Medical Missionaries and Modernity in South India: Ida Scudder (1870-1960) and the Christian Medical College

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Abstract

In recent academic works, the pioneering efforts of male missionaries in India in the nineteenth century have been recorded and analyzed in depth. However, these works have not sufficiently given attention to the labours of female missionaries. In particular, there is a lack of scholarship that examines the work of missionary women from a post-colonial perspective. This gap is due in part to the multivalent spaces women occupied, as wives and helpers as well as independent and often single missionary women. This thesis rectifies the lacuna in scholarship with a case study of Ida Sophia Scudder (1870-1960), a medical missionary in Vellore, South India. Ida Scudder lived within a specific moment of imperial history, beginning her missionary efforts at the height of Britain`s imperial power, and continuing her work within an independent India. I argue that she must be understood as constructing and participating in imperial modernity in South India, and that she was embroiled in a history that is at once resistant to patriarchal social structures and complicit within these frameworks of nineteenth century colonialism in South Asia. Through primary source archival research in selections from Ida Scudder's correspondence, this thesis seeks to contribute to the historiography of (white, imperial) feminism during the colonial period in South India, examining how Ida Scudder and her work operated within the intersection of religion, medicine, feminism, and colonialism.

Les études récentes sur l'histoire des missionnaires en Inde au dix-neuvième siècle analysent en profondeur les efforts de ces hommes pionniers. Cependant, ces travaux ne donnent pas suffisamment d'attention au travail de femmes missionnaires. Notamment, il manque d'études dévouées aux œuvres de femmes missionnaires à travers une perspective postcoloniale. Cette lacune s'explique en partie par les espaces multivalents que ces femmes occupaient en tant qu'épouses et assistantes, tout autant que femmes indépendantes et célibataires. Cette thèse rectifie ce décalage avec une étude de cas sur Ida Sophia Scudder (1870-1960), une médecin-missionnaire à Vellore, en Inde du Sud. Ida Scudder vît dans un moment précis de l'histoire impériale en Inde ; elle commença ses efforts de missionnaire à la hauteur de la puissance coloniale britannique, et continua son travail au sein d'un pays indépendant après 1948. Je soutiens que Scudder à la fois construit et participa dans une modernité impériale, et qu'elle est enracinée dans une histoire à la fois résistante aux structures sociales patriarcales et complice dans le cadre du colonialisme en Asie du Sud. En utilisant la recherche d'archives de source primaire dans les sélections de la correspondance d'Ida Scudder, cette thèse vise à contribuer à l'historiographie du féminisme (blanc, impérial) pendant la période coloniale dans le sud de l'Inde, en examinant comment Scudder et ses travaux opéraient à travers l'intersection de religion, médecine, féminisme, et colonialisme.

Contents

Introduction

Christian missionary activity in the British colonial empire raises difficult questions for social historians. Missionaries straddled cultural, social, and political divides and occupied liminal spaces between colonial rule and local populations. It is thus as difficult to generalize about one 'missionary project' stemming from different religious contexts that interacted with multiple cultures, as it is to make definitive statements concerning an individual missionary's motivation and purpose. Missionaries aided and complicated colonial rule in equal measure. Indeed, the primary sources from the imperial archive often portray them as interfering fools or insane zealots (Cox 2008, 4). The missionary figure is one who embodies a fundamental alterity. Scholarship has tended to mark individual contributions in terms of extremes, emphasizing for example, the 'heroism' of David Livingstone, the 'controversiality' of Roberto de Nobili, or deeds of 'the maverick' Joseph Booth (Northcott 1973; Županov 1999; Fielder 2016, respectively). Moreover, as we see in the above examples, male missionaries tend to be the focus of much scholarship on missionaries in South Asia. Indeed, until quite recently missionary work has been framed largely as a masculine enterprise. It is now recognized that despite the discrepancies in the archive, women played an active and influential role in mission history.

Retrieving women's history carries its own difficulties. In an effort to establish the place of Western women in colonial history, there has been a trend to elide uncomfortable tensions, such as hierarchies of race and class, in order to reclaim positive narratives. The idea of 'imperial feminism' has since been dismantled and academic feminist writing in the last two decades has taken strides to acknowledge the uneven relationship Western women held with Eastern women during imperial rule. The phrase "imperial feminism" was coined by Amos and Parmar, to describe how nineteenth century feminism tried to establish itself as the only legitimate form of political feminism (Amos and Parmar 1984, 3). Scholarship has also expanded the definition of mission work to include the work of missionary wives and daughters, as well as the large number of single women missionaries sent out in the nineteenth century (see Manktelow 2001, Singh 2010, Kent 2004, Semple 2003, Midgely 2007). Self-proclaimed feminist authors nuanced the interplay between colonizer and colonized which led to the piqued interest in the role suffragettes and female missionaries played in the imperial project (Haggis 1998, Burton 1994, Chaudhuri and Strobel 1992, among others). Significantly, the complexity of narrating women's history is complicated further when it is juxtaposed onto the already multivalent figure of the missionary.

One of the most prolific and influential 'dynasties' of missionaries in British India was the Scudder family, who belonged to the Reformed Church of America. The Scudders have been widely celebrated for the success of their missions and, in particular, Ida Sophia Scudder (1870-1960) for her founding of the Christian Medical College (CMC) in Vellore. The CMC was established as a women's only college in order to create a space where Indian women could be trained as Licensed Medical Practitioners (LMPs), and eventually to become doctors. Ida Scudder was the grand-daughter of John Scudder Sr. (1793-1855), the first Scudder to travel from America to Ceylon in order to proselytize and dispense medical aid. Due to his charisma and commitment to his belief in his missionary work, nearly every Scudder for three generations went on to become a medical missionary in India.

In this thesis I problematize the legacy of Ida Scudder and contextualize her life within the ideologies of imperial feminism, the mystique of the *zenana*, and prominent colonial discourses regarding women and medicine in the years leading to Indian independence in 1947. Like many women missionaries, Ida Scudder was simultaneously resistant to patriarchy and complicit with imperialism. She personally overcame many gender barriers of the time and advocated for higher learning institutions for women. She institutionalized conversion to Christian principles through her Medical College and Roadside Clinic. Furthermore, she established mandatory Bible study classes for her studies and proselytizing was a key element to the Roadside Clinic.

Ida Scudder came from a different background than the typical single missionary woman sent abroad. She was born in Ranipet, India and her first memories were of the starving children during the famine in 1870 (Scott 1970, 15). Her family gave bread to the children who congregated in front of their house, but she remembered that there was never enough food to go around. When she was an adolescent, she was described by many as being vehemently opposed to becoming a missionary because her memories of India were associated with a feeling of hopelessness. She returned to India, in what was supposed to be a temporary stay, where she had a life changing experience that left her determined to become a doctor and return to help Indian women in particular. It would be easy to read Ida Scudder's presence in India simply as a by-product of the call for female missionaries by various organizations, but when analysing her life's work and motivations, a complex picture of the changing methods of conversion emerges.

For primary source insight, this thesis relies predominantly on the Ida Scudder "Papers", an archive held at the Schlesinger Library at the Radcliffe Institute at Harvard University. This is a compilation of 146 folders consisting of diary entries (Box 1, Folders 41-45), letters, and important documents from the College and hospital. In addition to these materials, the archive includes glimpses of Ida Scudder's life through her peers, such as Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru (Box 3, Folder 89, Box 5, Folder 137), the hospital administrators at Christian Medical College in Vellore, the Mission, and her niece Ida B. Scudder. My analysis of Ida Scudder's personal writings focuses on the similarities between the rhetoric used by the *zenana* missions, imperial feminism, and sympathies to colonial rule. This method goes against the grain of previous accounts of Ida

Scudder's life, produced by those who view her through a celebratory missionary lens. The goal of the thesis is to move beyond a descriptive narrative of her life and achievements and to discuss her within the setting of modernity in a socio-religious context. In sum, through my reading of these primary sources and relevant secondary source literature, my thesis sheds new insight on the inter-connected discourses of science, religion, and gender in colonial India and thus contribute to an appreciation of the complexity of modernity in twentieth century South India.

A Brief History of Christianity in South India

The story of Christianity in India occupies a unique space in religious history. The earliest claimed converts were the Syrian Christians, also known as the Saint Thomas Christians in modern day Kerala. Saint Thomas the Apostle was said to have travelled to India and established the church in the second century BC and from there evangelised until his martyrdom in Mylapore (Bayly 1984, 244).[1] It is clear, then, that Christianity in India far precedes the advent of European colonialism and the Victorian ideology we often associate with missionaries. Unlike the mass conversions at the height of the British Raj, Syrian Christians were not low caste and had a long history of power and prestige. Tellingly, in a poem describing the societal classes of the St. Thomas Christians, no mention is made of the Dalit community (Frykenberg 2008, 99). Additionally, the St. Thomas Christians' high status was reflected in their rights to access to Hindu shrines and 'sacred space.' They were still

[1] The oldest comprehensive attempt at a history of Christianity in India is of course Stephen Neill's *A history of Christian Missions,* although what was meant to be a three part trilogy was never completed before he passed away. Neill was a Cambridge scholar as well as a bishop, and what set his history apart from the various other attempts at a Christian history (which by and large took a partisan view of the missionary project) was that he believed Christianity was as indigenous to India as it was to Europe (Frykenberg 2008, 18). For a more detailed and scholarly interpretation see Eric Frykenberg's various works on Christianity. For an in-depth study of only Syrian Christians see John Fenwick's, *The Forgotten Bishops: The Malabar Independent Syrian Church and its Place in the Story of the St Thomas Christians of South India.* Piscataway, New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2009. Corinne Dempsey pursued the intersection between Hindu and Christian worldviews and sainthood in her ethnographic work, entitled: *Kerala Christian Sainthood: collisions of culture and worldview in South India.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

identified as a ritually pure population, and neither their shrines nor their persons were regarded as polluting to caste Hindus (Bayly 1984, 275).

The next stage in the history of Christianity in India belongs to the Catholic Church. For nearly a century the Christianity of the West was cut off from the Christianity of the East. Renowned historian of Indian Christianity Robert E. Frykenberg noted that only four noteworthy visits took place between the time of the Hejra in 622 CE and the advent of Vasco de Gama in 1498 (Frykenberg 2008, 117). The Portuguese sailed to India and were known as *Pfarangi*, a term which had been in use prior to Portuguese arrival and translated as 'European.' It carried the connotations of the fraught history between Christian and Islam in Spain and Portugal (Frykenberg 2008, 119). In the early sixteenth century, the Portuguese 'discovered' the route to India and established a base in Cochin where they allied themselves with the powerful Syrian Christians. This alliance eventually frayed, as the Portuguese established the *Estado da India* in Goa.[2]

The Portuguese Christians came with the exclusive power to grant overseas clerical positions, known as the *Padroado Real* (Frykenberg 2008, 127). The agreement between the Portuguese and the Vatican resulted in a flood of missionaries and clerics in India who upset the established order of the existing Christian communities. Jesuit missionaries were especially prominent, and men such as Roberto de Nobili, John de Britto, and Constanzo Giuseppe Beschi became extremely popular and controversial figures who contributed to the study of both Sanskrit and Tamil literature.[3] The missionaries and Goan community,

[2] *Pfarangi* Christians were appalled by some of the rites of Thomas Christians and labelled them 'heretics' due to the perception of their traditions as dabbling in 'magic.' Thomas Christians were equally repulsed by the Europeans eating beef and drinking alcohol, and their veneration of images. Thomas Christians refused to acknowledge that the Virgin Mary was 'Mother of God' and would concede only she was 'Mother of Christ' (Frykenberg 2008, 131-2).

[3] Ines Zupanov has studied Roberto de Nobili in depth (1999). For a case study on John de Britto's influence see 'Transgressing boundaries, transcending Turner: the pilgrimage tradition at the shrine of St. John de Britto' by Selva J. Raj (2002). Although not without its drawbacks, Patrizia Granziera's article entitled 'Christianity and Tamil Culture: Father Joseph Beschi and the image of the Virgin Mary' (2011) encapsulates some of the hybridity that accompanied these men.

however, did not always work harmoniously. For example, de Nobili concentrated on converting high caste Indians, while one of the most quantitatively noteworthy conversions was that of the Paravars, an untouchable caste (Frykenberg 2008, 137).

With the seventeenth century came the age of Pietism, as Halle German missionaries landed in Tranquebar and established the Danish mission. The first Pietist missionary in India was Bartholomeus Ziegenbalg (1682-1719), who came to India in 1706.[4] Ziegenbalg hailed from the Pietist school of thought, inaugurated at Halle University by August Hermann Francke (1663-1727).[5] Ziegenbalg applied himself to mastering the Tamil language, and within a year of his arrival he had written his first Tamil tract and performed his first Tamil sermon (Frykenberg 2008, 147). The Pietists marked a critical turning point for the history of Christianity in India, with the unprecedented belief that all people should be literate, and a focus on educating their converts, especially those from lower classes.[6]

Over the course of the eighteenth century, the East India Company had steadily been gaining power within the Indian subcontinent. One of the most momentous events for the role of missionaries was the Charter Act of 1813, which gave Protestant missionaries free reign to enter and proselytize within Company territory, which had been hitherto forbidden. Protestant mission societies such as the Church Mission Society (CMS), among others, flocked to South India, and were instrumental in establishing schools and orphanages for Indian children.[7] It is within this era that the main concerns of this thesis take place as there was a significant shift in terms of the open collusion between imperial and religious powers.

[4] For more on Ziegenbalg, see Dennis Hudson *Protestant Origins in India: Tamil Evangelical Christians 1706-1835* and Daniel Jeyaraj (2005) and A Gross *Halle and the beginning of Protestant Christianity in India: Christian mission in the Indian context* (2006).

[5] For background, see 'Bethlehem Kuṟavañci of Vedanayaka Sastri of Tanjore : the cultural discourses of an early-nineteenth-century Tamil Christian poem' by Indira Viswanathan Peterson.

[6] See Robert Eric Frykenberg's article (1999) concerning another famous Pietist, Christian Friedrich Schwartz (1726-98). A must read for the details in this era is Dennis Hudson (2000).

[7] *Chapter One* contains much of the detail of this time period, especially in respect to female missionaries.

The Advent of Medical Missionaries and Social Reform

Christian missionaries were most successful at gaining access and influence when they combined proselytization with education or medicine. Medical missionaries were concerned in varying degrees with the ailments of the physical body but ultimately were invested in the spiritual soul. They implicated the act of healing in a context of conversion, capitalizing on the need for medical aid. In the nineteenth century, social reforms arose throughout the British Empire concerning health and hygiene, and these reforms served as a platform to justify the continued British imperial rule of India. The desire to ameliorate the lives of the 'heathens' was among the professed concerns and the improvement would come from imitating a 'Western' way of life. Medical missionaries delivered a Christian worldview combined with scientific rationalism (Arnold 1993; Haynes 2006; Pati and Harrison 2001).

The social reforms focused on education, religion, and the role of Indian women in public and private life and they converged on women who lived in the *zenana*. The *zenana* is defined as the seclusion of upper caste Hindu and Muslim women, similar to purdah (Kent 2004, 120). It also represented "women's spaces" within Indian homes. This site became important to social reform as it represented a space where male imperial agents had no access or influence. As will be examined with Ida Scudder, only female missionaries or doctors could enter and interact with *zenana* inhabitants. A collapse in literature between the harem of the Middle East and Indian *zenana* can be discerned, and the attitudes concerning both were filtered through the agendas of the authors. Through art and literature, the harem and *zenana* were depicted as heavily sexualized spaces, such as that portrayed in Eugene Siberdt's painting *Jewels of a Harem* or Paul Rycaut's book *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1668).

The *zenana* became a site of authority for Western women travellers. The visitations to the *zenana* became a central chapter in women's travel literature to India, in which

European travellers indulged their curiosity and peered in the *zenana* with Orientalist (and at times prurient) interest.[8] Fanny Parks, in her quest for the 'picturesque,' fulfilled the obligatory *zenana* review. She lingered on the beauty of the occupants, noting on one occasion the transparency of their garments 'almost as useless as a veil' (1850, 59) and another she exclaimed: ''how beautiful she looked! How very beautiful! Her animated countenance was constantly varying, and her dark eyes struck fire when a joyous thought crossed her mind.'' She went on to extol the 'Begam's' walk, her figure, all the features of her face, and lastly her clothes and jewels (1850, 382-384).[9] From Parks` unabashedly voyeuristic gaze, the descriptions of the inner sanctum of the *zenana* began to take on the aspects of a bourgeois home rather than a site of licentious pleasure. Women travellers attempted to domesticize the harem (Ghose 1998, 61). This domestication stemmed from the desire to share mutual interests with these Indian women by placing them within the same social circles as the middle-class female travellers.

As the social reforms placed increased pressure on British officials, missionaries, and Indian reformers alike, the tenor of the literature concerning the *zenana* underwent a shift to a darker, more sinister tone.[10] Through the literature of British suffragettes and female missionaries, the *zenana* became a dark and dank prison where Indian women were forced to live in squalor and ignorance (Burton 1994). The 'uplift' of these women, detailed in the first

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[8] Indira Ghose chronicles the many female writers on the *zenana*, and was struck by the consistency of expression, excepting the case of Marianne Postans. Postans wrote how light and large the compartments were (in sharp contrast to the *zenana* as prison motif) and was quick to highlight that European women were as much curiosities to Indian women as vice versa (Ghose 1998, 67).

[9] This is in contrast to her first encounter with the woman during the daylight hours in which Parks caustically observed 'if a native lady wish to keep up her reputation for beauty, she should not allow herself to be seen under the effect of opium by daylight' (Parks 381).

[10] If this description sounds fictive, it is a reflection of the literature itself. Under the category of travel literature, the line between fact and fiction was often blurred.

chapter, became the pressing preoccupation for female missionaries, and provided the platform for increased independence for Western women.

One such female missionary was Ida Sophia Scudder. The Scudders have been recognized by Christian historians as emblematic propagators of Christianity, and celebrated for the success of their missions and medical practices (Heideman 2001; Paul 1990).[11] After nineteen years of missionary work that included a medical practice and the establishment of native schools, John Scudder Sr. and his wife Harriet moved to South India. He became the first American medical missionary in the region. He wrote a multitude of tracts for children in America that urged them to become missionaries. All his own children became missionaries at one point in their lives.[12] While Ida Scudder never met her grandfather, his legacy deeply influenced her life.

Ida Sophia Scudder: A life of complicity and resistance

Due to Scudder's enormous success in the missionary and medical fields, a plethora of biographies have been written in celebration of her life.[13] Her early years were spent with her father's mission in Ranipet. When she was around eight years old her family returned to America on furlough, and after four years her father departed for India alone. When she

[11] Heideman's tone is the most objective in the sense of presenting a balanced retrospective, but was clearly written for a Christian audience to celebrate the success of the missions. The Scudder's occupy a short portion of his work. Paul's article charts the evolution of the relationship between medicine and missions, but does not critically assess how that evolution was created and maintained.

[12] The letters between Harriet and John Scudder while he was on his preaching tours often referred with worry and prayer to the children who had not yet accepted mission work as their calling. Indeed, Harriet's last words were a prayer that the children would come into Gods fold [Box 1, Folder 42]).

[13] The multitude by authors celebrating her triumphs are Heideman (2001), Jeffrey (1951,1961) Scott (1970) Scudder (1970) Wilson Clark (1959) Benge (2003). The scholarly articles are Singh (2000) and Sicherman and Green (1980) The most comprehensive study is Cowan on women doctors in India (1998).

turned fourteen, her mother left to help her father overseas, leaving her in the care of her aunt and uncle on a farm on Nebraska.

Scudder was sent to Massachusetts for her formative schooling years at the Northfield seminary, where her biographers delight in telling us she had a penchant for pranks. She returned to India, somewhat unwillingly, in 1890 due to her mother falling ill. Her biographers dwell on young Ida Scudder's strong sentiments that she would never become a missionary, despite what all her teachers and friends expected of her. She was said to have thrown a tantrum at the very thought of becoming a missionary and she fully expected to return to America as soon has her mother recovered.[14] As we will see in *Chapter Two,* her plans changed after she was 'called' to the missionary enterprise following the *Three Knocks in the Night*. In the story, three Indian *zenana* women died due to the fact that her father John Scudder Jr, a male doctor, could not enter the *zenana* to treat the women, and Ida herself was not trained in medicine. After this experience she returned to America to attend Cornell Medical College in New York City and graduated in 1899 as part of the first class of women who went to the college.

Scudder returned to India in 1900 and worked in a clinic in Vellore alongside her father. She had hoped to open a hospital under the supervision of her father, a more established and practiced doctor, but he passed away five months after her return.[15] She opened the Mary Taber Schell Hospital in 1902 with donations from a wealthy investment

[14] Her own diaries from this time do not indicate any preference or dissuasion from the missionary field. She wrote of praying and her faith so it was clear she could also be considered a pious child and devout Christian even without having the missionary fervour that ran in her family. However, the majority of her early entries bemoan her worries about friends and detail the snacks they would eat (lobster being a great favourite with Ida Scudder).

[15] He passed away due to the anitpest vaccine, which prior to being perfected was given at high levels of toxicity and underwent malignant changes that caused cancer. The biographies almost always mention in ridiculing or slightly condescending tones the natives fear of vaccines, but it should be remembered that at this time Western medicine was not infallible to error, and fear of vaccines could be caused by complications such as what happened to John Scudder, rare as the case may be.

banker who asked that the hospital be named after his late wife. From then on, Scudder spent the majority of her time at the hospital, or campaigning for more money for expansions. On one of her fundraising furloughs in 1917, she met Gertrude Dodd, who was to become so close a companion that they would sign wires and letters as "Scudodd" (Jeffrey 1951, 150). Dodd was a wealthy single woman and she became the financial advisor at Vellore, often personally donating money to the various causes such as funding the many fundraising campaigns across Europe and America.

By 1918, Scudder had opened her crowning achievement, the Christian Medical College, to train exclusively Indian women to become LMPs.[16] Her success was not anticipated by the missionary board of the Reformed Church in America (RFA), who had warned her when she proposed the plan that Indian women would not be interested in becoming doctors, but allowed that if she found six candidates she could open a school. The first year saw one hundred and fifty-one applications flood in from which eighteen were chosen (Scott 1970, 71). From those humble beginnings, she combined the trainings of the Medical College with her Christian outreach as the CMC grew. Her Roadside Clinic became particularly famous for dispensing medical treatments and sermons along the road from the CMC to the dispensary located in Gudiyattam. The school remained for women only until colonial policies changed the required degree for medical practitioners to a Bachelor of Medicine (MBBS), making the women's LMPs obsolete. Rather than close its doors, the CMC became a co-educational institution, a decision that Ida Scudder did not make lightly. She argued for it to remain a college for women and teach the MBBS course, however, the missionary board did not wish to fund the changes for both the men and women's school.

[16] The inspiration for having Indian women become trained in the medical profession is attributed to when her kitchen helper Salomi, would aid her in her medical practice, and once asked if a patient should be prescribed a certain medication. Ida Scudder was surprised to see that she knew what the correct diagnosis and medication was, and realized that all Indian women would be able to show such aptitude and interest as well (Scott1970, 43).

She remained working and teaching at the College until she was convinced to retire for her own health in 1946. She moved to her family's cottage in Kodaikanal and passed away there in 1960.

Ida Scudder's achievements cannot be separated from her family background.[17] John Scudder Sr. left a lasting impression of the importance of his life's work on his children. His impressions of hook-swinging, infanticide, and sati left him with a profound conviction that while India was a land of sincere spirituality, it needed to be led to Christianity. The importance of the legacy John Scudder Sr. left his family, and the strong missionary support that surrounded Ida Scudder throughout her life, makes her professed desire not to become a missionary both understandable as well as predictable. Biographers praise John Scudder Sr. both for context as well as to establish Ida Scudder as part of a lineage of missionaries. The Scudder children were told tales of their grandfather's heroism and tireless efforts to convert the people of India to Christianity. Given the central positioning of Scudder Sr. in Ida's life, it is equally important to nuance his own life and legacy in order to more fully understand her motivations and beliefs.

As previously mentioned, Ida Scudder was always a devout Christian and her decision to follow in her family's footsteps did not constitute a change of faith. However, given the content of her 'calling' it also served to frame her decision in a more dramatic light. The emphasis on her lack of concern for healing and religion is demonstrated in one of Mary Pauline Jeffrey's biographies concerning her return to India to assist her father during her mother's illness: "[d]uring those first missionary weeks, she did not greatly concern herself

[17] Many of her biographies detail the infamous name "Scudder" and how Scudders are strewn across the globe in the "realms of sculpture, literature, drama, medicine, art and religion" (Jeffrey 1951, 4). It is an inside joke of the Scudders that they have been in South India so long that some think they are a hill tribe. The etymology of the word is also clarified in several biographies, to enforce the sense of heritage and duty the Scudders have in their missions. The two interpretations that are the most popular are to trace it to the Anglo-Saxon 'scudari,' to scud along the wind', an apt interpretation for those who choose to become overseas missionaries, and the second Latin "scutari," which translates to shield bearers, in this case, as both a shield in the medical sense of protecting against sickness and suffering, and also shield against 'false' religions.

with the need for healing. It was not in her department. Nor had she a specially emphasized sense of religion" (Jeffrey 1951, 25). In contrast to Jeffrey's assertion, Ida Scudder's personal diaries stress her religious and social activities in India, particularly in attending church and visiting the *zenana* women (Box 1, Folders 41-45). As will be explored in *Chapter One*, downplaying her religious motivations has allowed for previous readings of her life that categorize her as simply a humanitarian and distance her from the negative associations missionaries have accrued in India. It has privileged the history of Ida Scudder as a white Western woman without complicating her motivations.

Scudder was renowned for her efforts to improve the lives of Indian women. She was celebrated for both her medical work, as a pioneering female doctor in South India, as well as for her social outreach into the surrounding community. She confronted and overcame many significant gender barriers in nineteenth century South India as well as in the United States, as part of the wave of single missionary women who found overseas work as a path to an independent life. The phenomenon of Western women utilizing the transcontinental networks of empire and colonialism to increase their autonomy is explored further in *Chapter One.*

Praise for Ida Scudder is not without merit, but she was undeniably entrenched in a missionary tradition intent on saving souls through saving lives. Conversion was institutionalized through the Medical College, and involved negotiation between multiple castes, languages, and religious identities of both students and patients. This thesis attempts to both acknowledge the real compassion and empathy Ida Scudder felt towards Indian women, and to situate her within the wider milieu of modernity in South India, an environment rife with multifaceted encounters between missionaries, Indians, and the British bureaucracy. Understanding Ida Scudder's motivations and her legacy can only be done by connecting her to the enduring influence of John Scudder Sr., and examining the ways in which she has been reinvented and portrayed through an array of biographies. By comparing her personal archive and writings to the way Scudder is reconstructed and deployed in these biographies, a portrait of missionary complicity and the deeply entrenched roots of the *zenana* and imperial feminism emerge.

Literature Review

I am deeply indebted to the work of many scholars of both the missionary history of South India as well as feminist theory and history. The history of Christianity and its modern manifestations in India is a burgeoning field. An overview of this history has been most recently attempted by Eric Frykenberg's *Christianity in India: From Beginnings to the Present* (2008). Other noteworthy histories are: Stephen Neill's *History of Christianity in India* (1984); Susan Bayly's Saints, *Goddesses and Kings: Muslims and Christians in south Indian Society 1700-1900* (1990); and Jeffrey Cox's *Imperial Fault Lines: Christianity and colonial power in India 1818-1940* (2002) and *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700* (2007). Many scholars have written about Christianity on a smaller scale, establishing the local histories and stories of its practitioners, such as Geoffrey Oddie (1979; 2006); Robert Bickers and Rosemary Seton (1996); Ines G. Županov (1999); Dennis Hudson (2000); Selva J. Raj and Corinne G Dempsey (2002); Will Sweetman (2004); David Mosse (2012); and Richard Fox Young and Johnathan Seitz (2013).

This thesis focuses on how anxieties of empire informed missionary practices. Scholarship that has opened the doors for this twofold analysis include: John and Jean Comaroff (1991); Simon Gikandi (1996); Peter Van der Veer (2001); and Catherine Hall (2002). These scholars have examined the complex interactions of medicine and the imperial project. The history of medicine in India is detailed by David Arnold (1993); Rosemary Fitzgerald (1997); Pati and Harrison (2001); Hardiman (2006); and Douglas H. Haynes (2006).

The ever-growing list of authors who have been contributing to the role of women in the mission includes Rhonda Anne Semple (2003), with the first comprehensive study of British Protestant missionary women in the nineteenth century and their undervalued contributions to mission life; Eliza Kent (2004) and her ground-breaking work on Indian women converts in South India; Emily Manktelow (2013) and her research on the trajectory of the missionary wife and single missionary women; and Rosemary Seton (2013) and her study of Protestant and Catholic missionary women. I rely heavily on how missionary discourse is perpetuated and re-enforced which I would be unable to do without the works of Huber and Lutkehaus (1999); Anna Johnston (2003); Esme Cleall (2012) as well as the works on imperial travellers by scholars such as Mary Louse Pratt (1992) and Indira Ghose (1998).

Despite the wealth of information available about Ida Scudder, the only attempts to situate her within the wider social milieu of colonial South India are in Maina Singh (2000) and Catherine Cowan's 1998 master's theses. Maina Singh offers an excellent contextualization for the political and social mind-set of nineteenth century missionary women. In her innovative work, she interviews Indian women who attended institutions such as the CMC (although in her final chapter she focused on other institutions such as the Lucknow College in Lahore) and examines how they perceived the institutionalization of religious values. Singh also delves into what she terms the 'personality cult' that surrounded Ida Scudder, who was identified fully with the CMC and its holidays, such as the observance of her birthday as a school holiday (Singh 2000, 294). However, Singh does not examine Ida Scudder's ancestry and how it informed her institution building. This thesis thus extends her argument by exploring the life and works of Ida Scudder through the lens of imperial and maternal feminism.[18]

[18] Maternal feminism posited women were mothers and caregivers to society and was a development of the logic of the separate spheres, which I detail in *Chapter One*.

In her thesis, Catherine Cowan argued that Ida Scudder was interested in uplifting Indian women socially and professionally and that she was not interested in conversion. Undoubtedly Ida Scudder was concerned with helping Indian women, but disassociating that impulse from her religious background and upbringing is misleading. Scudder demonstrated considerable concern about bringing converts to Christianity. Cowan's line of argumentation likely came from the risky collapse of Ida Scudder's worldview with the rhetoric of suffragettes, who argued for the 'civilizing' of Indian women. As I show in the first chapter of this thesis, secular and religious sources deployed strikingly similar arguments concerning the status of Indian women and are at times difficult to differentiate.[19]

Additionally, Cowan's postulation does not account for the changing methods of conversion from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. In contrast, I argue that one of the main reasons Ida Scudder has been portrayed as uninterested in conversion is due to a misunderstanding of what constituted conversion in twentieth century South India. As demonstrated in his personal writings, there is a clear understanding of John Scudder Sr.'s work and priorities a century prior to Ida Scudder's own missionary labour. He specifically went to Ceylon and then India to be a missionary, and his medical practice ensured his success at reaching the native populations. He insisted on preaching before dispensing medicine, and placed an emphasis on his missionary tours to preach and hand out his tracts. His tracts are polemical to the extreme, asserting that Indians were uncivilized, untruthful, and held demonic beliefs and superstitions. As we shall see in *Chapter Two*, his conversion tactics mirrored the anxieties of the era, and his deep-seated desire for converts warred with his racial discrimination and distrust towards the professed converts, for fear of their hypocrisy geared towards social and economic gain.

[19] Indeed, in most cases an essay would attempt to show how the sources are *different*, as they have widely opposing goals in some cases, but for the purpose of this paper, it is necessary to demonstrate that the two can be intertwined. Ida Scudder displayed many a feminist standpoint (although never using that language) but it was centred within an imperial framework, where the uplift of Indian women carried the full baggage of racism.

Ida Scudder had no such strictures upon her medical practice and this has led many to assume that she was not concerned with conversion but devoted solely to educating and healing Indian women. However, Scudder was highly conscious of the changing world she inhabited, and she adapted her conversion methods to suit the era, by institutionalizing conversion, through the establishment of her medical college and its curriculum. The school claimed to be open to any religion, caste, or creed, but a close examination of the narratives surrounding her legacy and the management of her medical practice and college reveals that conversion had simply taken on a new, more pervasive aspect.

In *Chapter Three* of this thesis, I demonstrate that Scudder exhibited concern for both maintaining the Christian converts already won in Vellore and for proselytizing to reach new converts. Singh aptly characterizes Scudder's institutionalization of Christian values, but glosses over two of the fundamental aspects of the CMC: firstly, the Roadside Clinic as both a medical and Christian outreach, and secondly, the school as a place to ensure continued conversion for the Christian population of India, as 'back-sliding' was a constant missionary fear. Singh also notes that Scudder's decision to become a medical missionary "was more circumstantial than purely religious" (Singh 2000, 282). I argue that Scudder's call was indeed circumstantial, but was also deeply informed by religious attitudes towards Indian caste hierarchies and gender. *The Three Knocks in the Night* was strengthened by her family history and tropes of missionary writing. Thus far Ida Scudder has not been examined through the imperial, colonial and gendered lens of modernity and religion in South India. This thesis seeks to rectify the lacuna in the scholarship by examining the life of Ida Scudder and her work at the CMC.

Methods and Materials

This enquiry involves textual analysis of John and Ida Scudder's personal writings and secondary social history-oriented materials. The first chapter of the thesis lays out the foundation for imperial feminism, implicating the rhetoric of the *zenana* missions as inextricably linked with the ideal of "universal feminism". Imperial feminism is a much studied topic, and I will be employing theory from Antoinette Burton (1994, 1996); Kent (1999, 2004); Chauduri and Strobel (1992); and Caine (1997). I counterbalance the secondary research by deploying the primary source texts of nineteenth century *zenana* missions and personal travel accounts from female missionaries.[20] Lastly, I examine Amy Carmichael's *Lotus Buds* (1912) and Katherine Mayo's *Mother India* (1927) as examples of texts written for religious and secular audiences that utilize imperial feminist rhetoric concerning Indian women.

The second chapter examines John Scudder's texts and tracts, using primary material from English and Tamil sources as he was a prolific writer in both languages (1843; 1849; 1856). Writings by John Scudder Sr. are also available in Ida Scudder's archive (Box 1, Folder 1).[21] The ways in which discourse is deployed for missionary gains is a primary theme in this thesis and I rely on both Anna Johnston (2003) and Esme Cleall (2012), whose arguments focus on the ambivalence of missionary texts and how that content was informed by the missionaries' own anxieties. I will also offer a critical analysis of the evolution between the role of missionaries, religion and medicine (Arnold 1993; Forbes 1994; Pati and Harrison 2001).

As described earlier, Ida Scudder's archive features heavily into my analysis. Her diary entries reveal her preoccupation with missionary work from an early age. The archive

[20] See Armstrong-Hopkins (1898), Barnes (1901), McKenzie (1853), and Society for Promoting Female Education in the East (1883, 1884, 1891).

[21] See below for details on the archive

contains both finished speeches as well as the handwritten preparations that offer insight into the way Ida Scudder approached the hospital, the CMC, and the Roadside Clinic.

Chapter Summaries

The first chapter of this thesis analyzes scholarship on imperial feminism. Imperial feminism brought in two conflicting points: the first was loyalty to Britain, therefore aligning oneself with an imperial, colonial worldview, and the second was establishing a universal sisterhood especially with the 'Eastern sisters' of India. Through the gaze of imperial feminism, the "white woman's burden" became intertwined with the rhetoric of the *zenana* missions, where Indian women were 'victims' and never to be seen outside the confines of the "erotic and exotic" harem (Jayawardena 1995, 3). This chapter thus provides the discursive content Ida Scudder was born into and demonstrates how the 'suffering' of the native woman due to the 'degraded' Hindu tradition became the catalyst for her decision to become a doctor in India. I argue that these two strands of rhetoric, on secular 'imperial feminism' and religious *zenana* writings, become enmeshed and at times, interchangeable. I examine the writings of Amy Carmichael and Katherine Mayo in particular, as examples of this complex entanglement. Carmichael's text centres on children entangled in the web of 'heathenism' and temple life and Mayo's infamous work is an attack on Indian independence on the grounds of the perceived inferiority of Indian culture and religion.

Chapter Two considers the evolution of the relationship between medicine and missionaries in India from the eighteenth to the twentieth century, as the former became a tool for conversion. It was believed that once doubt was sown concerning the ability of the doctor then doubt was also cast on the veracity of the religion (Fitzgerald 1996, 115). This argument stemmed from the idea that in order to convert the native population more than a new religious paradigm was necessary. Medical missionaries believed that by offering a comprehensive cosmology that addressed the body, mind and soul, the populace would be amendable to conversion. Thus, they sought to undermine indigenous medical practices as well as religious beliefs.

I analyze the discourses of medical missionaries as they are bound up with the state, and contemporary conceptions of 'muscular Christianity' which placed emphasis on "white, healthy" bodies in opposition to the imagined effeminate native (Van de Veer 2001, 88). John Scudder Sr. is an ideal candidate for examining early rumblings of this discourse as he employed this rhetoric in his writings and was one of the early missionaries to connect conversion with the dispensation of medical aid. This chapter examines recurrent themes within early male missionary writings, such as the role of children as the future of missionary work in India, the horror expressed by the 'idol' and temple worship that ascribed licentious practices to Brahmin priests and devotees, and the "character of Hindoo females", a fertile site for the missionary imaginary. I then contrast the writing of John Scudder Sr. with two of Ida Scudder's narratives: her climactic calling as described in *Three Knocks in the Night* and a parable that is attributed to her entitled, *The Parable of the Water Jars*. Both narratives are replete with missionary tropes that concentrate on the spectacular and titillating aspects of what they perceive as Indian culture.

The Third Chapter entitled "Ida Scudder: the Christian Medical College and Modernity' connects the ideas of imperial feminism, *zenana* missions, and the legacy of John Scudder Sr. in a conversation regarding modernity in early twentieth century South India. I examine Ida Scudder as an individual who inherited the discourses of Western medical efficacy, the ideals of imperial feminism and the propensity to view herself as a transmitter of Christianity.[22] I argue that while she was interested in converting new followers, which can be seen in her outreach of the Roadside Clinic, her primary reason for opening the CMC was

[22] This puts me in direct contention with JJ Paul's assertion that "the motivation to spend her entire life in India came mainly from personal piety, despite her birth into or ties to a pioneer missionary family in India" (Paul 1990, 25).

to maintain the conversions that had already taken place. While most of the publicity surrounding the CMC celebrates it as a pioneer school for women, it was also opened with the specific goal of creating a school and later work environment for the female Christian converts in Vellore and across India.

Chapter 1:

The Pervasive Mystique of the Zenana: Imperial Feminism and Missionary Rhetoric

The 'mystery' of the Orient pervaded many aspects of discourse in the nineteenth century Western imagination. Literature, art, government, and religion were influenced by the strange and fascinating accounts supplied by adventurers, missionaries, and colonial officers. Arguably one of the most pervasive myths and source of enthrallment was that of the *zenana*, representing many things; it was a harem that offered licentious pleasures, a site of envy, a prison for upper caste Indian women, and even a mirror of a bourgeois home. In the early twentieth century, the *zenana,* rife with symbolism and still carrying the connotations of a sexualized space, became the site of contestation for Indian women's rights, both at home and abroad. The rhetoric surrounding the *zenana* was employed by both men and women to further a myriad of political, social, and religious agendas. Imperial feminism flourished in Britain, and became intimately bound with the *zenana,* as it wed the plight of the supposedly imprisoned Eastern sisters to the universal sisterhood of the civilizing mission of the British Empire. Female missionaries especially adopted the language of 'uplift' through the Gospel and focused on 'saving and civilizing' the Indian women in the *zenana.*

This chapter demonstrates that a historicization of imperial feminist and missionary rhetoric that is sensitive to the interplay between Indian women, empire, and Christianity, may reveal how the two became enmeshed and, at times, interchangeable. The 'white woman's' burden of rescuing and westernizing Indian women was accessible to the secular imperialists and missionaries alike. Accordingly, I begin by charting the history of the *zenana* as it surfaces in both religious and secular writings in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Following this section, I examine Amy Carmichael's *Lotus Buds* and Katherine Mayo's *Mother India*, among other sources, to demonstrate the ubiquity of the *zenana* and its representation of an imperial feminist agenda. I show that these writings encapsulate the quintessential paradigms of thought in the early twentieth century that are later brought to bear on Ida Scudder.

Imperial Feminism

'Imperial feminism' attempted to establish itself as the only legitimate political form of feminism in the twentieth century. Amos and Parmar were some of the first to critique early feminist tendencies to seek out the "herstory" while ignoring the fact that, historically, white women's sexuality was constructed in opposition to women of colour and was rooted in imperial history (Amos and Parmar 1984, 5). Imperialism was a framework that feminism could operate within, like race and class. Many of the suppositions of 'empire-building' were reified and perpetuated, notably the evangelical Christian zeal as it twined with Victorian feminism (Burton 1994, 13). Antoinette Burton has argued that the feminist secular work of emancipation mirrored imperial discourse, as Victorian social reform, Darwinism, and the anxious confidence of the British Empire extended its hold around the world (Burton 1994, 2).[23] In examining this form of feminism in the wake of post-colonial and subaltern studies, new light is shed on the implications of women's work and particularly the work of Ida Scudder in Vellore.

In Britain during the 1860's, contestations of women's subjugation were beginning to emerge.[24] Arguments from men ranged from the practical to the theoretical, from the

[23] The understanding of the feminist project as exclusively positive and concerned with emancipation, both at home and abroad, was due in large part to the 'original' feminist Virginia Woolf, who claimed to be a citizen of the world rather than England. April Carter reflects on this statement, arguing that the legacy of this idea is reflected in the belief that women 'transcend narrow nationalisms' for the greater good of the world, leaving men to the business of war and women to being peace-keepers. (Carter, 39).

[24] One of the factors influencing the rise of organized feminism was the legislation of the Contagious Disease Acts. These laws made explicit the double standards between men and women's sexuality, stating that to diminish rates of venereal disease, the police had the right to arrest women suspected of being prostitutes and

judicious to the ridiculous.[25] In the globalizing context of modernity and colonialism, British feminists produced opposing stances that aligned them with the imperial, colonial project in order to establish their unquestionable loyalty to Britannia while simultaneously propounding a universal 'sisterhood' with the women in India. When asked how to broach the subject of religion while visiting Indian women, a missionary said she begins with "remarking that we are all sisters, and that we have all souls, and must all die, and then goes on to speak of the way of salvation" (Mckenzie 1853, 221). The universal sisterhood was constructed alongside notions of cultural authority. The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries marked a period when Indian women, especially those from high caste families, were involved with social and political reform at home and abroad.[26] Therefore, it was an *imagining* of the 'helpless other' that rhetorically served to situate the British women and their freedom within their own empire.

Women became active formers of imperial rhetoric as they deployed it in their arguments for their own emancipation. Imperial feminism opened formerly closed doors to British women, particularly for missionaries, nurses, and teachers.[27] This movement thus cannot be understood as a purely theoretical mind-set employed rhetorically but not

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have them inspected. If they had a venereal disease they were forcefully sent to a Lock Hospital for three months (Ware 151; Levine, 580-1). These Acts were empire wide, as the legislators believed the problem to be the women from port to port. The Lock Hospitals where forced stays were any woman found with a venereal disease was branded a prostitute. These concerns are later mirrored in the speeches of Gandhi concerning prostitution (See *Gandhi on Women*, 1988) and the legislation passed by Muthulakshmi Reddi, chronicled in her memoir *My experience as a Legislator*.

[25] One need look no further than Thomas Taylor's parody of Wollstonecroft's famous text "A Vindication of the Rights of Brutes" in 1792.

[26] See Tharu's and Lalita voluminous tome, *Women Writing in India: 600 B.C. to the Present*, and Phillipa Kafk, On the outside looking in(dian): Indian Women writers at home and abroad. New York P. Lang, 2003. For a visual display, see Visualizing Indian Women:1875-1947, edited by Malavika Karlekar. New Delhi: Oxford Univeristy Press, 2006.

[27] It has now been deconstructed as varying forms of classism and racism through second and third wave feminist critiques (Jensz, 309; Kent 1999, 134). This is further historicized in Joan Mickelson Gaughan's *The 'Incumberances': British Women in India 1615-1856.* Mickelson argues that the stereotype of the encumbering wife, or spiritual help mate of men needs to be dismantled and nuanced (xiv-xv).

practically lives: it permeated actions and outlooks, and was so pervasive that, in many forms -especially missionary projects such as Ida Scudder's- it was not recognized as imperial feminism at all.

With the belief of cultural and racial superiority came the dissemination of literature juxtaposing British and Indian women. British authors often depicted themselves as heroines that the Oriental woman revered, formulating a conception of 'the native woman' into a symbol of primitive societies and the need for colonial intervention in the economic and spiritual spheres of life in the colonies (Ware 1992, 127; Singh 2000, 14). These representations also served to reify the femininity of British feminists, who were often accused of subsuming male characteristics by men who sought to discredit the feminist movement. The care-taking of the 'other' woman became the feminizing aspect of female Christian missionaries (Burton 1994, 18; Jayawardena 1995, 25). Indian women, especially those who practiced purdah and those from upper caste families, came to be depicted as a "helpless, degraded victim of religious custom and uncivilized cultural practices, [and] signified a burden for whose sake many white women left Britain and devoted their lives to the empire" (Burton 1994, 8). The stage was thus set for women missionaries and colonial intervention. Women were necessary to the colonial project; as the few missionary wives did not meet the need, missions sent single missionary women.

British Protestant middle class values informed the interactions between missionaries and Indian women. The Western missionary woman was self-portrayed as a rescuer of her fallen sisters from their heathen beliefs, moral and sexual degradation, and social oppression.[28] In the nineteenth century, gender became increasingly identified with European

[28] This was a mid-nineteenth century development that snowballed by the turn of the century into an apparatus that was complex and in many places, still enduring. Prior to these missionary appeals, women travel writers wrote only briefly about the *zenana* and sati, preferring to detail other encounters. Excepting missionaries (and

mores, and adhering to the correct 'gender' norms became conflated with depictions of civilization, race, and Christianity (Huber and Lutkehaus 1999, 3). Significantly, this notion of gender was thoroughly middle class, bound up with ideas of gentility and constraint. Consequently, avenues for women outside the private sphere were necessarily limited. This exclusion of women can be seen not only throughout the empire abroad, but in the infrastructure of the church at home that caused such zealous missionary passion (Singh 2000, 19). The economic aspect of gender inequality was well articulated by medical missionary Salemi Armstrong-Hopkins, when she disparaged the injustice of a single missionary woman receiving a reduced salary once she was married and supposedly transformed into an "assistant missionary" when in reality her duties increased (Armstrong-Hopkins 1898, 199-200). The moral and practical opportunities afforded by the belief that British women could save Indian women while maintaining a measure of independence saw a marked increase in single female missionaries applying to travel abroad at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Despite the apparent disparity of power between men and women in the Protestant church, missions still offered women opportunities for independence not found in other aspects of society. As public discourse on civic duties for women evolved, women were accorded an enhanced role in motherhood, taking on new responsibilities in their childrens' education, and becoming their husband's helpers and companions, rather than simply subordinates. Women were the model of moral fortitude, and the home was portrayed as the foundation of morality that would influence the men, and then the wider social and political spheres (Caine 1997, 16). This expanded role placed women closer than ever to the civic public sphere, but ensured that they could never fully enter it as their 'natural' place was in the home. Thus, having the church focus on educated, moral single women going forth to

the obvious social reformers), it has been argued that women travelers in the early nineteenth century had little to no interest in reforming women in India or England (Gaughan 2013,164).

help both the religious and public sphere of empire created a role unlike any other for women. The emphasis was not on married helpmates but on single women looking for employment and a measure of independence. Women specifically were needed for this task, in order to enter the realms in which male missionaries could not tread: the *zenana*.

Imagining and Deploying the *Zenana*

The *zenana* missions, in many ways, were exercises in miscomprehension and vivid imagination. Named after the seclusion of elite Muslim and Hindu women, they stigmatized Hinduism as a source of Indian women's oppression. It was generally ignored that purdah was not a Hindu custom (Oddie 2006, 324). The *zenana* space was a cultural phenomenon, rather than religious. The literature from missionary sources suggested that *zenana*s were the norm for Indian women, and that Indian women were rarely seen out of doors. One such organization was the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East (SPFEE), which stated in the tract celebrating its Jubilee year, "Englishmen go out to *India* spend half their lives there, and come home again. They have never seen a native lady's face" (SPFEE 1884, 5, emphasis original).[29] This is, of course, an exaggeration, but one that belies the prejudices within the missions, particularly of class and gender hierarchy. The elite women in the *zenana* could not be seen, but the lower castes and untouchable women could be seen out by a European man, but those women were not the subject of this particular reform or debate.[30]

[29] Similarly, from a medical missionary, "She is a *zenana* woman. No European, no man, except her nearest relatives has ever seen her form or face" (Armstrong-Hopkins 1898, 52).

[30] This seems at cross purposes with Brian Pennington's observation that it was no coincidence that evangelical Christianity concerned with saving the pagan soul corresponded to the realization of the dire conditions of the laboring class in England (Pennington 2005, 23). Why would a movement, so intertwined with the uplift of the lower classes at home fail to incorporate that into strategies abroad? However, feminism in the nineteenth century held up the ideals of the middle class. The purpose of these societies for British women was that it was their imperial duty to go where the men could not.

Purdah was seen as a practice that perpetuated and encouraged heathen behaviour. While purdah is recognized as a practice, and the *zenana* as a physical space, a blurring of the two appears in many nineteenth century writings. In a book describing the plight of Muslim women the author writes, "[i]n all the homes, the purdah is strictly kept, and alas! Who can tell what dark deeds are occasionally done in these secluded homes" (as quoted in Ware 1992, 129).[31] The *zenana* was also constructed along universal lines, with no acknowledgement of regional diversity. Typically, accounts were taken from Bengal, and then universalized to encompass a range of experiences (Oddie 2006, 323).[32] The *zenana* became the palimpsest where political, religious, and social agendas could be re-written at will by imperial agents.

Religious conversion was the main goal of the *zenana* missions, but it was inseparable from the civilizing and imperial mission of the British empire. Three objectives as outlined by the SPFEE were inextricably linked in the nineteenth century: "[t]he aim of its workers is to impress on all these, the truths of the Gospel, and the knowledge of the Scriptures, and at the same time to educate and civilise" (SPFEE, 11).[33] The name of the *Jubilee Tract* for the SPFEE in 1884, "Light through Eastern Lattices: A Plea for Zenana Captives" evokes two of the primary tropes around the *zenana:* first, Christianity is portrayed as the light, with the ability to dispel the darkness of heathen ways,and second the image of a home enshrouded in darkness. Armstrong-Hopkins describes the *zenana* thus: "[t]he zenana home is a small dark, mud-plastered, unfurnished room where the high caste and wealthy married woman is kept in

[31] When asked on the application for the CEZMS (Church of England Zenana Missionary Society) what they knew about "heathen religions" or "different religious systems" and the majority were unable to provide any concrete knowledge of 'Hinduism' (Oddie 2006, 329).

[32] In personal writings, conceptions of the *zenana* are often suspect, as is the case in Mrs. McKenzie's writings, where in brief she describes her husband entering the *zenana* to see a new born son, something most thought impossible (McKenzie 1853, 131).

[33] The SPFEE makes the dubious claim that it was the "first Society in *England*-probably in Christendom-with the special object of conveying, by women to women, the glad tidings of Redemption" (1884, 1).

life long seclusion. It is practically a prison-house, a penitentiary cell, the tomb of a living wife" (Armstrong-Hopkins 1898, 89).[34] This strong language of bondage and isolation was common in accounts describing the plight of Indian women.

The company of other Indian women and children who would also live in the *zenana* did not detract from the authority of the myth. This was the case even when brought up explicitly, such as in the Armstrong-Hopkins account, "[s]he is not, however, altogether alone in her solitude. She is one of many wives" (Armstrong-Hopkins 1898, 93). The narratives held contradictory information that was never examined or repudiated by those reading the accounts.[35] The stories reveal what seclusion meant to British women in the late nineteenth century; seclusion meant being outside of the public sphere, regardless of being surrounded by others or not. A life in which a woman did not have the right to a public life and equal citizenship equalled a prison in this emancipatory rhetoric. British women dwelt on the image as an extension (and exaggeration) of their own anxieties at home. It was therefore easy for the image of an Indian woman, alone in the darkness, to be missionized and deployed for specific British feminist goals.

Enticing women to leave the *zenana*, especially for education, was an explicit objective of women missionaries and reformers, and they established *zenana* clubs, parks, and hospitals (Forbes 1994, 517). These women created new spaces where Indian women would be in contact with English women in ways that conformed to middle class notions of gentility. Macaulay's famous quote on the creation of a class of Indian men with all respects to English taste is comparable to the objectives of missionary women and Indian women 'freed' from the *zenana* embodied the success of the fight for women's independence in

[34] This 'prison' is often described as reached by a large open private courtyard, but the British writers rarely comment on the possibility of women spending any time out of doors.
[35] One of the few exceptions has been documented by Indira Ghose in "Women Travellers in Colonial India". Marianne Postans describes how each *zenana* woman spends the majority of her day out in the fresh air of the courtyard and how each woman has her own large compartment. (Ghose 1998, 67).

Britain.[36] The Indian woman could be transformed by the *possibility* of becoming an independent woman.[37] Conversely, for British women, abolishing the *zenana* became a sign of modernity, a culmination of the evolution of the place of women within society. In their eyes, their actions allowed for women to be autonomous as professions for women flourished, enabling female agency within the patriarchal missionary infrastructure.[38]

One of the problems surrounding the *zenana* and much suffragist and imperial discourse was the reconciliation of these liberating ideals with class. Suffragist notions of equality were centred on middle class conceptions of respectability and the reform of the lower labouring classes. A casual dismissal of the lives of lower caste women appears more than once in the short pamphlet from the Society. The SPFEE describes it as "[h]arder labour, scantier fare, coarser raiment, more frequent blows, are the portion of the peasant woman. But she is spared the utter vacuity which either benumbs or almost maddens the mental faculties of the Zenana lady" (SPFEE 1884, 2).[39] This is the ethos of the Protestant work ethic

[36] "We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population," (Macaulay, 1952).

[37] None embody this ambiguous space better than Cornelia Sorabji (1866-1954), a Parsi Christian with a British education. She personified the ideal image of the modern Indian woman that combined modernity with tradition; she worked at the British Courts, and yet she promoted *zenana* as remnant of a traditional India, composed of "old-fashioned" women (Burton 2003, 66).

[38] Salemi Armstrong Hopkins, when stationed in Hyderabad, published her memoirs of her time in India at the turn of the twentieth century. Her three novellas, "Within the Purdah", "In the Zenana Homes of Indian Princes" and "Heroes and heroines of Zion" follow the typical trajectory of missionary accounts, the zenana in general, that of royalty, and finally the triumph and celebration of the missions. Her work is prefaced with the avowal that "In every instance I have given you the exact details and history of that particular patient; and yet each of these particular patients is but a sample of many similar cases such as I treated again and again in my dispensary life" (Armstrong-Hopkins 1898, 7). She is one of many examples of the women who travelled abroad.

[39] This sentiment is seen, almost word for word in Armstrong-Hopkins "Who would not choose the hard, half-starved overworked but free life of the poorest sweeper woman rather than the imprisoned, monotonous existence of a high caste zenana woman" (1898, 93).

applied to real women's lives.[40] Eliza Kent has noted how caste figures into the conversion process, where missionaries emphasized upper castes and interior conversion and lower castes and exterior conversion markers (Kent 2004, 6).

Conversion was considered a success when women read and discussed the Bible, even if they remained within the cultural confines of the *zenana* (Kent 1999, 118).[41] The SPFEE argued that lower caste women may go to the public houses to hear preaching, but the *zenana* women cannot. Fictionalized accounts of interviews with an upper-class Hindu woman support the arguments that female missionaries were required (SPFEE 1884, 5). The tracts reveal an upper-class bias, one which presupposes only elite women can influence culture, not the low caste women attending church. This ideology contributed to the formation of the middle class in India in the early twentieth century, a formation that was predicated on the separation of the elite women from the lower castes.[42]

Zenana missions steadily increased the number of female missionaries sent abroad and imbued the *zenana* and its mission work with a call greater than simply religion. The *zenana* missions combined the promise of education with Christianity. They furthered the doctrine of the separate spheres that women were to learn specific feminine past times (Kent 1999, 127).[43] The education promoted by the missionaries in the *zenana* was primarily in the form of needlework and reading. Needlework was believed to be an inoculator of gentility

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[40] The Protestant work ethic was put forth by Max Weber, as he theorized that capitalism evolved from the work ethic of the Protestant community, particularly Calvinism as there was an emphasis on labour as a way to salvation (Weber, 1958).

[41] The *zenana* missions were not a success according to the female missionaries in many ways, as it could never produce completely westernized converts (Kent 1999, 149).

[42] As part of the British middle-class argument for women's suffrage, British women were believed and constructed in the popular imagination to be the bearers of culture and tradition, fundamentally tied to religion. The extension of this to the *zenana* stems from imperial logic, but also the mimesis instituted by the Indian nationalists and social reform, where the educated mother became the ideal woman, and the conflation of womanhood and motherhood became cemented in the nationalist imaginary (Chatterjee, 1989).

[43] This has a long history in British Feminism, as written extensively in Barbara Caine's chapter on Mary Wollstonecraft and her issue with Rousseau's adamant stance on the separate spheres of men and women (Caine 1997).

and femininity and was seen as an inducement to Indian women to allow the missionaries to enter, since they could teach new patterns (Kent 1999, 128). The SPFEE assured its reader, however, that its priority was first and foremost conversion. The tract states, "the *education* of Eastern women, though *one* of its objects, is not the *principal* one. Education is…a means…of bringing the blessed Gospel of Christ within reach" (SPFEE 1884, 9). In this task the female missionary was an ideal vehicle, as she could gain entry to private places and had the necessary feminine skills of embroidery and needlepoint.[44]

I now turn to two different sources that are remarkably similar in their portrayal of Indian women. The first is by missionary Amy Carmichael, who was involved in z*enana* missions and opened an orphanage for Indian children. I examine the ways in which her portrayal of Indian women was similar to both the *zenana* missions and imperial feminists. I then examine Katherine Mayo's secular work, which was famously reviled for her 'exposé' of India and the imperial project. Carmichael was writing from a religious perspective so that her ideas concerning Indian children and culture were bound up with her belief that Christianity had the power to save and civilize them. Mayo was a political agent, despite her claim to the contrary, and was not writing on the behest of missions. Both women used popular writing tropes, and both will be paralleled with the writings of Ida Scudder later in this thesis to demonstrate Scudder's ties to imperial feminism and the slippage between secular and religious writing.

Amy Carmichael

[44] This coincides with Rita S Kranidis's observation on the requirements of the emigrant spinster, that on the one hand they must be highly educated, and on the other skilled in cleaning, sewing and cooking. This ensured that few women would be qualified, as the former was a marker of a middle-class woman and the latter of the lower class. In this time there was an emphasis on creating a new class of women (Kranidis 1999, 102).

Amy Carmichael was an Irish Protestant who lived and worked in South India for fifty-three years without furlough. She was part of the Church of England Zenana Society, and she worked primarily in an orphanage in Dohnavur, Tamil Nadu (Carmichael 1905, ix). She wrote multiple works dealing with conversion and children, notably *Things as They are* (1905), and the subject of this section, *Lotus Buds* (1912).[45] *Lotus Buds* is the culmination of her position on Indian women and culture and accurately portrays the way in which Ida Scudder would understand Indian women as well. Carmichael founded the Dohnavur Fellowship in 1901, described as a "refuge for unwanted children" and the house became the setting of and inspiration for the children's character sketches in *Lotus Buds* (Carmichael 1912, 6). After becoming bedridden in 1931, Carmichael became a prolific writer and published a total of 35 books (Wallace 2003, 214). Her work was commended by Katherine Mayo for writing the truth about life in India (Mayo 1927, 48).[46]

Lotus Buds was an elaborate novel. It contains fifty photographs taken by a professional photographer, each with the children carefully posed. The book begins with a photograph of a lotus bud, accompanied with the narrative of missionaries admiring the beautiful lotus flowers. They are then told that the flowers belong to the Hindu temple and the beautiful scene is dissolved. The reader is to understand that the lotus buds, representing children, are tainted by association with the temple, and Carmichael asks, "these Lotus Buds are sacred things-sacred to whom?" (Carmichael, 1912, 4). Her mission was to collect all the "Lotus Buds" from the temple and restore them to the Christian God.

[45] Much like Mayo's *Introduction* that will be examined later, the preface to Things as They are, written by Eugene Stock, a fellow missionary and editor, insists that Carmichael has written nothing but the truth about South India, "so far as she dares tell them" (ix). He claims that the book could not be printed if the complete truth was revealed, but if readers were to see between the lines they would glimpse "The Actual" of Indian life (ix).

[46] This idea that she wrote the 'things as they are' is so pervasive, that according to a 2010 internet review of the book on archive.org, "In its time….this was a controversial book. Most missionaries would write flowery accounts. Amy Carmichael stunned the Evangelical community in England by writing what South India was really like. Many missionary books skip over the difficult times. Amy wrote what others left in between the pages. This book is out of print and very hard to find. Thanks to all who made it possible to access this book after many years. This book should be republished."

The work is mainly a collection of stories about the personalities of the children, but it is interspersed with chapters on the politics of conversion and missionary stratagems. In Carmichael's own words, the compound was "set in the midst of a battlefield" (1912, 43). The battlefield was a spiritual one, as she described letters sent to the compound from children begging to be rescued from various situations. These children were conveniently located within the mission's greatest opponents: the temple and the *zenana*. In one letter was a 'temple girl' who wished to escape the prurient atmosphere of the Hindu temple, and in another was a young girl who was forced out of school by her parents and locked in the *zenana* (Carmichael 1912, 44). The book then traced the origin of the danger to these children.

From Carmichael's view, the temple is the main site of adversity for preventing Indian people from embracing Christianity. She presented the Hindu temple as shrouded in mystery and secrecy, although she and her fellow missionaries were covertly privy to the "truth" of what occurred there. She related that although normally not allowed to see the idols, one day they were passed unnoticed in a crowd and they witnessed a procession. She mistook the processional image of the god for the icon installed in the temple that foreigners were not allowed to see, and wrote belittlingly: "[t]hat small, insignificant, painted, and bejewelled image, in its gaudy little palanquin was not only that. It was the visual representative of Powers" (Carmichael 1912, 46).[47] From this experience, Carmichael adopted a voice of authority, having seen the idol, she could extrapolate the customs that she was attempting to change, especially in relation to children. She detailed in a chapter called "The Secret Traffic" the profusion of children taken by temple priests to be dedicated to the gods and forced into sexual labour. She claims that it is impossible to garner evidence of the practice, and was often asked by audiences back home: "[b]ut do the children really exist?"

[47] She mourns the spirit of the 'truly religious' who are Hindu, and claims to not have a narrow view because she can appreciate the beauty and truth in ancient Hindu texts (Carmichael 1912, 47).

(Carmichael, 1912, 249). *Lotus Buds* was her response to this question and was meant to provide irrefutable proof to practices *Things as They Are* had only alluded to. There were, however, enemies to the children other than the Hindu temple. Carmichael saw the customs and religion of both Hindu and Muslim families as a threat to the upbringing of children: "[w]e have some children who were not in Temple danger, but who could not have grown up good if we had not taken them" (Carmichael 1912, 63). Not only was the upbringing a problem, but Carmichael resisted returning children to parents who claimed them, as she feared conversion back to their mother religion.

In several chapters, Carmichael divulged their strategies for 'rescuing' children, which involved Christian converts who would travel to different towns to convince parents to part with their children. Carmichael described a region in which every orphan or child of an impoverished family was bought by the Hindu temple and forced into "sacred prostitution" (Carmichael 1912, 72). Therefore, the 'rescue' is described as twofold, saving children from sex trafficking, and saving their souls through conversion to Christianity. The reception of this work within missionary circles was acclaimed, but the reviews in academic circles, in most cases, are more circumspect.

Feminist historian Jo-Ann Wallace described Carmichael as a 'coterie' writer, who wrote to an audience with shared interest in conversion. She also critiqued the characteristic of "interestedness" that permeated Carmichael's work, referring to how her interest in social change and reform trumped her attention to style (Wallace 2003, 214). Carmichael's work is unapologetic in its own interests. Missionary literature was one of the main ways to raise awareness about their work and receive donations. Her harsh condemnation of Hindu cultural and religious life only served to garner more support from those reading at home. The women's work of the *zenana* and imperial zeal of social change in India authorized

Carmichael's 'radical maternalism' (Wallace 2003, 215).[48] As discussed above, the *zenana* missions circulated a vast array of literature that mirrored British feminist anxieties at home. Beginning in the 1890s and culminating after 1907, suffrage took on a new militant urgency and expanded both in numbers and style, the "pageantry and sheer scale of suffrage demonstrations" overtaking anything that had previously been staged (Caine 1997, 161). The vitality of this movement bled into other societies, and so Carmichael's use of the militant language and extreme measures were ratified.

Nancy Jiwon Cho is a feminist writer who examined Carmichael but ultimately failed to place Carmichael's work within the larger socio-political framework of the time. Cho introduced Carmichael's work in an attempt to distance feminist writings from paradigms of victimhood and oppression, and simultaneously recognize the contribution of missiology to critical studies (Cho 2009, 353). Carmichael lived in the midst of passionate debates on the side of British imperialists attempting to devalue the possibility of Indian self-rule in India, and social reformers bent on demonstrating their moral fibre as proof of their ability to govern. Cho takes Carmichael at her word, and does not entertain the idea that perhaps exaggeration or literary tropes informed her spectrum of knowledge.[49] She assessed how Carmichael's hesitancy to denounce the sex trafficking in *Things as They Are* was transformed into righteous anger, and paralleled Carmichael's work with Mayo's in terms of exposing the negatives in Indian culture. She dismissed the imperial power relations at play

[48] Furthermore, Eliza Kent analyzes Carmichael's Presbyterian background in terms of a maverick,'validating a bold, iconoclastic, experimental style of evangelism that did not recognize the authority of any institution, whether Hindu or Christian, above that of God's own directives' (Kent 103).

[49] Rosemary Seton's two page summary of Amy Carmichael followed the same directives as Cho, and as the *Introduction* of this thesis stated, fell into the unfortunate position of recuperating Western women's history at the expense of conceding the problematic dynamics. Seton described Carmichael as 'candidly' writing her observations of South India, and inferred that as Carmichael was decidedly more pessimistic than other mission works, it coincided with increased veracity (Seton, 185-186). The fact that Carmichael offered 'stark analysis' of the interruptions and seemingly impertinent questions from Indian women concerning caste and marital status rather than a picture of the women passively accepting the Scripture endeared her to readers and scholars alike.

in both works, and argued instead the crux of the problem with the reception of these books in India was that *Lotus Buds* and *Mother India* were written by outsiders (Cho 2009, 357).

Cho's final argument concerning the reaction the books provoked was that their legacy revealed the truth in the pages. She argued that Mayo was instrumental in having the marriage age lifted and that since the Dohnavur fellowship survived past colonial rule and its members are now "all of Indian nationality", its concern for children clearly trumped racial ideologies and white supremacy (Cho 2009, 358). This argument is disproved with Eliza Kent's analysis of Carmichael's work, which noted that she was reluctant to allow Indian women in leadership roles, and for the most part reserved the highest positions for other Europeans in the mission (Kent 2004, 111). Cho cites the examples of the British women wearing saris and teaching Tamil and English within the compound as examples of cultural acceptance (Cho 2009, 358-9). On the other hand, Kent notes that the saris worn by Carmichael were of an outlandish style, and were not meant to fit into contemporary Tamil society. Additionally, the Fellowship was surrounded by high walls, cutting off the inhabitants from the rest of Indian society, and the Tamil spoken by the Fellowship children was accented and almost incomprehensible to those outside its walls (Kent 2004, 109-10). This had the effect of Carmichael creating a quasi-*zenana* herself, enclosing the compound with walls for fear that their families may take them back. Her 'radical maternalism,' primarily religious in nature, reflected the secular concerns of feminists in Britain and the suffragette dynamic validated Carmichael's approach to conversion.

Katherine Mayo

The sensationalist and now infamous text *Mother India* was both a culmination of Orientalist and imperialist thought, and created an echo that would be heard throughout the following decades in debates about India and Hinduism. Katherine Mayo was a political writer with eclectic interests, including politics in the United States, the Philippines, and India. *Mother India* had become known as the most influential exposé of India (Sinha 2006; 1). Her journey through India was in the company of British officials, who brought her to the hospitals, temples and villages described so vividly in her book (Rotter 2000, 2). There is no doubt that Mayo meant her book to be politically provocative, by using a title that evoked images of an India free from imperial rule while arguing that India was not fit for self-rule. She played on the fact that Indian nationalists ubiquitously employed the image of Mother India for an India free of colonial rule. Mayo has been widely criticized for her support of an imperial India, and her racist attitudes. Mayo was able to become such a phenomenon due to the 'foreshadowing' of the literature *zenana* missions and Carmichael's work. Mayo capitalized on the belief that the public had been acclimatized to believing that the 'truth' of India was yet to be fully revealed.

The tone of *Mother India* is set within the first few pages of the book. Mayo put forth a triumvirate of the most shocking images she could muster: first, a description of Kali, bloodthirsty and fierce, second that of an animal sacrifice, and third the sight of a beautiful young woman burning on the funeral pyre (Mayo 1927, 6).[50] All these images are designed to evoke horror, sympathy, pity, and disgust in the Western reader.[51]

Mayo wrote in an authoritative tone and used the rhetorical device of claiming others were untrustworthy sources to affirm her own commitment to finding the truth about India. In her quest for the truth, she pleaded with the readers and Indian officials to see her as a truth seeking agent, willing to collect data and present it to America: "[a] foreign stranger prying

[50] See Lata Mani's *Contentious Traditions: the debate on Sati in Colonial* India and John Stratton Hawleys' *Sati, the blessing and the curse: the burning of wives in India.*

[51] Lest we malign Mayo too harshly, it must be said that this is by no means a rhetorical device invented by her, but is rather how too many books on India begin. Armstrong-Hopkins commences with the antithetical statement, "The Hindu is supposed to be, of all creatures on earth, the most generous, the most kind-hearted, the most gentle, the most sympathetic, and the most unselfish. After living for nearly seven years in India I must tell you the opposite of this is true" (17).

about India, not studying ancient architecture, not seeking philosophers or poets, not even hunting big game, and commissioned by no one, anywhere, may seem a queer figure….I should like to be accepted that I am neither an idle busybody nor a political agent, but merely an ordinary American citizen seeking test facts to lay before my own people" (Mayo 1927, 13).[52] She set herself apart from Orientalists, imperialists, missionaries, and theosophists and stylized herself as 'ordinary' and seeking scientific rationalism. She professed an awareness of the anger she would incite, but deployed the "shield of truth", saying that her duty was to inform the public of the "objective truth", regardless of the consequences or disavowals by the Indian population. [53] She argues, "[i]n shouldering this task myself, I am fully aware of the resentments I shall incur; of the accusations of muck-raking; of injustice; of material-mindedness; of lack of sympathy; of falsehood perhaps; perhaps of prurience (Mayo 1927, 18).[54] These statements have made Mayo's work a lasting legacy.

The responses to *Mother India* represent this unbalanced assertion in favour of the veracity of Mayo's text.[55] A response text entitled *A Son of Mother India Answers*, written by Dhan Gopal Mukerji, was as polemical as Mayo's text herself, but raised many relevant

[52] In a discerning moment for British officials, they urge her not to generalize, as they say "in this huge country little or nothing is everywhere true" (13). The rest of her book is a pointed disregard of this statement, but it raises the complexity of the imperial question, how something can be at once infinitely complex, and worthwhile of conquering, yet simple, and easy to rule.

[53] Mayo's personal crusade for the truth that relies on her eye witness accounts of the state of affairs in India exemplifies the shifting thought processes from the eighteenth into the nineteenth century. Prior to her writing, it was just as possible to claim that the only way to write an unprejudiced and unbiased account of India was to *not* have ever travelled there. This rhetorical argument was deployed in a similar fashion as evangelical preacher J.W. Cunningham wrote that 'The Author does not give evidence, but he has endeavoured with accuracy, and fidelity, to collect, produce and sum it up. But the untraveled writer, upon the subject of India, enjoys one advantage to which his otherwise more fortunate rival can seldom pretend. He enters into the discussion free from all the trammels of party and prejudice' (Cunningham 1808, x). One of the more famous examples of an armchair historian was James Mills A History of British India, and in his Preface ruminated on the many advantages given to the historian who never travelled to India (ix-xiv).

[54] This was a common critique. As Liz Wilson details in her article, "world citizen" responded to her charges with the charges that she was 'sex-mad' and speculated wildly about her relationship with an imaginary pet monkey. He went so far as to say once Katherine Mayo was married she would 'calm down'. Scholarship into the 1970s supported this reasoning of obsession with sex due to the lack of marital boundaries as well. In truth, Katherine Mayo had a long lasting relationship with Miss Moyca Newell (Wilson 143)

[55] Gandhi famously denounced it as a Drain Inspector's report and devoted considerable energy arguing the points from Mayo's book.

criticisms nonetheless. He deftly placed her work within the framework she so adamantly sought to escape, as a pseudo-specialist intent on highlighting the crux of the Indian problem (Mukerji 1927, 17-18). In *Father India: A Reply to Mother India*, C.S. Ranga Iyer accurately summed up that Katherine Mayo had the intent of writing a sensationalist book, and to be sensationalist one must "deal with the sex-side" (1927, 11). He took umbrage to Mayo's assertion that all women were imprisoned in the *zenana*, and her accusation that a woman would not go to the village to teach for fear of rape. He counters the claims of rape but does assert that "[n]o civilized man would deny that Purdah is a curse. It came to India with the Muslim regime…Education alone can illumine the darkness of Purdah" (Iyer 1927, 65-66).[56] Mayo was compelled to respond to this avalanche of criticism, and wrote more books on India, notably *The Slaves of the Gods*, which she begins in the same rhetorical vein as *Mother India*. Mayo claimed Reverend Henry Whitehead, a prominent cleric with the Church of England, had one criticism for the book, and that was the book was a statement of the obvious of the situation in India (Mayo 1929, 5).[57]

The truth that Mayo encountered early on in *Mother India*, is that the British administration had little to do with the situation in India. She contended that, "[i]nertia, helplessness, lack of initiative and originality, lack of staying power and of sustained loyalties, sterility of enthusiasm, weakness of life-vigour itself-all traits that truly characterize the Indian not only of today, but of long past history" (Mayo 1927, 16). The characterization of Indian culture was entrenched in the book, for example by her assertion that the villages are the "true homes" of India (Mayo 1927, 66). Her evidence for this permeated the book, and she liberally sprinkled lengthy quotes from Indian officials throughout in order to

[56] He was an ardent social reformer, with an upper class agenda. He refutes any animal sacrifice for Vaisnavas, and quotes Annie Besant saying worshippers of kali never take part in any blood sacrifice," (70).

[57] The Reverend does state that he does not believe that Westerners are more pure by nature than Indians "but we in the West have the inestimable advantage of a religion that stands for purity and righteousness" (Mayo 1929, 6).

substantiate her claims.[58] She wrote that, "[t]he whole pyramid of the Indian's woes, material and spiritual-poverty, sickness, ignorance, political minority, melancholy, ineffectiveness, not forgetting that subconscious conviction of inferiority which he forever bares and advertises by his gnawing and imaginative alertness for social affronts-rests upon a rock-bottom physical base. This base is, simply, his manner of getting into the world and his sex-life thenceforward (Mayo 1927, 22). This obsession with Indian sexuality is the bedrock of her critiques. Her proof was found in the fact that the lingam of Shiva is a phallic symbol, and that the Vaishnavite trident also can be interpreted in sexual terms (Mayo 1927, 23).[59]

Following the theme of envisioned prurience, Mayo referenced the *zenana* several times in her narrative. Much of her *zenana* information is taken from a text published by Cornelia Sorabji in 1908, *Between the Twilights: Being Studies of Indian Women by one of Themselves*.[60] Contrary to missionary tracts, Mayo asserted that *zenana* teaching had failed utterly. Mayo interviewed a teacher, who had stated that in primary school teachers attempt to instil as much education as possible in young girls' minds because "the whole aim and hope of the scheme is to implant in the girls' minds something so definitely applicable to their future life in the *zenana* that some part of it may endure alive through the years of dark and narrow things so soon to come" (Mayo 1927, 139). Therefore, missionary intervention had little effect, and the only time of improvement was prior to entering the *zenana*.

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[58] She also uses an excessive amount of quotes from Abbe Dubois who wrote of India from the mid nineteenth century. Given Katherine Mayo's claim that the culture and civilization of Hindus has not changed since the time of the Vedas (excepting the degradation), her use of a 75 year old text to demonstrate 'modern' India was seen as justifiable. The evidence is the Hindu culture and religion itself, which permeates every aspect of their existence, but rests ultimately on the sexuality of the Hindus.

[59] Although in a footnote she writes that fanciful interpretations are usually given, meaning this is entirely her interpretation. (23).

[60] Sorabji was a staunch Mayo supporter, and was once accused of 'out-Mayoing Mayo' in fervor to denounce nationalist sentiments and attack child marriage (Burton 2003,68).

Mayo's imperialist agenda was evident throughout the text.[61] According to Mayo, prior to Britain's rule India was "ever either a chaos of small wars and brigandage…or else she was the flaccid subject of foreign rule" (Mayo 1927, 21). Her pro-imperialist argument was summed up in the inability she perceived the Indians to have in order to self-govern.[62] She gendered India as effeminate and weak, unable to rule itself, while simultaneously offering a quasi-feminist argument that the British needed to be more deeply implanted in India as a cause of moral reform for the sake of Indian women (Wilson 1997, 144). Mayo's text was simply one in the culmination of over a century of British discourse justifying the occupation and rule of India.

Mayo also wrote extensively on the role of doctors and the need for Western medicine. Mayo's work was published after Ida Scudder was established in Vellore, and the tropes that arose in both their writings are strikingly similar. Mayo's main concern is that of venereal disease. Mayo claimed to have visited purdah hospitals all over the country and she found that, "[m]ost of the women were very young. Almost all are venereally infected" (Mayo 1927, 52). All the cases described by Mayo are of young girls ravaged by venereal disease unaided by their uncaring husbands. She calls the Indian doctors "[q]uacks whom we know" and attempts to discredit them by using the example of Gandhi agreeing to have his appendix out by a Western doctor, instead of waiting for his traditional healers (Mayo 1927, 387-8).[63] With these arguments, Mayo famously sought to undermine Indian efforts for self-rule.

[61] This was examined further in Mrinalini Sinha's work, *Specters of Mother India: The Global Restructuring of an Empire* (2006) where she argues that controversy over *Mother India* what a global public event, and was set amid the crucial time when the 'illusion of permanence" of empire was dissipating (Sinha 2006, 4).

[62] She describes her views thus, "[g]iven men who enter the world physical bankrupts out of bankrupt stocks, rear them through childhood in influences and practices that devour their vitality,…find them, at the age when the Anglo-Saxon is just coming into full glory of manhood, broken nerved, low-spirited, petulant ancients, and need you, while this remain unchanged, seek for other reasons why they are poor and sick and dying and why their hands are too weak, too fluttering, to seize or to hold the reins of Government" (Mayo, 32).

[63] This will later be echoed by Mary Pauline Jeffrey in a Vellore newsletter, as shown in the third chapter.

The negative legacy of *Mother India* lives on through the attitudes formed and perpetuated by its readers. Feminists such as Mary Daly have come to Mayo's defence, arguing that it is a moral necessity to speak out against violence against women in any form. A more convincing nuance to that argument is Liz Wilson's opinion on Daly, that it is naïve to dismiss the fraught relationship between colonialism and feminism (Wilson 1997, 144). This argument effaces the accountability of British and American women colluding with imperialism. It perpetuates the 'victim' discourse and obscures non-white female agency and white complicity with racism, authorizing white women to speak for the 'plight' of Indian women (Wilson 1997, 144). As Sinha argues, there is little in Mayo's career, before or after *Mother India*, which would mark Mayo as a genuine feminist crusader (1998, 28).[64] Further, Mayo's description of India became the prevailing Hollywood depiction, with all its sexual perversity and superstition (Rotter 2000, 3). Mayo influenced the birth of independent women's movement, which catapulted the *zenana* missive into the political sphere. The popular slogan of the early twentieth century captured the change "India cannot be free until its women are free, and women cannot be free until India is free" (Sinha 1998, 1).

Conclusion

Both secular and religious literature produced in the nineteenth century relied heavily on the image of the entrapped Indian woman and the rescuer as a male, imperial power, supported by its female agents fighting from within the *zenana*. The attitudes concerning feminism and women's rights were inextricably linked to imperialism and colonial rule over India. British and American women used the opportunity to empower themselves, by relying on the stereotype of the Indian women in need of rescue. Female missionaries carved new spaces for themselves, and in the case of Carmichael, mirrored the suffragette discourse

[64] This is in reference to her later works as well, when even Mayo's staunch supporters withdrew when she published the *Face of Mother India* (1935) and admitted that in Slaves of the Gods (1929) she changed Muslim names to Hindu in order to portray Hinduism as the cause of social ills. (Sinha 1998; 26).

which sanctioned radical actions. Mayo was a secular imperial propagandist, but like Carmichael believed that Hinduism was the root of the cultural decay, placing the onus for change on religion more so than on any social aspect. Ida Scudder embodied both these discourses, as she capitalized on the need for medical missionaries to enter the *zenana* and created an institution where single women could thrive.

<u>Chapter 2:</u>

Scudder Family Values: A Literary Legacy

Missionary writings comprise a vast majority of the colonial archive. They serve as proto-ethnographic texts, sites of cultural intervention and hybridisation, and they contain a wealth of information on historical, social, cultural, and religious practices. As demonstrated in the *Introduction* of this thesis, there has been a recent trend in scholarship that examines the important role of gender in shaping missions, both at the institutional level as well as the familial unit in the colonies. Missions consciously sought to shape the colonial frontier into their vision of modernity and played an essential role in the education of the native people. They recognized that the profession of medicine and evangelical preacher combined to create an ideal approach in order to integrate the missionaries into indigenous communities. Medical missionaries self-professed that their occupation unlocked previously untapped sites of conversion, especially for women, such as the *zenana*, as seen in *Chapter One.*

Medicine and empire in the nineteenth century were intimately connected in terms of the colonizing process and cultural hegemony. Ida Scudder, as will be demonstrated in the last chapter, institutionalized this form of hegemony, but this has been ignored in accounts of her life. Ida Scudder's legacy is presented in contradictory terms, with her piety being central to her personal character but separated from her work with Indian women. I argue that to understand the multivalent portrayals of Ida Scudder, we must examine not only imperial feminist thought but the legacy bequeathed to her from her family of medical missionaries, beginning with her grandfather, John Scudder Sr., progenitor of the Scudder dynasty. In this chapter I examine the extensive history that medicine shares with imperial interests and how British and American women used imperial and religious philosophies to justify their place in the medical world and in the colonies. I then turn to the life of the charismatic figure of John

Scudder Sr., and his influence in creating an 'empire' of medical missionaries. I examine the tracts and personal writings of John Scudder Sr., and then turn to Ida Scudder's own narrative of her 'calling' to the medical missionary field and her personal writing on the condition of Indian women. I apply Anna Johnston's argument that missionaries occupy ambiguous spaces between imperial and religious interest, and this is reproduced in their writing (Johnston, 2). A common thread appears, one that positions Ida Scudder both as complicit within the imperial feminist ideology examined in the previous chapter, as well as deeply influenced by her family legacy of twining medicine and conversion.

Medical Missionaries: Purveyors of Scientific Modernity

Medical missionaries have long participated in the ideological and social history of South India, at times complicit with and at times at odds with colonial rule. The role of these missionaries was bifurcated between concerns of the physical body and the spiritual soul, as they dispensed science and salvation to native populations.[65] It is only in recent scholarship that the image of Western medicine as an "uncontested blessing" and benign effect of colonial rule has been nuanced and challenged (Fitzgerald 2001; 89).[66] Missionaries occupied a liminal position in colonial society, and by wedding their religious purpose to medicine, they secured their status within the colonial landscape. It was recognized by missionary societies that a medical missionary could gain entrance where others would be denied. At a series of lectures on Medical Missionaries, Reverend William Swan (1791-1866), a Scottish missionary who laboured in Siberia affirmed, "[t]hat Medical Missionaries are everywhere received as the true benefactors of the people-[and they] obtain easy access even to palaces"

[65] The most famous perhaps was David Livingstone (1813-1873), see Andrew Ross's biography that combines critical mission history, *David Livingstone: Mission and Empire* (London Hambledon and London, 2002).

[66] In the 1951 edition of Ida Scudder's biography it was noted, "Scientific medicine has been a gift from the West to the East and the East is accepting the gift. The East is taking the West at its word" (Jeffrey, 1951, 211).

(Reverend Swan 1849, 105).[67] This resulted in a demand for medical missionaries that adhered to imperial ideology on medicine as a vehicle for imparting the authority of Christianity, delivered as scientific rationalism.[68]

The evangelical movement in the nineteenth century in India was considered a failure; no mass conversion had yet taken place. As David Arnold argues, medicine also occupied an ambiguous space, in which a hundred and fifty years into British occupancy medicine had yet to be regulated and institutionalized in the same way it was implemented in Britain (Arnold 1993, 3). However, there was still a strong sense of moral duty that touched even the modernising secular projects to justify colonial rule, such as education and health, and this conversely aided missionary work into becoming 'modern' as well (Phillips 2003, 206). In order to understand the unique space medical missionaries occupied, one must first acknowledge the institutional framework that was implemented at the colonial administrative level. Medicine became one of the most penetrating sites of the colonizing process, but due to the relatively late legislation it has only recently been recognized as such (Arnold 1993, 4). Institutionalization paralleled the medical missionary movement, in 1858 the Medical Act required that all practitioners possess a certification from a recognized medical university or

[67] As will be demonstrated further on, the upper classes and *zenana* provided much of the impetus for medical missionaries, particularly for women. However, medical missionaries also used their influence to infiltrate areas on the margins of Indian society. For a case study see David Hardiman's work on medical missionaries and the Adivasis (Hardiman, 2006). The colonial government was invested in these 'tribes,' particularly in enforcing a settled agrarian lifestyle as well as imposing Western culture. Hardiman reveals how the colonial government was eager to have medical missionaries in the area, to impart 'civilizing values.' On their part, the missionaries saw this as an opportunity to save the Adivasis souls, and often went on preaching tours that combined medical aid.

[68] It is important to keep in mind that 'science' was not a completely Western hegemonic practice that was imposed on the vacuum of Indian medicine. Kavita Phillips reminds us that while science was a central pillar of colonialism, so too was colonialism a 'central moment in the history of nineteenth century science' (Philips 5). Zaheer Baber argues, in the mid nineteenth century, India was a state-sponsored 'social laboratory' where 'experiments' in institution building were enacted. In the changing colonial structure, Indian urban elites used these experiments to legitimize and consolidate their power, and so demanded Western education for science as an 'avenue of social mobility' (p 8).

corporation (Haynes 2006, 130).[69] Missionaries simultaneously stressed the need for a medical practitioner who had completed a recognized degree and passed the examinations and '**a thorough knowledge of his profession'** (Brown 1849, 140; emphasis original). Western science and medicine were firmly linked to the colonial government and missionaries. The medical aid dispensed had to be of the most modern and regulated techniques, lest practitioners besmirch the name of Western scientific standards. Rosemary Fitzgerald describes it as a disdain for the former 'pillbox' method of medical practice in preference to a formalized professional training (Fitzgerald 1997; 72). Medical practitioners also attempted to consciously distance themselves from indigenous medical practices, seen increasingly as irrational and detrimental to the medical occupation.

However, it would be an erroneous assumption that the early medical missionaries were not influenced by Indian healing practices. In a strange land, with diseases one may have only read about, it was inevitable that medical missionaries were to confer and, in fact, were encouraged to meet with the native doctors so as not to misuse native cures (Harrison 2001, 49). These attempts to reconcile Indian and European medicine were ultimately thwarted by the belief that only the medical practices of the Golden Age of Hinduism were useful and had since degenerated (along with the rest of Indian civilization). Orientalists and missionaries alike saw the medical knowledge of the Vedas as a site for extracting scientific knowledge and discarding the 'irrational' aspects of religion (Arnold 1993, 45). This rescue of Indian knowledge was then applied to a colonial, imperial spectrum of knowledge

[69] Douglas Haynes argues that the British (and I extend this to American for this thesis' purpose) medical profession was necessarily an imperial profession, and that empire was a 'centripetal force of consolidation as well it was a centrifugal force of conflict' in shaping a national profession into an imperial one (Haynes, 134). Job opportunities abroad in the empire proved alluring, while domestic conditions at home lacked financial security and the ability to have a private practice. Missionaries could capitalize on the need for medical aid because that was precisely the policies the colonial government was enacting to consolidate the medical practice abroad.

concerning medicine.[70] Medical missionaries were complicit in the scientific study of India's medicinal plants and minerals and as Harrison has argued, it is more appropriate to term this an ''appropriation of indigenous knowledge systems for the purposes of imperial rule'' (Harrison 2001, 69).[71] This attitude slowly shifted to one more congruent with the policies being implemented through imperial rule, with enforced legislation, and an emphasis on the scientific and modern techniques.

By the late nineteenth century, medical missions were seen as a burgeoning field for missionary women in particular. The American Medical Missionary Society (AMMS) published a tract proclaiming the necessity of recruiting female medical missionaries. Their primary motivation was to find American women to reach Indian women in the *zenana*. They stated: "[t]hese millions of women cannot be reached by male missionaries…Nor can Christian women, ordinarily, gain entrance to them. But the female Medical Missionary is able to do it, for her professional acquisition is a key" (AMMS 188?, 4).[72] Antoinette Burton has argued convincingly that the idea of the *zenana* was instrumental in the institutionalization and professionalization of female doctors (Burton 1996, 369). By the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, there was a call for women labourers, following the rhetoric of 'women's work for women.'[73] The missionary venture provided an

[70] This is a small portion of the complex and contradictory notions held about 'Western' medicine and Hinduism. On the one hand, there was a fervent belief in the static and degraded status of Indian medicine from the time of the Vedas, and a comparison with the dynamic, ever evolving West. And yet, Indian medicine reinforced Western notions of science, rather than added to it.

[71] This was not an uncontested area, as Baber has demonstrated, surgical procedures in 'Medieval India' (circa the early eighteen century) were lauded by British travellers, especially those for the removal of cataracts (Baber, 79). As will be demonstrated later, this was not a unanimous view, one of the most prominent ways Ida Scudder undermined indigenous medical practices was by gruesomely detailing the ways in which native doctors made cataracts worse, and mostly caused their patients to be blind.

[72] The author of this tract is none other than Henry Martyn Scudder (1882-1895), son of John Scudder and uncle to Ida Scudder, with whom she lived for a year in America.

[73] These concerns for the need of female medical missionaries in particular were so pressing that letters were written to the newspapers pleading for the immediate aid of more female medical missionaries. (Montgomery and Draper, 395)

institutionalized space for women to occupy positions that were normally reserved for men, such as to speak publically about the cause handle money and organize events (Thorne 1999, 49). This was an extension of the mass mobilization of women in America and Britain who organized schools, charities and went door-to-door fundraising for mission goals.

Women were believed to possess a natural instinct for compassion as well as a natural aptitude for philanthropic work and so this translated to the call for female medical missionaries (Fitzgerald 1997, 69). Women employed this discourse in both secular and religious spheres to consolidate their claims for legitimacy. Sophia Jex-Blake (1840-1912) was denied entrance to a medical college in Scotland and she campaigned vigorously for women's education.[74] Her main argument for admitting women to medical school was their 'natural' capacity for healing and a disposition for compassionate care. She states:

> "[i]n the first place, let us take the testimony of Nature in the matter. If we go back to primeval times, and try to imagine the first sickness…does one instinctively feel that it must have been the man's business to seek means of healing, to try the virtues of various herbs or to apply such rude remedies as might occur to one unused to the strange spectacle of human suffering…my argument [is] that women are *naturally* inclined and fitted for medical practice (Jex-Blake 1872, 7-8 emphasis original).

Jex-Blake was a firm advocate for women doctors *for* women. As was demonstrated through secular and religious sources in Chapter One, imperial and feminist discourse was intimately bound together, and it is within the figure of the female medical missionary that they converge into a single ideal.

The missions argued for women doctors as it expressed the twofold 'cure,' for disease of the physical body, and 'heathenism' of the soul. When opposed by patriarchal concerns about admitting women into medical school, women argued that it was an imperial concern, as the women in India could not be helped by men. Jex-Blake's tracts contradicted the claim

[74] She was eventually accepted after her campaign efforts, and was one of the famous Edinburgh Seven who began to study at the University of Edinburgh in 1869.

that there is no demand for women doctors; she argued that Indian women were the need, and women doctors were needed to both treat the women in the *zenana* as well as to teach them to be doctors themselves (Jex-Blake 1872, 42). The first association formed to facilitate women doctors in India was the Dufferin Fund in 1885, known officially as the National Association for Supplying Medical Aid to the Women of India. Its objective was "intended as a bearer of Western culture values" to further yoke India to colonial rule (Pati and Harrison 2001, 9). This fund also subverted indigenous forms of knowledge, such as the midwives, *dai*s, and labelled their practices 'barbaric.' They systematically undermined the *dai*s and replaced them with Western female doctors (Arnold 1993, 257).[75] Mission history and imperial rule thus paralleled each other. Missions added the express intent of Christianizing the natives, while the colonial government, in a more circumspective manner, professed its desire to impart Western values, distancing itself from overt religious motivations. The practical combination of these values will now be examined with the lives and writings of John and Ida Scudder.

John Scudder Sr. (1793-1855): A Legacy

John Scudder Sr. bestowed a lasting legacy in the history of medical missionaries. He is remembered for being the first American medical missionary to leave from American shores (Franklin 1919, 224). His biographies are memoirs to his triumphs, and they make no pretense about being anything else. John Waterbury, Scudder's brother-in-law, began his book by stating he chose "only those facts which would reveal most forcibly the character of the man and act with salutary effect on the heart of the reader" (Waterbury 1870, iii).

[75] There is an interesting parallel with the history of midwifery in Britain, the United States and Canada. While women argued to be admitted into medical colleges to become doctors, it simultaneously acted to discredit those already practicing medicine as uneducated and there was a need to be replaced by male physicians. See on the history of midwifery and men Lisa Forman Cody's *Birthing the Nation: Sex, Science, and the Conception of Eighteenth Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

John Scudder Sr. was born in New Jersey to Joseph and Maria Scudder in 1793. By all accounts, he was a pious child, and his mother frequently remarked on his 'Christian' attitude (Waterbury 1870, 12). Against his father's wishes, John Scudder decided to become a doctor and graduated from New York Medical College in 1815. He moved into the Waterbury household with a family that he would 'convert' to Christianity and eventually married the eldest daughter, Harriet.

He was a member of the Dutch Reformed Church in America. The Church held Pietist beliefs, which focused on the development of God, through devotional life of the family, and reading the Bible and prayer (Heideman 2009, xi).[76] Pietism emphasized the individual and religious experience. Hans Schneider expounds on the different ideas concerning ecclesiology within Pietism and describes the belief that one is illuminated from within by the light of God, and then one may study the external Word, the Bible. This belief led some Pietists to de-emphasize the institutional place of the Church, as 'true Christianity is an inward, spiritual form' and this 'interiority' renders temples and churches irrelevant (Schneider 2007, 28). This is especially important when examining the ways in which John Scudder and Ida Scudder teach Christianity. In both methods, there is a priority on Bible reading, and little to do with church attendance in India. John Scudder's method of itinerant preaching placed an emphasis on spreading the gospel and there was not a priority in building an institutionalized church.[77] Ida Scudder, as will be examined in the final chapter,

[76] John Scudder's mentor and pastor was Christian Bork, who followed the Calvinist principle that souls were predestined for heaven. The main point of contention between John Scudder and his mentor was that Bork was content to leave the 'backsliders' and 'morally corrupt' alone, and focussed on his flock who came to the church. John scudder also had a predisposition to follow the Calvinist principles but believed that being elected by grace was not enough, one must display it in acts of charity and through a pious character (Waterbury 1870, 24). At several points Scudder is propounded to have been open to all Christian faiths, yet in his memoir there are several disparaging remarks to Roman Catholics, describing how they would be the last to reach the kingdom of heaven (Waterbury1870, 131) and describes Catholicism as 'a religion that is nothing more or less than Paganism, with a few Christ- ian doctrines added to it.' (Scudder, 300).

[77] John Scudder was not the first to introduce Pietist concepts into South India's cultural milieu, that honor remains Bartholomaus Ziegenbalg's, for detailed accounts of his life and works at the Tranquebar Mission see Dennis Hudson, Will Sweetman and Daniel Jeyaraj. Also see Indira Viswanathan Peterson's case study of the

institutionalized conversion by establishing Bible study in her curriculum, but similarly shied away from a church's authority.

John Scudder's memoirs reveal little about his medical practice in New York City. They focus mainly on his evangelical efforts at home and detail how he singlehandedly doubled the congregation at his church (Waterbury 1870, 25). The few references made to his medical practice were almost always in conjunction with a death bed scene where the patient either repented or died troubled on account of not being a good Christian (Waterbury 1870, 21).[78] On a house visit, John Scudder came across the tract *The Conversion of the World, or the Claims of the Six Million and the Ability and Duty of the Churches Respecting Them*. This book was the impetus that led John Scudder to give up his medical practice in New York and leave for Ceylon.[79] As there were no missions abroad connected with the Dutch Reformed Church, Scudder accepted a posting with the American Board of Missions that was looking for a Christian physician (Holcomb 1901, 172).

John Scudder, along with his wife and servant Amy, set sail for Ceylon.[80] The early days were met with heartbreak, as they lost their two year old child days within landing, and their new born a mere three months later (Waterbury 1870, 52-4). In Ceylon he set up for the

Halle Pietist curriculum at King Serfoji II's (1777-1832) court in Tanjore, instituted by Christian Friedrich Schwartz (1726-98). Schwartz was a follower of August Hermann Francke Halle Pietism, which emphasized God's work in the natural universe and placed an emphasis on science and understanding the physical world (Peterson, 2003). The Scudder's however, placed more emphasis on the spiritual knowing of God, and apart from the scientific aspects of medicine, were not concerned with learning about the natural universe.

[78] This is more likely due to the sources that chose to write about John Scudder, all from religious backgrounds writing fulsome praise, and a large majority from within, or connected to the Scudder family such as John Waterbury.

[79] This tract's main thesis was `*it is the duty of Christians to send forth preachers of the gospel in such numbers as to furnish the means of instruction and salvation to the whole world*`(Hall and Newell, 7, emphasis original). It argues for the dire need of missionaries, and envisions Ceylon as one of the ultimate areas where conversion is needed. It depicts with a convoluted mathematical scheme to prove how if in 21 years all the able bodied men were to go abroad and preach, the world would be converted (18).

[80] The memoirs of Franklin, Waterbury, Holcomb and Dorothy Scudder celebrate the beginning of his journey as auspicious, since the entire crew was converted to Christianity on the journey. Waterbury details the conversion stories, but notes that upon reaching shore the majority of the crew became 'back-sliders' (Waterbury, 61)

first Medical Mission in Jaffna, and spent much of his time touring, preaching and distributing tracts.[81] As Franklin rightly noted: "[h]e early recognized the importance of Christian literature as a Christianizing agency" and he went to Madras to set up a printing press and on one journey gave away 8000 copies of a tract (1919, 232-33). He printed tracts in English and Tamil and preached in both languages as well. John Scudder was a preacher first and a doctor second. He would daily preach sermons to the native people, and afterwards prescribe them medicine. He described a daily routine thusly: "I prescribe for the sick at an early hour every morning and have prayers and conversation with them before I administer to their wants…Many females come for medical advice, and thus are obliged, at least once, to attend the house of prayer" (Waterbury 1870, 62). John Scudder is explicit in his belief that medicine is a means to an end: conversion. "Some come while I am prescribing for the company present, who have been here before. To them I refuse to give medicine for the day. They have not been in time to hear the Gospel preached, the main object I have in view in prescribing for the sick" (Waterbury 1870, 232).

John Scudder Sr. demanded a perceptible conversion from his flock. As Hudson has shown, missionaries were preoccupied with what constituted *true* conversion. Ziegenbalg would not baptize a convert until he was ensured that genuine piety was established within. His first baptisms were only after six months of intensive study, for two hours each day until the religious 'individualism' of Pietism was expressed (Hudson 2000, 25). As mentioned in the previous chapter, while high caste conversion was interior, lower caste conversion required external conversion markers. John Scudder would put converts on 'probation' until he felt they gave evidence of a change of heart and would sometimes refuse to baptize until he was convinced. He demanded a real renunciation of the social customs and transitions, and

[81] In Scudder's own words, `to labor in this manner is often a trying duty, owing in part to the awful stupidity of the people, to the relaxed state of our bodies from the heat of the climate…but we believe if we do not thus labor we are unfit for our high and holy calling` (Waterbury, 61).

a marked personality change (Scudder 1970, 48). An interesting contrast to Scudder's rigid conversion standards were his conversion tactics. He liberally used analogies between Hindu customs and concepts and transformed them into Christian ideals. He wrote tracts entitled 'The Guru' and 'The Sastra' where in the former he argued that Jesus Christ is a guru in the fullest sense of the word, and in the latter stated ''[t]he true Sastra in none other than the Christian Veda'' (Heideman 2001, 215). This was a common conversion tactic of the period, to learn as much about Hinduism and its teaching as possible, in order to refute it or transform its terms into Christian theology.

After years in Ceylon, John Scudder's health could not withstand the climate any longer, and the family moved to South India. There he continued his preaching and touring, and founded a mission that had a printing press. Missionaries recognized the importance of having their own independent printing presses. They established printing presses early on and the ones in India were cheaper and easier to maintain than in other parts of the Empire. For example, Oxford University Press cut its printing costs by using the press in Mysore (Johnston 2003, 80). When in Madras, Scudder persuaded several Indian teachers to put their institutions under his direction to transform into boarding schools. His descendant, Dorothy Scudder, described his goals as thus: "[w]hat Dr. John wanted definitely was the children under Christian influence, particularly the girls" (Scudder 1959, 53). Scudder and his children were deeply invested in opening vernacular schools and opened a female seminary for the express purpose of educating girls to become wives for Indian ministers, catechists and teachers (Heideman 2001; 164). This demonstrated an understanding of native girls as subordinate to the men, as well as the belief that women were the bearers of culture. John Scudder, as will be shown in his writings, had a strong preoccupation with the conversion of children to the missionary cause.

In the memoirs little is said about his own children and family. His wife Harriet was by all accounts the ideal of the missionary 'helpmeet.' As Emily J. Manktelow has convincingly shown, there was a rise and fall to the missionary wife's status. Harriet Scudder's time was within the pinnacle of the wife as companion and held a specific role in the mission to be an example of 'civilized' standards (Manktelow 2013, 37). Harriet Scudder raised her children, founded educational programs for the village children and kept a firm rein on the domestic sphere. She introduced weaving into the school curriculums so that Indian women could learn a trade (Jeffrey, 1951; 33). In contrast, Ida Scudder embodied the shift away from missionary wives, and the arrival of the single professional worker.[82] Waterbury's memoir references two more children's death, and in John Scudder's letters to Harriet, he mentioned the children in passing. John and Harriet Scudder kept their children in India until school age, and then sent them abroad.[83] Due to his continuing poor health, the family returned home on furlough to America. The preoccupation in the memoirs with John Scudder's failing health, yet his indefatigable efforts of conversion demonstrate how he was a forerunner of the Muscular Christianity, primarily in the sense of spiritual strength.[84] Waterbury described Scudder's return to America, and how those greeting him on the shore were astonished to see him, ravaged by the fever and a shadow of his former self (Waterbury

[82] Manktelow quote's Jane Haggis' shrewd observation that mission femininity became bifurcated, 'the missionary wife increasingly viewed as an amateur appendage to her husband, firmly fixed in the domestic sphere, while the single woman attains a new status as a professional worker' (Manktelow, 45).

[83] Manktelow has a fascinating study on the dynamics of the missionary family, and devotes a section to 'Juvenile repatriation.' She makes the intriguing argument that missionary parents, by sending their children back home 'were signalling their lack of faith in the conversionist principles, and demonstrating that indigenous peoples remained a dangerous influence over their children' (Manktelow, 149). This system was the practical extension of the ideological shift from cultural tolerance to cultural jingoism.

[84] This is in contrast to Peter Van der Veer's discussion on muscular Christianity, which focuses on the physical conditioning and constructed notions of masculinity in the nineteenth century, arguing among other things muscular Christianity affected more than sports, almost all leisure activities had a moral status (Van der Veer, pp 85-94). John Scudder was undoubtedly influenced by the physical components as well, as seen from his withdrawal from any form of alcohol beverage memoir stating 'When he came to India missionaries drank wine. He drank it himself. All then believed it to be right. But as soon as the trumpet-clang of teetotalism smote, across the ocean, upon his ears, he stopped, examined the subject, decided that total abstinence was the only rational and righteous course, and dashed the wine-cup form his table forever. (Waterbury, 303).

1870, 175-77). In America, he did not sit idly awaiting the return of his good health. He went on multiple preaching tours, focusing primarily on children. Many of his tracts concentrate on the role children could play in converting Indian people to Christianity.

John and Harriet returned to India for the final time in 1847. Harriet died a few short years after their return in 1849.[85] Her final thoughts were to her three children who had not yet embraced Christianity (Waterbury 1870, 243). The Scudders thus proved an anomaly in terms of missionary families; the remaining three children did eventually follow in their parents footsteps, making an unparalleled record for missionary families.[86] John Scudder Sr.'s health continued to fail, as he still preached and prescribed for the sick. He refused to return to America, and so for a change of environment he went to South Africa, where he died in his sleep in 1855. He was a prolific writer in his life. The next section examines his personal writings and tracts to demonstrate his influence on Ida Scudder and the ambiguous position between religious and imperial standpoints.

Literary Themes

Literature plays a central role in the inoculation of culture and societal mores. In the nineteenth century, missionary texts are one of the most abundant sources to understand how ideas of modernity and culture in the metropole and abroad developed.[87] Missions regarded 'story-telling' as an integral part of the conversion process, describing the heroic exploits of

[85] John Scudder's journal entries and letters to his children are rife with grief, revealing their marriage as one truly of affection.

[86] Manktelow's study commences with the note that missionary families were ambiguous within the London Missionary Society's textual archive. Ideally, they were to be the role models for the 'heathen' but were most often disappointed with the missionary family (Manktelow, 1). The Scudder's, while not a part of the LMS, would have been considered a great success.

[87] One need look no further than Gauri Viswanathan's work *Masks of Conquest*, demonstrating the solution to imparting British cultural and moral standards was to incorporate English literary study into the curriculums. (Viswanathan, 1989)

the Bible to induce a conversion. When describing the listeners of a narrative, a mission tract states: “[w]hat such people want is a new ideal, and it is essentially the function of the story to provide one, while at the same time stimulating the impulse to strive after that ideal” (Annett 1925, 236). While the author was referring primarily to ‘heathen’ audiences, I examine the following literature with the same idea in mind for an already Christian reader. Yandell and Paul, in their edited volume *Religion and Public Culture,* argue: “a fundamental recognition and understanding of the importance of religion as a determining factor in public life is required to fully appreciate modernity. The public life of colonial South India was determined in large part to the interplay between Hinduism and Christianity, whether through the policies of legal venues, cultural or social values, and political agendas” (Yandel and Paul 2000, vi). I add the role of literature to this list and assert that, by examining the literature of John Scudder Sr. and, subsequently, the main narratives surrounding Ida Scudder, we can see a progression of paradigms concerning the place of women and imperial beliefs on race and superior culture that mark each epoch. In reference to these narratives, I deploy Anna Johnston’s argument that missionary literature portrays an ambiguous divide between imperial and religious concerns. By deconstructing these texts, I also aim to participate in the body of scholarship that examines travel writing. Missionary literature can be seen as a form of travel writing and it has certainly been seen as proto-ethnographic in anthropological circles. Travel writing makes ‘truth claims’ about its given subject, and this ‘other’ has been recognized “as a textual construction, an interpretation, and not a reflection on reality” (Ghose 1998, 2). As we shall discover, John Scudder was less ambiguous, while Ida Scudder’s life is seen more circumspectly.

Letters to Children: ‘A Voice from the East’ and other stories

John Scudder Sr. was within the same scope of the famous missionaries such as Ziegenbalg, and De Nobili. The similarities are evident in the understanding that language played an important role in conversion. Like missionaries before him, John Scudder Sr. felt the necessity of learning Tamil and then preaching and distributing tracts in Tamil.[88] This was so indoctrinated that his children learned Tamil, and Ida Scudder's diaries often mention her Tamil studies as a young girl, even before her actual missionary days. The difference between the above missionaries, however, is that John Scudder did not believe in accommodating any Hindu social or cultural aspects in his converts. Language was the farthest he was willing to acclimatize, and this can be understood with his preoccupation with converting the masses and the fact that he did not wish to be limited to English speaking elites.

John Scudder wrote tracts for the Indian people, but he was also deeply concerned with persuading American children to take up missionary arms. His letters to children had been published many times over, his *Tales for Little Readers*, *A Voice from the East*, and *Letters to Sabbath School Children*, are essentially the same letters, with slight or no variations. He wrote on a vast range of topics, beginning with the Hindu pantheon, and moving on to Hindu 'superstitions' and festivals. Geoffrey Oddie attributes the primary motive for such work to depict the immensity of the Hindu pantheon and the need to replace it with Christianity (Oddie 2006, 203-4). Scudder's letters are proto-ethnographic, as they cover topics such as the way Indians travel, the way they eat, the different classes of labourers and their styles of work and even includes two chapters on white ants (Scudder, 1856). The chapters in his tracts close with a warning to the Christian children about the evils one may find in Hindu society in the most innocuous places, and admonishes children to remember how lucky they are to be born in a Christian land. His chapter on the various trades

[88] Due to limited funds, I was unable to access the archives at the British Library; however, they contain his tracts against Catholics as well as full sermons in Tamil.

commended their industry, if in a slightly condescending tone, but the last image is of a child who has lost his fingers, because an unobservant mother let him play too close to the mortar and pestle (Scudder 1856, 75).

John Scudder Sr.'s writings expound on what he considered to be the atrocities of Hindu culture, such as caste, hook-swinging, 'suttee,' and the Juggernaut. He rarely said anything positive about Hindu culture or the people. His personal writings routinely insult the intelligence of the natives and his tracts for audiences focus on the titillating and exotic aspects of Hinduism. He plainly adhered to imperial notions of cultural and racial superiority, as he would write at length of how Indian men were quick to lie, use bad language, and degrade Indian women. Steve Maughan has shown through the minutes of a Church Missionary Society that part of the fundraising process was to provide the most 'interesting' stories and to appeal to popular tastes. The representation of the foreign people was cast to fit and embellish the stereotypes that would generate the most fascination, and thus garner the most support (Maughan 2003, 26). John Scudder employed this rhetorical device *en masse*. He juxtaposed the negative aspects of Indian society with the teachings of Jesus Christ and Western values.[89]

His position on Indian women was ambivalent. His letters were marked by Johnston's observation that missionaries, men in particular, would vacillate between the idea that Indian women were degraded and in need of rescue, to a 'blaming the victim' discourse where they believed Indian women were colluding in their own oppression (Johnston 2003, 93). In reference to the *devadāsī*s, hereditary temple women, he first wrote, "[t]hese are persons of the vilest character. They perform their religious exercises in the temple twice a day. They

[89] Of course, he was writing from the standpoint of what an 'ideal' Christian would be. Except for the reference to the back-sliders from the ships conversion, John Scudder devotes no time to the Christians in India who may not be living up to the ideal. Hudson has shown that one of Ziegenbalg's most insurmountable problems was reconciling Christian ideals with Christianity as was practiced by the general British public. The natives would point to the drunken and racist behaviour of the Christians and question how that was aligned with their teachings (Hudson, 21-24).

also assist at the public ceremonies, and dance and sing the most abominable and filthy songs" (Scudder 1856, 27). He then later copied a page from his daughter's diary, where she detailed the extravagant jewellery of a young dancing girl and ended with "we felt very sad when we thought that she was dedicated to a life of infamy and shame" (Scudder 1856, 82). One of his last chapters in a *Voice from the East* is a synthesis of what he believed to be the 'plight' of Indian women. The first half of the chapter explains how they are degraded by Hindu superstitions and patriarchal despotism, and the second half insults Indian women, by saying that they are ill mannered and impugns their ability to raise their children. He mentioned the high rate of female infant mortality in the mountain tribes and commended the Earl Dalhousie for doing his utmost to put an end to it (Scudder 1856, 261-268). In *Dr. Scudder's Tales for Little Readers* he added that human sacrifice is the norm in the mountain tribes and it was in 1836 or 1837 that the British interfered as soon as they found out and saved several victims (Scudder 1849, 141). He was a champion for imperial interference in what he believed to be all 'uncivilised' practices.

The re-tellings of his stories demonstrate the tropes of the time. Margot Hillel argues that missionary literature in the late Victorian era attempted to influence children's views by depicting countries in need of Christianising and bringing development and modernity. She cites the example of Annie Butler, who published a text in 1888 about medical missionaries in Japan, and drew clear links between the cultural and scientific superiority of the West (Hillel 2011, 184). Similarly, under the section entitled "Heathenism vs. Medical Skill" John Scudder attempted to demonstrate how Indians were unscientific and irrational. The story he chose to illustrate this claim was that of a high caste man with a large tumour that needed to be removed. Before he allowed Dr. Scudder to operate, he had two bouquets made, one of white flowers and one of red flowers. They were placed in the temple and a little girl was sent to get them, if she chose the white flowers the operation could be done. She did indeed choose the white, but John Scudder lamented the folly that would have occurred had she chosen the red (Waterbury 1870, 271).[90] In Waterbury's account there is an example of the pinnacle of missionary ambitions: a Brahmin man was indoctrinated with the truth of Western rationality and medicine. Caste was seen as one of the major impediments to the Christianization of India, a view John Scudder shared with Abbé Dubois.[91] This exchange took place in the site of the symbol of Hindu oppression, the temple, and a young Indian girl is mired into the scheme (Waterbury 1870, 282). What was left unsaid, but can be read between the lines, is that perhaps even the Hindu Goddess acknowledged the superiority of Western medicine, and by extension, religion.

Many of the 'tales' end with demands for money from the young children. He asked of them, "[i]ndeed if you don't want to go as missionaries to the heathen I want you to make it your great object *to make money for Christ and spend it for Christ*" (Scudder 1856, 297). Throughout he beseeched the children to turn away from folly and play and to pray for the heathen. Half of the chapters dedicated to the children urge them to become missionaries themselves. As Geoffrey Oddie acknowledges, working with missionary sources can be useful because their bias is so evidently on display (Oddie 1979, 197). When comparing Ida Scudder's narratives with the above, they are strikingly similar in tone and content. Yet her legacy as not being 'interested' in conversion persists. I will demonstrate how these stories are bequeathed to Ida Scudder through both the imperial feminist and religious succour of her grandfather and family tradition.

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[90] The same story is told in *A Voice of the East* except in this telling it is a woman who has the tumour, and it is her brother who makes the bouquets and send them into the temple. The added detail in this telling is the white flowers represented the white man and the red flowers the Tamil man (Scudder 1856, 24).

[91] Caste was often collapsed completely with religious outlook, and so made Indians 'engrossed' in their own religion. It was also thought to make Indians servile, and was one of the greatest barriers to conversion (Dirks 2001, 47). Lastly, the figure of the Brahmin was seen as the greatest impediment, which will be explored further in Ida Scudder's T*hree Knocks in the Night*.

Ida Scudder (1870-1960): *Three Knocks in the Night*

Ida Scudder's decision to become a medical missionary can be mapped at the crossroads of familial responsibility and the social discourse surrounding Western feminism and Indian women. Her biographers present in her in a similar fashion to the imperial feminist and secular literature examined in the first chapter. A universal sisterhood is enacted, where Ida Scudder is the agent of change and modernization. Mary Pauline Jeffrey described her life work as follows, "[i]t is the womanhood of the west that she draws into intimacy with eastern womanhood. Her life work is sisterhood and she is associated with changes that, despite their significance, are apt to be overlooked by the historian-changes in custom, in atmosphere, changes in seclusion in the home" (Jeffrey 1951, 12). Jeffrey explicitly linked Ida Scudder's historical importance to the *zenana* and its perceived decline. The importance of establishing the women's hospital, and later Women's Medical College, will be examined in the last chapter. This section explores the narratives surrounding Ida Scudder, concerning her ultimate decision to become a medical missionary and her personal writings.

The literature around Ida Scudder's life follows similar patterns to the previous missionary literature of Carmichael and John Scudder, as well as the concerns of Katherine Mayo. Her biographies typically begin with a short family history, dwelling particularly on her grandfather John Scudder Sr. It is made apparent that the Scudder family profession is medical missionary, and there is no escaping it, despite Ida Scudder's protests to the contrary. In a moment of weakness, where Ida Scudder was embarrassed by her uncle and father preaching to a crowd of heckling Indians, her Uncle Jared recounts the history of John Scudder Sr., in order for her to find her courage (Wilson 1959, 27). The seemingly obligatory chapter on the goddess Kali (c.f., Mayo) contrasts what is perceived as destructive worship with the importance of medical missionaries (Jeffrey 1951, 74-76). Missionaries consistently chose Kali to underscore their understanding of 'heathenism.' Kali worship was wilfully misunderstood, her iconography and rituals depicted as the antithesis of Western rational religion and 'civilized' culture. As Simon Gikandi has noted, the dominant social texts of Victorian culture derived their authority from texts that came before, it was a 'retouring' of India, or a 're-discovery of the already discovered" (Gikandi 1996, 97). Therefore, the majority of missionary literature was simply a reiteration of themes which the previous missionaries or colonial administrators had written. As seen in the first chapter, Mayo and Carmichael wove secular social issues as inseparable from the vices of Hinduism.

Ida Scudder's decision to become a medical missionary in India has famously been codified in the text as *Three Knocks in the Night*. As seen in the *Introduction* to this thesis, academic sources such as J.J. Paul and Catherine Cowan, take pains to emphasize that she was not a religiously inclined individual. This serves as a rhetorical device to underscore the gravity of her decision to become a medical missionary and is what has contributed to the belief that she was not interested in conversion, but rather concerned only with helping Indian women. Wilson's narrative emphasizes that Ida Scudder's early missionary work was zealous only because she believed it to be a brief activity (Wilson 1959, 19). The content of *Three Knocks in the Night* speaks volumes on what missionaries considered to be the worst of social ills in South India. Her 'calling' came in a time where the appeal for medical missionaries was at its peak from mission societies. The itinerant preacher was on the decline with the increasing structural framework of the churches in India. As well, there was the rising dissent from elite Hindu society for reform and withdrawal from imperial rule. The narrative of the *Three Knocks in the Night* contains the anxieties of the unfinished mission work in South India.

The narrative begins with a young Ida Scudder returning unwillingly to missionary work in India in order to help her ailing mother. She was home one night, in some accounts writing a letter to her best friend Annie Hancock and in others practicing her Tamil homework. She heard a knock on the door, and it was a Brahmin man.[92] At first he is portrayed in sympathetic terms, anxious as he explained that his child wife was in labour and he requested that Ida accompany him to aid his wife. She explained she was not a doctor, but she could fetch her father who could help. He transformed into a "haughty and outraged Brahmin." She quoted the Brahmin as saying scornfully: "[y]our father come into my caste home and take care of my wife! She had better die than have anything like that happen" (Jeffrey 1938, 50).[93] The biographies of Wilson, Scott, and Jeffrey diverge here in the details. In Wilson's retelling this instance is explicitly linked with a conversation between Ida Scudder and her father on caste and custom. John Scudder Jr. counselled her not dwell on it, as his most steadfast of opponents as a missionary is "custom" (Wilson 1959, 50). Scott's version includes a *zenana* visit with John Scudder Jr earlier in the day, where the doctor could only touch the patient's wrist through a blanket. After this visit they discussed the problems with caste and midwives for female patients in India (Scott 1970, 20-21). Shortly after the Brahmin left, another knock was heard at the door and this time the visitor was described as a 'Mohammedan.' His young wife was ill, but the husband refused treatment from Ida's father as his wife also could not be looked at or touched by another man. Disconsolate, Ida watched him retreat into the darkness. A third knock came, this time by a 'high class Hindu,' and the same story was told and the same offer of help from a male doctor rejected. The next morning, she discovered that all three women had died, the knowledge ominously proceeded by the beating of the tom-tom drums. It was then that she declared her intention to return to America for medical training and to become a medical missionary.

[92] The order of the three visitors is immaterial. Within multiple retellings at times it is the Brahmin, first, others a Muslim.

[93] Jeffrey claims to be quoting at length Ida Scudder's own words about that night. In her archive at Harvard University, the only versions of the story were republished accounts by missionary societies. I could find no record of this personal diary entry.

The themes highlighted in this story are all extensions of imperial concerns. The wives are young, some explicitly mentioned to be child-brides, and they reference the highly debated issue of child marriage during the time. The fact that in some versions one or all three are in labour underscores the 'barbarity' of the treatment of Indian women. All three women are kept in the *zenana* and are portrayed as victims of ignorance and custom. There is the strong implication of saving Indian women not only from 'custom' but from the men that imprison them. An explanation of religious customs and superstitions and caste law as the reason why women cannot be seen by other men preface the story.[94]

All three men represent distinct issues with Hinduism and Islam, the high caste man represents a different barrier to conversion than the Brahmin priest. The clear counterpart to the caste system is conversion to Christianity. Jeffrey wrote on caste: "[a]ccording to Hindu orthodoxy, caste is based on birth and can only be surmounted by rebirth. This rebirth is offered, here and now, in the Christian Gospel'' (Jeffrey 1938, 122). The Brahmin was cast in missionary literature as a 'wily' and 'selfish' man who kept the masses in his thrall due to his supposed religious powers; he was portrayed as having created the caste system for his own benefit (Dirks 2001,47). To overthrow the Brahmin would be to dismantle the entire caste system. The high caste Hindu had in some ways an even greater effect, for it was believed that to convert the higher castes would be to see a 'trickle-down' reaction, where the lower castes would simply follow the new religious order as decreed by the higher caste (Cox 2008, 86). Islam shared an Abrahamic God with Christianity, but within this narrative it was the social custom of purdah under attack, rather than solely religious beliefs. This reflects the overall goal of conversion, a full transformation in terms of religious and social values.

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[94] The most common superstition that pervaded missionary literature was the belief that "clean water was unholy" (Scott 1970, 25) and Ida Scudder on one home visit berated the husband (described as an English educated Hindu) for giving into the old women's superstitions and withholding water from the young wife. The husband acquiesces and the baby boy was born (Scott 1970, 43).

As in the *zenana* literature, the different religious identities are collapsed into an all-encompassing patriarchal, dangerous "Other". All three women die due to the lack of Western medical aid and the narrative splices the concerns between the need to change these customs, and on the other hand to acquiesce to them by sending female doctors to treat the women. The probability of an event such as *Three Knocks in the Night* is not altogether impossible, however, it does seem highly improbable given how the narrative mirrors missionary and imperial concerns. These men have no names or identities, outside of their religion, yet the servants were able to ascertain that those three women were precisely why the drums were beating. The discovery of the deaths of the women is anti-climactic in the narrative, because in most versions Ida Scudder had already decided in the light of dawn to become a doctor, prior to being informed that the women had passed away.

As seen with John Scudder's writings, exaggeration and stereotyping heightened interest in the missions, and thus stimulated more donations to the missionary cause. The version re-printed with Ida Scudder's archive by The Women's Missionary Society of the United Lutheran Church of America quotes the Muslim as saying, "I should rather a thousand times that she should die than that a man should look upon her face" (Box 4 Folder 108). As Peel argues, these stories were edited and pieced together to suit the agendas of the missionary societies, which is one of the reasons why reading missionary archives cannot be taken at face value (Peel 2000, 70). This story evolves in each of its re-tellings, for example, the order of the events or whether Ida Scudder speaks to her father, but it is always three women dying that represent Brahmins, high caste Hindus and Muslims. In Dorothy Scudder's version, Ida Scudder proclaims, "God has taken very drastic means to show me what I must do. He has made it clear that I am to study medicine and come back to care for the women of India" (Scudder 1970, 225). There is a clear emphasis at the end of each re-telling that she is going primarily as a doctor, not as a missionary to help Indian women. What is glossed over is that it was *God* who was the one was calling her to this duty, not the women of India. This story is told as a moment of conversion for Ida Scudder; the very notion of her helping Indian women is predicated on her religious beliefs. Ida Scudder's personal narratives on the place of Indian women underscore her firm position as a medical missionary, and not simply a doctor. This is an ambiguous space that has allowed Ida Scudder's biographers or researchers to place her as either a religious medical missionary, or simply a woman who was concerned with the social 'plight' of India's women and who just happened to come from a missionary family.

The Parable of the Water Jars

One of the texts attributed to Ida Scudder was *The Parable of the Water Jars.* It was published by the Women's Board of Foreign Missions in New York City. The content can be divided into three main sections: (1) the parable itself; (2) the Hindu Girls School in want of funds; and (3) the tragic story of Lakshmi the *devadāsī.*

The parable begins with a withered garden, that used to be beautiful but has degenerated due to a lack of water. A teacher and student enter, and the teacher instructs the student to water the plants quickly, as they are on the threshold of death. There is a line of water jars, and the student passes the largest, and goes to the smallest, and fills it up and begins watering the plants. When she reaches the rose bush, the crowning glory of the garden, the rose bush murmurs, "[i]t is too late, too late." The water jar was empty, and the bush would die before she could run back to the well to refill it. The student exclaims, "[w]hy didn't I take the largest, for I could have saved so many and now it is too late." (Box 3, Folder 102). The moral of the story sets up the fundraising section to follow, that even if it is difficult to carry, the largest amount must be given to those in need.

This story transitions to the world as the garden of God, and there is "no more beautiful garden in the world than a Hindu Girls school in India" (Box 3 Folder 102). Economic concerns arise quickly, when it is revealed that the school cannot take any more children due to a lack of funds, and one student who is "so worthwhile" and on the path to become a doctor, cannot attend due to missing donations. The little girl becomes a 'common cow-herd' rather than a doctor. Ida Scudder attributes those who give small donations to those who take the smallest jars and asked, "[w]as it you?" The story of Lakshmi, the young *devadāsī* serves as the *pièce de résistance* to convince reluctant donors that the female children of India are in need of rescue.

This section begins with a description of a temple, stating that on the pillars "grotesque and often repulsive" pictures are carved.[95] In contrast, Scudder details the beauty and grace of the child, who was much beloved by her mother. The temple women approached Lakshmi's mother, and persuade her to sell the child, the "lotus blossom" (reminiscent of Carmichael) to the temple, to be married to the deity. It was described thus, "[t]he little girl, beautiful in body and spirit, is turned over to evil." Lakshmi, falling ill, is taken to the hospital of Ida Scudder, and is healed and converted to Christianity. The temple women come to take her back, and even though the hospital tried to keep her they could not. They find out a few months later that Lakshmi has drowned herself in the well, with the last words that "I cannot get away, and I cannot stand this life. Tell Doctor that I love her Jesus! I love him" (Box 3, Folder 102). The story of Lakshmi is in almost all Ida Scudder's biographies in varying amounts of detail. The narrative is presented as one of many instances of conversion where a young Indian woman sees the 'truth' of Christianity but is overwhelmed by social circumstances and custom.

[95] When describing the priests she adds a (?) after the adjective holy.

In Dorothy Clarke Wilson's biography, the parable of the water jars is described as a young native girls' dream, as told to Ida Scudder (Wilson 1959, 275). Lakshmi's story is repeated stating that women's status in society was determined by the Brahminical Hindu ethical code known as the *Laws of Manu* (Wilson 1959, 113).[96] Mary Pauline Jeffrey, a fellow doctor at Vellore in the time of Ida Scudder, also wrote two biographies and Lakshmi is described in both, without the water jar parable, but in varying ways. In the first, she is mentioned in conjunction with Katherine Mayo's *Mother India,* and how Ida Scudder "at first hand...has dealt with these evils, and the Indian woman is drawing her own comparisons between the Hindu and Christian faith". (Jeffrey 1951; 136). Lakshmi's story follows a string of anecdotes concerning what was considered hedonistic worship, dancing women with unfastened hair, and possession, among others. In the second, it is linked explicitly with the Devadasi Legislation reforms of the Madras presidency and Muthulakshmi Reddi's work on the abolition of the tying of the *pottu.* The tradition of tying the *pottu* was understood as the root of evil from which the Devadasi 'system' grew (Jeffrey 1938, 51). The biography critiques the Civil Courts for their laissez-faire attitude towards "detrimental Hindu customs.' In both accounts of Jeffery, however, the fifteen year old Lakshmi from the parable is transformed into a thirteen year old girl.

Ida Scudder's parable has its own echoes in the literature of the time. As with Amy Carmichael, the twofold rescue of saving children from social custom as well as saving their souls is foremost in the parable. After Katherine Mayo's best-known novel, *Mother India*, she was prompted to write about the 'plight' of Indian women in particular in a work titled *The Slaves of the Gods.* In the chapter named after the book itself, Mayo recounts the story of

[96] In Wilson's biography there is another story of a Brahmin girl named Lakshmi who attended Ida Scudder's school before she returned to America to become a doctor. It came to be known that Lakshmi had been kidnapped and sacrificed by a group of men who wanted to locate a hidden treasure. Her body was also found at the bottom of well, and the family blamed the incident on the fact that they had allowed her to attend a Christian school (Wilson 45).

Lakshmi, a young *devadāsī,* a story that is eerily similar to Ida Scudder's parable. After Lakshmi's mother passes away, she is bought by an older *devadāsī* and brought to the temple against her will. Lakshmi is disturbed by the poems to the Hindu Gods, in contrast to the 'pure' Christian prayers she remembered from her mother's teaching and is whipped when she refuses to learn them. A rather graphic encounter, especially for the time, is when Lakshmi hears the piercing shrieks of a "little child" and the older *devasdāsī* says "[t]hat is little Esli. He is mad to take her so soon" (Mayo 1929, 130). This references the belief that the Brahmin priests raped the children, signalling the utter depravity of the religion. The next morning another girl in the temple is found drowned in the well because she was afraid that would be her fate as well. Lakshmi sees a Western woman one day at the temple and runs to her. Mayo describes it in significantly racial terms, "out of a doorway stepped a lady-- her face was white" and Lakshmi springs into her arms saying "for the love of our saviour Jesus Christ". This is put forth, as in all of Mayo's works, as verbatim truth recounted to her by those who survived the ordeals. While the veracity of all Mayo's work has been called into question, the over the top elements in this story render it more probably the product of imperial feminist thought, with strains of a universal sisterhood throughout.

The theme of youthful conversion is a recurring one in all missionary and secular literature. The *zenana* child brides and the temple girls are the target audience for the cultivation of shared sisterhood while the old *devasdāsī*s in the stories are typically described as crones, or in the parable's case "looking as the very incarnate of evil." Ida Scudder follows Carmichael's preoccupation with the rescue of children in particular. This can be analyzed in many ways, pragmatically that children are more easily influenced and swayed in terms of conversion, as well as the way the anxiety over imperialism in the nineteenth century played out in both discourse and practice. This was the time when imperialism was believed to be at its height, but alongside this was the fear that it would collapse. Converting children ensured that the next generation would be complicit with imperial modes of ideology.

I believe that the myriad ways that this story is presented reveal the complex space Ida Scudder occupied in nineteenth century South India, as a figure who was undoubtedly opposed to patriarchy and yet simultaneously deeply implicated in the imperial project of 'civilizing' and modernizing India. Part and parcel of this missionary ideal was to save the "Eastern Sisters" and establish Western notions of life as the cultural norm. The way that this story is contextualized, in terms of fraught historical moments such as the passing of the *Devadasi Abolition Bill* and Katherine Mayo's sensationalist novel, underscores the tensions in imperial feminist thought: that the universal sisterhood can only stand with imperialism as long as Indian women are seen as victimized and in need of rescue. The almost identical stories from Mayo and Scudder, ending exempt of course, speak to a conversation that imperial feminists and missionaries were having about Indian women. Ida Scudder and her biographers were clearly aware of this discussion, seen in the reference to Carmichael's *Lotus Buds.* The parable exhibits all the common themes seen in the previous chapter, the white woman's burden of rescuing young girls from the temple and the 'othering' that victimized Indian women. This universal sisterhood was inextricable from the imperial project, and thus deeply informed Ida Scudder's achievements and legacy.

Chapter 3:

Ida Scudder: the Christian Medical College and Modernity

> We are glad to be associated with the Government in their effort to raise the standard of medical practice and to send out throughout the Presidency a very much larger number of medical practitioners trained in the scientific methods of treatment prevailing in Western Lands…to take the medical assistance to 'their sisters' in the land and give the best medical science can give
>
> …to strengthen and en-noble the character of the women, we deem a privilege and a responsibility.
>
> We believe we have a higher mission than this. We hope to send out from this institution young women who have been not only scientifically trained in medicine, but young women who have formed their ideals from the Great Physician…we shall endeavour to instil into their minds the great importance of a pure self-forgetful large hearted service.
>
> Ida Scudder, A letter to the Governor of Madras (1918) (Box 5, Folder 128)[97]

At the outset of the twentieth century, British control of India was in a precarious position, as outcries for Indian self-rule were heard across caste and religious boundaries. Dissent surrounding British administration and its outlook towards Hinduism and Indian culture constituted the bulwark of the remonstrations. As seen in previous chapters, religion and culture in India, especially in relation to women, were painted in broad strokes with few redeeming qualities. This created a rupture in which competing ideologies from both high and low caste proclaimed their visions of Hinduism and Indian culture to be fit for pan Indian self-rule.[98] Simultaneously, the British administration, and those who benefitted from their authority, such as English and American missionaries, amended their stances in a bid to placate Indian reformers and assuage the mounting anxieties of losing imperial control. With

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[97] I am deeply indebted to the hospitality of those at the Radcliffe Schlesinger Library at Harvard University, who enabled me to access the Ida S. Scudder Papers with ease and made my first archival research experience a pleasure.

[98] The details of the complex processes concerning Indian nationalism are beyond the scope of this paper. This has been thoroughly studied in works, see (among others) Chatterjee (1993), Jaffrelot 2007; Van der Veer (1994) Ludden (1996); Hansen (1999), Menon (2010); and Shani (2007).

the changing political atmosphere in India, itinerant preaching and the outright dismissal of Indian religious beliefs was no longer in fashion as the primary mode of spreading the Gospel in foreign lands. In an increasingly institutionalized modern landscape, missionaries needed to adapt their methods so as not to become obsolete. The Christian Medical College founded by Ida Scudder is one such example in which institutionalization allowed the influence of the CMC to be construed in multivalent ways. Conversion (and maintenance of the converted) was still paramount to its goals when marketed to missionary societies and audiences at home. However, to the Indian students, and patients, it could be seen as a benign form of Western benevolence, espousing cultural values that could be separated from religion.

I argue that Ida Scudder institutionalized conversion at the Medical College and that the changing face of conversion mirrored the external markers of how ‘modernity’ in South India was understood. She divided her time between the College, where she was primarily concerned with *maintaining* conversion, and the Roadside Clinic, where she combined proselytization with medical care. She contributed to the dialogue of ‘modernity’ at a time when India was attempting to define itself in distinction from ,as well as in collusion with, Western beliefs of modernity and civilization. Thus, I argue Ida Scudder may be identified as simultaneously constructing and participating in the complex ideologies of this modernity, as she herself was enmeshed in a history that was at once resistant to a patriarchal social structure and complicit within an imperial framework.[99]

[99] Here I am influenced by Chaudhuri and Strobel’s seminal work, aptly titled, *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance,* a call to examine the lives of Western women more closely, and avoid a useless memsahib characterization or an uncritical celebration of the role white women played in colonial history. While Maina Singh touches on these topics in her book, this is the first study of Ida Scudder to postulate a direct link with imperial feminism, which can be seen as slightly controversial, as it has been convincingly demonstrated by Patricia Hill that British missionary women did not participate in the suffragette movement (Hill 1985, 35). Ida Scudder may not have been a suffragette, but her life’s work was to create an institution where white women had a place of power.

In this chapter I examine the growth of the Medical College and the Hospital and explore the manifold ways the institute was shaped by imperial and patriarchal influences.[100] I explore Ida Scudder's famous roadside clinic and how it reflected the familial legacy of the Scudders. I also assess the language of the fundraising literature, and demonstrate how depending on the audience, the authors either followed the erstwhile trend of disparaging Indian ways of life or at others labelling their position as a purveyor of modernity, both in its outlook as well for its students. The rhetoric and beliefs that surrounded modernity and institutional values adapted in order to continue in a post-colonial India. Lastly, I relate Ida Scudder to maternal and imperial feminism in order to further explore her motivations for work in South India. Ultimately, it is my contention that by examining the relationship between medicine and conversion in the historical framework of imperial feminism, new insight will be shed on the modalities of science, religion, and gender which will deepen our appreciation of the complexity of modernity in twentieth century South India.

The Growth of the Hospital and College

The Christian Medical College (CMC) and Hospital is a premier institution of some repute even today. It is purportedly one of the most respected medical institutions in India, known for both its innovations in medicine, and its community works that grew out of the

[100] The opening of the College was supported by no less than 14 Missionary Boards, from 4 different countries. The American Missions were: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Women`s Board of Foreign missions, Reformed church in America, Women`s American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society,Women`s Foreign missionary Society, Methodist Episcopal Church, Women`s Missionary Society of the Augustana Synod, Women`s Missionary Society of the United Lutheran Church in America, American Mission to Lepers. The single Canadian mission was the Canadian Baptist Foreign Mission Board, the British influenced it with the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, Church of Scotland Mission, Church Missionary Society, London Missionary Society, and lastly the Danish mission, Danish Missionary Society. Maina Singh determined that any mission that paid a 1000$ subscription fee had a voice in its management (Singh, 288).

roadside clinic, discussed in detail below.[101] It had humble beginnings, as a simple dispensary in 1900. Ida Scudder was able to open the Mary Taber Schell Hospital due to the generous 10,000$ donation of Mrs Schell's widow.[102] The hospital garnered support from missions and Christians abroad as it was a hospital for women and children only and dovetailed from the *zenana* missions for recognition and funds. It grew from the three bed hospital staffed by one doctor and one nurse to become a hospital and College for both women and men (Box 5, Folder 135).

Ida Scudder developed the idea to build the CMC through her helper, Salomi. Ida Scudder worked with her mother, as her father had already passed away and Salomi who worked in the kitchen, occasionally helped her in the dispensary. One day when a patient came for treatment, Salomi retrieved the correct medicine without needing to be told which one to bring. Inspired, Ida Scudder, whose diary entries were consistently staccato statements concerning the overwhelming amount of patients who required treatment, began to plan for a future where Indian women would be the ones providing the medical attention. It was a laudable goal, and she helped create careers for many Indian women. However, it was not without the firm belief in the superiority of both Western religion and culture, and that the

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[101] On the institutions website, which proudly contends it is 'Serving the Nation in the Spirit of Christ' there is a newsletter. The CMC was India's first College of Nursing (1946), the site of India's first successful open heart surgery (1961), first bone marrow transplant in an infant (1998).

[102] As Maina Singh has rightly noted concerning Ida Scudder, Scudder had many connections that contributed to her success. Not only was she born in India, and so when she returned as a missionary had both prior knowledge of religion and culture, but her family of missionaries placed her in an ideal setting where she had the family name behind her when asking for funds (Singh 283). What goes unsaid in Singh, is that this meant she also had a patriarchal background to fall back on. Her discussion with Mr. Schell is described in gendered terms, when speaking to the women, she would focus on gaining their pity and sympathy (and even horror) for Indian women. With Mr. Schell, she focuses only on 'facts and figures' and one of the deciding factors was she was not going alone in this endeavour, she was going to work in the same dispensary as her father, a well-established medical missionary (Jeffrey 58). In the Surgeon General's speech at the opening of the CMC, he says 'Surgeon General's remarks on opening of Vellore "there are, I believe, [four]generations of Scudders who have worked in this Presidency and no less than [ten] members of the family are present this morning" (MC 205 Box 5, Folder 128). Ida Scudder is typically portrayed as the lone, most successful Scudder of her generation, but she was flanked by family. The American Mission in Vellore was known as the Scudder mission, since the majority of the missionaries were Scudders. In the mid nineteenth century churches were built, and four vernacular school established. When two more Scudders joined the ranks shortly after, the community of Native Christians was purported to be three hundred and fifty (MC 775, Box 3 Folder 12)

way for Indian women to reach those goals was to transform themselves through Christian values. This is seen most clearly in the opening epigraph of this chapter, where in three short paragraphs she combined the colonial government, science, and Western values, describing how Western women are needed to 'strengthen and en-noble' Indian women (with the implication if left to native schools and indigenous governance that would not occur) and lastly ascribed the reason for the West's enlightened state to Christianity.[103] As will be seen later, another motive that drove Ida Scudder was a desire to create a space where Christian converts would have a place to further their education and maintain their links in a Christian community.[104]

In 1928 her dream came to fruition as the ground was broken for the hospital and college site, located a few miles from the city centre of Vellore. The College was two and a half miles from Vellore, while in the heart of Vellore a centre for a dispensary and rooms for five doctors would be built. In a description of the site Scudder stated, "[t]he site upon which it is proposed to erect the College is high, dry, airy and sufficiently removed from the city itself to provide healthful outdoor exercise for the students. ….the buildings are to be simple, substantial and modern in every particular" (Box 5, Folder 128). The site perpetuated typical missionary compound placement. Missionary literature commonly associated 'heathenism' with dirt, and Christianity with 'light' and their physical locations were reified within that framework. Missionary bungalows were typically worlds unto themselves, removed from the

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[103] In a plea for funds to the Governor of Madras, Ida Scudder wrote, "[f]or those of us who have worked in hospitals in India and have seen the barbarous methods used by untrained men, have seen women ….die because of the cruel and septic methods used by *dai*s, or stood by the bedside of a patient whose life has undoubtedly been sacrificed because of unscientific treatment, we have felt that need of trained medical women is so great that no time should be lost in educating them…It is impossible that all these needs should be met by Western Medical women alone. A staff of well trained and qualified India medical women is imperatively necessary" (MC 205 Box 5, Folder 128).

[104] Ida Scudder wrote in a "Friends of Vellore" Jubilee edition of the Vellorescope (the school newsletter) that 275 students have graduated as LMPs, 31 as MBBS. Then she spoke for role of religion at the CMC "the spirit of God is abroad in the hospital, resulting in eleven baptisms recently." In the same edition it was reported the student body was 90% Christian (MC 205 Box 5, Folder 135).

village and 'dirt' of the natives (Singh 2000, 51).[105] Ida Scudder reinforced those tendencies with the location of the hospital and revealed her understanding of modernity. It was to be 'simple,' from the photographs the buildings are European in style, and are white-washed without colour or festivities. This would be in contrast to, for example, a colourful Hindu temple, to maintain a 'clean' look, and to be separated from the taint of the city and the its inhabitants. The importance of sports and exercise was another missionary inheritance.[106] Missionaries were constantly attempting to overcome what was perceived as the debilitating climate, and Ida Scudder's early diaries in India mention daily activities of swimming, tennis and badminton (MC 205 Box 1, Folders 41-42). The institution was to embody the values set forth by Ida Scudder, examined in detail below.

The announcement of her intention to begin a college for women was met with resistance from within the missions. The men in charge stated that no Indian woman would be interested in going to a medical college. This was due in part to the missionary literature deployed *by* women to secure funds, depicting Indian women as helpless, victimized and degraded. While the rhetoric always held a kernel of hope in regards to these women's characters and ability to overcome their subjugation, it was confined to a change of religion, not a change towards becoming an independent career woman (insofar as that possible in that time).[107] Ida Scudder was infamously told by Colonel Bryson, Surgeon-General of the British Medical Department in the Madras presidency, "[y]ou'll be lucky if you get three

[105] Singh also rightly notes that missionaries challenged imperial spatial arrangements, and the disrupted social, racial, and linguistic boundaries that characterized the colonizer and colonized (Singh, 47). However, they also actively distanced themselves from native culture. A prime example of this is Amy Carmichael, whose Dohnavur mission was so removed and cut off from external influences the inhabitants spoke an accented Tamil barely comprehensible to outsiders.

[106] It is beyond the scope of this paper to go into the history of sport and imperialism in depth, however authors such as Gerald R Gems (2006), JA Mangan's edited volume (1992), and the advent of 'Muscular Christianity' in Hall's edited volume (1994). In respect to India and the effect on 'Muscular Hinduism' see Sikata Bannerjee (2005) and for a closer look at the effect on gender her work examining Roop Kanwar (2009).

[107] Which is not to say that all the students did become independent career women. Singh's study showed that many of the women who attended the missionary colleges married and became housewives. However, a high proportion of those women became active later in life in charities and fundraising (Singh, 316).

applications, but if you get six, go ahead and start your school" (Jeffrey, 1938, 160). It was therefore with triumph that she received 151 applications, out of which 18 were accepted.[108] She was well aware of the exceptional position of power she held as a woman in charge of the CMC. In an address entitled 'Western Women in Exotic Countries' given in 1931 Scudder proclaimed, "[o]ne of the compensations and opportunities of medical work in the East is that one has her own hospital where there is the chance to develop work along the lines she wishes. Complete control of all the work and being chief in the hospital puts the Western doctor on her metal" (MC 205 Box 3, Folder 100). As seen in the first chapter, the superiority of race allowed white women in foreign lands to occupy positions and gain authority in ways that would have been nigh impossible in Britain or America.[109] Ida Scudder inhabited a space where, through the rhetoric of uplifting Indian women from their 'squalid, imprisoned' lives, she was able to overcome aspects of Western patriarchy.

The school professed to accept students 'regardless of caste or creed.'[110] Mary Pauline Jeffrey wrote of the 'early years' where students of widely different languages, "including Catholics and Hindus as well as representatives from many Protestant missions, were brought together as friends and classmates" (Jeffrey 1938, 161). Two main Protestant missionary

[108] The first year proved to be the most awe-inspiring, as in a letter from the Union Christian colleges for Women of the Orient, dated July 22, 1921 by Lucy Peabody, she states that in three years two hundred and eighty-three applications were received, making the first year twice as successful in terms of applications as the two subsequent years (MC 775 Box 3, Folder 6).

[109] However, doors to positions of higher power opened in America as well when the school was an all-girls school. As Ruth Abram has shown, after the first female doctors became established, such as Elizabeth Blackwell, went on in their career to found women's colleges and it was preferred to keep the genders separate, even though many schools moved to accept co-educational classes (Abrams, 22).

[110] Regardless, the students were required to submit school Final certificates with good English for admission; and "character certificates essential, age over eighteen" (MC 205 Box 5, Folder 128). As well, shown in John J. Paul's article, while they touted lack of caste or creed, it was mainly European and Anglo-Indian women for the first twenty-five years, and in 1889 it took on four Indian Christians, the first Hindu woman also applied for admission that year (Paul, 22). It was rare enough that special mention was made of it, when Ida Scudder in 1927 wrote in a newsletter that they had twenty-seven students, four were Hindus (MC 205 Box 5, Folder 129), and then later adding "Seven of our students are Hindu girls and they add grace and charm to our circle…During the past term we have organized extra Bible classes for our students. Sports close at 6 pm when after their sports they gather on the steps of the Hostel to thank the Master for His leading…two evenings in the week Bible study-to seek and understand the truths of the Bible. We ask the Master for many things and at times the voice of a Hindu girl can be heard talking with God."

tropes are betrayed in this sentence. The first is their vision of a space where all could come and be friends, convinced of the superiority of Christianity. The second, reminiscent of John Scudder Sr., is that Jeffrey lumps the Catholics in with the Hindus, marking the perceivable barrier between Protestant and Catholic Christian missions. Fifteen students made it through the year and fourteen passed the examination with top marks (MC 205 Box 5, Folder, 138).[111] At first the College only gave the Licensed Medical Practitioner degree, until in 1938 the British government altered their requirements for medical practitioners and reformed the law so that medical degrees could only be granted by universities. The CMC became affiliated with the Madras University, and therefore followed in large part their curriculum, allowing the CMC to offer Indian women the MBBS course (Bachelor of Medicine, Bachelor of Surgery).

In 1945, Ida Scudder made the difficult decision to admit men into the Medical College. It was a practical decision that rested on receiving the needed funds, as the mission boards were unwilling to fund both schools for men and women. She wrote to a friend over the misunderstanding that occurred with the Mission Head back in America, Mrs. Peabody: "I said very frankly in all meetings that I very much approved of a Women's Medical College, but if it were impossible for young men to receive medical training in a Christian institution, I felt it was time to open our doors at Vellore to the young Christian men in India—But I felt very strongly that our college should be conserved in every way as a women's college and that it should be a separate unit always" (MC 205 Box 3, Folder 98). The decision to admit men had less to do with personal taste, than the mission's outright

[111] This was especially satisfying as it was one of the first years for women to sit for the exams and Ida Scudder was pompously reassured by the mission board that, if they all failed, "not to be surprised." In fact the women did better than most men. The problem with this statistic is that it seems certain liberties have been taken with it. The above citation is from the Ida Scudder Archives, yet in John J. Paul's article, he mentions all those who sat passed, while only 20% of the men passed, however no citation was given for that data. Ida Scudder herself says in one letter that only 17 went to the exams, and all passed (MC 205 Box 2, Folder 54). Regardless of the exact number, it was undoubtedly a great triumph.

statement that the decision was to either accept male patients, and add male staff, or shut down entirely, as the mission boards would not fund two separate institutions for the MBBS.

The history of the CMC is presented as a complete success story, but as with all endeavours it contained moments of uncertainty. The maintenance of the CMC depended on fundraising, which was always a competitive field for missionaries. During the years prior to and after Independence in 1947, the rhetoric shifted to positivism concerning the place of Indian women, as well as contributing to an Indian society. This was due in large part to the fact that the CMC relied on government funding. The pressure for the female students to do well and surpass the male students during the exams was to prove both the merit of female education, but also a Western, Christian one.[112] In order to succeed, Ida Scudder believed in impressing values that emulated the social hierarchy that imperial rule used to justify the subordination of India. The ways in which these values were imposed demonstrate a complex and nuanced understanding of how modernity was understood as something that could be created and imparted by those who wielded influence. I now turn to the Roadside Clinic and examine how missionizing outreach was incorporated into the student`s lives, and then turn to the institution itself.

The Roadside Clinic and Village Dispensaries

> "It is the sort of thing to which we aspire, that our graduates shall not only be self-reliant enough to go out in this way, but that they shall truly feel the call of the villagers, and go out, as the Master did, with love in their hearts to relieve suffering and carry news of him…Soon appalling sanitary conditions will face you in the village which are difficult to deal with, because of ignorance, carelessness and filth and more discouraging than all

[112] The first year of the College saw an unprecedented success rate for a school passing the medical exams, but that was not always the case. In a letter to relatives at home in 1946 Ida Scudder wrote of how many of the girls had failed the previous year. In a letter dated Wed May 23rd, (year unknown) she wrote of the situation at the college and her colleague,"Lillian was furious at the way our Seniors had been treated at their examinations and she says the jealous Indian examiners had been dreadful to them and failed so many that she would not stand for it, and insisted_that they pass twelve of the best students which they did —but Lillian says she never saw such corruption in exams" (Emphasis original, MC 205 Box 1, Folder, 47).

> the superstitions underlying it. You will have to begin at the very foundations and build-up slow but sure work of teaching and example"
>
> (Speech to the graduating class of 1927, Ida Scudder, MC 205 Box 3, Folder 100)

One of the most influential and unique features of the CMC was the Roadside clinic. The Roadside clinic had several purposes, as it brought medical aid to those who could not travel to the hospital and treated various diseases at pre-determined stops, varying from eye infections to leprosy vaccinations. The Roadside clinic was often mentioned in newsletters and interviews, and exemplified both the need for medical aid in India, as well as the cutting edge of scientific modernity, ie., Western science was so advanced that it could cure diseases in even the most unsanitary of circumstances, among the 'roadside dust.'[113] It was also what Erica Bornstein would label a 'disquieting gift,' as it occupied the ambivalent position as humanitarianism outreach, with the specific agenda, in this case of reaching more potential converts for Christianity (Bornstein 2012, 2).[114] I argue that this unique feature of Ida Scudder's College was directly influenced by her family legacy of spreading medical aid and conversion simultaneously. As seen in *Chapter Two*, missionaries deployed medical aid with the ulterior motive to gain converts, and medicine served as a beguiling pretext to attract the native people.[115] It hearkened back to the days of itinerant preaching combined with medical

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[113] This links back to Maina Singh's observation of the missionary obsession with dirt and cleanliness. The CMC is described always as clean, and white, and modern. The chapter about the Roadside Clinic in the Vellerescope was entitled Roadside Dust,' to bring thoughts of dirt and uncleanliness to the readers mind and thus associate dirt with the villagers.

[114] Erica Bornstein's book *Disquieting Gifts: Humanitarianism in New Delhi*, uses Marcel Mauss's theory of the 'The Gift,' counteracted by the theories of giving in Indian culture specifically (by Parry 1994, and Rajeha 1998) to examine humanitarian efforts in India and encourages people to understand the motivations of those making the gifts, rather than the outcome.

[115] In roughly the same time period as Ida Scudder, the Wisers, missionaries in Karimpur who were sent to do a survey of the village, also revealed that medical aid was the way to the hearts of the people, they wrote. "Fathers, and the few mothers who dared come, became communicative, voluble. Opportunities for questioning rapidly increased (Wisers,7) The Wisers are best known for this work as the first sympathetic missionary portrayal of an Indian village for an audience abroad, as well as being among the earliest ethnologists. One of the refreshing observations of the Wisers was concerning the village *hakims*, where they stated "He was very much afraid of ridicule in the early days. It was more than a year before he shyly produced his inherited volume,

care like those of her grandfather John Scudder Sr.[116] The medical aid was not as stringent as the days of her grandfather, the patients received care regardless of whether they listened to a sermon prior to receiving treatment. However, now the sermon was simultaneous, while patients were waiting for treatment, a Bible woman would preach to those who waited by the roadside. Similar to John Scudder Sr.'s propensity of concentrating on children at home to fund the missions, the Roadside clinic focused on spreading the Gospel to the children.

The newsletters contained a wealth of information on the varying aspects of the Roadside clinic and were written by several different members of the Vellore staff. A typical outing was described in the November 1924 newsletter by Flora M. Stewart (occupation unknown). The destination was the Gudiyattam dispensary, a village 20 miles off from Vellore, and they would make several stops along the way to treat patients. The company consisted "of a doctor who takes charge, two senior students, a nurse, two medicine dispensers and last but not least, a Bible Woman" (MC 205 Box 5, Folder 129).[117] The foray was made in a Peugot, described as the first car in the area, as well as an ambulance for patients who may need to be transported back to the hospital. The Bible woman's role is explained thus, "…while the physical needs are being ministered to, the Bible woman has lost no time in holding up a big coloured picture depicting some incident in the life of Christ

still longer before he brought to light the bottles and jars of medicated oils which he brewed a decade ago, and which are yearly becoming more valuable as fever reducers and liniments" (Wisers, 36). The Wisers acknowledge the utility of using the *hakims* medicine, as well as the humbling acceptance that their treatment would only be implemented if the *hakim* approved their course.

[116] In Dorothy Wilson Clarke's biography, one of the remembrances Ida Scudder has is going on a preaching tour with her Uncle Jared and her father. They go from city to city, and stop in front of the temples to proclaim the Gospel. One evening, she angrily asks why they do it, she was embarrassed by it, as the men were heckled and disparaged throughout the day. Her Uncle Jared reprimands her with the story of her grandfather, John Scudder Sr., and admonished her that as Scudders, they had a duty to bring Christianity to the heathens. The lesson is further emphasized by her cousin: in a late night discussion about hopes and dreams, Ida Scudder was astonished that her vivacious and beautiful cousin Dixie, whom she looked up to, had a dream that was simply to go from village to village teaching Indian women about hygiene and the Gospel and, once the women had learned, to move on to the next village (Wilson 22-28).

[117] The figure of the Tamil Bible women is woefully understudied, but for more information see Eliza Kent (1999) and Jane Haggis (1998), and a short paragraph in Cox (2008, p 201).

which soon attracts a little crowd" (MC 205 Box 5, Folder 129). They dispensed cards with the life of Christ written in Tamil on the back to the children, described as "[c]olored pictures and post cards, with bible verses pasted on the address sides attract the children who bring bunches of flowers, wreaths ground nuts, ...to give to the 'white doctor' and receive from her a much coveted picture" (MC 205 Box 5, Folder 129). The cards were given to the children who could perfectly recite a given number of scriptures verses or to a child who could tell a Bible story. These cards and gathering by the Bible woman were acknowledged to be 'seeds sown by the roadside.'[118] The Roadside Clinic encapsulated the spirit of what it meant to be a medical missionary; the medical aid was inseparable from the Christian impulses that drove it. Ida Scudder wrote concerning the Roadside Clinic that, "these roadside clinics remind us of the days when our Master—Christ went about in Palestine, healing the sick. The village people in India respond to the message of His love. …{T}his is what makes medical missions so vitally worthwhile following in the footsteps of our great Master and Leader (MC 205 Box 3, Folder 101).

Given that the Roadside clinic only embarked once a week, an inordinate amount of newsletters and diary entries focussed on its contributions. This concentration on the Roadside has a long history in missionary and imperial outreach. Despite the common belief that converting the high caste would lead to the Christianization of all India, the majority of conversions that took place on a mass scale came from the low-castes, or the 'untouchables.' The CMC, regardless of the profession to disregard caste and creed, catered in large part to the upper classes, as seen in the fact that it was built as a women's only college so that upper

[118] In fact, all good deeds performed by the patients on the roadside were attributed to having come into contact with Christian values. On a rainy day, the Peugot had needed to be pushed through a certain area on the road to continue on, and the men from that stop remained all day and into the evening so that on the return trip they could help them through again and they would not be stranded. Ida Scudder writes 'The love of Christ is being appreciated along the road, and the leaven is working' (MC 205Box 5, Folder 129). The attribution of the goodness of the men to the Christian influence was undoubtedly influenced by the earlier missionary rhetoric of her grandfather (to later be echoed in great force by Katherine Mayo) which stated all Indians were naturally devious and prone to lie without compunction.

caste women could attend both as students and patients. The Roadside Clinic was the one to approach the lower castes. Secondly, the reason the newsletters about the Roadside were so popular, was the firm belief that the 'real India' was to be found in the villages. The village was the 'untouched' territory and was represented as the majority of India. Even Ida Scudder wrote home that 89% of Indian people live in villages (MC 205 Box 3, Folder 101).[119] This is the legacy bequeathed by Orientalism, where British administration was imagined as the purveyor of modernity, and that India had stagnated without colonial intervention.[120] The city became the site of change and cultural and social modernity, defined by the British as the changes wrought by their presence. Modernization theory was based on the conceptualization of the 'modern' being culturally, economically, and politically Western and capitalist (Haggis 1988, 39). Therefore, modernization in India was a force that came from without, in the form of imperial rule and missionary religious and cultural intervention.

The contrast between Vellore and the CMC and the villages is described in characteristic missionary rhetoric, which reproduced the tropes of light and darkness, of cleanliness and dirt, and of enlightened Christianity versus superstition. The mode of transport was a symbol of modernity and the difference between the city and the village. The

[119] This was not a view limited to missionaries campaigning for funds. This was the view held even in academic circles, where the village became the site of study for understanding 'primitive' civilizations and how they 'evolve' into cities. The place that the Indian village held in the Western imagination was firmly located within the framework of Orientalism. In M. S. Srinivas' *The Remembered Village,* he describes the search for the perfect village for his multi-caste study, and how it must not have electricity, or piped water, and ultimately, must not be accessible by a main road, and thus therefore be as untouched as possible by 'outside influences' (Srinivas, 6). As well, in a compilation of papers concerning the place of the village edited by McKim Marriot, aptly titled *Village Indian*, the foreword to the series uncritically announces that the previous volumes in the series concerning China and Islam focused on its expressions of civilization through social and cultural processes and the influence on literature and science. Conversely, the way to understand India would now be put forth through a study of its villages (Foreword, vii). Marriot reproduces in his essay Srinivas' assertion that villages of pre-British India existed in a state of 'isolation' from the outside world, (Marriot, 172). As Nicholas Dirks has pointed out, this was part of the general trend of the time that enfolded America, British and Indian anthropologists. Caste was making a come-back in academic importance, now understood as tradition and a sign of alterity (Dirks, 54).

[120] Edward Said's seminal work *Orientalism* described the phenomenon of how the 'West' used its hegemony to juxtapose itself against the 'East,' or the 'Orient' and in doing so created the dichotomy of modernity and tradition. In this, Europe produced an image of itself in relation to the reverse imagining of the Orient as the antithesis of all things 'Western' as well as ' a relationship of power of domination, of varying degrees of complex hegemony' (Said, 1985, 6).

Peugot, as one of the first cars in the area was more than anything else a marker of modernity. The recollections of the missionaries are rife with mirth, as they describe the villagers' first reactions to the car. The Peugot stood for the power and prestige of Western hegemony, and the medical aid it brought from the city as only possible due to the influence of Western medicine. In a newsletter by Carol E. Jameson (date unknown), a doctor at the CMC, she described a village woman, saying: "[w]hen any one says 'she is a villager' I now think of a very primitive creature. They are a race apart, with no proud past to contemplate, and no happy future to which to look forward, no schools or opportunities for advance" (MC 205 Box 5, Folder 129). She went on to praise the student who graduated from Vellore who was now in charge of the Gudiyattam dispensary. She mentioned that the student lived with a Bible woman, and that "one or both tell a bible story every day." In this story, the student is the harbinger of modernity in forms of Western notions of medical hygiene and cleanliness, along with the association with Christianity.

The Roadside clinic also inculcated the students from the CMC with the belief that the greatest need was in the villages. This belief, as seen from the Bible woman in the dispensary and Ida Scudder's urging for students to work in the villages, was not only to meet the medical needs of villagers but was highly effective to spread the Gospel. In this way, Ida Scudder can clearly be seen as a medical missionary, divided in her aims to aid the physical body, and the spiritual soul. While she did not necessarily dispense her energy in converting Indian people in the direct preaching methods of her forefathers, she built an institution in which doctors would go forth and preach alongside the dispensation of medical aid.

The Institution of 'Christ-Filled' Doctors

The institutionalization of Christian values in the CMC followed the trend of the early twentieth century of missions attempting to consolidate their churches in India. With the rise of Hindu nationalism, the retention of converts came to demand as much attention as that required for proselytization. Jeffrey Cox has demonstrated that the early twentieth century constituted an 'imperial high noon` and that Protestant missions alone reported over 100,000 native workers, making the most influential area of the missions their institutions (Cox 2008, 202).[121]

The CMC stood as an institution that espoused 'Western' social, religious, and intellectual values that coincided with the British administration of India. It is in the institution that we can most clearly see Ida Scudder's relationship with imperial modes of thought and behaviour. As Chaudhuri and Strobel remind us, "[d]irect and indirect imperial systems are practiced simultaneously. Direct rule meant that imperial interests were promoted protected by abolishing indigenous administrative institutions and social practices in favor of new ruling institutions and bureaucracies that maintained a small number of Western salaried agents at the higher levels and used selected indigenous men at the lower echelons" (Chauduri and Strobel 1992, 5). There is no doubt that Ida Scudder propounded both forms of imperial rule through the institution. While the men in this quote may be replaced with women (at least before men were admitted to the CMC), the institution met all the criteria described above.

Indirect rule was maintaining the guise of respecting indigenous and social practices, and having an indigenous leader institute the externally-derived initiatives. At the institutional level, the CMC was both a direct and indirect form of imperial power as the

[121] He also references that in the 1920s was a particularly 'high tide' of institution building, especially for female physicians, and was accounted for by nurses (Cox, 218). Ida Scudder was able to capitalize on this need, as it was à la mode for female physicians to be sent to India, as well as a deepened sense of social obligation to create a place for Indian women as nurses. I would directly link this wave of interest to the topics explored in *Chapter One*, where an overwhelming amount of literature from secular and religious sources dwelt on the `plight` of the Indian woman and her supposed inability to leave her home.

classes and values imposed upon its students and patients were a subtler form of cultural assimilation than direct imperial rule. Twenty years after the establishment of the CMC, with presumably hundreds of competent graduates, the distribution of staff was as follows: six British and American Doctors, four Indian doctors, one American warden and one assistant radiologist, together with Indian assistants and technicians and servants. For the supervising nurses, there were one British, one American, one Canadian, and one Indian (MC 775 |Box 1, Folder 6). The upper ranks of the hospital remained in large part in foreign hands, although the third President of the CMS was Dr. Hilda Lazarus, a female Indian Christian from a Brahmin family. Her grandfather was the first Brahmin to convert from "among the Andhras" (MC 775 Box 3, Folder12). This information was seen as pertinent to share with audiences at home as it reproduced both the triumph of a Brahmin convert, as well as the colonial belief in the utmost importance of Brahmins in Indian social standing. The twentieth century saw a preoccupation and solidification of the caste system (Dirks 2001, 5). The imperial replication of this understanding assisted in creating an idea of modernity that reified the accepted social order and importance of caste. The CMC echoed those values as seen from the fact that the first Indian leader was a Brahmin.

The firm belief behind establishing the CMC was to displace the social custom of keeping women in seclusion, through the *zenana*, as well the hegemonic claim of Western medicine to superiority. As mentioned in *Chapter Two,* an underdeveloped area of study is how Western medicine displaced more traditional dispensers of childbirth care in India, primarily the *dai*s. Ida Scudder did not hide her contempt for the *dai*s*,* and in all her biographies her home visits to women in labour are almost always foiled by the lurking figure of a *dai*s*,* or elderly female relative. In one memorable visitation she must implore an educated Indian man to allow her to do what she must, to give the patient water, as it was apparently Hindu superstition to not allow women water in childbirth (Wilson 1959, 85). This is also reminiscent of what was examined in the second chapter and the temple women, portrayed as solely a dichotomy between young, impressionable, redeemable young girls, and the old, deformed and ugly women who maintain the evil 'tradition' of the dancing girls.[122] At a missionary conference she is quoted as calling them "Barber women" and "a whole collection of old and dirty hags".[123] In her conviction against the *dai*s she evoked a lineage of medical and missionary arguments against indigenous forms of knowledge.

The binary of complicity and resistance cannot be reduced to that as an imperial feminist Ida Scudder championed all women's rights and colluded with all colonial ideologies. As seen from her opinion on the *dai*s, she actively promoted the disenfranchisement of the profession, and made no attempt to incorporate those women into her fold. The significance of the hold Western medicine had as hegemony cannot be understated. Mary Pauline Jeffrey quoted Ida Scudder's opinion on the resurgence of Ayurvedic, or "Hindu traditional medicine," with the growth of nationalism as, "well, it seems as if the right must win in the end and the really good medicine must speak for itself in the long run. We must keep working and helping. This is all part of India's transition" (MC 205 Box 5, Folder 129). In the same letter, Jeffrey posited that medicine was a 'purely national affair' with two sides, one that was against any kind of Western medicine, and the

[122] The dichotomy was so prevalent, in what appears to be notes written from listening to a lecture, or perhaps even notes on preparation for a lecture, beside 'old grandmother' was a list of brainstorming words, 'bigoted, uneducated, steeped in superstition, indomitable, caste bound, superstitious, strong influence, rock bound practices, sways the household.' This was followed by the belief that *Indian men* (presumably from their contact with Western liberty and education) want social reform, but it is the *women* who do not wish for change. She notes that India's women 'hinder progress' by 'observing caste.' The fact that Ida Scudder can easily contain two ideas of Indian women, one as the future of Indian villages, and the other the detriment of Indian society is not incompatible given her institutional bent. The Indian women leaving the school have been thoroughly Westernized, so that she may send out 'Christ-filled' doctors.

[123] This article had an attention grabbing headline- "Dr Scudder Thrills Crowd as she Recites Sufferings of India`s women, Where Child Mothers Are Forced To Undergo Unspeakable Tortures." Within the same article she makes broad, unqualified statements, such as that Hinduism does not believe that women have souls. She also commends Katherine Mayo on her true depiction of Indian women, adding "In fact, I have seen much worse than she writes about in my own experiences." The article ends with a joke at the expense of Gandhi and his unwillingness to fund a hospital bed as he considers hospitals to be 'institutions of the devil,' and she rejoined that they would accept a cow from him to keep the babies occupied. Herald Telephone on Feb 7th, 1935 (MC 775 Box 3, Folder 2).

other that accepted positive contributions whether it came from the East or West, thus placing Vellore on the moral high ground. The benevolence of Western doctors patiently and assiduously combatting against the interference of the Indian medicine man is a constant refrain.

The CMC was interested not only in the physical well-being of the student body, but was also invested in their spiritual welfare. Ida Scudder incorporated mandatory Bible study classes into its curriculum twice a week.[124] She described the study in terms of religious significance, as these letters were typically sent back for fundraising purposes: "[t]wo evenings in the week bible study—to seek and understand the truths of the Bible…We ask the Master for many things and at times the voice of a Hindu girl can be heard talking with God" (MC 205 Box 5, Folder 129). While some past studies, including Cowan and Singh, have aptly represented the emphasis on values that was incorporated into the curriculum, an aspect that is often overlooked is how the institution functioned as fortification for the native Christian community in Vellore. In the newsletters, emphasis was placed on the Hindu students because they were by far the minority of the student body. The school was ninety per cent Christian, and the staff for the most part was Christian as well.

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, this institutionalization followed the trend in Indian churches to consolidate their parishes and maintain the roots they had planted. The second chapter explored the missionary obsession, which bordered on paranoia, about converts 'backsliding' or having impure motives. Therefore, the missions began to see the importance of preserving a Christian atmosphere in as many aspects of Indian lives as possible. When the CMC began to offer the MBBS course, the fundraising letters gave the reasons that it was a 'basic belief' that healing was integral to the work of Christ and "we

[124] An old student reminisced, "Dr Scudder loved her students so much and she was always careful about our spiritual welfare also" (MC 205 Box 5, Folder 129).

must try to inculcate the spirit and attitude of Christ in serving the sick. Government Training Colleges cannot do this. Even if Government Colleges could, they are over-crowded, and, as admission is partly on the basis of the size of the communities, admissions of Christians is restricted" (MC 205 Box 3, Folder 100). Therefore, the CMC was concerned with *maintaining* conversion. This may be why Catherine Cowan contends that Ida Scudder was not interested in conversion, but I argue that with the Roadside clinic Ida Scudder demonstrated considerable concern over bringing the Gospel to people, as well as retaining the converts won already.

Political and Social Views through Newsletters

There is little direct evidence of Ida Scudder's outright political views of imperial rule in terms of diary entries or quotations that clearly express her thoughts. However, both her social and political leanings can be inferred from her archives and it is not a clear-cut monolithic picture that emerges. While Ida Scudder undoubtedly held feminist views and imperial sympathies, she was also one deeply, if not ambivalently, committed to her vision for the uplift of Indian women. Ida Scudder refrained from openly commenting on Indian politics for the most part. However, the one time in her archive she was quoted concerning the emancipation of India from British rule she was firmly on the side of imperialism. It read, "India is not yet ready for independence" categorically stated Dr. Ida. "You must realise that there are 226 distinct languages, 45 distinct nations, and many, many tribes. As yet, there is no common meeting ground, except, and I speak for South India with which I am familiar, the hatred of the British. India is seething with this, especially students. In the States, I have met with much unfair criticism of the British, and they have done so much for India" (MC 205 Box 5, Folder 141). Here a clear sympathy for British dominion over India can be discerned, couched in the paternalistic terms that the British were ruling due to the Indians inability to form a cogent nation.

With the advent of Independence, Ida Scudder changed to a more conciliatory view of Indian rule, but not without a nod to the perceived advantages India received from imperial governance. In a speech titled *Changing India*, Ida Scudder quoted Lord Willington, the Viceroy of India, in saying: "India is changing, changing very fast and the responsibility for that change is mainly due to the fact that the British Government and the Missionaries during the last one hundred years have been working to develop in the minds and character of Indians a sense of responsibility. This, in due time, will fit them to undertake full responsibility of administration" (MC 775 Box 3, Folder 1). Ida Scudder felt that it was her life's work to train Indian women who would emulate the values of the CMC and thus be capable of self-governance.

An interesting example of two historical personalities clashing is Ida Scudder and Gandhi, and their brief interlude reveals tensions surrounding the fabrication of modernity. The short relationship Ida Scudder had with Gandhi was fraught, to say the least. In a polemical newsletter, Mary Pauline Jeffrey described his visit, and reproduced ideas of high imperialism on the part of the school. The CMC was not pleased with Gandhi's request that all students and staff wear khadi for his visit and in her biography Ida Scudder proclaimed "[i]ndeed no. My girls are not going back to home-spun or spinning wheels. They wear modern uniforms" (Singh 2000, 296). Jeffrey began the letter casting blame that Gandhi decreased patient attendance to the Hospital a decade earlier due to his views on hospitals.[125] She continues to point out, tongue in cheek, that both the handlooms that are used to spin the khadi and the Ford motor that delivered the khadi towels and saris were of Western origin:

[125] Jeffrey glibly paraphrased him, without contextualization "His chief grievance against Western medicine was not that it was effective but rather it was too effective!"(MC 205 Box 5, Folder 129).

"here again, it will be kinder if you overlook the make of the car, and don't consider how much Western machinery is hidden under the bright red hood!" (MC 205 Box 5, Folder 129).[126] Obviously, they recognized the political importance of Gandhi's request, and understood that khadi as part of the *swadeshi* movement represented a form of Indian nationalism to which they did not want to subscribe.[127] The only correspondence between Ida Scudder and Gandhi caused a stir, as he refused her request to endow a hospital bed. Ida Scudder's true opinion about Gandhi would be subject to conjecture, as it changed depending on the audience. In the article in the Herald quoted above, she called him a 'fanatic.' However, upon his assassination her letters were full of sympathy and regret, stating, "a deep gloom has settled over India. All have been so terribly shocked by the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi….He really has been a great man, full of peace and aspirations and as we have told the students, he was like our Abraham Lincoln. Oh that he had only confessed his love for Christ—for I believe he loved Him" (MC 205 Box 2, Folder 51). This ambivalence is a current that ran throughout many of Ida Scudder's thoughts on Indian politics.

There is no direct information about how Ida Scudder felt on Independence Day in India. Her thoughts are typically in speeches or pleas for funds, so her true feelings are difficult to ascertain. The newsletter about Independence Day at Vellore was written by a student. She wrote, "…it was a bitter-sweet day—for this was not the India we had dreamed of. Our India was a strong united India, bound together with love and charity—not a country split into two because brother distrusted brother!....We at Vellore rejoiced with the rest"(MC 205 Box 2, Folder 50). She described the entertainment festivities, meant to celebrate the greatness of India. On August 15th the students gathered at the chapel 'to give our praises to

[126] It should be noted that Gandhi could be as sassy as Jeffrey. Scudder quoted him saying "I hope it turns out to be a complete failure" when they took a photograph of him in front of the CMC (MC 205 Box 5, Folder 129).

[127] See Emma Tarlo's article on the politics of Khadi (1991) and her book (1996) and how it rather than being a symbol of unity, became a site of division as wearers ascribed different meanings to the role of khadi. Khadi was meant to symbol a dichotomy of white/purity/truth/patriotism and foreign/slavery/falsehood on the other (Tarlo 1991; 135). See also Dipesh Chakravarty on this topic(2001).

God first and from there processed to the front of the College ready for the flag-hoisting ceremony'...a great joy filled us as we saw at last our brave tri-colour flag flying in the breeze of a Free India" (MC 205 Box 2, Folder 50). The references to Indian governance are too vague to have any conclusive evidence, yet the silence itself speaks volumes of the position Ida Scudder occupied. In an event of such importance the fact that she remained silent may be interpreted in many ways, and I privilege my reading that due to her imperial ties Ida Scudder did not approve of Indian self-rule. The CMC was an extension of the imperial fallacy, 'training' Indians to have the capacity for rule but without the intention of ever truly relinquishing control.

Maternal Imperialism meets Imperial Feminism

Ida Scudder was motivated by both her personal and familial experiences as a missionary, as well as deeply influenced by the rhetoric that surrounded Indian women from religious and secular sources. The first chapter of this thesis explored the ways in which missionaries and proponents of women's rights collapsed the dichotomy of religious/secular and deployed the 'helpless, degraded' Indian woman on a platform to champion their own specific causes. 'Universal' feminism was applied liberally in Ida Scudder's requests for fundraising, as the 'Eastern sisters' were suffering, specifically from want of medical aid. Ida Scudder was not a suffragette, and there is little direct evidence of her stance on women's rights in terms of voting and political activity in America or Britain. Yet she identified with the cause for 'Western' women to better themselves and carve out niches for women as leaders in institutions, whether it was at home or abroad. The categories of race and gender operated within an imperial framework and guide how social (re)forms were carried out.

The previous chapters have examined the colonial discourse surrounding Ida Scudder's life, and this final chapter has analyzed her institution and archival legacy. Amy

Carmichael was seen as deploying a radical 'maternalism' in her interactions with Indian children and Katherine Mayo denigrating Hinduism as a religion obsessed with sexual depravity. John Scudder Sr. can be seen as representative of early missionary mentalities concerning the veracity of conversion, as well as the out-dated relationship between patient/potential convert and doctor/missionary. Ida Scudder imbibed from all the above sources and, in her institution, meted out a measured approach to conversion. This final section will remark on the ways in which her archive attempted to portray her as a mother figure, and the ways maternal imperialism and imperial feminism may be deciphered in her life.

As discussed above, Ida Scudder was equally concerned with *maintaining* the Christian converts in Vellore through finding them a place at the CMC as she was with instilling the seeds for future conversions. Her relationship to her students is described in maternal parlance, and her biographers take pains to insist upon the maternal, feminine, and gentle nature Ida Scudder possessed. The desire to portray her in such a manner stems from the fear that single female missionaries, especially those concerned with the 'uplift' of women, would be portrayed in masculine terms.[128] Gender profoundly influenced her conception of how to create and maintain an institution, as well as the way in which she interacted with patients and mission boards. The way Ida Scudder is remembered through biographies and her archives is also gendered.[129] I would contend that Ida Scudder remained single for a variety of reasons, one is the practical one that was explored in the second

[128] Suffragettes commonly had their femininity impugned, and their ability to be adequate wives and caregivers ridiculed. The stereotype of the spinster graced many an anti-suffragette campaign. For a detailed synopsis, see Lisa Tickner's *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign, 1907-1914* (1987) and Rosamund Billington's article "*Ideology and Feminism: Why the Suffragettes were 'Wild Women'*" (1982).

[129] I am mindful here of Margaret Jolly's critique of Spivak's reading of the three 'women's' texts against a background of unchanging imperialism (Jolly 1993, 111). Ida Scudder's life spanned almost a century, which encapsulated both what some argue to be the apex of British Rule in India, the tightened colonial hold after the 1857 Rebellion, as well as the dissolution of Imperial India. Therefore, while I privilege my reading of Ida Scudder as an imperial feminist, I also attempt to elide the nuances of her institution and life's work, as her stance was as changing as the historical processes surrounding her.

chapter, missionary wives were consistently put second to their husbands, and their success were absorbed into his own.[130] The lack of a husband and children, however, did not stop the moulding of her students as her children, where she would fuss over them as a mother would. One of the students wrote a letter for the alumnae reproduced in all the biographies stating: "[r]egarding the food she had great difficulty. She wanted to give us the best food prepared in the best way; and we used to give her a lot of trouble in that line; it was something like a mother worrying over the feeding of her first child due to inexperience" (Jeffrey 1938, 162). The hospital adopted orphans as well, and the first child was named after the hospital itself, Mary Taber Schell.[131] Thus, she may be seen as a 'maternal imperialist,' the coin termed by Barbara Ramusack for one who wished to socialize Indian daughters to their adult rights and responsibilities (Ramusack 1992, 119). This theory is based on the understanding of a large theory of British colonial rule being portrayed as paternalistic and necessary in order to aid the Indian people who were incapable of self-rule. In the same way, Western women took it for granted that Western culture was superior in all ways, and that it was their duty to 'uplift' Indian woman so they could emulate Western cultural values. In a handwritten speech, Ida Scudder stated: "[t]he educated[132] women of India are becoming great leaders. They are capable of becoming very fine doctors and many are sacrificing themselves in a wonderful way for their country and for the suffering women and children" (MC 205 Box 3, Folder

[130] A more controversial reason I believe she may have remained single would require a queer reading of her life, particularly in regards to her lifelong friendship with Gertrude Dodd. That is speculation however, and beyond the scope of this paper. Only Dorothy Wilson Scott's biography makes much of a 'romance' between Ida Scudder and a man she met when attending medical school Milliken Bushfeld. It seems apparent from her letters to her mother and her subsequent letters to him that she never loved him, and considered him a friend.

[131] The archives and biographies dwell on the maternal moments. Ida Scudder was attending when she suddenly had an urge to check on the baby that had been delivered the date before. Brushing off the feeling, she worked a while longer until she could no longer ignore it. Nearing the room, an overwhelming feeling of panic enveloped her, and she broke into a run. The grandmother of the child was suffocating the baby, and its face was turning blue. Ida scudder stopped her, and the baby was all right and named Mary Taber Schell (Wilson 101-104)

[132] 'Educated' was inserted as a correction to the original.

101). Implied here is that Indian women are capable of attaining such heights through a Western, Christian education, and the emulation of an imperial cultural ideal.

As Ramusack has argued with maternal imperialism, the use of fictive kinship (being seen as a mother, or sister to the Indian women they associated with) could be one way for the women to integrate in Indian life (Ramusack 1992, 133).[133] This fictive relationship reifies the hegemony of the Western 'mother' over her Indian daughter. Ida Scudder as teacher and principal held a superior position over her students.[134] Her patients frequently referred to her as *Ammal*, Tamil for mother (Wilson 1959, 131). In an article describing her fundraising efforts she is described as ''a white-haired motherly type…and is worrying as any mother about being away from home.'' Ida Scudder is quoted as saying ''[j]ust think on July 1, the college is being given full university status- and with mother away'' (MC 205 Box 5, Folder 141). She was often referred to affectionately as 'Aunt Ida.' The celebrations such as College Day coincided with her birthday, and all had grand preparations to celebrate her life. Her 50th Jubilee party had such a lengthy guest list from all over the world that it spawned the famous story of a congratulatory letter simply marked 'Dr Ida, India' made its way to her even without an address. Singh notes that these institutionalized celebrations would have the effect of developing a sense of dependency and a 'personality cult' around Ida Scudder (Singh 2000, 294).

In an attempt to straddle the divide between a realist history and a one preoccupied with colonial discourse, Margaret Jolly has argued that when thinking about colonial history,

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[133] Margaret Cousins, Mary Carpenter, Eleanor Rathbone, Margaret Noble (Sister Nivedita), and Annette Akroyd Beveridge.

[134] Jeffrey entitled a chapter of her biography of Ida Scudder *A Lady with a Lamp* and uses that in as a literary device when contrasting Hinduism and the 'Light' of Christianity. For the thirtieth anniversary of the CMC (1948), Ida Scudder personified this symbolism as she held a lamp from which all the graduates lit their own candle. She writes at the end "I think we will send copies of the script home to U.S.A, and Britain and Australia. It will be fine publicity" (MC 775 Box 1, Folder 2).

gender has a profound influence on hierarchies of power. She states, "for white women, although race and class might intersect to accumulate her power, her sex did not" (Jolly 1998, 115). Ida Scudder undoubtedly regarded India as her home later on in her life, but it was an adopted home only, even though it was technically the land of her birth. She was disassociated from Indian culture in terms of ideals and beliefs, and considered "Indian culture" to be a foreign influence that she attempted to combat. Indeed, she lived in an enclosed space that replicated American and imperial values in terms of culture. A clear example of this was her hill station cottage, 'Hill Top' in Kodaikanal. Dane Kennedy has argued for the space of the hill stations to be seen as not only a 'sanctuary' for missionaries and colonial officers, but as a relief from the "social and psychological toll of an alien culture" (Kennedy 1996, 1).[135] It was a space in which idealized versions of home were evoked, and expressions of Western gentility took root.[136] Gardening was a popular hobby, and Ida Scudder`s garden was often mentioned, with guests covertly bringing her fruit and flower seeds to plant from home. In a letter to friends in America titled 'Back to India' she wrote: "[w]hen I bid farewell to my friends in America I had a great sense of sadness for I was planning to leave my loved country— not to return again for I do want to spend the last days in the land of my adoption" (MC 205 Box 3, Folder 100).

Ida Scudder firmly associated Hinduism and Indian culture as one entity, and that it would be best if the people of India could be converted to Christianity and a Western upbringing. This has been clearly demonstrated through the ways in which Ida Scudder emphasized Western culture, social values, and religion in her work at the CMC. Her work on

[135] A 1902 book entitled *Mosaics of India* claimed that hills stations 'might be called life-saving posts' (Dennings, 195).

[136] Gentility here is meant as Dianne Lawrence has theorized, as a term that describes a complex system of values and is a form of knowledge. Gentility was performative, it required material surroundings to be enacted, such as dress, gardens and domestic spaces. Lawrence argues, 'genteel individuals deemed themselves in a position of superiority, elevated above those around…who were, by definition, considered to be 'vulgar' (Lawrence 3).

the Roadside clinic along with the atmosphere and purpose of the CMC as a place to both spread the Gospel and create an institutionalized space for Indian Christians served to further missionary ambitions. She imbricated the complex processes of resisting patriarchal social structures and colluding with imperial attitudes about the status of Indian women and the hegemony of the West over India. She participated in the ideologies surrounding modernity and constructed beliefs on what modernity was understood to be in nineteenth century South India. This modernity was one in which science, religion, and gender occupied at times conflicting and at others collaborative efforts. Ida Scudder is one who occupied a unique space in the precise historical moment in which she lived. In my research here, I hope to have offered a new awareness of the ways in which she was shaped by the various aspects of her upbringing, her staunchly religious family, as well as a deeply informed opinion on gender, and how that was brought to bear on modernity in South India.

Conclusion

Ida Scudder bequeathed a problematic legacy in the wake of postcolonial and subaltern studies. Chandra Talpade Mohanty has been one of the most forthright and vehement critics of this form of scholarship (see Mohanty 1991, 2003). One of her critiques is that Western feminists and 'third-world' feminists tend to construct a 'homogenous and powerless' idea of the 'other' woman in their discourse (Mohanty 1991, 66). As I have demonstrated, this monolithic conception stems from an imperial feminist discourse. I have had to reproduce this framework to a certain extent within this work, as the primary sources treat the 'Other' in such a way. This thesis was an attempt to grapple with the difficulties of writing about women that cross time, space, racial, cultural, and religious differences.

I have attempted to demonstrate that Ida Scudder embodied a complex, and at times, even ambivalent stance concerning Indian women. She cared a great deal about their physical and spiritual welfare but that welfare was predicated on accepting Western scientific rationalism and religion. I hope to have sufficiently demonstrated that she carried with her both a deep familial inheritance towards conversion, as well as the social concerns that affected American and British women in the twentieth century. However, the similarities between imperial feminist rhetoric and Ida Scudder's own writings and 'calling' are indisputable. The idea of a 'universal sisterhood' combined with the religious sentiment of the superiority of the Christian religion prompted her work at the CMC and inspired her to become a medical missionary.

This thesis has concentrated on the intermingling of several elements that touched on modernity in South India. Through the imperial and hegemonic construction of Western medicine, science, religion, and feminism emerges a complex portrait of how modernity was understood. In the long life of Ida Scudder, there was no one single notion of modernity, no static ideal to which she was constantly striving. Modernities are continuously changing and being shaped by the factors around them. Kavita Philip interrogated the modes of modernity in South India to uncover how ''scientific modernity functioned at the level of everyday experience, and the modes by which it rendered commonsensical-- and thus remarkably persistent-- its historically and culturally particular modes of perception and action'' (Philip 2003, 2). I attempted similarly to capture the persistence of Western medicine in hegemony, and the fashion that religious and feminist rhetoric were deployed at the base line of the CMC.

Ida Scudder participated in the emerging and changing ideas of what modernity could be in an India free of colonial rule. The CMC adapted conversion tactics in order to remain accepted within the wider society. As I argued in Chapter Three, Ida Scudder's decision to institutionalize sports and Bible study reflected the understanding that attempts at conversion could no longer be as aggressive as in the life of John Scudder Sr.. These methods were more insidious and answered the hesitancy on the part of the imperial government to be seen as imposing Christianity, and the strengthening status of Indian nationalists. Her concern with constructing a place for Christian students to attend college and then find employment was a response to the increasingly institutionalized atmosphere of the missions in India, as explored in the third chapter. The school enabled a stronger influence in their converts' lives, and missionary education had already been recognized as a way of teaching Western manners and beliefs.

My focus has been on the writings of those constructing these narratives. The power of these written discourses cannot be underestimated. I have attempted to demonstrate the ubiquity of the tropes of the 'imprisoned *zenana'* woman opposed to the heroic missionary who selflessly assists the 'heathen,' and to gently demonstrate the points of rupture that can be seen through such writing. Esme Cleall uses this method to ascertain how missionaries constructed the 'Other' in their writing, an 'other' that was necessarily 'forked, ambivalent, and endlessly subject to renegotiation' (Cleall 2012, 8). This is clearly seen from the depictions in John Scudder Sr.'s works, from the early writings of Ida Scudder to the later ideas put forth in the school newsletters. There was constant renegotiation of meanings in regards to Indian women that was largely dependent on the audience.

This thesis was necessarily limited to the views of Ida Scudder, both in terms of feasible scope as well as available materials. I hope to have opened new avenues of inquiry in how the institution operates in the present day, and how its values are understood by the faculty, staff, and students. There were hints of student thoughts presented in the archives, but those were filtered through the Vellorescope press and missionary propaganda. It would be fascinating to uncover more for the point of view from the alumni, from both the Christian students as well as the Hindu students. I hope that from this platform new studies can be made that emphasize their experiences. The trajectories the alumni took after graduation would also be interesting avenues for further research. For example, did the majority of the alumni actually work after graduation and marriage? What type of jobs or clinics did they work in and were those gendered spaces?

Rather than focus on her status as a single female missionary with a lengthy list of accomplishments, I have attempted to nuance representations of Ida Scudder's life, and shed light on the areas of her work that can be linked to larger imperial and religious concerns. Such a perspective helps us understand how the gendered work of medical missionaries simultaneously influenced and was influenced by notions of colonial modernity in twentieth century South India.

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