *Eyes of the Jungle* highlighted the jungle life in India.

When India emerged as a free nation, attitudes shifted and documentaries like *Asia's New Voice* (1949) and movies like *The Diamond Queen* (1953), *King of the Khyber Pass* (1954), *The Bengal Brigade* (1954), *Siddhartha*, *Nine hours to Rama*

showed genuine interest and a more accurate presentation of India British movies like *The Passage to India* and *Gandhi* also had a considerable impact on the US.

The voyage of exploration is far from over. As long as India and America continue to have a relationship, it remains important to constantly reevaluate the images each have of the other.

Appendix II

MISSIONARIES AND NOVELISTS

Spouse of first missionary to India, Mary E. Wire Ramsey, lived and died in Bombay, 1831-1834.

What Difference Did They Make?

Photograph taken from Glendora B. Paul. Concern, Vol. 27: 3 (March 1985)

FIRST GENERATION MISSIONARIES

XXV [illegible] no. 1

(F)

*MISS VIOLET SCOTT

Was born in India and is the daughter of our missionaries, Rev. and Mrs. Scott. She graduated from Westminster college and has taught for two years. India naturally claims Miss Scott.

*MISS NELLIE CATHERINE SMITH.

Miss Smith was born in Pennsylvania. She graduated [illegible] Grove City College, Pa. and [illegible] school with much success [illegible] since. She has gone to Egypt.

DOCTOR ALICE E. JOHNSTON.

Dr. Alice E. Johnston will go on a short term to Tanta, Egypt, to assist Dr. Anna Boggs Watson. Sailed with Miss Carrie Buchanan July 24th, 1911.

DOCTOR WINIFRED HESTON.

Doctor Winifred Heston sailed for India December, 1910. [illegible] in charge of the Hospital at Jhansi, India.

OUR NEW MISSIONARIES.

* Sailed for their separate mission fields fall of 1911.

from Women's Missionary Magazine of the United Presbyterian Church Vol. 25, no:

ROBIN WHITE IN THE TEMPLE CITY OF MADURAI ("MISH KID")

MR. NATARAJAN (ROBIN WHITE'S FRIEND) ON TOP OF THE "ELEPHANT HILL".

STEPHEN ALTER AT HIS OFFICE (MIT, BOSTON)
("MISH KID")

Appendix III

The Revolt of Sundaramma

By
MAUDE JOHNSON ELMORE

Illustrations by
GERTRUDE H. B. HOOKER

"The woman's cause is man's: they rise or sink
Together, dwarfed or Godlike, bond or free."

"Small souls enquire, 'Belongs this man
To our own race or class or clan?'
But larger-hearted men embrace
As brothers all the human race."

CHAPTER I

Page.	*Note.*	*Description.*
12 . . 118	1 . .	Koka, name of the Hindu woman's dress, usually eight yards of cotton or silk cloth, plaited in the belt to form the skirt, leaving two or three yards to drape over the left shoulder.
13 . .	2 .	Marriage laws of the Hindus, according to Abbe J. D. DuBois, p. 21: "An uncle may marry the daughter of his sister, but in no case may he marry the daughter of his brother. A brother's children may marry a sister's children, but the children of two brothers or of two sisters may not intermarry. Among descendents from the same stock the male line always has the right of contracting marriage with the female line; but the children of the same line may never intermarry. The reason given for this custom is that children of the male line, as also those of the female line, continue from generation to generation to call themselves brothers and sisters for as long a time as it is publicly recognized that they spring from the same stock. . . . Thus a man can, and even must, marry the daughter of his sister, but never the daughter of his brother. . . . This rule is universally and invariably observed by all castes, from the Brahman to the Pariah."
13 . .	3 .	Infant marriages. DuBois, Chap. VI, p. 215: "The opinion is firmly established throughout the whole of India, that women were only cre-

Appendix IV

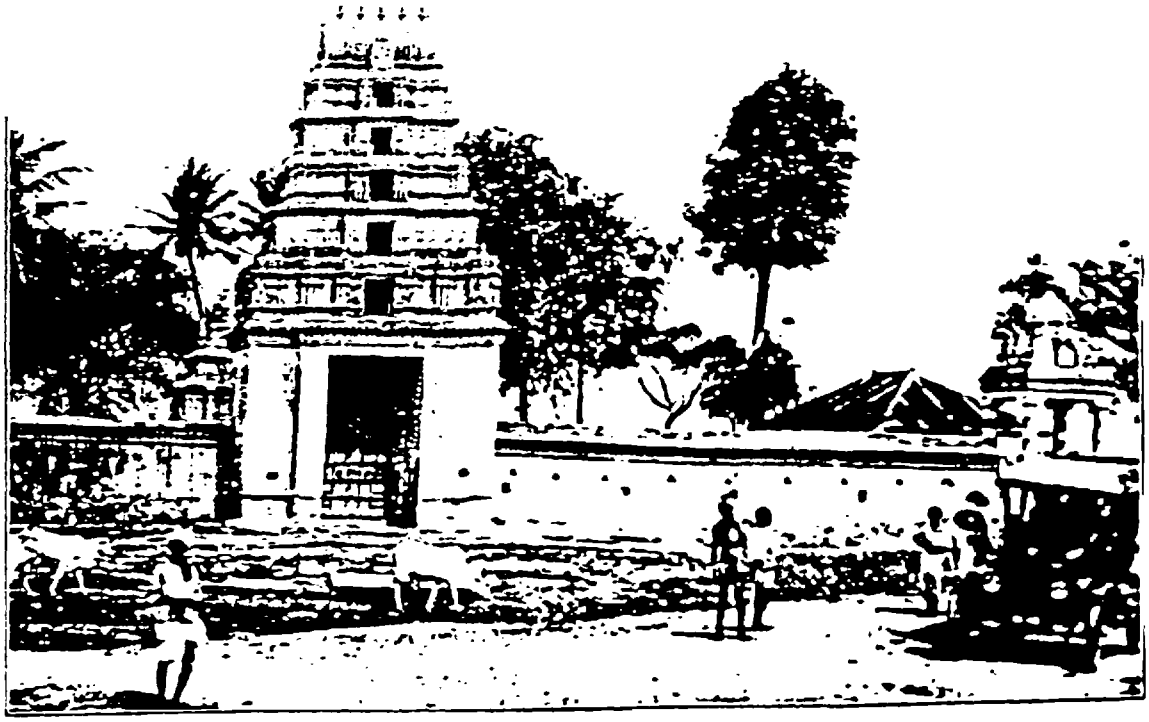
Images Of India

From Melvin Casberg's Death Stalks the Punjab

SEND IN YOUR SHORT STORIES (300 WORDS OR MORE) **TO:**

★ **The Digest Writers' Contest!** ★

FROM ARCHIE COMICS



Seen on many a South Indian road a few years ago

From Pearl Dorr Longley's

The Rebirth of Venkata Reddi

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