Third-Stream Orientalism: J. N. Farquhar, the Indian YMCA's Literature Department, and the Representation of South Asian Cultures and Religions (ca. 1910–1940)

Journal Article**Author(s):**

Fischer-Tiné, Harald

Publication date:

2020-08

Permanent link:

<https://doi.org/10.3929/ethz-b-000397078>

Rights / license:

[In Copyright - Non-Commercial Use Permitted](#)

Originally published in:

The Journal of Asian Studies 79(3), <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0021911819001876>

Third-Stream Orientalism: J. N. Farquhar, the Indian YMCA's Literature Department, and the Representation of South Asian Cultures and Religions (ca. 1910–1940)

HARALD FISCHER-TINÉ

This article reconstructs the history of the Indian YMCA's Orientalist knowledge production in an attempt to capture a significant, if forgotten, transitional moment in the production and dissemination of scholarship on the religions and cultures of the Indian subcontinent. The YMCA's three Orientalist book series examined here flourished from the 1910s to the 1930s and represent a kind of third-stream approach to the study of South Asia. Inspired by the Christian fulfillment theory, "Y Orientalism" was at pains to differentiate itself from older polemical missionary writings. It also distanced itself from the popular "spiritual Orientalism" advocated by the Theosophical Society and from the philologically inclined "academic Orientalism" pursued in the Sanskrit departments of Western universities. The interest of the series' authors in the region's present and the multifarious facets of its "little traditions," living languages, arts, and cultures, as well as their privileging of knowledge that was generated "in the field" rather than in distant Western libraries, was unusual. Arguably, it anticipated important elements of the "area studies" approach to the Indian subcontinent that became dominant in Anglophone academia after the Second World War.

Keywords: book history, Christian missionaries, colonialism, comparative religious studies, India, media history, Orientalism, South Asia, South Asian studies, YMCA

INTRODUCTION

IN 1932, A COMMITTEE of inquiry assembled by the International Bureau of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in New York toured British India, Burma, and Ceylon. Its aim was to produce an exhaustive survey of the accomplishments of the Indian branch of the YMCA and to assess whether the money pumped into its projects, largely from American donors, was well invested. The committee's final report lauded one division of the Indian Y in particularly enthusiastic terms: the Department of Literature and Publication, established only two decades before. "Seldom," the authors rejoiced, "has the characteristic YMCA policy of giving free rein to strong men been more thoroughly justified than in the case of this department." Especially the department's initiation of several book series on Indian cultures and religions, they were convinced, would

Harald Fischer-Tiné (harald.fischertine@gess.ethz.ch) is Professor in the Institute of History at ETH Zurich.

“long be remembered as an outstanding event in the religious development of India” (Holt, Kuruvilla, and Becknell 1933, 143).

Obviously, they were wrong. Whereas the contributions of the Indian YMCA and YWCA to various social reform and modernization projects in late colonial India have recently garnered some scholarly attention (Basu 2016; N. Chatterjee 2011; Fischer-Tiné 2018, 2019; Phoenix 2014), the Association’s highly original contribution to the scholarly representation and interpretation of South Asian cultural and religious traditions, which yielded several dozen book publications during the interwar period, has fallen into oblivion. This is all the more regrettable, as it was apparently unique within the YMCA activities in Asia. Whereas the Association’s secular programs in South Asia, most prominently its sports and physical education schemes, as well as its vocational training programs and “rural reconstruction” initiatives, were fairly similar to the ones implemented in, say, China, Japan, Korea, or the Philippines (Fischer-Tiné, Huebner, and Tyrell, *forthcoming*), the systematic attempt to produce and disseminate knowledge about the religions and cultures prevailing in its “mission field” undertaken in the ambitious Orientalist book series of the Indian YMCA’s Literature Department has no match in these other countries. In China and Japan, for instance, lecture and literature departments remained for the most part concerned with imparting allegedly superior “Western knowledge”—as well as knowledge about the West—to Asians (see, e.g., Davidann 1998, 38; Heavens 2014, 66–67).¹

In what follows, I will reconstruct the history of the Indian Y’s Orientalist knowledge production in an attempt to capture a significant transitional moment in the production and dissemination of knowledge on the cultures of the Indian subcontinent. The Y’s Orientalist book production deserves a reappraisal as a distinctive and in some ways groundbreaking approach to the academic engagement with and representation of non-Western religions. I argue that the fifty-odd monographs that came out before the series were eventually discontinued in the early 1940s can be understood as a kind of third-stream approach to the study of South Asia and its religions. As the third stream, “Y Orientalism” was at pains to differentiate itself from the philologically inclined “academic Orientalism” pursued in the Sanskrit departments of Western universities, as well as from the popular second stream of “spiritual Orientalism” advocated by the Theosophical Society and comparable esoteric bodies (Vidal 1997). On the one hand, the (mostly amateur) scholars contributing to the series took great pains to adhere to the quality standards set by professional Indologists and Sanskritists; on the other hand, they were dissatisfied with both the elitist bias and the thematic and disciplinary limitations of academic Orientalism and tried to push the boundaries of the discipline accordingly. They did so by focusing predominantly on various aspects of lived religion, popular culture, and the vernacular literatures of South Asia rather than basing their representation on “the finality and

¹That being said, it should be mentioned that the acquisition of “Oriental” languages and familiarity with local customs and religions were of course crucial prerequisites of the Y’s work in other Asian countries as well. There are several examples of individuals who used the language skills and regional expertise acquired as Y secretaries later for an academic career. Thus, for instance, YMCA functionary Kenneth Scott Latourette (1884–1968), who had spent three years in China shortly before the First World War, later became a professor at Yale and an influential historian of East Asia (Kutcher 1993).

closure of antiquarian and curatorial knowledge” that Edward Said (1987, 106) identified some time ago as the hallmark of academic Orientalism (King 1999). One could even argue that, in strange ways, their interest in the region’s present and the multifarious facets of its “little traditions” (that is, its popular religious beliefs and practices, arts, and cultures), as well as their privileging of knowledge that was generated “in the field”—in South Asia itself—anticipated important elements of the “area studies” approach to the Indian subcontinent that became dominant in Anglophone academia after the Second World War. Due to space constraints, it is not possible to fully develop this argument in the present article, but there are clear indications that the questions of missionary entanglements and precursors to the area studies approach deserve more scholarly attention.

Sanskrit professors and Theosophists were not the only foils to Y Orientalism. At the same time, most authors in the series were liberal Protestants, highly critical vis-à-vis the older polemical Christian missionary literature on South Asian religions. While clearly marking their positionality as Christians, they tried concurrently to popularize a more tolerant, dialogue-oriented tone in missionary writings on non-Christian religions. Y Orientalists hence saw themselves—and were often publicly perceived—as “able and sympathetic interpreters of the spirit of India” (*Aberdeen Press and Journal* 1929). As we shall see, however, in spite of the fact that the Y’s “third-stream Orientalism” does not conform to the idea of an easy bedfellowship between Oriental studies and colonialism, the Indian YMCA’s contribution to South Asian studies remained a rather ambivalent enterprise and such acclamatory labels are problematic.

The next section of this article situates Y Orientalism in the wider history of scholarly publications on South Asian cultures and religions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. After introducing the Scottish missionary and Sanskritist John Nicol Farquhar (1861–1929), who masterminded the project, it sketches out the evolution of the three major book series launched by the Indian Y’s Literature Department in the 1910s and 1920s and scrutinizes their reception by contemporaries. The third and final part briefly discusses some of the more influential studies and points to the considerable tensions existing between the YMCA authors’ rhetoric of promoting interreligious tolerance and dialogue on the one hand and the persistence of racial and cultural prejudices and hierarchies on the other.

THE CRISIS OF PROSELYTISM AND THE “SCIENCE OF RELIGION”:

FARQUHAR’S FULFILLMENT THEORY AND THE YMCA’S PUBLICATION SCHEME

The political turmoil and the rise of anticolonial nationalism in the wake of the nationalist Swadeshi movement during the years 1905–8 led to severe difficulties for YMCA secretaries (and Christian missionaries more generally) who had to face the increasingly militant—and sometimes outright violent—resistance of South Asians vis-à-vis their aggressive “open air” or “bazaar” preaching (David 1992, 147). Particularly discomfiting for the YMCA’s ambition to “evangelize” (Mott 1900) India in the near future was the work of various Hindu reform organizations such as the Arya Samaj and the Brahmo Samaj, which had strategically borrowed the most effective elements from their Christian adversaries’ techniques in order to revitalize Hinduism and check the missionary influence (Fischer-Tiné 2013; Hatcher 2013; K. Jones 1989). As in

many other places around the globe where the Association was present—including countries such as China and Uruguay—the Y template was soon copied by local groups with different religious or ideological agendas. All over South Asia, Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim, Sikh, and Jain reformers established their own Young Men's Associations to diminish the attraction of the Christian YMCA (Farquhar 1915, 80, 125, 278, 329, 343, 444). In India, the Hindu revivalist Arya Samajis even founded a “Vedic Salvation Army” and developed *śuddhi*, a novel ritual of purification (Farquhar 1915, 127; Fischer-Tiné 2000; Ghai 1990; Vandevelde 2011) with a view to “reclaim” Hindu converts to Christianity who wanted to return to their old religion. All of this caused deep concerns in missionary circles (Thompson 1901).

It was in reaction to these multiple challenges resulting from this “tremendous uprising of the Hindu people against Christianity and all connected with it” (Farquhar 1912b) that the YMCA secretary John Nicol Farquhar, a Sanskritist and one of the leading experts on new religious movements on the subcontinent, came up with a detailed plan in 1909 for a new series of publications (Farquhar 1909; Sharpe 1979; *Times of India* 1929). Based on his long personal experience with Hindu students in Bengal, Farquhar was convinced that the circulation of scholarly yet readable monographs portraying South Asian religious traditions in a more conciliatory fashion and contrasting them with Christianity could decrease the potential for conflict and open a new, subtler avenue to reach at least the English-educated Indian elites.

To be sure, the Scottish YMCA secretary was not the first or the only one advocating a more constructive engagement with South Asian religious traditions at the time. For one, this approach echoed early modern Catholic missionary discourses that attributed a *lumen naturale* to Chinese or Indian “heathens” (Heft 2012). But there were also more recent Protestant precursors. Since the 1870s, religiously inclined Sanskrit scholars such as Monier Monier-Williams (1819–99) had been trying to promote a quasi-Darwinian view of Hindu traditions that represented the supposedly more “refined” varieties such as Vaishnavism as a lower evolutionary stage of Christianity (Dalmia 1997, 396–98). Around the turn of the twentieth century, several liberal-minded British and American missionaries were at pains to find similarities between “higher Hinduism” and Christianity (Crosthwaite 1914; J. Jones 1903; Slater 1906).

The new current soon became known as “Fulfillment Theory,” because it represented the Christian faith as the telos of the history of Hinduism and Buddhism (Hedges 2001; Satyavrata 2011). Its discursive strategy was fairly straightforward: Christian elements were “discovered” in South Asian religious traditions, which were then read as evidence for the fact that Hindus and Buddhists were on the path to Christianity and hence prepared for conversion. This new paradigm advocating “dialogue” and mutual respect first became noticeable to a broader audience at the world missionary conference held in Edinburgh in 1910 (Frykenberg 2008, 339; Stanley 2009, 205–47). Soon thereafter, Farquhar's book *The Crown of Hinduism*, published in 1913, would become the most widely circulated and discussed contribution to this debate (Farquhar 1913; Sugirtharajah 2003, 90–107). As he was the mastermind and driving force behind the influential new discourse—the “codifier of fulfilment,” as one historian has aptly observed (Bellenoit 2007, 129)—a brief glance at Farquhar's educational background and early career is helpful to understand the Y's Orientalist book series, which were crucially shaped by the Scotsman's theological views (Sharpe 1963).

Born in Aberdeen, Farquhar was first trained as a draper before passing grammar school and entering the university in his hometown. His exceptional talent allowed him to finish his studies of “Literal Humanities” in Oxford, where he developed an interest in Oriental philology and things Indian. Next to the Scottish theologian Andrew Fairbairn (1838–1912)—an early pioneer of comparative religious studies in the United Kingdom (Sharpe 1980, 147)—Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1900), the German *Übervater* of Indology and *Religionswissenschaft* (van den Bosch 2002), as well as his British rival, the above-mentioned Sanskritist Monier Monier-Williams, were his favorite teachers. There is reason to believe that Müller influenced Farquhar by conveying his penchant for the new “science of religion” in general and especially its emphasis on philological exactness and academic rigor, while Monier-Williams prepared the ground for his quest to reconcile a more respectful and sympathetic attitude toward Hinduism with a sense of Christian mission (Sharpe 1965).

Immediately after graduation, Farquhar joined the London Missionary Society (LMS) and volunteered for a teaching post at a Christian college run by the LMS in Bhowanipore near Calcutta. It was in the capital of the Raj that he eventually came in contact with the YMCA. The young Scotsman was so impressed with the liberal atmosphere prevailing in the Association and the laid-back professionalism of the American secretaries that he decided to quit the LMS in 1902 to devote himself wholeheartedly to evangelism and specifically to researching and writing on Asian religions under the auspices of the Indian Y (Sharpe 1963, 61; Sugirtharajah 2003, 90).

Farquhar’s friend and patron, the prominent American YMCA leader John R. Mott (1865–1955), had prepared the ground for such an endeavor two years earlier when positing a new program of “mission study” (Sharpe 1965, 234). Among other things, the scheme that Mott presented at a workshop for leading Y secretaries (including Farquhar) held in Yokohama in March 1907 involved a deeper engagement with other faiths, including the production of state-of-the-art literature on non-Christian religions (Hopkins 1979, 672). When the Scotsman came up with his detailed publication plans for several series of books on various facets of religious life in South Asia, Mott supported the project enthusiastically and raised the necessary seed money within a few months (Hopkins 1951, 660). Even before being officially appointed head of the newly founded Literature Department in late 1911, Farquhar started building a small group of academically inclined YMCA workers around him and began to translate his vision into reality (Farquhar 1912b; Sharpe 1965, 252, 298). The fact that, from the outset, the book series were planned as a collaborative effort rather than the work of one individual scholar tallies with A. Molendijk’s observation that around the turn of the twentieth century, the “big science” model was increasingly taken up in the humanities and particularly in the nascent discipline of comparative religion. In that respect, Y Orientalism was not an exception, even though the financial means at its disposal were much humbler than in the case of Müller’s *Sacred Books of the East* or the influential German series *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Conrad 2006; Molendijk 2016a, 160–63). In other words, in a mimetic attempt to counter the criticism leveled by academic Orientalists, the “third stream” copied many features of its first-stream critics.

Under the generous new arrangement negotiated with Mott, Farquhar would spend autumns and winters in India, lecturing, researching, keeping in touch with missionaries and government officials, and consulting with individuals holding “non-Christian

opinions” (YMCA 1920, 78). Each spring, he would withdraw to Oxford for six months, where he found ideal conditions for concentrated writing and networking with British and continental scholars.

In the winter of 1912, the fledgling Literature Department was expanded through the official appointment of Kenneth J. Saunders, an expert on Buddhism, and Howard A. Walter, an American student of Islam, as deputy literary secretaries (YMCA 1920, 78). The South African-born Saunders, who had received his philological training at Cambridge, was a prolific writer and would contribute a very successful collection of Buddhist hymns to the new series (Saunders 1915). He continued to work for the Indian Y’s Literature Department for about a decade. Saunders eventually served as professor in the Pacific School of Religion at Berkeley from 1921 to 1935 and was instrumental in the establishment of the Spalding Chair of Eastern Religions and Ethics at Oxford University in 1936 (*Stanford Daily* 1921; *Times of India* 1937). Walter, a young Princeton graduate and, according to the *Times of India* (1919), “one of the ablest and most prominent writers the American Y sent to India,” specialized in South Asian Muslim traditions (Walter 1914) and acquired advanced knowledge of Urdu before his premature death during the influenza pandemic of 1918 (Walter 1918). The peculiar composition of the triumvirate leading the Literature Department (see figure 1) once more underscores the underlying claims to scientific authority. “If we are to get the ear of India,” Farquhar (1912b) held, “our work must be of the highest quality, equal to the best work done by

Figure 1. Explaining South Asia to the world: members of the Indian Y’s Literature Department (The British Empire Y.M.C.A. Review 1914). Note: Walter is erroneously presented as “Walker.”

Oriental scholars.” It was for this reason that each of the major South Asian religious traditions was represented with an expert specifically trained in the classical and vernacular languages relevant to his respective field of expertise.

When Farquhar assumed responsibility for the new department, he could already boast of his experience as the editor of a fairly successful weekly magazine, *The Inquirer*, published by the YMCA’s Association Press in Calcutta (Dunderdale 1962, 88). Furthermore, he had established a name for himself in the wider academic community, which viewed him as a “man of recognized scholarship” and a competent expert on Hindu religion (Fleming 1914). He had published many articles in missionary and theological journals and produced two booklets on the Hindu epos *Bhagavadgītā* (Alexander 1903; Farquhar 1904; 1910, 113; 1912a; Robinson 2006, 75–80). Especially his compact *Primer of Hinduism* (Farquhar 1914a), first published in 1912, had received a very positive response. It quickly established itself as the standard handbook on Hindu traditions for Christian missionaries arriving in India (Dunderdale 1962, 196). With more than 10,000 copies sold by 1920, it had even become a minor bestseller.

The second edition of the *Primer* and Farquhar’s above-mentioned magnum opus *The Crown of Hinduism* were published by Oxford University Press (OUP). During his first summer in Oxford, Farquhar used his contacts at OUP to establish a working relationship between the renowned academic publishing house and the Indian Y’s Literature Department. He cut a deal with Humphrey Milford, who was in charge of OUP’s operations in British India (R. B. Chatterjee 2006, 66–70). Initially, Farquhar proposed that Milford bring out three different book series. In his negotiations with Milford, the “Literary Secretary of the National Council of the Indian Y.M.C.A.” (as Farquhar’s official title had it) also revealed why he was so keen to cooperate with a prestigious publishing house that was associated with the best in British science and academia. As Milford wrote to his colleague E. V. Rieu, who had set up OUP’s Bombay branch a couple of years before:

One of Farquhar’s main objects is to get the publication of ‘Christian literature’ out of the rut of provincality and vulgarity in which it has so long been stuck, and for this purpose he thinks that no organization would be so suitable as the Oxford University Press.... [I]n fact, he said that one of the advantages, from his point of view, of turning publications over to the Oxford University Press would be that the standard would be automatically raised. (R. B. Chatterjee 2006, 197)

For Farquhar, the raising of standards and the acceptance by the academic establishment were crucial, not least because academic Indologists such as his former teacher Friedrich Max Müller had constantly ridiculed outsiders working in their field as “dabblers, babblers and half-scholars” (Müller 1893, 34). One author has recently and pertinently referred to such verbal disparagements as the typical behavior of a “new, scientific priesthood,” attempting to protect their “sacred area” (Molendijk 2016b, 90). To be sure, this was primarily an attack on the popular Orientalists moving in the orbit of the Theosophical Society, but such statements implied that well-meaning missionaries could likewise not be taken seriously as Orientalists and were damaging the reputation of the discipline. Farquhar and his editorial team were determined to prove them wrong.

With such ambitious goals in mind, the Y's Literature Department eventually launched its pioneering Religious Quest of India series in 1915. The series presented monographs dealing with the "great traditions" of the subcontinent's main religions such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, and Islam. It featured such titles as the British philologist J. H. Moulton's account of the religion of the Parsis, *Treasure of the Magi* (1917); the American missionary and scholar H. D. Griswold's study *The Religion of the Rigveda* (1923); and Nicol Macnicol's critically acclaimed volume *Indian Theism* (1915). Arguably, the most influential contribution to the Religious Quest of India series was provided by Farquhar himself. His *Outline of the Religious Literature of India* (1920) was a work of synthesis that, according to one reviewer, "recall[ed] the best type of German *Handbücher*" (Barnett 1921, 128). It became a widely referenced work for missionaries and Indologists immediately after its first publication.

Of all the department's publications, the Religious Quest of India series was doubtless most akin to established predecessors such as Müller's Sacred Books of the East series, also published by OUP (Girardot 2002; Masuzawa 2005; Molendijk 2016a, 2016b). However, that even this relatively conservative series was perceived by contemporaries as breaking with the conventions of academic Orientalism is suggested by a review of Sinclair Stevenson's (1915) volume on Jainism. The reviewer lauded the unusual fact that the book was "not a cut-and-dried discussion of Jain dogma, but a description of Jainism as a living religion based on long and patient study" that apparently also involved interviews with wandering monks, merchant families, and "happy go lucky Jaina school boys" (Clark 1916, 305). Three characteristics of these publications were thus obviously perceived and appreciated by some contemporaneous critics: the specific focus on contemporary aspects and lived religion characteristic of Y Orientalism; the accessible writing style; and the authors' innovative research methods, which partly replaced philological meticulousness and sober hermeneutical analysis with information gathered through oral interviews.

Shortly afterwards, the first tomes of the other two series began to come out. These charted still lesser known territory in the study of South Asian cultures and religions. The second series, entitled *The Religious Life of India*, presented a contrast to the books of the Religious Quest of India series inasmuch as it was not concerned with the "Great Tradition" at all, but devoted to a broad variety of folk religious phenomena. It was, as a Y report phrased it, designed "to deal with Hindu and Muhammadan sects, the Outcastes and the Wild Tribes" (YMCA 1920, 78). Rather inventively, it included quasi-anthropological studies of certain conspicuous Hindu fringe groups and castes such as Wilbur Deming's (1928) study on the Ramdasis; Geoffrey Briggs's (1920) account of the low-caste Chamars; and US missionary William Allison's (1935) monograph on the Sadhs, a small sect on the margins of Hinduism. New territory was also explored by the aforementioned Princeton graduate Howard A. Walter, who wrote one of the first books ever on the then relatively recent but quickly expanding Islamic reform movement of the Ahmadiyahs (Walter 1918). In sum, the great contribution of the Religious Life of India series, with its presentist and non-elite focus, was that its authors managed to carve out a special thematic and methodological niche for themselves. This gave Y Orientalism its unique profile and distinguished it from the "Great Tradition"-oriented and historically inclined products of classical Indology that continued to dominate academic Orientalism.

The third series, The Heritage of India, consisted of slim and cheap paperback volumes (usually between 120 and 180 pages) dealing with various aspects of South Asian literature, fine arts, architecture, philosophy, and music. Much like Stevenson's portrait of Jainism, Saunders's popular Heritage of India volume, *The Heart of Buddhism*, was celebrated by contemporaries because, rather than providing the usual philologically informed history of "master texts dominated by the scholastic categories it s[ought] to elucidate" (Lopez 1995, 7), it presented a selection of hymns that would "pass as current in oriental Buddhist circles today" (*Biblical World* 1917, 316).

This interest in the contemporary and the vernacular is even more obvious in the pioneering volumes devoted to living Indian languages and literatures. Edward Rice's *Kannarese Literature* was the "first history ever written" on literary production in one of the major South Indian languages (YMCA 1920). Almost as innovative was F. E. Keay's volume titled *Hindi Literature*: a British reviewer extolled it as a "most useful book," emphasizing that its author deserved particular praise because he "spelt Hindi names as they are pronounced ... in conversation today," thus overcoming "a custom, much to be condemned of using ancient Sanskrit spellings in writing of Hindi" (Bailey 1921).

The great significance of the Heritage of India series thus was that it challenged the dominance of "dead" languages in the Orientalist discipline. Inspired by the very few groundbreaking studies by academic scholars like George Grierson before them (Grierson 1889; Majeed 2019), the works on vernacular literatures published in the series contributed to the emancipation of the philologies dealing with living Indian languages from the overly powerful Orientalist "mother discipline" of classical Indology.² At times, this agenda was resented by Sanskritists, some of whom seemed eager to defend their territory. The Swedish Orientalist Jarl Charpentier, for example, criticized the Heritage of India volume *A History of Telugu Literature* (Chenchiah and Bahadur 1928) because he regarded the authors' enthusiasm for the greatness of this vernacular literary tradition as exaggerated. Charpentier (1929) held that India's regional languages never reached "the standards ... set by classical Sanskrit" and the authors using these idioms only "repeated and imitated in a parrot-like way" the "famous masters of the *kāvya* style."

According to a list dating from the year 1932, more than fifty volumes had been published during the two decades after the inauguration of the Literature Department: ten in the Religious Quest of India series, fifteen in the Religious Life of India series, twenty-one in the Heritage of India series, and seven biographies not directly related to one of the series (YMCA 1932; see also figure 2). However, by that time, the project had already passed its zenith. The decline already set in slowly in the mid-1920s, after Farquhar had withdrawn from the project and left India to take up a position as professor of comparative religion at the University of Manchester. He could not be replaced by a scholar of the same caliber. It was further catalyzed by the impact of the Great Depression. Since the Indian YMCA's Publication Department—much like other branches of the Association—depended to a considerable extent on

²George Abraham Grierson (1851–1941) was an especially important role model in this respect. For his groundbreaking study on the vernacular literature of North India, he had chosen a programmatic pro-fieldwork motto from Goethe's *West-östlicher Divan*: "Wer den Dichter will verstehen, muss in Dichters Lande gehen" (He who wants to understand the poet, has to move to the poet's country).

Figure 2. Advertisement for the YMCA's Oriental book series (Rice 1921, dust jacket).

donations raised in the United States, the economic recession and the subsequent drying out of funding hit the Orientalist book series particularly hard (Latourette 1957, 141–44). Only a handful of new volumes came out after 1932, and the project was finally discontinued in 1944 (R. B. Chatterjee 2006, 200).

Before analyzing some examples of Farquhar's three original book series in greater detail, it is helpful to consider some overarching commonalities of all three varieties of Y Orientalism. The most obvious of these shared features was the somewhat problematic simultaneity of claims to scientific objectivity; a plea for an openly "sympathetic" approach to the object of study, that is, the religions and cultures of South Asia; and an emphasis on the editors' positions as Christian missionaries. Thus, in the editorial preface of the Religious Quest of India series, the "sincere and sympathetic spirit of science" (Farquhar and Griswold 1915, iii) was juxtaposed with statements that left hardly a doubt that the proselytizing agenda ultimately overrode any sincere academic interest in Hinduism and other religions. The writers of the series, it was stated, would

seek to set each form of Indian religion by the side of Christianity in such a way that the relationship may stand out clear. Jesus Christ has become to them the light of all their seeing, and they believe Him destined to be the light of the world. They are persuaded that, sooner or later, the age-long quest of the Indian spirit for religious truth and power will find in Him at once its goal and a new starting point, and they will be content if the publication of this series contributes in the smallest degree to hasten this consummation. (iii)

Potential critics of such an openly biased attitude were preventively reminded that “no man approaches the study of a religion without religious convictions” and that it hence was only a matter of transparency and fairness to the reader to make one’s own positionality clear from the outset (iv). The series editors admitted that, to some critical minds, there might seem to be “a measure of incompatibility” in the twin motives of scientific headway and proselytism, while underscoring that they themselves deemed them to be perfectly reconcilable (Azariah and Farquhar 1921, iii).

The missionary zeal was somewhat less pronounced in the low-priced Religious Life of India and Heritage of India series, both of which primarily targeted an Indian market. Nonetheless, the editorial preface in the Religious Life of India volumes made the point that “in each case the religion described is brought into relation with Christianity” (Farquhar and Griswold 1915, iii). The readers of books published in the Heritage of India series were at least reminded that “this series of cheap books has been planned by *a group of Christian men*, in order that every educated Indian ... may be able to find his way into the treasures of India’s past” (Azariah and Farquhar 1921, iii; emphasis added). Even though the editors attempted to calibrate the various series to the expectations of the targeted South Asian audience and tried not to provoke the local sensibilities by advertising their Christian agenda too aggressively, echoes of their missionary zeal are clearly discernible. Besides, the preface to the Religious Life of India series also emphasized an aspect quite typical of the entire venture: the fact that this knowledge was not produced by pedantic academic philologists, preoccupied with the comparison of root words and verb moods, but by men—and occasionally women (Stevenson 1915, 1920, 1930; Urquhart 1925)—on the spot, who knew the religious phenomena they described from personal experience and had direct access to the South Asian religious practitioners by virtue of their language skills:

[We] believe they are able to shed ... fresh light drawn from the close religious intercourse they have each had with the people who live by the faith herein described: and their study of the relevant literature has in every instance been largely *supplemented by persistent questioning* of those likely to be able to give information. (Azariah and Farquhar 1921, iii; emphasis added)

That this was a rather uncommon approach at the time is evident from the reminiscences of the Indian Reverend A. J. Appasamy (1891–1980), who met Farquhar in South India in the early 1910s and later conducted research for his PhD under his guidance at Oxford. About his academic supervisor, he states:

Unlike the usual scholar, his main work was not done at the desk. He spent a considerable amount of time visiting different cities and in calling different people.... He always went in quest of writers and established points of contact which proved of abiding value to his work. Again, a book like *Modern Religious Movements in India* could not have been written by a scholar working in his study. The abundant facts and impressions of the book would have been possible only to a widely-travelled man like Dr Farquhar who gleaned information on the spot and verified it as well as he could. (Appasamy 1963, vi)

These unique features of Y Orientalism were typical not only of Farquhar's approach but also of those of most other authors publishing under his aegis. Some of them can be traced back more than a decade before the first books in the new series were actually written. To some extent, Farquhar had already anticipated the novel features of his book series in two programmatic articles he had penned for the missionary journal *Harvest Field* in 1901 and 1905. In the first short piece, he had celebrated the new "science of religion" as being of great value for the missionary cause in India, not least because it had the potential to show "with the cold irresistible logic of facts" how "exceedingly weak" Hinduism and Islam were in comparison with Christianity (Farquhar 1901).

The openness toward "multidisciplinarity" that would later distinguish especially the Religious Life of India and Heritage of India series is likewise discernible in this early article, as Farquhar highlighted the fact that he regarded the philological cum comparative methodology characteristic of the "science of religion" as only one among several possible approaches. He explicitly emphasized the value of anthropological, historical, and even "biological" currents of this new science (Farquhar 1901).³

In the second article, Farquhar anticipated Mott's "mission study" scheme by making a plea for turning the study of local religions (especially Hinduism) into an integral part of missionary training alongside the acquisition of local languages (Farquhar 1905). Only such in-depth knowledge, he maintained, would allow missionaries to optimize their message for the target audience. It was this considerable overlap (in terms of their views of effective missionary work) between the business-savvy American networker and the sober Scottish philologist that would allow Farquhar to, before long, use Y resources and channels to disseminate the fruits of his Orientalist labor to a much wider audience. Farquhar also used this early piece to articulate his fulfillment approach for the first time in some detail, advocating for more tolerance toward "native" faiths:

All our study of Hinduism and everything we write and say on the subject should be sympathetic. I believe incalculable harm has been done to the Christian cause in India in times past through unsympathetic condemnations of Hinduism. Even if the severe condemnations passed on certain aspects of the religion be quite justifiable, it is bad policy to introduce these things into our addresses and tracts. (Farquhar 1905, 168)

³Under the latter label, Farquhar subsumed "powerful writers" such as Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, and Benjamin Kidd, who, according to him, had raised questions that could "not be neglected" and would therefore significantly influence future scholars.

The Scotsman became increasingly outspoken on this subject as time went on. A few years later, he observed that a considerable number of Christian books on Hinduism published in India “contained harsh judgements, denunciatory language and ... statements that were seriously inaccurate” (Farquhar 1913, 35). However, already in his early programmatic essay, the Scottish Y secretary had made it unmistakably clear that the new attitude of verbal restraint and ostentatious sympathy for “native religions” was by no means to be seen as an achievement in its own right. Rather, it had to be subservient to the persistent, overarching goal of accomplishing “the prodigious task of defeating the traditional religion of India” (Farquhar 1905, 177). As we shall presently see, the tension that is noticeable here between the propensities to moral value judgements rooted in the entrenched notion of Christian superiority and the insight that it might be a good idea “to eschew the traditional habit of denunciation” (177) were also characteristic of some of the books published under Farquhar’s scheme.

One last common feature of the entire literary enterprise deserves to be mentioned. It pertains less to the contents of Y Orientalist scholarship or its underlying Christian ideology than to the novel ways in which the series were marketed and distributed. It is perhaps in those aspects that the business acumen and pragmatism typical of many activities of the American-dominated Indian YMCA become most apparent. First of all, as Farquhar and his fellow editors were “very anxious that our fresh literature should be widely read by the Indian educated classes” (Farquhar 1914b), the new books were competitively priced in order to make them attractive to a broad South Asian audience: the hardbound (and mostly illustrated) volumes of the Religious Life of India series cost only twelve annas, whereas the slim paperbacks of the Heritage of India series were sold for half that price. The low prices in the Indian market were possible not least because the volumes sold in Europe and North America were priced significantly higher (R. B. Chatterjee 2006, 198–200). Secondly, the Y’s Literature Department deployed innovative methods of advertising to make the series known to a nonspecialist audience. In addition to the showrooms the Association Press had in ten major Indian cities, the volumes of the Heritage of India and Religious Life of India series were also on display in railway bookstalls all over the subcontinent. Moreover, sample copies were sent to student camps and shown at various *melās* (Hindi for festival) and exhibitions, where there apparently “was a steady run on [YMCA] books on Indian topics” (*Times of India* 1921). The Publication Department, while eager to emphasize the value of its series “to the missionary and the administrator” (YMCA 1920, 83), apparently also did a good job bringing its products to the attention of the educational authorities of several provincial governments in British India and of some Princely States. Some titles were adopted as textbooks in local colleges and universities (Hogg 1928), while others were used in colonial law courts to decide matters of religious orthodoxy (YMCA 1920, 80). Last but not least, the Y’s Literature Department repeatedly received the accolades of high-ranking government officials. During a public function in November 1921, for instance, Lord Ronaldshay, the Governor of Bengal, appreciatively observed that the volumes of the three series launched by Farquhar were “mines of information on the life and thought of the people of India” (*Times of India* 1920). All of this raises more general questions about the commercial success and the impact of Y Orientalism.

A YMCA report from 1920 emphasized that “our literature pays its way and we need no subsidies,” but as there were massive differences between the various series and individual titles, it is necessary to come to a more nuanced assessment. While relatively few volumes of the pioneering “special interest” books on modern Indian languages and their literatures found many buyers (YMCA 1920, 83), other Heritage of India titles proved to be bestselling evergreens in the Association Press’s catalog. Thus, Herbert Popley’s *The Music of India* ([1918] 1965) continued to be read for decades and saw several reprints. Still more impressively, Percy Brown’s book *Indian Painting* ([1918] 1965) had reached its eighth edition by 1965 and was reprinted as recently as 2010.

According to an internal memorandum published in 1928, the roughly thirty-five titles that had been published by that date had sold 65,000 copies altogether (Hogg 1928). The reception among educated non-Christian South Asians was less enthusiastic than Farquhar and his team had hoped, but the volumes apparently proved to be particularly popular among a Christian readership. An official report boasted that not only had “this literary movement” persuaded many Western missionaries and Indian Christians “to adopt the new attitude to the religions of India” but also it had “helped to convince mission boards and secretaries in the West that it would be wise to give prospective missionaries a brief training in the religion and civilization they are to be faced with, before they leave home” (YMCA 1920, 82). As we have seen, the most controversial and innovative volumes dealing with vernacular literatures or “subaltern” religious groups generally fared worse commercially than relatively conventional ones. This notwithstanding, when we talk about the three series as a whole, it seems safe to assume that, in terms of both the sheer breadth of their circulation and their adoption by official institutions, the products of Y Orientalism were outperforming their strictly academic competition. In spite of its undeniable symbolic importance (Chaudhuri 1974; van der Veer 2001, 106–32), Müller’s much-acclaimed Sacred Books of the East series, for instance, reached a much smaller audience on the Indian subcontinent than Farquhar’s humbler Religious Quest of India series.

STRATEGIC TOLERANCE AND THE PERSISTENCE OF THE PROSELYTIZING AGENDA

As has become evident in the previous sections, the initial impetus for the inauguration of the Orientalist book series was the insight that the “unsympathetic condemnation” of South Asian religions was no longer a viable option in the political and cultural climate of the early twentieth century, and hence a new kind of academic engagement with non-Christian religions was required. In this last section, I want to examine Y Orientalism more closely in order to assess to what extent it lived up to the promise of mutual understanding, sympathy, and cultural sensitivity propagated by Farquhar and his colleagues at the Indian YMCA’s Publication Department. The outcomes were mixed at best since, in spite of the editors’ lofty goals, their tolerance was largely strategic and the project remained overdetermined by assumptions of Western and Christian superiority. The first aspect that needs to be considered in this context pertains to the actual content of the book series, which could at times be rather problematic in that it reinforced established stereotypes. The second and final aspect concerns Farquhar’s recruitment of authors and his ambivalent position toward the YMCA’s official “Indianization” strategy.

Let me begin the content analysis by using the example of Henry Whitehead's influential contribution to the Religious Life of India series, a book on the worship of *grāma devtās* (village deities) in South India (Whitehead 1921). Whitehead was fairly typical of the Y Orientalist series inasmuch as he was a Western clergyman, living and working in India. The Oxford-trained Henry Whitehead (brother of the famous philosopher Alfred N. Whitehead) had been ordained as Bishop of Madras in 1899. When he wrote *Village Gods* in 1916, he could already look back on more than thirty years of experience in India and was very familiar with several cultural and linguistic milieus in the subcontinent (*The Times* 1947). Whitehead's book was celebrated by contemporary critics as an innovative foray into the world of Indian folk religion and "an invaluable aid to the understanding of Indian village life" (W. D. S. 1917), while another reviewer predicted that "this may be one of the cases where a modest book, little noticed in the beginning, becomes the classical work on the subject" (*Times of India* 1922). Even the author himself boasted in the preface that his book deserved to be acknowledged as the "first attempt at dealing systematically" with an important but unduly neglected aspect of Indian religion (Whitehead 1921, 7). Yet, while in some sense his short monograph can certainly be considered as "field-changing," it remained at the same time pervaded by the Protestant moralism and cultural arrogance that had characterized the writings of previous generations of missionaries, which stood in stark contrast to the series' purported mission.

For one, there is a striking predilection for dealing with "barbarous cults" and "weird rites and ceremonies" (Whitehead 1921, 12, 13, 47) at the expense of less sensationalist aspects of rural religiosity. This propensity is also reflected in the choice of illustrations, which tended to focus on gory animal sacrifices (see, e.g., figure 3). While a more sober and neutral tone is prevalent in the descriptive accounts provided in the book's

BUFFALO SACRIFICED TO MOTOR BICYCLE

Figure 3. Typical illustration from Henry Whitehead's *Village Gods of South India* (1921, 88).

substantive chapters, perhaps not surprisingly, a rather high-handed and moralizing language is prevalent when it comes to the overall assessment of the *grāma devtā* cult. Thus, in his conclusion, Whitehead states:

Taking the system as a whole ... we can only condemn it from a moral and religious point of view as a debasing superstition, and the only attitude which the Christian Church can possibly take towards it is one of uncompromising hostility... [T]here is nothing in the vast jungle of beliefs and practices that have grown up during the ages around the worship of village deities that the Christian Church could wish to preserve. (153)

This is a perfect illustration of the kind of dismissive missionary value judgements about the “cosmological utterances” of non-Christian belief systems that Talal Asad has described as foundational for the construction of power and knowledge hierarchies in the modern world (Asad 1995, 43–44, 54). Nevertheless, the bishop stops short of condemning the cult in its entirety. For one, he sees the absence of the “priestly caste” in the village rituals as a sign of hope, as it could potentially erode “caste tyranny” by fostering the self-respect of the lower castes (154). Second, and this is his core argument, he underscores that:

while ... the conception of the deity with whom communion is sought is hopelessly inadequate and perverted, still, in the simple desire for communion with a deity of some sort. There is a germ and root of true religious feeling, which ... is to certain degree a preparation for the Gospel. (155)

The “strategic tolerance” that Farquhar had posited and that characterized his own work on India’s “Great Tradition,” as well as the notion that the scholarly erudition of Y Orientalists had to be subservient to the overarching goal of proselytization, or, at the very least, permeation of Hindu society with Christian values (Frykenberg 2008, 339), is thus also recognizable in contributions dealing with the subcontinent’s living faiths.

This kind of missionary pragmatism resurfaces in an even more straightforward manner in G. W. Briggs’s (1920) study of the Chamars. After presenting a detailed account of the social, economic, and religious life of this North Indian “Untouchable” group—with a strong focus on their allegedly “unspeakably filthy habits ..., obscenity and vulgarity” (233, 235)—Briggs, too, arrives at a rather predictable conclusion when he observes that “[w]hile the religious teachers of India do not present an adequate social programme for the Chamar, Jesus does” (240). That not only the subcontinent’s despised outcastes but also the Hindu elites were perceived as being in need of such a program becomes evident from Sanskritist A. A. Macdonnell’s foreword to the volume *The Rites of the Twice-Born* in the Religious Quest of India series. According to the Oxford professor:

A perusal of the book will show that the large mass of ritual matter it contains is permeated with innumerable superstitions and primitive usages which, inherited from a remote past, hinder the progress of Indian civilization at the present day. It will therefore appeal not only to the student of religions, but

to the anthropologist and the social reformer. It is a notable contribution to the armoury of those who are fighting in the war of liberation of the human race. (Macdonnell 1920, ix)

The second and final aspect that needs to be considered in this context concerns Farquhar's ambivalent position toward the YMCA's official Indianization strategy. It is conspicuous that in the list of the authors of the fifty volumes published in the three series launched and supervised by Farquhar, one finds less than a handful of Indian names. This was certainly not because South Asian authors were not interested in the project. Quite the reverse: he received many manuscripts by Indian scholars, and some books were already announced as forthcoming but then withdrawn at the last minute. Even Indian Christian admirers such as Farquhar's student—and later Bishop of Coimbatore—A. J. Appasamy were puzzled “to find how little he availed himself of the help of Indian writers.” Appasamy speculated that the Scottish Orientalist must have been obsessed with “certain rigid standards of scholarship and unconsciously came to believe that they could only been reached by European writers” (xii). This neglect of indigenous voices not only puzzled Indian Y members but also was in direct conflict with the stated policy of the International Committee of the YMCA on its dedication to “indigenous leadership, support, and control” of YMCA organizations in foreign countries (Mulready-Stone 2018, 144; for India, see Heinrichs 1923; Latourette 1957, 124).

A close reading of Farquhar's correspondence with Mott, however, would suggest a higher degree of consciousness in his distrust of Indian intellectuals. In a letter written in December 1923, shortly before he left India for good (see figure 4), Farquhar complains that the leading Indian Y secretaries had become the mere “tools” and “willing servants” of the Indian National movement (Farquhar 1923). As a result, they had allegedly “accepted unthinkingly the foolish arguments” of Hindu nationalists and completely lost their Christian missionary zeal. Accordingly, he advised Mott that “for a full return to sanity, we must depend very largely, almost altogether, I should say, upon our British and American secretaries.”

Even at the height of the national movement, Farquhar remained convinced that the “great overturning” had to come and only Christ could guarantee “national health and strength to the Hindu people” (Farquhar 1928, 118, 121). His rigid Christian and pro-imperial stance also led to a falling-out with Saunders. Over the years of his scholarly engagement with the religion, Saunders had developed a profound sympathy for Buddhism that let him view the teachings of the Buddha as practically equivalent to Christianity—a position that was completely unacceptable for Farquhar, who was “deeply suspicious of anything even remotely resembling syncretism” (O'Connor 2005, 212; Sharpe 1963, 85–88). Consequently, Farquhar rejected the manuscript of Saunders's projected magnum opus on Buddhism for the Religious Quest of India series and persuaded Mott that under no circumstances should Saunders become his successor (Farquhar 1923). Such a harsh reaction would seem to suggest that for him, as for the majority of the other Y Orientalists involved in the project, forms of religious tolerance that were not strategic remained intolerable. Such a stance is typical of the transitional character of the Y's Orientalist project. The inability to give up the belief in the unique and superior character of Christianity once more drastically illustrates the fundamental tension undergirding this “third-stream Orientalism”: its promise of religious tolerance

Fig. 4 - B/W online, B/W in print

Figure 4. Crossing over from “third-stream Orientalism” to the academic establishment: Farquhar during the last years of his life as Professor of Comparative Religion in Manchester (ca. 1925) (Sharpe 1963, 4).

and dialogue was constantly thwarted by the persistence of cultural arrogance and Christian missionary zeal.

CONCLUSION

I have attempted to shed light on the vast range of works on South Asian cultures and religions produced by the Indian YMCA’s Literature Department roughly between the 1910s and the 1940s. The three Orientalist book series published by the department owed their existence to two interrelated developments: First, they were an expression of the US-dominated Indian YMCA’s increasing self-positioning as a knowledge broker and social service agency on the subcontinent. Second, they were an outcome of the growing global popularity of liberal “fulfillment theology” in Anglophone missionary circles during the first quarter of the twentieth century. Indeed, literary secretary and series founder J. N. Farquhar became one of the globally most visible protagonists of the fulfillment school.

While almost completely forgotten today, the Y’s three Orientalist book series were fairly influential in their time. Quite a few of the fifty or so publications that came out in the two decades after the outbreak of the First World War were considered standard

works by contemporaries. Perhaps most importantly, due to the novel ways of marketing and distributing the products of Y Orientalism, they contributed to a “democratization” of the debates on culture and religion, as they managed to reach an audience way beyond the academic ivory tower. Although in-depth research would be required to make this point authoritatively, there are indications that these strategies also left an imprint on the ways Hindu and Muslim scholars and reformers produced and disseminated their books and pamphlets. In slight variance to the expectations of series founder Farquhar and other protagonists of the project, however, the targeted “educated native elites” were less interested in the fruits of Y scholarship than were both Indian and Western members of the Christian minority in the subcontinent.

It is somewhat ironic that, while some contemporary critics with a professional academic background viewed the project as being situated at the fringes of scholarly respectability because of its “unscientifically” close association with a Christian missionary agenda (Clark 1916, 301–5), the body of Y Orientalist knowledge produced from the 1910s to the 1930s, in some ways, anticipated a change of direction that would thoroughly transform the nature of secular academic engagement with South Asia in the decades after World War II. From the late 1940s onward, the “area studies” model of Indology was first established in the United States and subsequently started to become popular on a global scale (Dirks 2015, 265–90). According to this new paradigm, macroregions, such as the Indian subcontinent, ought to be studied with a focus on contemporary issues, rather than with an exclusive interest in their classical past, and through a multi-perspective approach, combining expertise from various disciplines. In a striking anticipation of this methodology, as early as the 1910s, the editors of the Ys “most popular” book series (Hogg 1928) advocated a multidisciplinary engagement with Indian cultures and religions, combined with a move away from the dominance of philology and “monumental” Sanskrit texts (van der Veer 1999). Like many South Asianists working in an area studies context during the 1950s and 1960s, most authors recruited by the Ys Literature Department, too, showed a keen interest in popular culture, “folk religion,” and living languages. Moreover, and once again analogous to the post-World War II trend, the privileging of knowledge that was generated “in the field,” rather than being the product of armchair science, was also part of the Y Orientalist paradigm. Preliminary as these observations are, they would seem to reinforce David Hollinger’s recent argument that it was, to a considerable extent, due to the impact of “missionary-connected individuals” with their “language facility and foreign experience” that the academic study of Asian societies in the post-World War II United States was directed “away from the older ‘Orientalist’ preoccupations and toward contemporary methods in the social sciences,” in the process giving birth to the “foreign area studies” paradigm (Hollinger 2017, 215, 251).

As has become equally clear, however, most authors contributing to the project were not willing or able to fully distance themselves from the racist rhetoric and moralizing normative frameworks of older, “Orientalist” missionary and colonial discourses. In spite of their innovative stance, when it came to their choice of topics and methods and regardless of their simultaneous commitment to a “sympathetic” attitude toward non-Christian faiths and their adherents, the echoes of nineteenth-century secular and Christian varieties of Orientalism remained omnipresent in most of their works. Y Orientalism, therefore, represents an ambivalent and transitional body of knowledge that sits rather uneasily

with existing histories of the discipline. That it had a palpable impact on the broader development of academic Orientalism is apparent. In spite of occasional criticism because of the Christian bias of the book series or their authors' lack of formal academic training, the products of Y Orientalism were widely read, reviewed, and commented upon by professional Sanskritists, Indologists, anthropologists, and scholars of comparative religion. What is more, sometimes the third stream flowed directly into the mainstream, as some authors working for the Y's Literature Department—Farquhar and Saunders being the prime examples—shifted camps and later on embarked on careers in the established academe. It would hence, no doubt, be a rewarding exercise to explore the contemporaneous entanglements and ensuing legacies of Y Orientalism in both missionary and secular academic contexts in greater detail. The present article is only a first step in that direction.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Michael Brunner, Carolyn Kerchof, Dominic Sachsenmaier, Bernhard Schär, Joanna Simonow, Elena Valdameri, and the three anonymous JAS reviewers for reading earlier versions of this article and making valuable suggestions for its improvement.

List of References

- ABERDEEN PRESS AND JOURNAL. 1929. "Noted Scholar's Death: Aberdeen Native Dr J.N. Farquhar's Work for India." July 18, 8.
- ALEXANDER, NEIL. 1903. *Gita and Gospel*. Calcutta: Thacker and Spink.
- ALLISON, W. L. 1935. *The Sadhs*. Calcutta: Association Press (YMCA).
- APPASAMY, A. J. 1963. "Introduction." In *John Nicol Farquhar: A Memoir* by Eric J. Sharpe, v–xiv. Calcutta: Association Press (YMCA).
- ASAD, TALAL. 1995. *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- AZARIAH, V. S., and J. N. FARQUHAR. 1921. "Editorial Preface." In *A History of Kanarese Literature* by Edward P. Rice, iii. Calcutta: Association Press (YMCA).
- BAILEY, T. GRAHAME. 1921. Review of *A History of Hindi Literature*, by F. E. Keay. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, University of London* 2(3):555.
- BARNETT, L. D. 1921. Review of *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, by J. N. Farquhar. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, University of London* 2(1):128–30.
- BASU, RAJSEKHAR. 2016. "Missionaries as Agricultural Pioneers: Protestant Missionaries and Agricultural Improvement in Twentieth-Century India." In *Tilling the Land: Agricultural Knowledge and Practices in Colonial India*, eds. Deepak Kumar and Bipasha Raha, 99–121. Delhi: Primus.
- BELLENOIT, HAYDEN J. A. 2007. *Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India, 1860–1920*. London: Pickering & Chatto.
- BIBLICAL WORLD. 1917. 49(5).
- BRIGGS, GEORGE W. 1920. *The Chamārs*. Calcutta: Association Press (YMCA).

- THE BRITISH EMPIRE Y.M.C.A. REVIEW & FOREIGN LETTER. 1914. 3(5):166.
- BROWN, PERCY. [1918] 1965. *Indian Painting*. New Delhi: Y.M.C.A. Publishing House.
- CHARPENTIER, JARL. 1929. Review of *A History of Telugu Literature*, by P. Chenchiah and R. B. R. Bahadur. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, University of London* 5(3):653.
- CHATTERJEE, NANDINI. 2011. *The Making of Indian Secularism: Empire, Law and Christianity, 1830–1960*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- CHATTERJEE, RIMI B. 2006. *Empires of the Mind: A History of the Oxford University Press in India under the Raj*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- CHAUDHURI, NIRAD C. 1974. *Scholar Extraordinary: The Life of Professor the Rt. Hon. Friedrich Max Müller, P.C.* London: Chatto & Windus.
- CHENCHIAH, P., and R. B. R. BAHADUR. 1928. *A History of Telugu Literature*. Calcutta: Association Press (YMCA).
- CLARK, W. E. 1916. “The Religions of India.” *American Journal of Theology* 20(4):301–5.
- CONRAD, RUTH. 2006. *Lexikonpolitik: Die erste Auflage der RGG im Horizont protestantischer Lexikographie (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 97)* [The politics of encyclopedias: The first edition of RGG in the context of Protestant lexicography (Studies on church history 97)]. Berlin: Verlag de Gruyter.
- CROSTHWAITE, ARTHUR. 1914. “Hindu Hopes and Their Christian Fulfilment.” *The East and the West* 12:83–95.
- DALMIA, VASUDHA. 1997. *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions: Bhāratendu Hariṣhchandra and Nineteenth-Century Banaras*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- DAVID, M. D. 1992. *The YMCA and the Making of Modern India (a Centenary History)*. New Delhi: National Council of YMCAs of India.
- DAVIDANN, JON THARES. 1998. *A World of Crisis and Progress: The American YMCA in Japan, 1890–1930*. Bethlehem, Pa.: Lehigh University Press.
- DEMING, WILBUR S. 1928. *Rāmdās and the Rāmdāsīs*. Calcutta: Association Press (YMCA).
- DIRKS, NICHOLAS B. 2015. *Autobiography of an Archive: A Scholar’s Passage to India*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- DUNDERDALE, J. H. 1962. *The Y.M.C.A. in India: 100 Years of Service with Youth*. New Delhi: Y.M.C.A. Publishing House.
- FARQUHAR, J. N. 1901. “The Science of Religion as an Aid to Apologetics.” *Harvest Field* 12(10):369–74.
- . 1904. *The Age and Origin of the Gita*. London: Christian Literature Society.
- . 1905. “Missionary Study of Hinduism.” *Harvest Field* 16(5):166–78.
- . 1909. “Brāhma Samāj.” In *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. II*, ed. James Hastings, 813–24. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
- . 1910. “Glimpses of Hinduism: The Religion of the Lower Classes.” *Young Men of India* 21(10):166–67.
- . 1912a. *Permanent Lessons of the Gita*. London: Christian Literature Society for India.
- . 1912b. Report to the International Committee, 1911–12, October 12. Kautz Family YMCA Archives, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. BIO, Box 62, Folder: “John Nicol Farquhar; Papers 1911–1912.”
- . 1913. *The Crown of Hinduism*. London: Oxford University Press.
- . 1914a. *A Primer of Hinduism*. 2nd ed. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press.

- . 1914b. Letter to J. Mott and E. C. Carter, December 2. Kautz Family YMCA Archives, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. BIO, Box 62, Folder: "John Nicol Farquhar; Papers 1912–1923."
- . 1915. *Modern Religious Movements in India*. New York: Macmillan.
- . 1920. *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India*. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press.
- . 1923. Letter to J. Mott, December 19. Kautz Family YMCA Archives, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. IWI, Box 1, Folder: "Misc Print 1912–1964."
- . 1928. "Hinduism and Christianity in India: A Reply." *Hibbert Journal* 105:111–22.
- FARQUHAR, J. N., and H. D. GRISWOLD. 1915. "Editorial Preface." In *Indian Theism: From the Vedic to the Muhammadan Period* by Nicol Macnicol, iii–iv. London: Oxford University Press.
- FISCHER-TINÉ, HARALD. 2000. "'Kindly Elders of the Hindu Biradri': The Arya Samaj's Struggle for Influence and Its Effects on Hindu-Muslim Relations, 1880–1925." In *Gurus and Their Followers: New Religious Reform Movements in Colonial India*, ed. Antony Copley, 107–27. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- . 2013. "Arya Samaj." In *Brill's Encyclopedia of Hinduism, Volume V*, ed. Knut A. Jacobsen, 389–96. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2018. "The YMCA and Low-Modernist Rural Development in South Asia, c. 1922–1957." *Past & Present* 240(1):193–234.
- . 2019. "Fitness for Modernity? The YMCA and Physical-Education Schemes in Late-Colonial South Asia (circa 1900–40)." *Modern Asian Studies* 53(2):512–59.
- FISCHER-TINÉ, HARALD, STEFAN HUEBNER, and IAN TYRRELL, eds. Forthcoming. *Spreading Protestant Modernity: Global Perspectives on the Social Work of the YMCA and YWCA, c. 1889–1970*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- FLEMING, D. J. 1914. "A New Exposition of Hinduism." *American Journal of Theology* 18(3):462–64.
- FRYKENBERG, ROBERT ERIC. 2008. *Christianity in India: From Beginnings to the Present*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- GHAL, R. K. 1990. *Shuddhi Movement in India: A Study of Its Socio-political Dimensions*. New Delhi: Commonwealth Publishers.
- GIRARDOT, N. J. 2002. "Max Müller's 'Sacred Books' and the Nineteenth-Century Production of the Comparative Science of Religions." *History of Religions* 41(3):213–50.
- GRIERSON, GEORGE A. 1889. *The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan*. Calcutta: Asiatic Society.
- GRISWOLD, H. D. 1923. *The Religion of the Rigveda*. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press.
- HATCHER, BRIAN A. 2013. "Brahmo Samaj and Keshub Chandra Sen." In *Brill's Encyclopedia of Hinduism, Volume V*, ed. Knut A. Jacobsen, 437–44. Leiden: Brill.
- HEAVENS, JOHN E. 2014. "The International Committee of the North American Young Men's Christian Association and Its Foreign Work in China, 1995–1937." PhD diss., University of Cambridge.
- HEDGES, PAUL. 2001. *Preparation and Fulfilment: A History and Study of Fulfilment Theology in Modern British Thought in the Indian Context*. Oxford: Peter Lang.
- HEFT, JAMES L., ed. 2012. *Catholicism and Interreligious Dialogue*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- HEINRICHS, W. H. 1923. Letter to F. V. Slack, July 4. Kautz Family YMCA Archives, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. IWSF, Box 35, Folder: "Correspondence India, June–September 1923."

- HOGG, L. A. 1928. "Interpreting India: Sixteen Years of a Literary Enterprise." Undated typescript. Kautz Family YMCA Archives, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. IWI, Box 1, Folder: "Misc Print 1912–1964."
- HOLLINGER, DAVID A. 2017. *Protestants Abroad: How Missionaries Tried to Change the World but Changed America*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- HOLT, A. E., K. K. KURUVILLA, and H. E. BECKNELL. 1933. *A Study of the Y.M.C.A. of India, Burma & Ceylon: Made as an Integral Part of the International Survey*. Calcutta: National Council Y.M.C.A., India, Burma & Ceylon.
- HOPKINS, C. HOWARD. 1951. *History of the Y.M.C.A. in North America*. New York: Association Press (YMCA).
- . 1979. *John R. Mott (1865–1955): A Biography*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing.
- JONES, JOHN P. 1903. *India's Problem: Krishna or Christ*. New York: Fleming H. Revell.
- JONES, KENNETH W. 1989. *The New Cambridge History of India, III: Socio-religious Reform Movements in British India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- KING, RICHARD. 1999. *Orientalism and Religion: Postcolonial Theory, India and the 'Mystic East.'* London: Routledge.
- KUTCHER, NORMAN. 1993. "'The Benign Bachelor': Kenneth Scott Latourette between China and the United States." *Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 2(4): 399–424.
- LATOURETTE, KENNETH SCOTT. 1957. *World Service: A History of the Foreign Work and World Service of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States and Canada*. New York: Association Press (YMCA).
- LOPEZ, DONALD S. 1995. "Introduction." In *Curators of the Buddha: The Study of Buddhism under Colonialism*, ed. Donald S. Lopez, 1–29. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- MACDONNELL, A. A. 1920. "Foreword." In *The Rites of the Twice Born by Sinclair Stevenson*, ix–xi. London: Oxford University Press.
- MACNICOL, NICOL. 1915. *Indian Theism: From the Vedic to the Muhammadan Period*. London: Oxford University Press.
- MAJEED, JAVED. 2019. *Colonialism and Knowledge in Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India*. New York: Routledge.
- MASUZAWA, TOMOKO. 2005. *The Invention of World Religions: Or, How European Universalism Was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- MOLENDIJK, ARIE L. 2016a. "Forgotten Bibles: Friedrich Max Müller's Edition of the *Sacred Books of the East*." *Publications of the English Goethe Society* 85(2–3): 159–69.
- . 2016b. *Friedrich Max Müller and the Sacred Books of the East*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- MOTT, JOHN R. 1900. *The Evangelization of the World in This Generation*. London: Student Volunteer Missionary Union.
- MOULTON, JAMES HOPE. 1917. *Treasure of the Magi: A Study of Modern Zoroastrianism*. London: Oxford University Press.
- MÜLLER, FREDERICK MAX. 1893. "Inaugural Address." In *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists (Held in London from the 5th to 12th September 1892)*, ed. E. Delmar Morgan, 1–37. Vol. I, Indian and Aryan Sections. London: Committee of the Congress.

- MULREADY-STONE, KRISTIN. 2018. "Character Conservancy in Shanghai's Emergency": The YMCA in Shanghai, 1931–1942." In *The YMCA at War: Collaboration and Conflict during the World Wars*, eds. Jeffrey C. Copeland and Yan Xu, 143–60. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books.
- O'CONNOR, DANIEL. 2005. *A Clear Star: C.F. Andrews and India 1904–1914*. New Delhi: Chronicle Books.
- PHOENIX, KAREN. 2014. "A Social Gospel for India." *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 13(2):200–222.
- POPLEY, HERBERT A. [1918] 1965. *The Music of India*. New Delhi: YMCA Publishing House.
- RICE, E. P. 1921. *Kannarese Literature*. Calcutta: Association Press (YMCA).
- ROBINSON, CATHERINE A. 2006. *Interpretations of the Bhagavad-Gītā and Images of the Hindu Tradition: The Song of the Lord*. London: Routledge.
- SAID, EDWARD. 1987. "Orientalism Reconsidered." *Cultural Critique* 1(1):89–107.
- SATYAVRATA, IVAN M. 2011. *God Has Not Left Himself without a Witness*. Oxford: Regnum Books.
- SAUNDERS, K. J. 1915. *The Heart of Buddhism: Being an Anthology of Buddhist Verse*. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press.
- SHARPE, ERIC J. 1963. *John Nicol Farquhar: A Memoir*. Calcutta: Association Press (YMCA).
- . 1965. *Not to Destroy but to Fulfill: The Contribution of J. N. Farquhar to Protestant Missionary Thought in India before 1914*. Uppsala: Gleerup.
- . 1979. "The Legacy of J. N. Farquhar." *Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research* 3(2):61–64.
- . 1980. "Comparative Religion at the University of Manchester, 1904–1979." *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 63(1):144–70.
- SLATER, THOMAS. 1906. *The Higher Hinduism in Its Relation with Christianity: Certain Aspects of Hindu Thought from the Christian Standpoint*. London: Elliot Stock.
- STANFORD DAILY. 1921. November 15, 3.
- STANLEY, BRIAN. 2009. *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.
- STEVENSON, SINCLAIR. 1915. *The Heart of Jainism*. London: Oxford University Press.
- . 1920. *The Rites of the Twice Born*. London: Oxford University Press.
- . 1930. *Without the Pale: The Life Story of an Outcaste*. Calcutta: Association Press (YMCA).
- SUGIRTHARAJAH, SHARADA. 2003. *Imagining Hinduism: A Postcolonial Perspective*. London: Routledge.
- THOMPSON, E. W. 1901. "The Arya Samaj and Christian Missions in Bengal." *Harvest Field* 12(10):361–68.
- THE TIMES (LONDON). 1947. "Obituary: Bishop Whitehead Forty Years in India." April 17, 7.
- THE TIMES OF INDIA. 1919. October 22, 11.
- . 1920. November 25, 9.
- . 1921. "Book Island at the Peoples Fair." November 26, 11.
- . 1922. "Village Gods." July 12, 11.
- . 1929. "Dr. J.N. Farquhar's Death: Service to India." July 20, 11.
- . 1937. "Dr. K.J. Saunders: The Man Who Devoted Life to Indian Students." December 9, 18.
- URQUHART, MARGARET M. 1925. *Women of Bengal*. Calcutta: Association Press (YMCA).

- VAN DEN BOSCH, LOURENS P. 2002. *Friedrich Max Müller: A Life Devoted to the Humanities*. Leiden: Brill.
- VAN DER VEER, PETER. 1999. "Monumental Texts: The Critical Edition of India's National Heritage." In *The Resources of History: Tradition, Narration and Nation in South Asia*, ed. Jackie Assayag, 113–27. Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient.
- . 2001. *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- VANDEVELDE, IRIS. 2011. "Reconversion to Hinduism: A Hindu Nationalist Reaction against Conversion to Christianity and Islam." *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 34(1):31–50.
- VIDAL, DENIS. 1997. "Max Müller and the Theosophists or the Other Half of Victorian Orientalism." In *Orientalism and Anthropology: From Max Müller to Louis Dumont*, eds. Jackie Assayag, Roland Lardinois, and Denis Vidal, 17–29. Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondichéry.
- WALTER, HOWARD A. 1914. "Islam in Kashmir." *The Muslim World* 4(4):140–52.
- . 1918. *The Ahmadiya Movement*. Calcutta: Association Press (YMCA).
- W. D. S. 1917. Review of *The Village Gods of South India*, by Henry Whitehead. *American Journal of Theology* 21(1):157.
- WHITEHEAD, HENRY. 1921. *The Village Gods of South India*. 2nd rev. ed. Calcutta: Association Press (YMCA).
- YMCA. 1920. *Report of the National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations of India and Ceylon, to the Tenth National Convention at Calcutta November 23–27, 1920*. Cuttack: Orissa Mission Press.
- . 1932. "Literature Department." Typescript, January 1. Kautz Family YMCA Archives, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. IWI, Box 1, Folder: "Physical Education College, 1922–1939."