

The Writings of William Carey: Journalism as Mission in a Modern Age

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ABSTRACT

William Carey is reviewed as both product and producer of journalism, with an emphasis on the latter and its synergistic relationship to his mission work and the work of others. Carey's philosophy of life was formed largely by the written works of his predecessors and contemporaries. Specifically, Jonathan Edwards, John Bunyan, Jeremy Taylor, Captain James Cook, and Robert Hall, among others, clearly affected his outlook on theology, missions, Bible translation, ecumenism, and a host of related topics. Writings by Cook opened Carey's eyes to distant people, whom he evaluated in the light of his journalistically influenced theology. Consequently, Carey became concerned about the spiritual and moral state of the world abroad. His concern found expression in the

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Enquiry – a polemic for missionary work – and ultimately led him to Bengal, where his own attempts to influence people through journalism expanded.

Carey's own writings and those of his colleagues at the Serampore Mission are the most obvious examples of his journalistic works. But they hardly stand alone. Thus, after the authors describe the emergence and significance of the Enquiry and the Serampore Press, they refer to other publications printed either at Serampore or elsewhere in response to the press' influence. Among these are works as diverse as textbooks, governmental publications, and periodical apologetics for Hinduism. The Serampore mission's expansion of Indian literacy also is reviewed because of its relevance to understanding the influence of others' writings on his life's philosophy and work. It further helps to shed light on Carey's distinct approach to evangelization, presented herein as a form of inculturation. Lastly, many would not have become readers of the mission's works had it not equipped them to read through its network of native schools. The authors suggest that Serampore's journalistic mission extended beyond the mere production of writings; it also included the production of a readership.

Introduction

The eighteenth-century English missionary William Carey (1761–1834) is remembered for his outstanding missiological significance. His life has been the topic of no fewer than fifty biographical profiles, most focusing centrally on his missionary endeavors and their present significance (George 1991: 38).¹ But Carey was by no means a man of singular pursuit. As Da Vinci and Pascal before him, he typified the Renaissance man, one whose multidisciplinary achievements were many and monumental. The venerated missionary was also described as a “great . . . statesman, an erudite Oriental scholar, a gifted translator, a learned professor, a skilled botanist, [and] a true friend of Bengal and India” (Davis 1963: 73). If

¹ Carey's pioneering tie to the modern Protestant missionary movement has long been popularly recognized. Stanley affirmed that “Carey's initiative was significant because it led to the formation of the first of the evangelical missionary societies” (1990, 56). Indeed, he was hailed by Smith as “the Founder and Father of modern missions” (1885, 437). Demonstrating the significance of Carey's contributions, Smith compared him with other notable figures from English history:

Chaucer, the Father of English Verse; Wiclif [sic], the Father of the Evangelical Reformation in all lands; Hooker, the Father of English Prose; Shakspeare [sic], the Father of English Literature; Milton, the Father of the English Epic; Bunyan, the Father of English Allegory; Newton, the Father of English Science, [and] Carey, the Father of the Second Reformation through Foreign Missions (439).

these characterizations are valid – and credible documents suggest that they are – it is surprising that so little primary attention has been paid them by biographers. Most profiles have displayed them as secondary brush strokes in portraits of Carey the missionary.

When considered collectively, the primary and secondary documents reviewed herein reveal a William Carey whose mark was etched deeply on a variety of secular disciplines. They speak of a man who blessed India with increased agro-horticultural awareness, marked social reform, widespread education, and linguistic/literary cultivation, including the launch of its native-language journalistic tradition. Even those offended by his missionary ambitions have recognized the enormity of Carey's secular bequests.²

William Carey was both a product and producer of communication. The ideals that inspired his momentous undertakings were molded largely by the written communications of others. Carey responded to their influence by disseminating his own beliefs through books, pamphlets, periodicals, and other such journalistic endeavors. Consequently, he ignited a journalistic explosion that was as remarkable as Carey's present obscurity to journalism historians.³ In many ways, his journalistic endeavors became the channel or vehicle through which he carried forth his missionary work: they were both catalyst and by-product of his efforts.

Admittedly, Carey's journalistic role has not been entirely ignored. Few writings about his life fail to mention the many religious and secular publications that circulated from his Serampore Press. Potts (1967) presented one of the most extensive reviews of the topic, devoting a

² Kesavan (1985, vol. 1) observed,

However wroth one is with the sentiments expressed . . . by the early missionaries about the "heathen" and . . . "superstitious beliefs," one cannot but admire what was virtually a martyrdom of the highest calibre of a man of God like William Carey . . . whose gift to India, though a by-product of . . . fierce burning religious zeal, is something we can never forget. (xix)

³ The authors adopt Harkavy's definition of journalism for the purpose of their analysis of Carey's array of writing. Journalism is defined as "preparation of information for communications media, including newspapers [and] magazines" (Harkavy 1991: 581). As implied by this definition, mass mediated communications need not necessarily concern recent news happenings to qualify as journalism.

lengthy chapter to it in his profile of British Baptist missionaries to India. Works by De (1919), Ghosh (1976), and Kesavan (1985), among others, discussed Carey's journalism as well, but did so only to the extent permitted by the narrowed scopes of their expansive historico-literary studies. However, on the whole, Carey's endeavors have been paid remarkably unbalanced attention by writings devoted to their exposition. As such, the authors' purpose here is to compensate, in part, for that disparity by reviewing and evaluating William Carey the journalist and, in the process, to attempt to present a more rounded profile of William Carey's relationship to journalism.

Overview of Organization

In light of the foregoing, William Carey will be reviewed as both product and producer of journalism, with an emphasis on the latter and its synergistic relationship to his mission work and the work of others. Carey's philosophy of life was formed largely by the written works of his predecessors and contemporaries. Specifically, Jonathan Edwards, John Bunyan, Jeremy Taylor, Captain James Cook, and Robert Hall, among others, clearly affected his outlook on theology, missions, Bible translation, ecumenism, and a host of related topics. Writings by Cook opened his eyes to distant people, whom he evaluated in the light of his journalistically influenced theology. Consequently, Carey became concerned about the spiritual and moral state of the world abroad. His concern found expression in the *Enquiry*⁴ – a polemic for missionary work – and ultimately led him to Bengal, where he remained influenced by others' writings and where his own attempts to influence people through journalism expanded.

Carey's own writings and those of his colleagues at the Serampore Mission are the most obvious examples of his journalistic works. But they hardly stand alone. Thus, after the authors describe the emergence and significance of the *Enquiry* and the Serampore Press, they refer to other publications printed either at Serampore or elsewhere in response to the

⁴ Carey, W. *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens*. London: The Carey Kingsgate 1961.

press' influence. Among these are works as diverse as textbooks, governmental publications, and periodical apologetics for Hinduism.⁵ The Serampore mission's expansion of Indian literacy also is reviewed because of its relevance to understanding the influence of others' writings on his life's philosophy and work. It further helps to shed light on Carey's distinct approach to evangelization, presented herein as a form of inculturation (Reiser 1981: 135).⁶ Lastly, many would not have become readers of the mission's works had it not equipped them to read through its network of native schools. The authors suggest that Serampore's journalistic mission extended beyond the mere production of writings; it also included the production of a readership.

The Enquiry

Background and Emergence of the Enquiry

During his years in England, the only formal work published by Carey was the *Enquiry*. The idea for the publication came about during a fundraising trip Carey made to Birmingham on behalf of his church in Moulton. While on this visit, he was encouraged by Thomas Potts, a local businessman, to place his enthusiastic case for missions into print.

Carey was initially reluctant to meet the challenge. After returning from Birmingham, he encouraged others to publish on the topic. When they expressed reservation, Carey relayed to them

that in the warmth of conversation at Birmingham, he had said that he was resolved to do all in his power to set a foot on a Baptist mission. "Well," said his friend, "print upon the subject; I will help bear the expense." "That," he replied, "he could not do." "If you cannot do it as you wish,

⁵ The authors have chosen for the sake of practicality to limit this category to publications issued prior to Carey's death in June 1834.

⁶ Inculturation has been defined as "the process of a deep, sympathetic adaptation to an appropriation of a local cultural setting in which the Church finds itself in a way that does not compromise its basic faith in Christ" (Reiser 1981: 135). In this setting, evangelization means "the intimate transformation of authentic cultural values through their integration in Christianity in a process of inculturation" (Zukowski 1994: 165).

yet do it as well as you can," said his friend; "you have just now bound yourself to do all you can for this purpose, and I must keep you to your word." (Ryland 1818: 137)

In John Ryland's words, Carey had been trapped by his own zeal.

Upon hearing this story, Carey's colleagues encouraged him to write the work and to allow them to review it upon completion for editing of its substance. Their challenge to him appears to have been issued at a ministers' fraternal meeting in the spring of 1791. Recalling the occasion, the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) (1811) reported, "The only resolution that was formed however at this time was, that as Mr. Carey was known to have a manuscript by him on the subject, he should be requested to revise and print it for the consideration of the religious public." (4)

The *Enquiry* was published three years after Carey's move to Leicester. Its wealth of historical and statistical information suggests that he referred heavily to printed resources while compiling it, a point inferentially supported by J.C. Marshman (1859, vol. 1) who wrote that Carey, while in Leicester, befriended a Mr. Arnold, whom he described as "a great lover of polite literature" (12).

Carey's work was printed by Ann Ireland sometime during the winter of 1791-92. Payne (cited in W. Carey 1961, v) observed that those associated with the *Enquiry's* printing and distribution were reputed radicals. Richard Phillips, publisher of the *Leicester Herald*, was prosecuted by the government for circulating Paine's *The Rights of Man*. John Ireland, possibly the husband of the printer, was threatened with similar prosecution. London distributors T. Knott, of Lombard Street, and Joseph Johnson were no less suspect for their strong political views (v-vii).

Copies of the *Enquiry* each sold for one shilling, six pence (W. Carey 1792: 1). Though circulation figures for the original issue are unavailable, initial demand for it must not have been high, for the work was not reprinted until 1818, well after word of Carey's monumental undertakings in India had spread throughout his homeland.

Description of the Enquiry

Carey quoted several biblical proof texts in his case for missionary outreach, but the most prominent and, perhaps, most potent passage was

an excerpt from the tenth chapter of Romans that was printed on the *Enquiry's* title page:

How then shall they call on him, in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a Preacher? and how shall they preach except they be sent? (W. Carey 1792: 1)

The four-page introduction that followed summarized Carey's forthcoming argument and the philosophy of history from which it extended. Through inductive reasoning, Carey led readers from the premise that Christians are to pray for the coming of Christ's kingdom to the conclusion that its establishment should be expedited through missionary outreach by those who "are the subjects of grace, and partakers of the spirit of universal benevolence and genuine philanthropy, which appears to be eminent in the character of God himself" (3).

Carey further defined his premise, asserting that God's purpose in history is the establishment of his kingdom through humankind, an objective unfulfilled in previous generations, including those of Noah, Abraham, and Christ's apostles. Carey blamed the delay on the indolence of those entrusted by God with the responsibility of promoting the kingdom through evangelistic endeavor. Though sporadic efforts were ongoing, he added, "they are inconsiderable in comparison of what might be done if the whole body of Christians entered heartily into the spirit of the divine command on this subject" (5).

Carey concluded the publication's introductory section by defining his intended remedy:

I shall enquire, whether the Commission given by our Lord to his disciples be not still binding on us, – take a short view of former undertakings, – give some account of the present state of the world, consider the practicality of doing something more than is done, and the duty of Christians in general in this matter. (6)

In the first of the book's five chapters, Carey squarely tackled the question he had earlier posed to the chagrin of the elder Ryland – "whether the Commission given by our Lord to his disciples be not still binding on us" (7). Chapter one concluded with his refutation of several less prominent objections to missionary effort.

In the second chapter, Carey presented a "Short Review of Former Undertakings for the Conversion of the Heathen" (14). The evangelism of New Testament church leaders was summarized in fourteen pages. Peter's reference to a church in Babylon, John's preaching in India, Paul's journey to Spain, and Matthew's ministry in Arabia were among several extra-scriptural traditions Carey recited (28), as well as the writings of second-century historians Justin Martyr and Irenaeus, who indicated that succeeding generations of Christians continued sowing spiritual seed among the nations, as if bound by duty. The *Enquiry's* second chapter concluded by lauding the Moravians and John Wesley for exercising their missionary ideals in the West Indies, among other places.

In the *Enquiry's* third chapter, after presenting a summarized statistical view of the world, Carey suggested that many of the world's peoples practice cruelties and perversions not because they are intrinsically predisposed to do so, but because they are coerced by external influences. Factionalism among Muslims and criticism of what he considered doctrinally void Christian sects – Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy, Lutheranism, and Anglicanism – comprised the final points of discussion in the *Enquiry's* third chapter.

The book's fourth chapter began with the twenty-two-page compilation of statistics on the population, geographical size, and religious state of each nation of the world. Spaces for statistical entries were marked "undiscovered" for only two of the 236 geographical regions listed, a fact which speaks volumes about the thoroughness of Carey's research. Still, he readily acknowledged the study's deficiencies immediately at the listing's conclusion:

This, as nearly as I can obtain information, is the state of the world; though in many countries, as Turkey, Arabia, Great Tartary, Africa, and America, except the United States, and most of the Asiatic Islands, we have no accounts of the number of inhabitants that can be relied on. I have therefore only calculated the extent, and counted a certain number on an average upon a square mile. (62)

Carey concluded the fourth chapter by describing what commissioners should expect of missionaries and what missionaries should require of commissioners. He also offered suggestions that he believed would enhance the missionary's ability to effectively communicate the gospel to natives.

In the *Enquiry's* final chapter, Carey attempted to emphasize the inter-related significance of the previous chapters' content. Carey then proposed the formation of a missionary society among the Particular Baptist denomination:

I do not mean by this, in any wise to confine it to one denomination of Christians. . . . But in the present divided state of Christendom, it would be more likely for good to be done by each denomination engaging separately in the work, than if they were to embark in it conjointly. (85)

Carey concluded the *Enquiry* by reminding readers of the ultimate significance of missionary work:

What a heaven will it be to see the many myriads of poor heathens, of Britons amongst the rest, who by their labours have been brought to the knowledge of God. Surely a crown of rejoicing like this is worth aspiring to. Surely it is worth while to lay ourselves out with all our might, in promoting the cause, and kingdom of Christ. (87)

Significance of the Enquiry

The *Enquiry's* perceived significance increased as its author put into practice the message he had passionately penned on its pages. Those wishing to understand the origins of the modern Protestant missionary movement turn to the publication as a supreme resource. As Payne (cited in W. Carey 1792) noted, Carey

had few literary graces. He shunned the limelight. He belonged to one of the less prosperous Dissenting bodies. Nor was his a picturesque personality in the sense in which such a description is usually applied. Yet when he died forty years later, a revolution in the position and outlook of the Christian Church had taken place, and by common consent he had himself had an outstanding part in it. (ii)

In some ways, then, the *Enquiry* was Carey's prototypical journalistic endeavor that would later challenge the religious status quo at home and abroad as it pertained to world outreach. Its pages provide a glimpse into the "who, what, when, where, and why" of the eighteenth-century Protestant missionary movement. According to Carey, missionaries must do more than merely inform a culture of the saving grace of Jesus Christ,

but reform and transform it from within through a variety of communication strategies, both written and oral.

Carey's early and relatively inexperienced work with the *Enquiry* allowed him to build support for and later give impetus to the literary works that developed on the field. The *Enquiry*, most obviously, was Carey's theological and moral justification for his missionary work to the "heathen." Yet in many ways it would awaken him to the power of the pen to both justify and edify the masses. In fact, it was through this work that Carey both shut down detractors to his cause and encouraged others to join his missionary ranks. His work with the Serampore Press was a natural extension of this early effort.

Serampore and "Journalism as Mission"

Carey's religious convictions about missionary work led to action. In 1792, he was part of a five-member group that established the Particular Baptist Society, later to be known as the Baptist Mission Society, whose purpose was "propagating the gospel among the heathen," according to minutes of that meeting (October 2, 1792). In January 1793, when John Thomas, a surgeon who had engaged in missionary activity in Calcutta, was invited to a meeting of this society, Carey was appointed, at his own request, to accompany Thomas back to India. Carey sailed away on the Danish vessel *Kron Princess Maria*, never to return to his homeland again. On that day in June 1793, his missionary calling was activated.

William Ward – a printer Carey met in England who since had been commissioned to join him in Bengal – arrived with Joshua Marshman and six other BMS commissaries on October 13, 1799, and in doing so marked the beginning of the mission's most prosperous era in the region. Carey, Marshman, and Ward would become soul brothers whose lofty accomplishments extended from a devotion to one another that was exceeded in intensity only by their love for God (J.C. Marshman 1859: vol. 2).

Slavery, self-torture, abortion, and euthanasia were just some of the social ills addressed by the Serampore missionaries – issues that would eventually find their way into print. Their efforts to transform native culture did not always meet with success, however. Euthanasia, for exam-

ple, remained a problem at the time of Carey's death on June 9, 1834, evidenced by an April 30, 1835, *Friend of India* article against that practice.

The number of nationals recorded as having converted to Christianity because of Serampore's influence reflected little more success. Many of the 1,407 persons identified as having converted between 1800–1821 in *Reply of the Serampore Missionaries to the Attack Made On Them in No. III of the Oriental Magazine* were Europeans (Potts 1967: 35), and doubts about the conversions of others found repeated expression in BMS documents of the period.

Still, there can be little doubt that the Baptist missionaries indelibly altered the cultural face of India. Whether in printing, journalism, education, or social reform, the mission's accomplishments are attributable primarily to the man whose vision made them all possible, a point supported by Kesavan (1985, vol. 1): "Without Carey's inspiring catalysis, the rest of the names would spell nothing. Without being blasphemous, we have to view the Carey-Marshman-Ward amalgam as a sort of a Holy Trinity" (242).

Despite unstable relations with the government and occasional pressure from the BMS, the journalism-centered philosophy that defined much of the mission's evangelistic course of action was succinctly summarized by J.C. Marshman (1859, vol. 1):

They regarded it as the duty of a missionary to obtain as complete a knowledge as possible of the language and religious institutions, the literature, and the philosophy of the people among whom he laboured, and to leave a record of his acquisitions, through the medium of the press, for the benefit of his successors. They considered that every contribution to this store of knowledge was an additional facility for the prosecution of missionary labours, and they were anxious that these researches should go hand-in-hand with the communication of secular and divine truth to the people. (465–466)

So extensive were the ensuing BMS contributions to publishing in the country that Priolkar (1958) remarked, "printing in India could be said to have its origin at Serampore" (70).⁷

⁷ Printing actually first appeared in the country two centuries before Carey's birth. According to Kesavan (1985, vol. 1), a printing press departed Portugal on a ship bound

Few of the works published in Calcutta by the time of Carey's arrival were composed in native languages and fonts. Bengali literature was practically nonexistent at the time, the only works being traditional religious biographies, songs, and doctrinal statements. According to Ghosh (1976), the Bengali language was not set into print until 1778, when Charles Wilkins, the father of Bengali printing, published Nathaniel Brassey Halhead's Bengali grammar (97). Kesavan (1985, vol. 1) reports that Wilkins printed a total of thirteen works before returning to England in 1786 (206).

Carey purchased the first printing press for BMS work in Bengal a year before the arrival of fellow missionaries Ward and Marshman. In a September 26, 1798, letter written to a Mr. M. in Clipstone, Carey (personal communication) wrote,

Sometime ago I saw a printing press advertised in one of the Calcutta papers, which was then just landed from England. I considered this opportunity too favorable to be neglected. I therefore wrote to know its price, and have since bought it for 400 Sicca rupies. I had written long ago about types, and very lately received a proposal for casting and furnishing them, and every other article for printing my large work [his Bengali Bible], for 4,500 Sicca rupies.

Carey did not plan to delay printing until the arrival of the printer he had requested from BMS headquarters in England. In a letter to Ryland recorded in the *Periodical Accounts of the Baptist Missionary Society* (Ryland 1824, vol. 2), Carey wrote,

I have the pleasure to inform you that I think this great object now nearly accomplished [publishing 2,000 copies of the Bengali New Testament]. We have a press, and I have succeeded in procuring a sum of money sufficient to get types cast. . . . The work is now begun, and I hope may be completed in less than five months, by which time the copy will be in forwardness to begin upon. (24)

for Goa on March 29, 1556. A year later, St. Francis Xavier's *Catechism* became one of the first works printed at that settlement on India's western coast. *Confecionarios*, *Doctrina Christa*, and the anti-Semitic *Tratado que fez Mestre Hieronimo - Contra los Judeos* were printed there around the same time (15-19).

The arrival of Ward, of course, altered Carey's plans. A former editor of the *Hull Advertiser* (Potts 1967: 17), Ward contributed a wealth of experience to the Serampore Press and it soon experienced remarkable growth. His December 28, 1803, journal entry indicated that the mission was searching for a second press, and the May 8, 1804, entry recorded that he and Carey had traveled to Calcutta in search of one. According to a March 25, 1813, letter from Carey to Fuller (personal communication), the number of presses operating at Serampore had increased to five or six, and the need for one or two more was expressed. In a July 20, 1814, letter to his sisters (personal communication), Carey indicated that the number of presses had again increased: "The call for the Scriptures is so great that all our exertions, with ten presses constantly at work, cannot supply the demand." The number of presses in operation had doubled to twenty by 1820, according to the *Annual Report of the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society* for that year.

Printing at the mission was significantly upgraded in 1811, when it started using movable types created initially by J.C. Marshman. "I must add a word relative to the moveable types," he wrote in a December 1813, letter to Ryland (personal communication):

We have now brought them fully to bear, and are therefore able in some degree to appreciate the value of them. One instance of their utility you have already seen is our being enabled to get and correct ten or twelve proofs of one sheet, before we finally strike it off. This however we could not have done in wood. There all is immovable: no improvement after the chisel has begun its work, but by means almost equally expensive with cutting a new block. . . . But the moving of a few characters up or down, or the replacing them with others, is the work of far less number of minutes.⁸

The literary output described below clearly identifies the mission's philosophy and strong evangelistic purpose – as earlier set forth by the *Enquiry*. But it also tells of a desire for social justice and reform on a

⁸ Marshman (personal communication) estimated in the same letter that movable types would cost the mission 25 percent of what it cost to use wood. "The fine strokes of the wood types necessarily wear down in a short time, and injure the legibility of their impression," Marshman added. "Wood wears down far quicker, unless the types are made very large, in which case they increase the bulk of the book and the expense of the paper."

national scale. The Serampore Press was, like any journalistic effort, influenced by its socio-cultural environment. As evidenced by the categories of works that follow, social reform – whether initiated through an attack on slavery or euthanasia, support for literacy, education, or awareness of and access to governmental services – played a significant role in Serampore’s mission. It was within this rich context that the idea of a socially responsible “Christian” press began to emerge – one that not only saves souls with the message of Christ but educates those souls on how to live just and responsible lives. Many of the early efforts described below would lay a foundation for later indigenous self-improvement efforts of the journalistic kind.

Literary and Journalistic Output

A review of Carey’s works and others printed in response to his influence would be well served by a prefatory consideration of Carey’s work ethic, which substantially affected the output of the press at Serampore. Carey was seriously intent on his ministerial call. His mannerisms had changed little when he penned a letter dated June 12, 1806, to Ryland in which he (personal communication) again recited his daily schedule:

I rose this day at a quarter before six, read a chapter in the Hebrew Bible, and spent the time till seven in private addresses to God and then attended family prayer with the servants in Bengalee. While tea was pouring out, I read a little in Persian with a Moonshi who was waiting when I left my bedroom. Read also before breakfast a portion of the Scriptures in Hindoosthanee. The moment breakfast was over I sat down to the translation of the Ramayana from Sangskrit, with a pundit. . . . Continued this translation until ten o’clock, at which time I went to the College, and attended the duties there til between one and two o’clock. When I returned home, I examined a proofsheets of the Bengalee translation of Jeremiah, which took till dinnertime. . . . After dinner translated with the assistant of the chief pundit of the college, greatest part of the eighth chapter of Matthew, into Sangskrit. This employed me till six o’clock. After six sat down with a Telinga pundit . . . to learn that language. Mr. Thomas called in the evening; I began to collect a few previous thoughts into the form of a sermon, at seven o’clock, and preached in English at half past seven. . . . The congregation was gone by nine o’clock. I then sat down to write to you.

After this I conclude the evening by reading a chapter in the Greek testament, and commending myself to God. I have never more time in a day than this, though the exercises vary.

If Carey's schedule was overburdened, it was because he chose it to be so. His devotion to the ministry was so intense that he (personal communication) complained in an August 22, 1805, letter to Sutcliff, "Every letter I write is at the expense of a chapter of the Bible, which would have been translated in that time." His son Jonathan later observed, "So scrupulous was he of his time, that, if overcome by sleep, he would double his vigilance to regain what he had lost" (cited in E. Carey 1832: 430). Quotations such as these underscore the statement of self-assessment Carey offered later in life:

If, after my removal, anyone should think it worth his while to write my life, I will give you a criterion by which you may judge of its correctness. If he gives me credit for being a plodder, he will describe me justly. Anything beyond this will be too much. I can plod. I can persevere in any definite pursuit. (xv)

Biblical Translations

If one's dedication to his or her calling shows in the fruits of his or her labor, it is hardly surprising that Carey produced as much literature in Bengal as he did. Perhaps his greatest literary contribution to the region was the large volume of biblical translations printed by the mission during his lifetime.

Kesavan (1985, vol. 1) listed forty-seven languages and dialects into which the press at Serampore printed biblical translations between the years 1800 and 1834 (254). Carey was personally responsible for twenty-nine of the translations, according to Chatterjee (1984). He translated the entire Bible into Assamese, Bengali, Hindee, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, and Sanskrit and portions of it into Baloochi, Bhatenari, Bhugelkhand, Bikaniri, Brajghasa, Dogri, Gujrathi, Haroti, Kanarese, Kashmeri, Khasi, Konkani, Koshal, Mughodi, Mooltani, Marwari, Mewari, Nepali, Poosthu, Telugu, and Uijaini (vi).

Serampore's translation projects as a whole were remarkably successful, despite their imperfections. The Bibles accounted for the bulk of a publishing enterprise that is given contextual significance by Kesavan

(1985, vol. 1): "In 34 years, 212,000 volumes in 40 different languages, were printed on a hand-press, all the types being cast in the Serampore type-foundry" (247).

Grammars and Dictionaries

Biblical translations, of course, were not the only publications to come from the press at Serampore. Among the volumes of non-biblical books produced, there were a number of works composed by Carey himself. According to Chatterjee (1984), Carey compiled grammars in Bengali, Sanskrit, Telugu, Punjabi, Kurnata, Marathi, and Bhotani (vii). All but the Sanskrit grammar were specifically attributed to him five years before his death in *Periodical Accounts from the Serampore Mission* (216–218).⁹

The mission's grammars were complemented by its production of dictionaries for many of the same languages. The most outstanding dic-

⁹ Carey (personal communication), however, claimed to have published a Sanskrit grammar in a letter to Ryland dated December 10, 1811, in which he also stated his intention to compile and publish grammars in eight other languages. He succeeded with only three of the languages. Carey's reason for publishing grammars was set forth in the same letter:

I have of late been much impressed with the vast importance of laying a foundation for Biblical criticism in the East, by preparing grammars of the different languages into which we have translated or may translate the Bible. Without some such step, they who follow us will have to wade through the same labour that I have, in order to stand merely upon the same ground that I now stand upon. If however elementary books are provided, the labour will be greatly contracted; and a person will be able in a short time to acquire that which has cost me years of study and toil.

Carey was not the only missionary at Serampore to produce a grammar. J.C. Marshman's *Clavis Sinica* introduced readers to the Chinese language. Accusations of plagiarism surfaced when it was published because a Dr. Morrison had published a Chinese grammar around the same time, according to J.C. Marshman (1859, vol. 2). The Serampore missionary responded to the accusations with an exculpatory letter in which he observed that Morrison's work had been detained at a government office in Calcutta; thus, he had no access to it. Differences between the works affirmed their distinctiveness, he added (88–90).

The listing in *Periodical Accounts from the Serampore Mission* (1829) also identified Carey's son Felix as the author of a grammar published by the mission (216–218). His work was devoted to the language of Burma, where he served as a missionary before his death at age 36 in 1822. According to J.C. Marshman (1859, vol. 2), Felix Carey's Bengali translations of Goldsmith's *History of England*, the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and a chemistry manual by a Mr Mack were also published (266).

tionary Carey lived to compile was his work in Bengali. Chatterjee (1984) identified three other languages for which Carey had composed dictionaries (vii). According to Kesavan (1985, vol. 1), the Bengali work spanned 2,000 pages, included 80,000 words, and required thirty years of work before its completion in 1825 (298). J.C. Marshman (1859, vol. 2) called it "the greatest work of Dr Carey's life, the translation of the Scriptures excepted." He also described it as "a noble monument of erudition and industry [that did] for the Bengalee language what Dr. Johnson had done for our own" (301).¹⁰

The works listed above demonstrate Carey and Serampore's dedication to printing more than linguistic and religious works. The missionaries wished not only to convert natives to Christianity, but also to improve their culture through social reform and literary cultivation. Carey's dedication to these aims often assumed written expression. His *Kathopakathan* was written to demonstrate the idiomatic usage and phraseology of Bengali for his students at the College of Fort William. He also put together *Itihas-mala*, a collection of approximately 150 stories in Bengali (De 1919: 148).

An objective of these initiatives was, of course, to develop a body of native language literature that would invite contributions from native speakers.¹¹ Students were encouraged not only to learn from books, but also to compose them, however amateurishly, according to *Periodical Accounts of the Baptist Missionary Society* (XXXIII):

¹⁰ Marshman produced an abridged version of this work sometime during the 1820s, a point evidenced by the *Periodical Accounts from the Serampore Mission* (216–218).

Marshman and Ward each composed several other works that were printed at Serampore. Besides the Chinese grammar, Marshman produced the *Dissertation on the Characters and Sounds of the Chinese Language* and *The Works of Confucius; Containing the Original Text, With a Translation* (Potts 1967: 196). The latter work was part of a series Marshman never finished.

Ward, meanwhile, composed *Memoir of Pitamber Sing*, his only Bengali language work (De 1919, 250), and the much larger *Account of the Writings, Religion, and Manners of the Hindoos* (Potts 1967: 92).

¹¹ One of the earliest nationals to contribute to Bengali literature was Carey pundit Ram Basu, whose history of Bengali was in the press by May 26, 1801, according to Ward's journal entry for that date. The November 13, 1802, entry of the same reported the purchase by the College of Fort William of 100 copies of a 250-page book by Basu that "consists of letters on different subjects written for the purpose of learning the language." Among other works by pundits published by the mission were *Hilopudeshu*, *History of Raja Krishnu Chundra*, *Rajavuli*, *Butrisha Singhasuna*, and *Tota Itihasu* (cited in Potts 1967: 97).

As each youth has to write out two books monthly, and is permitted to take them home, this opens the way for a succession of new ideas every month, to pervade every town and village in the circle wherein schools are established. In a circle containing a hundred schools, therefore, if we suppose that only twenty of the boys in each school thus write on paper, we shall have an edition of Two Thousand copies circulated monthly, of such ideas as may have been selected for this purpose, and circulated, too, by two thousand youths already acquainted with them, and disposed, from their novelty and the pleasing circumstances connected with receiving them, to read them with delight to their parents and relatives. Can there be a more effectual method of diffusing ideas, of the most valuable nature, in a Heathen country? (330)

Kathopakathan and other native language works printed by the mission for the College of Fort William had the additional purpose of teaching company employees respect for aspects of the surrounding culture. The Indian epic *Ramayana* was published for that purpose. According to the December 31, 1803, entry from Ward's journal, the mission on that date finished publishing the work in five volumes and sold one hundred copies of it to the college. Despite objections from BMS headquarters, Carey and his colleagues felt the publication of such works served a valuable purpose, namely the inculcation "on every missionary [of] the necessity of cultivating the literature of the country in which he resided, as far as it could be effected without relaxing his efforts to communicate the Gospel to the people" (J.C. Marshman 1859: 466).

The College of Fort William was not the only educational institution to benefit from the publishing effort at Serampore. The network of schools launched by J.C. Marshman also drew from the mission's printed resources. According to the *Annual Report of the Baptist Missionary Society - 1819*, the mission press had recently published for the schools an *Introductory Treatise on Arithmetic*, an *Introduction to the Knowledge of the Solar System*, a *Compendium of Geography*, an *Epitome of General History and Chronology*, and 2,000 copies of *Dig Durshana*, one of several periodicals started by the mission.

Tracts and Pamphlets

Perhaps more evangelistically effective than the mission's biblical translations were its tracts and pamphlets, which succinctly and persuasively summarized the missionaries' gospel message. One of the first was com-

posed for the missionaries by Ram Basu. In his August 31, 1800, journal entry, Ward wrote,

After dinner Bro. C. read & translated to us a most cutting piece in verse against the Brahmins, written by Ram Basu. It is only the first part, & yet it makes 190 lines. We have the honour of printing the first [pamphlet] in Bengalee, & this is the first piece in which Brahmins have been opposed in these 4,000 years perhaps.

By October 18, 1802, the mission "had already distributed 22,000 pamphlets or small tracts amongst the people," according to Ward's journal entry for that date. Carey (personal communication) put the figure at 20,000 in an August 31, 1802, letter to Ryland, in which he defined the objective of a publication he was planning to compose in Bengali:

The design is to prove to the nations of this country, that the gospel is a necessary blessing to them, on account of the total depravity of their hearts – the entire corruption of their customs – and the insufficiency and contradiction of the books by them accounted sacred. I intend that it should occupy about two hundred pages.

The pace of tract distribution did not waver in the years that followed, according to a later edition of *Periodical Accounts of the Baptist Missionary Society* (XXXIII):

Of the number of tracts thus printed and circulated within this period, we cannot speak precisely; but, if we take the year 1815 for a specimen, (and our opportunities of distribution are enlarging continually) the number cannot fall far short of Three Hundred Thousand, and it may, possibly, exceed that number, as those printed and distributed in the course of this year far exceed a Hundred Thousand. (J.C. Marshman 1859: 328)

The *Periodical Accounts from the Serampore Mission* (V) in 1830 listed the mission's series of tracts for five languages. Twenty-two tracts were listed for Bengali, twenty-three for Hindi, six for Urdu, five for Punjabi, and one for Nepali. "We have many more tracts in the Bengalee language, which we shall revise and reprint as we have opportunity," the mission reported. The publications listed ranged in length from three to seventy-one pages. Tracts in Burman, Chinese, and English were also identified as part of the mission's inventory (J.C. Marshman 1859: 346–350).

Native response to the tract distribution was mixed. The most hostile response was elicited by the tract of 1807. Ward recorded a less adverse reaction in his June 29, 1801, journal entry: "A Brahmin this evening went round amongst the people collected to hear Bro. C. in order to persuade them not to accept of our papers - 'Thus darkness struggles with light.'"

A different kind of reception awaited Ward and Krishna Pal, one of the mission's earliest converts, during a literature distribution excursion to Chandernagore. In his October 13, 1801, journal entry, Ward described the near hysteria that they met there:

One man begged hard for Creeshnoo's testament. He came to ask leave to give it to him. I told him to give it. One man, after hearing the word, came & made his prostration to me. I raised him up, and told him I was his brother. I was quite pleased to see the people eagerly come for books. We sent for more books from Serampore.

Occasionally the tracts produced conversions, such as that of the mission's first Brahmin convert (J.C. Marshman 1859: 174). The typical response to the missionaries' message, however, was heightened curiosity and nothing more. Such a reaction was described in an April 13, 1802, letter from the Serampore missionaries (personal communication) to BMS headquarters:

Within the last three months . . . we have had more people come to us for instruction than in any former period. Some have travelled, and that repeatedly, twenty, thirty, and even forty miles, professedly to enquire after this new way of salvation, concerning which they had obtained some information, either from seeing the papers which brother Ward circulated, or from conversing with those who had seen them.

Periodicals

The endeavor by the missionaries which qualified them as journalists under narrower definitions of the profession was their publication of periodicals.¹² Published mission communiqués excepted, the mission's first exercises of this type came with the introduction in 1818 of *Friend of India*

¹² See fn. 3, *supra*.

(monthly) and *Dig Durshana*, or *Magazine for Indian Youth*. The purpose of the former, an English language publication, was set forth in the prospectus of its inaugural May 1818 edition:

For the deliverance of this interesting portion of mankind [India and China] from this state of moral darkness and wretchedness, Britain seems evidently struck by Providence. . . . Britain however cannot exist in India, fraught as she now is with the knowledge both divine and human, without shedding forth light on the surrounding darkness; nor can her genuine sons . . . behold with an indifferent eye, the blessing evidently granted on the attempts to diffuse throughout India and the whole of Eastern Asia, the light of divine revelation. (J.C. Marshman 1859: i-ii)

With this condition in mind, the editors defined the thematic format of the publication to include "every thing communicated to them either of a religious or literary nature which has any bearing on the future happiness of India" (iii). As it had done previously because of reactions to its other secular publications, the mission defended its decision to include works in its publication that were more literary than theologically expository. "Without some idea of their literature, how can we become acquainted with the ideas and modes of expression common to those whose good we seek?" (iv). *Friend of India*, the missionaries added, would be published in small octavo size, would vary in length from 24-32 pages, and would be sold at one rupee per monthly issue (vi).

The periodical continued as a monthly publication until September 1820. Historical reviews of the region, its people, their culture, and their expression of it accounted for much of the magazine's content. Letters to the editors, obituaries, sections devoted to news from Europe and America, reports from religious and benevolent societies, and scientific articles (several of them authored by Carey) appeared regularly on its pages.

Friend of India became a quarterly publication in September 1820 and continued as such through 1825, when the mission stopped publishing it. Revived as a weekly in 1835, its slightly altered purpose was to promote the welfare of India via "the diffusion of correct information and just views respecting her interests, and the encouragement of right feeling towards her" (Potts 1967: 107). The publication was sold in 1875 to Robert Knight, who relocated it to Calcutta, where it continued to be

published under the title *The Statesman* during the latter twentieth century (107–109).

Dig-Durshana was introduced as a native language publication aimed at improving the minds of India's youth. "It is evident . . . that to render schools fully efficient, something is needed which may nourish the desire for information as it arises in the youthful mind," the missionaries explained in the May 1818 edition of *Friend of India*. "A small monthly publication, therefore, has been begun in the Bengalee language with the hope of exciting a love of reading in the minds of Native youth" (26). Describing the publication's format, the mission in *The Annual Report of the Baptist Missionary Society - 1819* observed that it consisted of

twenty-four pages, printed with a clear bold type, on good paper. It is intended that this little work shall contain sketches of history, anecdotes, accounts of the various discoveries made in Europe, and other information of that nature. Five numbers of this work have already been published, and it has met with a very favourable response (Potts 1967: 109).

The thematic content of *Dig-Durshana's* first issue was consistent with this description. Articles on the discovery of America, the geographical limits of Hindustan, agriculture, Sadler's aerial journey from Dublin to Hollyhead, and a review of court proceedings appeared in the pages of the inaugural issue. The magazine's content was presented in both English and Bengali. Only twenty-six issues were printed before the publication's demise in 1821, according to De (232).

Also launched by the mission in 1818 was *Sumachar Durpun*, or *The Mirror of Intelligence*, "the first Newspaper in the Vernacular Language of Bengal," according to *Periodical Accounts from the Serampore Mission* (cited in Potts 1967: 236). According to the mission's annual report for the year 1819, the purpose of this weekly publication was

to present a view of the most interesting events which occur both in the Indian and European world, as well as an account of recent discoveries from the various magazines, and of the exertions which are now made in the world for the diffusion of knowledge and the removal of human misery. (236)

De (1919) denied the missionaries' claim that this was the first periodical published in Bengali, pointing to the *Bengal Gazette*, which he said was

published sometime between 1816 and 1818. Still, he acknowledged the publication's watershed significance:

Though not the first newspaper in Bengali, *Sumachar Darpun* practically laid the foundation of vernacular journalism in Bengali by directing the attention and energy of the Bengali people to a neglected literary field which now so much engages their activity and affords so many opportunities for benefiting the country. (236–237)

Sumachar Durpun's circulation flowed through 360 mission stations before it ceased publication sometime after April 24, 1852 (237–242). Before its demise, the publication blazed several trails in Bengali journalism, including one related to frequency of circulation: "*Sumachar Durpun* . . . now takes the lead of all native papers, appearing *twice* a week, with no little labour, being published in Bengalee and English, line for line, in parallel columns," the missionaries reported in *Periodical Accounts from the Serampore Mission* (IX).

The *Durpun* is . . . exciting curiosity, promoting inquiry, and creating an ardour for information truly delightful. The *Native* correspondents amount to about a hundred, and the correspondence of the paper for the first quarter of this year, 1832, exceeded 400 letters. (De 1919: 606)

The report concluded with a listing of more than a dozen native language newspapers that had been published since the first printing of the *Durpun*, a sign that the journalistic revolution Carey triggered was well under way.

Not every native press was friendly to the missionaries, even though the existence of such presses was attributable to Serampore's influence. According to Ghosh (1976), *Sumachar Durpan's* refusal to print rebuttals to its attacks on Hinduism led natives to establish reactionary publications, including *Samvad Kaumudi* in 1821, *Samarchar Chandrika* in 1822, the *Vangadut* in 1829, and *Samvad Prabhakar* in 1831 (106). Nevertheless, without Carey's journalistic contributions, these counter-publications would not have sprung up.

Conclusion

William Carey's journalistic efforts did not die with him. His contribution to general literacy in India through dictionaries, Bible translations, and other writings helped open the door and pave the way for the impact that journalistic writing can have in any literate society. These efforts should not be overshadowed by the advances for the Christian church brought forth by the BMS in India.

The publishing enterprise that Carey and company started at Serampore encouraged other people to engage in journalism. Indeed, their press was the birthplace of vernacular literature and journalism in Bengal. In this sense, the father of Bengali journalism is vastly underestimated in the epithet on his tombstone in Serampore: "a wretched, poor and helpless worm" (Walker 1951: 256). Numerous biographies, literary histories, research papers and journal and magazine articles would never have been written had he not etched his mark so deeply on the journalistic face of India. Truly, his journalistic legacy lives on.

Carey's literary output at Serampore reinforces the powerful notion that "those who want to be active communicators for the Gospel must [first] be good listeners" (Zukowski 1994: 159). Put another way, "Information must not only go out from our evangelization efforts but must flow back in such a way that we, the evangelizers, also learn and are changed" (159). Carey's personal correspondence explains how he was deeply changed as a result of his many encounters with the people of India. Many of his writings were in direct response to such encounters and included efforts to address the social ills of the day. Carey would have undoubtedly agreed with Bernard Häring's statement that "the Church can be a prophetic voice if she is willing to listen and to share in the joys and hopes, the anguish and fears of all people" (cited in Zukowski 1994: 159).

Moreover, Carey's many publications demonstrate that he recognized the importance of using what the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization recently titled "imaginative pioneering methods," namely, an approach to evangelization that emphasizes the positive transformation and enrichment of culture (Lausanne). This approach to evangelization, foreshadowed by the efforts of Carey and the BMS in India, later led to a "new vocabulary in mission theology such as enculturation, accul-

turation, and inculturation” (Zukowski 1994: 163). Inculturation typifies the attempted approach of many modern-day missionary efforts in China, the Middle East and other countries where formal expression of the gospel is accompanied by harsh penalties. Robert White’s conception of the “public sphere” – which shifts emphasis away from a sender-oriented model to a participatory concept that studies group, or indigenous, media efforts – is a lineal descendent of this idea in the realm of mass communication efforts in Third World nations (Plude 1994: 189).

In short, William Carey’s life suggests that journalism is self-sustaining and even self-promoting. Those who purvey influence through journalistic means encourage others, in varying degrees, to do the same. Whichever factors determine the degrees of one’s journalistic influence, one thing is certain – they worked to Carey’s favor.

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Se revisa a William Carey como producto al igual que productor de periodismo, con un énfasis en lo segundo y su relación sinérgica con su trabajo misionero y el trabajo de otros. La filosofía de vida de Carey se conformó en gran parte

por las obras escritas de sus predecesores y contemporáneos. Particularmente, Jonathan Edwards, John Bunyan, Jeremy Taylor, Captain James Cook y Roberto Hall, entre otros, claramente tuvieron una influencia en su perspectiva sobre teología, misiones, traducción de la Biblia, ecumenismo y una serie de temas relacionados. Algunos escritos de Cook abrieron sus ojos para pueblos distantes a quienes evaluó bajo la luz de su teología influenciada por el periodismo. En consecuencia, Carey se preocupó con el estado espiritual y moral del mundo allá afuera. Su preocupación encontró expresión en su *Enquiry* una polémica en favor de la obra misionera y en último término lo llevó a Bengal, donde se ampliaron sus propios intentos de influenciar a la gente periodísticamente. Los propios escritos de Carey y los de sus colegas en la misión de Serampore son los ejemplos más evidentes de sus trabajos periodísticos. Pero de ninguna manera son los únicos. Por eso, después de describir el surgimiento y la importancia de *Enquiry* y de la prensa de Serampore, los autores se refieren a otras publicaciones que se imprimieron en Serampore o en otros lugares en respuesta a la influencia de la prensa. Entre estos están obras tan diversas como libros de textos, publicaciones gubernamentales y apologéticas del Hinduismo en los periódicos. También se analiza la expansión del alfabetismo en la India por la misión de Serampore, porque es relevante para comprender la influencia de los escritos de los otros sobre la filosofía y obra de su propia vida. Además ayuda a comprender el acercamiento característico de Carey a la evangelización, que aquí se presenta como una forma de inculturación. Por último, mucha gente no habría llegado a hacerse lectores de las obras de la misión si no hubieran aprendido a leer en la amplia red de las escuelas nativas. Los autores sugieren que la misión periodística de Serampore se extendía más allá de la simple producción de escritos; también incluyó la producción de una audiencia.

William Carey wird sowohl als Produkt als auch als Produzent von Journalismus gesehen, wobei das letztere in Beziehung zu seinem missionarischen Werk und der Arbeit anderer hervorgehoben wird. Carey's Lebensphilosophie wurde weitgehend geformt durch die schriftlichen Arbeiten seiner Vorgänger und Zeitgenossen. Insbesondere Jonathan Edwards, John Bunyan, Jeremy Taylor, Kapitän James Cook und Robert Hall hatten – neben anderen – nachweisbaren Einfluss auf seine Theologie, sein Missionsverständnis, die Bibelübersetzung, Fragen der Ökumene und eine Anzahl ähnlicher Themen. Schriften von Cook öffneten seine Augen für entfernt lebende Menschen, die er im Lichte seiner journalistisch beeinflussten Theologie bewertete. Daraus folgend interessierte sich Carey für die geistliche und moralische Lage der Welt in Übersee. Sein Interesse fand Ausdruck in seiner

„Untersuchung“ (enquiry) – einer Polemik zugunsten missionarischer Arbeit – und führte ihn unmittelbar nach Bengalen, wo seine eigenen Versuche, Menschen durch das Erstellen von Schriften zu beeinflussen, sich ausweiteten.

Carey's eigene Schriften und die seiner Kollegen an der Serampore-Mission sind die offensichtlichsten Beispiele seiner journalistischen Arbeit. Aber sie stehen allein. Nachdem der Autor das Entstehen und die Bedeutung der „Untersuchung“ (Enquiry) und der Druckerei von Sempore darstellt, bezieht er sich auf andere Publikationen, die entweder in Serampore oder anderswo – als Antwort auf Druckerzeugnisse von Serampore – erstellt wurden. Unter diesen sind unterschiedliche Arbeiten wie Textbücher, Publikationen der Regierung und apologetisch für den Hinduismus eintretende Periodika. Diese Publikationen sind von Bedeutung für das Verständnis des Einflusses der Schriften anderer für die Lebensphilosophie und das Werk Carey's. Es verhilft darüber hinaus zu einem vertieften Verständnis von Carey's Zugang zur Thematik der Evangelisation, der als eine Form von Inkulturation verstanden werden kann. Weiterhin ist die Arbeit von Schulen für Einheimische von Bedeutung, die dadurch, dass Lesen und Schreiben erlernt wurde, auch das Lesen missionarischer Arbeiten ermöglichte. Der Autor macht deutlich, dass die Wirkung der schriftstellerischen Arbeit von Serampore nicht nur im Erstellen von Publikationen bestand, sondern auch den Aufbau einer Leserschaft beinhaltete.

William Carey est présenté à la fois comme un produit et comme un producteur de journalisme, l'accent étant mis sur le second aspect et la synergie entre celui-ci et l'action missionnaire de Carey et d'autres. La philosophie de Carey fut dans une large mesure formée par les écrits de ses prédécesseurs et de ses contemporains. Plus précisément, ce sont Jonathan Edwards, John Bunyan, le capitaine James Cook, et Robert Hall, entre autres, qui eurent une influence très nette sur sa manière de voir la théologie, la mission, la traduction de la Bible, l'œcuménisme, et beaucoup d'autres thèmes. Les écrits de Cook l'ont rendu conscient des peuples lointains qu'il considéra ensuite à la lumière de sa théologie marquée par le journalisme. Par voie de conséquence, Carey s'intéressa ensuite à l'état spirituel et moral du monde d'outre-mer. Ses préoccupations s'exprimèrent dans *The Enquiry* – un écrit polémique en faveur de la mission – et le menèrent finalement au Bengale, où ses tentatives d'influencer ses semblables par le journalisme se développèrent.

Les écrits de Carey et ceux de ses collègues de la Mission de Serampore sont les exemples les plus significatifs de son œuvre de journaliste, mais ce ne sont pas les seuls. C'est pourquoi, après avoir analysé l'apparition et l'importance de

The Enquiry et de la presse de Serampore, les auteurs mentionnent d'autres publications imprimées soit à Serampore soit ailleurs, par suite de l'influence de la presse. Ces travaux comprennent aussi bien des manuels scolaires que des publications gouvernementales et des défenses de l'hindouisme. L'alphabétisation des indiens par la mission de Serampore est également analysée parce que cette étude nous aide à comprendre l'effet des écrits des autres sur le travail et la philosophie de William Carey. Elle permet aussi de mieux préciser la méthode propre à Carey en ce qui concerne l'évangélisation, méthode présentée ici comme une forme d'inculturation. Finalement, beaucoup de gens ne seraient jamais devenus lecteurs des ouvrages de la mission sans ce réseau des écoles autochtones. Les auteurs font valoir que la mission journalistique de Serampore a largement dépassé la simple production de matériels, puisqu'elle a aussi produit un lectorat.

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