

THE 'PROTESTANT ETHIC' IN THE KHASI SOCIETY

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FOR THE DEGREE OF
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In
Memory Of
My Beloved Mother
(Late) Mrs. Floriemina Wanniang
Who Passed Away
On The 25th June 1993

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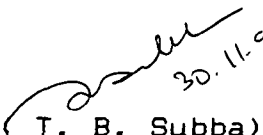
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TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to certify that the thesis entitled 'THE
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This thesis or a part thereof has not been submitted to
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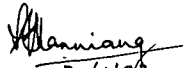
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Preface

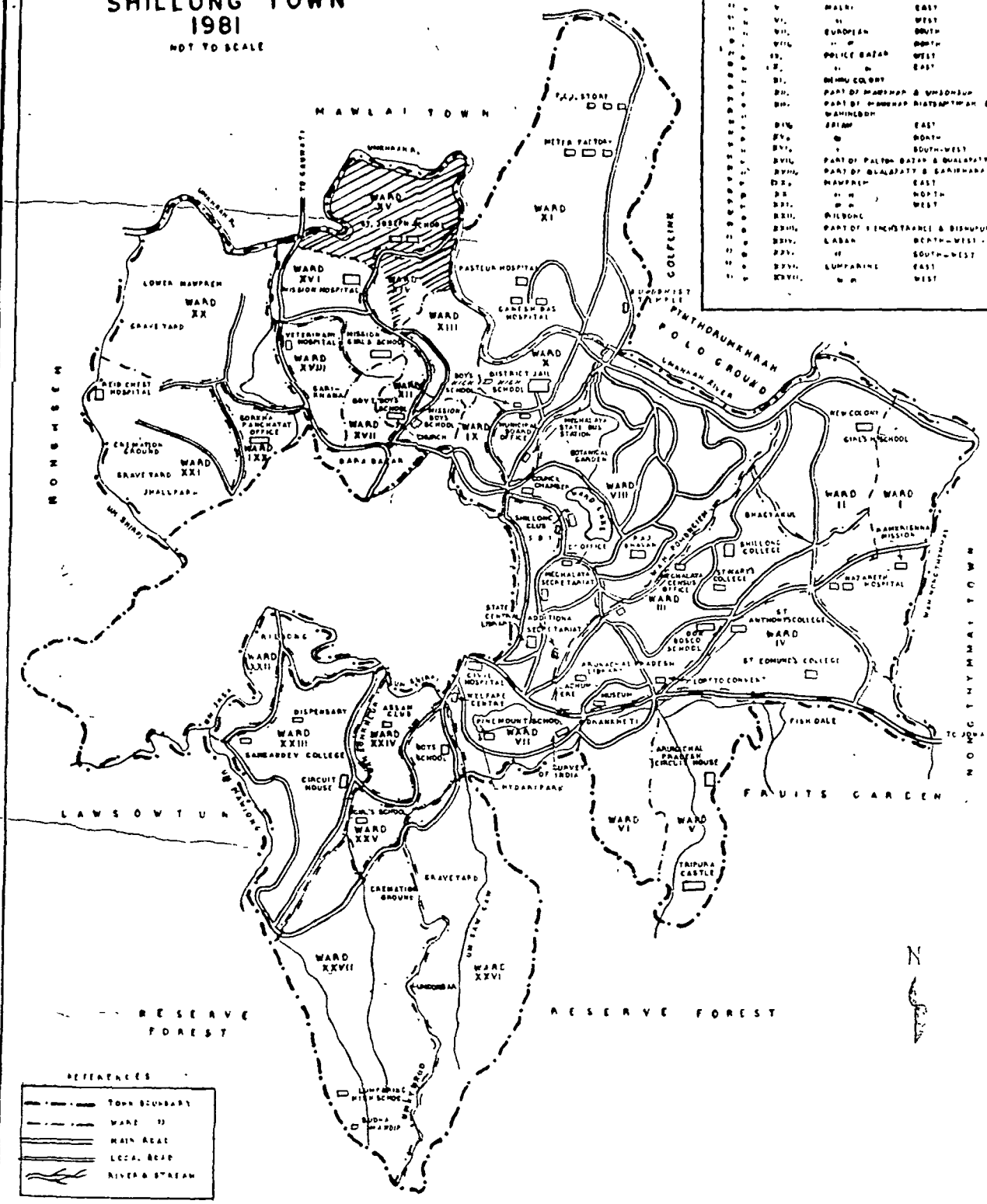
There are certain persons I am indebted to for enabling me to complete this study. My special gratitude goes to my parents, especially my (late) mother, who was and will always be a source of inspiration to me. Personally, I would also like to express my wholehearted gratitude to Rev. Dr. & Mrs. L. Pohngap for their especial help and encouragement after losing my mother. Without them I would not be able to finish my thesis. I am sincerely obliged to my supervisor, Dr. T. B. Subba and to other teachers of the Department too. My gratitude also goes to Rev. Dr. O.L. Snaitang, Mr. Bit Marbaniang (Investigator, Census Office, Shillong), the Headman and office-bearers of Jaiaw Laitdom Durbar, my friends--Persara Lyngdoh and Joplin Nongdhar, and all the respondents.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In 1904 and 1905, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* was published in the form of two articles in the *Archiv für sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*. The first section was published in 1904. Again, in New York, Weber searched the library of Columbia University for materials to be added to it. Perhaps the United States was for him what England had been for the previous generations of German Liberals - a model of a new society. The Protestant sect there had their greatest scope and in their wake the secular, civic and voluntary associations had flowered. On his return to Germany, he resumed writing at Heidelberg and finished the second part of it.

The questions posed by him still have a universal significance opening up new avenues for research. Max Weber was the first to formulate a theory of the movement of religious thought on social issues which took place then. He undertook a comparative study of the social outlook and influence of different religions. His articles were an attempt to test the generalization that Western Christianity as a whole and, in particular, certain varieties of it which acquired an independent life as a result of the Reformation, had been more favourable for the

growth of capitalism than the other creeds. His object was to examine the influence of certain religious ideas on the development of an economic spirit or ethos of an economic system. The major emphasis in Weber's work on the Protestant ethic is not on direct religious injunctions about different types of economic behaviour but on those broader attitudes inherent in the ethos of each which influence and direct economic motives and activities. Weber's work was greatly influenced by the predominantly German intellectual background. From detailed historical studies, Weber went on to embrace questions of a general theoretical nature. His standpoint in his writings were borrowed from many sources. He tried to take advantage of the possibilities offered by both the natural and the spiritual sciences: and he thought that the highest level of understanding social phenomena could be reached when the understanding is adequate both causally and at the level of meaning.

Weber's doctoral dissertation (1889) deal with the legal provisions governing trading enterprise and gave special attention to the Italian mercantile cities (as Genoa and Pisa). He showed that commercial capitalism developed there entailed the formulation of principles of law regulating the mode in which the distribution of risk and profit should be apportioned among the collaborators in a business enterprise. Some two year later, his second work

was concerned with Rome-providing a detailed analysis of the evolution of Roman land-tenure, and connecting this the legal and political change.

These writings indicated the birth of Weber's intellectual development and manifested the principal focus of his later work: the nature of capitalistic enterprise, and the specific characteristics of Western capitalism. He was aware of the complicated nature of relationship between economic structures and other aspects of social organizations; and all forms of crude economic determinism must be rejected. Weber also published his studies dealing with the two facets of the modern German economy (i) an investigation of the condition of the peasantry to the east of the Elbe and (ii) the operations of financial capital in Germany. These later studies analysed the character and effects of modern commerce; and the conclusions derived from them had a lasting influence upon his work which lead directly into these themes explored in The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism.

Weber did not suggest the connection between the Reformation and modern capitalism as other writers before him did. The characteristic Marxist explanation derived from Engel's writings held that Protestantism was an ideological reflection of the economic changes incurred with the early development of capitalism. Marx was of the

opinion that the Protestant Reformation was a by-product of the rise of Capitalism.

Weber rejected this viewpoint and began from the apparent anomaly: the identification and explication of which constitutes the real originality of the Protestant ethic. While religion is concerned with the immaterial aspect there is a relationship between Protestantism and modern capitalism. This cannot be fully explained by taking the former as the result of the latter but through the character of Protestant beliefs and codes of behaviour it can stimulate economic activity. As Protestantism differs in certain forms from other religious forms, so also does modern capitalism from those prior to it.

Protestantism, founded by Martin Luther, was originally a religious movement aimed at the religious restructuring of the world. According to the Protestant concept of 'calling' the only way of living acceptably to God was not to surpass worldly morality in monastic asecticism, but solely through the fulfilment of the obligations imposed upon the individual by his position in the world.

Capitalism is a system of profit-making enterprises bound together in market relations, which has developed historically in many places and at varied times. The rational character and the rational organization of the

free labour are the main distinguishing marks of modern mature capitalism, and Weber contends that its rise was affected by the emergence of Protestant ethic, especially Calvinism.

Weber showed the correlation between Protestantism and the growth of modern capitalism; and the terms of comparison are the 'spirit' of modern capitalism and the 'spirit' of Protestantism. The word 'spirit' connotes system of maxims of human conduct. These maxims of religious and secular conduct were so far in agreement that Weber believed that the rise of the Protestant ethical orientation was a necessary, though not, sufficient condition for the emergence of modern capitalism. He stated this also by extending his research to other non-European countries and concluded that specific economic conditions do not guarantee the rise of capitalism; but that at least one more condition is necessary- that which belongs to man's inner world. A specific motive power, the psychological acceptance of values and ideas favourable to change is therefore indispensable. He is of the opinion that the psychological condition enables the development of capitalism. He tries to explain that the economic behaviour of a social group can sometimes be understood in terms of its vision of the world. In The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, he showed how a way of conceiving the world orients action in the world.

The Khasis of Meghalaya are a matrilineal tribe. Ownership of property is traditionally passed from parents to daughters. The youngest daughter usually gets the lion's share as she is the custodian of the family property, taking care of her parents in their old age, etc. Ownership is also invested in the clans, villages and chiefs. Nowadays especially in the urban and some rural areas, there is a trend of bilateral inheritance system where both males and females inherit property. The man is regarded as the bread earner of the family and the female as the keeper of the hearth ^{and} home. But today, with modernization, both males and females play an equally important role in the economic upliftment of the family and of the society at large.

The Khasis have an indigenous religion but with the advent of Christianity, majority of them have been converted into Christianity which comprise of numerous sects and denominations like the Presbyterians, the Baptists, the Church of God, the Seventh Day Adventists, the Church of Jesus Christ, and others; besides the Roman Catholics.

Modernization has begun in these hills with the advent of Christianity. New economic avenues are opened up for the people which were unheard of in the past. The British administrators and the Christian missionaries came in the early nineteenth century and remained here for long

enough to be able to impart education and provide training to the people to carry out different types of work besides agriculture. Education has played a major role in creating a new class of people among the Khasis, the educated class, who are not only in salaried jobs but also engaged in various entrepreneurships. In such a situation, it is worthwhile to examine Weber's thesis with regard to the relationship between religion and economic growth.

Survey of Literature

R.H. Tawney (1926) has studied the religious thought on social issues during the three centuries from the later middle ages to the early eighteenth century. It is a historical study of ^{the} bearing of the religion of the reformation on social and economic thought. It is an account of medieval theories of social ethics, and the examination of the impact on traditional doctrines of the new forces released by the economic and political changes of the age of the Reformation. Continental reformers like Luther and Calvin are discussed in this book and it has a chapter on the Puritan Movement also.

Max Weber (1930) comments that it is the change of moral standards and not the strength of the economic self-interest, which converted a natural frailty into an ornament of the spirit, and canonized as the economic

virtues which in earlier ages have been denounced as vices. The creed associated with the name of Calvin is the force behind it and that Calvinistic theology enhanced the development of capitalism. With a wealth of learning and philosophical insight, Weber examines the connection between religious radicalism and economic progress. His essay is confined to the part played by religious movements in creating favourable conditions for the growth of a new type of economic civilization. He is careful to guard himself against the criticism that he underestimates the importance of the parallel developments in the world of commerce, finance and industry.

Ephriam Fischhoff (1968) in his review points out that Troeltsch accepted Weber's theory as to the relation of Protestantism to capitalism, developed and popularised it so that it is not infrequently termed the Weber-Troeltsch theory.

Weber's thesis was accepted for the most part by church historians and to a certain degree by the economic historians. It was criticised by misinterpreting his essay as setting up a causal hypothesis deriving capitalism from Calvinism - in short, as supplanting the materialistic hypothesis with a spiritual one. The whole Weberian thesis had been bedeviled unfortunately by various extrascientific valuations and frequently has been the victim of partisan

contention depending on the economic orientation and religious affiliation of the writers in question according to Fischhoff.

As a conscious reaction to the Marxian hypothesis, Weber's essay naturally overstates the consistency and efficacy of ideal factors; a part of the revolt against the mechanization of man had the increasing dominance of the economic factor common to the generation before him. The emphasis is on the crucial importance of religious beliefs in the emergence of a morale favourable to capitalism.

Another writer, R. Hooykaas (1968) shows that the scientific production in quality and quantity of the Protestants (especially the Puritan group) surpassed that of the Roman Catholic authors in the sixteenth and seventeenth century Europe. Though there is nothing in the dogmas of the three main divisions of Western christianity against scientific research yet the degree of encouraging scientific research differs among them.

In his articles, Hooykaas has tried to expound how the religious attitude of so-called "ascetic" Protestantism, which more or less stood under Calvin's influence, furthered the development of science. The general priesthood of believers is perhaps the only

specifically Protestant doctrine that was sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously, used to back up science. Again, the love for experimental science and the technological interest of the Reformed were closely interwoven with their ethical evaluation of the manual labour.

Thus, according to him, Calvinism or puritanism or ascetic protestanism generally promoted the type of thinking that help in arousing a sustained interest in science.

Charles and Katherine George (1968) has surveyed the compatibility between an important segment of Protestant opinion and the practices and ideas of nascent capitalism. The material in question consists of the writings and preachments produced by English Protestants in the seven decades between 1570 and 1640. Within these temporal limitations the literature has been intensively analysed and has been constantly considered in the differing perspectives of Roman Catholic thought and the teachings of the other Protestant schools. They pointed out that there is no area in Christianity to which one can turn where the two conceptual elements - both the rejection of worldly goods and the acceptance and defence of them - are not present in some combination of relative rank and emphasis; and that despite their evident opposition,

neither pole of the antithesis is ever completely eliminated.

The solution to this ideological tension in Christianity to the Roman Catholic has been the construction of a double standard of morality by means of which the two emphases are separated to a large extent and placed in a hierarchical relationship to each other. One emphasis become part of the way of life of the saint - the saintly cleric typically - who is indubitably heaven-bound. While the other becomes part of the way of life of the ordinary Christian who, if he does eventually reach heaven, will probably do so only after a further period of purgatorial trial and training. The triple monastic vow of poverty, obedience and chastity by the upper level of Roman Catholic morality signaled the wholesale turning from worldly wealth and power which is felt to be essential for the truly dedicated soul.

The standards of the lower level of Roman Catholic morality become such that the principal business of whose deity is to protect the health, support the battles, and promote the economic and social advancement of its adherents. There was active, positive spiritual hallowing of worldly success besides moral allowance. This second level of morality, in practice, amounted to the

acceptability of the way of the worldly - in terms of the proprieties of worldliness at the time; though not in any sense ideal, as a Christian way of life through the acknowledgement of the institutional supremacy and spiritual leadership of the visible church. There are historical reasons though no logical reason as to why Roman Catholicism could not have provided a defence for the ideology and practices of a capitalistic and bourgeois society as it did in fact provide for the ideology and practices of a feudal and aristocratic one. This double standard was so profoundly rooted in their doctrine that any life in this world, whatever its nature or function was bound to be viewed as of second quality in comparison to the life church and cloister.

Protestantism in all its forms, initially and consistently demolished this barrier between the two levels of morality. The constant contention is that there is only one way to go to God and this must lead directly from earth to heaven. They endeavour to solve the tension between Christian spirituality and materialism by cutting off both the extremes of the double solution characteristic of Roman Catholicism and proceed to occupy a single position and there is both a materializing of the spiritual and the spiritualizing of the material. In an effort to achieve the utmost spiritual fulfilment, the ordinary domiciles and usual occupations of the world are being undertaken by

them. The world is looked upon in terms of its temporal blessings as essentially good and apt for the service of the most christian man, provided that he uses right.

In English Protestantism, the world as evil and the world as good depends in the long run upon the manner of man's life in the world, and the saint lives his entire life finally and entirely in its midst. Their acceptance of life and of all other worldly conditions as a feasible setting for the most strenuous spiritual life, and poverty viewed as an evil to be questioned or even as a problem to be solved rather than cherishing it as an accepted social condition; a commendation for some status of economic moderation in between wealth and poverty as dangerous extremes; the doctrine of the calling, which is of two kinds - a General Calling which is God's call to the faith and the Particular Calling which God enabled and directed on to some special course and condition of life, to employ oneself and exercise the gifts He bestowed which is different in variety according to the quality of particular persons, emphasizing the positive, creative and enjoyable aspects of labour instead of the penal quality of labour, especially manual labour and relaxation, rest and recreation are thought essential of Christian's regimen of life. The equality of callings in regard to their moral aspect and spiritual aspect lend credence to Weber's

emphasis on the importance of this doctrine.

This doctrine among the English Protestants of aforesaid seven decades has little to justify the application of the label 'capitalistic', to it, but it does not deny or diminish the extent of the break which this doctrine represents from the social theory of medieval Roman Catholicism. In it is found the ideological watershed between the ancient medieval and modern mind and linking it particularly to capitalism which is merely one aspect of modernity, is to limit and weaken rather than to strengthen its real potentiality. Charles and Katherine George concluded by linking this doctrine to capitalistic coloration in the face of certain social pressures and in heads of certain groups, but with the English Protestant pronouncement in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, its scope is much greater and its reach is socially much more profound - as a viewpoint whose primary focus is not business activity but productive toil, it is not so much a bourgeois as an antifeudal, not so much a capitalistic as an industrial ethic.

Sidney A. Burrell (1968) touched on the historiographical development of the ideas that Calvinism and capitalism are linked and endemic characteristics of the rising middle class. Secondly he considered the role of

the seventeenth century Scotland which was a kind of archetypical Calvinist society in this controversy.

Max Weber. Burrell emphasized, was a critic and not a supporter of Marx's or Sombart's view by rejecting the idea that religious ideas were only ideological manifestations of particular social conditions. Ideas for Weber were, at least in part, autonomous entities with a power to affect social changes, and he proved it by citing what seemed to him clear historical evidence that capitalism was a result, rather than a cause of the Reformation. He believed that Calvinist theology, in particular, contained certain elements which were peculiarly conducive to rationalized, individualistic economic activity undertaken for profit: not simply for the purpose of enjoying the fruits thereof but rather as a duty, as part, indeed, of a new sense of ethical obligation. Burrell gives a brief description of the Scottish Covenanting rebellion (1637, 1638) and infers that firstly, there was a society which, though formally and extensively Calvinist, did not conform in its economic and social manifestations to the commonly accepted view of such a society. Scotland was not a country with a thriving, bustling "middle class" made up of merchants or capitalist squires but an economic backwater in contrast with its wealthier western European neighbours. Secondly, Scotland, which is far less highly developed politically and



economically than England, was the first to challenge the King's policy of Thorough.

Emilio Willems (1968) studied the forms of Protestantism that can be traced back to to proselytic beginnings in Brazil and Chile and showed how proselytism of the Protestant missionaries brought culture contact by transmitting normative behaviour, pattern and ideologies by forming a religious community which would be able to embody these norms and furnish structural support to put them into practice. Its rapid expansion accompanies, in time and space, cultural transformations, and the largest concentrations of Protestants are found in the regions which showed the highest rate of culture change and the smallest in the most traditional bound areas. Conversion is seen as a solution of personal problems ; which are in turn reflections of a social order in transition. Conversion described as rebirth and the development of industrial society opening up avenues of social mobility and education led to the changes in economic behaviour , political behaviour, family structure and increased social mobility. Comparing them with the non-Protestants, the Protestants have gained the reputation of being reliable, conscientious and industrious. Industriousness, pride and thrift were often mentioned subjectively to explain improved economic conditions there.

Herbert Lüthy (1968) examines the pros and cons of

the Weberian thesis and to him the trouble begins with the terminology. What the problem is actually about is subject, on both sides of the equation ; to misunderstanding and confusion. The exclusive power of Weber's thesis derived from the correlation of two concepts , Protestantism and Capitalism. Weber spoke not of Capitalism but of the 'spirit' of Capitalism, just as he wrote not about Protestantism as a theological doctrine but about the Protestant 'ethic'. This was a warning that has been invariably ignored . His great and questioning mind was never particularly interested in the facts of history nor even in social and economic systems but rather in the detection of the ultimate impulses behind man's attitudes and behaviour.

The word 'Capitalism' or 'spirit of Capitalism' connotes no less than the entire inner structure governing Western society's attitudes - not only its economy but also its legal system, political structure, institutionalized science and technology, its mathematically based music and architecture. The rationality characterized by its economic modes of operation , work discipline and accountancy methods permeate all fields of social behaviour , the organisation of labour and management as well as the creative sciences , law and order, philosophy and the arts, the state and politics, and the dominant forms of private life and tamed every form of resistance offered by pre-

rational human nature, magic and tradition, instinct and spontaneity. The Reformation substitutes these with the Bible as the authentic truth and the motives behind human behaviour are generated, into the very heart of religious belief. To Lüthy, this is what the Reformation means for Weber, and this is the knot with which he linked economic theory and religious doctrine. It is the liberation of man from spiritual submission and fear of man that the true and deep connection between Calvinism and modern industrial society lies. It is the same connection that links rational Calvinist religiosity with positive science, and the Calvinist community with modern democracy, and that all else is but by-products.

Michael Walzer (1968) showed how Weber thought that Puritanism had sponsored a significant rationalization in behaviour especially in work: it has trained men to work in a sustained, systematic fashion, to pay attention to detail, to watch the clock. Thus, the Calvinist ethic, in this sense, is related to that long-term process which culminates, but does not end, in a rational-legal (bureaucratic) society. In addition to this, he argued that Puritanism had produced an extraordinary and apparently irrational impulse toward acquisition, which is more directly connected with the rise of capitalist economy. The anxiety induced by the theory of predestination is the source of both impulses, toward rationalization and endless

gain; but the two are different from one another, and it is at least plausible to the first without the second.

Stanislav Andreski (1968) agreed that Weber's works are focussed, on the problem of the conditions which permitted the rise of capitalism. He pointed out that the originality of his approach lies in his conceived brilliant idea of throwing light on this problem by concentrating on cases where capitalism failed to develop.

Weber's data as well as those supplied by other investigators show clearly that the Protestants occupy prominent positions in business in disproportionate numbers, in countries where Protestants and Catholics live intermingled. France with the minority Protestants influencing business and Germany predominantly Protestant in the economic life of the country even though it has a more or less balanced population, failed to lend support to Weber's thesis, though they do not contradict it. In Ireland and Prussian Poland the economic inferiority of the Catholics could be possibly explained by the fetters imposed upon them by their Protestant rulers. Predominance of Protestants in American business could be due to their descent from old established population while the Catholics came recently as poor immigrants, but this explanation failed to hold for Canada and Holland. In Holland, the case is significant because there the Catholics were a minority

relegated to a politically subordinate position but with ample opportunities for business activities. Nevertheless, they furnished far fewer successful businessmen than either the Protestants or the Jews. The data thus unambiguously suggest that Protestantism is more conducive to business activity than Catholicism, even if we allow for the influence of other factors. This can be adduced from the argument from covariation. Again by using as the units of comparison states, instead of sections of populations located in the boundaries of one state he pointed out that capitalism developed furthest and fastest in predominantly Protestant countries. Today, the economies of the English-speaking countries, dominated by Protestants, continue to represent the furthest stage in the evolution of capitalism. This thesis applies in full only to the situation where accumulation by private individuals constitutes the driving force of economic development. Once the giant concerns and thrusts enter upon the scene and the 'plowing back' of their undistributed profits becomes (jointly with the financing by the state) the chief form of investment, worldly asceticism loses its importance because most of the saving becomes then in a sense "forced"

Another way in which Protestantism may have stimulated the growth of capitalism indirectly was by fostering the civic virtues required for the smooth functioning of the state. It must be noted, on the other

hand; that all the so-called underdeveloped countries are conspicuous for the lack of public spirit which makes poverty difficult to eliminate. Andreski accepted Weber's thesis as valid in that Weber regarded Protestantism as a factor which fostered the development of capitalism, and not as the cause thereof.

David Little (1968) considered the question whether, in roughly sixty years, Max Weber has been dispensed with or whether ^{there} are suggestions in his method that can be of service for the study of religion and society. He found that Weber made an abiding contribution not only to the systematic study of society but to the investigation of religious phenomena as well. The key concept of order drawing on Weber provides a useful bridge for relating religious-moral language to issues of social organization. The work helped to underscore the significance of Weber and to supplement and revise his work in an appropriate way.

S.N.Eisenstadt (1968) has gathered together the writings of sociologists, political scientists and anthropologists. This is about Max Weber's provocative thesis about the role of Protestant values in the emergence of modern capitalism. It showed a continuing relevance of Weber to the understanding of modernization process by (i) reexamining Weber's Protestant ethic in the light of contemporary sociological analysis and (ii) applying it to contemporary non-Western as well as Western

societies. The essays collected in this volume can be divided into the three parts. Firstly, there are essays dealing with the exposition of Weber's thesis within the context of his general sociological analyses. Secondly, those essays deal with the various specific aspects of his thesis in the context of Europe and America, and Thirdly, they deal with attempts to test the applicability of the thesis or of its derivatives, or which apply a similar approach, to non-European settings.

Charles P. Loomis and Zona K. Loomis (1969) considered the socio-economic changes in India and sought answers to the following questions:-

(i) Under what conditions can India hope to become an industrial nation?.

(ii) Does such a process require a radical break with tradition? and

(iii) Are there some aspects of Indian tradition which are favourable to industrial development?

The essay presented the exchange of ideas on the role of religion in helping or hindering change based upon Max Weber's idea concerning India and Ascetic Protestantism in its bold outline. The divisions dealt with certain aspects of culture, such as the cognitive (knowledge), the expressive (feeling) and the evaluative, along with the structural concepts of society such as caste, power, etc. Social processes as communication, socialization, etc. as

related to time, space and size of organization were also included.

Here it is necessary to recall the first seminar organized by the National Institute of Community development in 1966 at Hyderabad on "Max Weber's Theory of Religion and Socio-economic Change" and "Marxist Sociology and Ideology in relation to Indian Materialism". The objective of this seminar was to encourage discussion, exchange of ideas, analysis, criticism and development of understanding of social and economic development and change.

Anthony Giddens (1971) analysed the works of Marx, Durkheim and Weber. Important aspects of their ideas are analysed and interpretations of their writings are given. The main aim of the writer is to dispel some of the obscurities and misunderstandings about their thoughts. His work is to set a precise, yet comprehensive analysis of the sociological ideas of these writers; and to examine the main points of divergence between Marx's viewpoints and of the other two authors. The study is directed at disentangling some of the complex intellectual relationships among the three authors.

Literature on Christianity and its influence on the Khasi society are also available but no research has been done to correlate religion and economic development among them.

Nalini Natarajan (1977) has written about the coming of Christianity in Meghalaya and the contributions of works of the Christian missionaries for the upliftment of the Khasi people. Pre-missionary Khasi society, Khasi indigenous religion and an analytical and descriptive picture of contemporary Khasi society are studied. She says that the missionaries works have a lasting impact on the Khasi individual, on the Khasi society, and they have affected the Khasi cultural dynamics and structural integration. The prime factor which induced and fostered silent and momentous changes was the work of the missionaries for nearly a century or more. The Khasi 'Niam' began loosening its hold and a new advance culture with a blend of the old and new has evolved. The impact of the missionaries on education, literature, law, politics, social life and economic development has been brought out by her. The authoress is of the opinion that the training of the local people in the organizational work of the Church, and the inculcation of the Christian doctrines of rationality, austerly and simplicity have contributed to higher efficiency in their economic pursuits.

Gordon Marshall (1980) is perhaps the first to attempt an investigation of the relationship between Calvinism and the economic ethos of modern capitalism in Scotland. It is an investigation of the Scottish pastoral theological material on the one hand and the Scottish

business records for a period extending from the Reformation (1560) to the Act of the Union (1707) on the other. The problem of relationship between Calvinism and economic ethos of modern capitalism is investigated in a sustained and rigorous way in Scotland, which is one of the few cases meeting the stringent requirements of a test of Weber's Protestant ethic and the spirit of the capitalism. On provisional examination, Gordon Marshall concluded that the test-case of Scotland vindicated Weber's argument.

Amena Nora Passah's M.Phil. Thesis (1984) is mainly concentrated on the locale and people, the arrival and establishment of the Welsh Presbyterian Mission, its expansion and organization, and the contribution: female education, theological education, language and literature, translation of the Bible and medical aids.

J.J.Roy Burman (1988) analyses the role of Christianity in reinforcing their ethnic identity, particularly, so at the time when the region was being politically and economically incorporated into a large political-economic entity of a nation-state. Christianity is seen at the negative side by the author. It has, in fact, acted as bridge between tribal non-differentiated system and a complex administrative mechanisms of the nation-state.

Objective

The objective of this study is to reexamine Weber's

thesis on the Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism in the Khasi society.

Method

Jairaw Laitdom, an urban locality in Shillong, was selected as the universe. It is a large locality having mixed Christian denominational resident pursuing varied economic pursuits. Since I would examine the role of the Protestant ethic in the economic development of the Khasi society, this place was expected to be suitable as it predominately represents the Khasi community.

The total number of the households within it was ascertained from the local headman and a systematic random sample was done. Questionnaires, written in the local language were served. The questionnaires has both open-ended and closed-ended questions. Observation was also made alongside.

The accumulated data were then analysed to see if there existed relationship between the Protestant ethic and the Spirit of capitalism in the Khasi society.

Plan of the Study

The first chapter is an introductory chapter where the review of literature is also presented.

The next chapter is mainly on land and the people, followed by a chapter on the history of Christianity in North-east India with special reference to Meghalaya.

Then, Weber's thesis is explained. This is

followed by another one where primary data collected from the Khasi society are presented to see the applicability of Weber's thesis in the Khasi society. And the last chapter is the concluding one.

CHAPTER II

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

Meghalaya was created as an autonomous state on April 12, 1970 but it was only on January 21, 1972 that it was declared as a fullfledged state. It is situated between 25.1° and 26.5° North Latitude and 85.49° and 92.52° East Longitude. It is a land of hills, valleys, rivers, plateaus, and waterfalls; bounded on the north by Goalpara, Kamrup, Nowgong and Karbi Anglong districts of Assam, on the east by the districts of Cachar and north Cachar Hills of Assam; while on the south and the west lies Bangladesh.

The total area of this state is 22,429 square kilometres and the total population according to the 1991 Census (provisional) is 17,60,626. There are seven administrative districts which are predominately inhabited by the tribes called Khasi, Jaintia and the Garo.

The Khasi Hills forming the central part and Jaintia Hills forming the eastern part of the state is an imposing plateau with rolling grassland, hills and river valleys. The southern face of the plateau is marked by deep gorges and abrupt slopes with waterfalls rushing down steep slopes which carve deep valleys through which swift flowing rivers descend to plains. A narrow strip of plainland runs along the international border with Bangladesh at the foot of these slopes. The northern section of the plateau has an

undulating topography with hills after hills rising to almost the same height, extending northward to slope gradually and merge with the plains of Assam. The highest point in the central plateau of the Khasi Hills, overlooking Shillong town is the Shillong peak with a height of 1965m. The height of the central plateau of the Khasi Hills is between 1500m and 2089m. The Garo Hills form the western part of Meghalaya and are lower in elevation.

The climate of Meghalaya is largely controlled and influenced by seasonal winds and there are four seasons here: Spring (March and April), Summer or Rainy season (May to September) Autumn (October and November) and Winter season (December to February).

Shillong, its capital, is also the headquarters of the East Khasi Hills District. It is situated at an elevation of 1,496 metres above mean sea level and has a bracing climate throughout the year. The population of Shillong is 1,13,138 (Shillong urban agglomeration) as per the 1991 Provisional Census. It is also a part of the Mylliem Syiemship and part of it under the Municipality and some under the Cantonment area.

In 1864, the district headquarters was shifted from Sohra (Cherrapunji) to Shillong and it became the Sadar station of the district in 1868 and ten years later was made the capital of Assam Province in 1874. There was no

government land when the British first came here and they bought the area starting from the military station below Shillong Peak and skirting Sadew Village, Nongkseh village, Iewduh, Mawkhar, Laitumhrah, Laban Village and back to the base of Shillong Peak from the land-owners and ceded by the Syiems of Mylliem and Khyrim. Lt.Col.J.C.Haughton finalised this sale in 1863-64 at a cost of Rupee Eight thousand four hundred and thirty three only and an annual payment of rupees one hundred and eight only made to the person who had not received cash payment for their land. The name 'Shillong' was then given to all these lands by the British government (Philemon, 1991:9). According to a legend, the name of this place was given after the deity residing in Shillong Peak.

Christianity was brought by the opening up of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Mission in 1841. A branch was set up at Mawkhar when the capital of the province was shifted to Shillong, The Roman Catholic Mission started in 1890 by making new converts and the Seng Khasi Institution was founded in 1899.

The traditional Khasis believe in one Supreme God, the creator of the universe, called 'U Blei'. Their religion is called 'Niam Khasi' and is 'animistic' in nature. In Meghalaya, the main religion nowadays is Christianity.

The Scottish officers spending holidays in Shillong

called it 'The Scotland of the East' because of its striking similarity with the mountain scenery of the Scottish highland. The British also called it a 'Mini London' as the slopes around Shillong remind one of the slopes of England ideal for hiking and riding.

The Khasi, Jaintias or Syntengs and the Garo are the major tribal communities living in Meghalaya. All these tribal groups are matrilineal. 'Khasi' is a name generally and commonly given to the people living in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills Districts, who are believed to be the remnants of the first Mongolian overflow to India, and their language is believed to be one of the very few surviving dialects of the Monkhmer family of languages in India. The Garos reside in the Garo Hills District, and are a part of the great Bodo race, a branch of the Tibeto-Burman family. The people of these hills are simple folks, and are jovial, hospitable, and fond of dance, songs, sports and festivals.

Shillong Plateau, comprising the Garo and the Khasi-Jaintia hills is believed to be of Archaean in origin (300 million years) and is geologically the oldest part of North-East India. (Sharma, 1984:2) The Khasis appear to be the oldest inhabitants belonging to the Austro-Asiatic linguistic group. From the available information, there is a suggestion about their migration from south-east Asia, who belonged to a wave of Austric speakers initially

migrated towards east and intermingled with the Mongoloid populations of South Chinese area. Some tribes in Burma, Thailand and Kampuchea also share these characteristics with the Khasis (Jaswal, 1984:27).

B.M.Das (1984) has made an attempt to trace the origin and migration of the Khasis by reviewing relevant literature even though there is absence of any authentic historical records, and suggested two possibilities. One is that they are the Australoid population speaking Austric language though they have undergone remarkable changes in physical features because of strong intrusive Mongoloid strains. Therefore, they came from the west as there are evidences to show that Austro-Asiatic speaking people were largely of Australoid race from India who lived in Burma and Indo-China. The mixture of Australoid and Mongoloid ethnic strains in early times gave rise to various Austro-Asiatic speaking people of certain parts of south-east Asia and perhaps a more or less similar phenomenon occurred among the Khasis.

Another possibility is that they are Mongoloid coming down from the same area of dispersion of the Tibeto-Burman speakers, and probably adopted Austric language while they were in northern Burma from where they migrated. They were later surrounded by other Tibeto-Burman language speaking tribes but still preserved their newly adopted Austric language. Thus they came from the north-eastern

direction. (Das, 1984:46,47). He is also of the opinion that the Khasis are perhaps the earliest of the present day inhabitants this part of the country.

Das (1984) who has also studied the physical characteristics of the Khasi tribe of Meghalaya, writes that, in general, they have brown skin colour, and their head hair is dark brown with a reddish tinge, straight or flat wavy in form, coarse to medium in texture, rich in quality and with a single whorl in the occipital region. They also have scanty beard and moustache, and their forehead is medium to low in height, medium in breadth with none or slight slope. The eye colour is brown to dark brown, the eye slit is mostly oblique and palpebral fissure medium. Straight eyes with board fissure is common, and eye-fold present in most of the cases. The supraorbital ridges are slightly prominent and the malar region is also very prominent. There is slight to medium depression at the root of the nose and the nasal profile is straight with a horizontal septum.

The Khasi-Pnars called themselves 'Pi Khun U Hynniew Trep U Hynniew stum' based on the myth about their origin; and they have their own language, and political organization, religion and culture. Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker concluded that the tribes of Meghalaya were from the Indo-China race, and L.A. Waddell believed that they were from the Mongolian family. S.K. Chatterjee opined that

these Indo-Mongoloids were called 'Kirates' in the 'Mahabharat' and were the hill men living in the Eastern Himalayas, whose original home was in the Himalayan slopes and in the mountains of the East, almost in Assam.

Agriculture is the main occupation of the people in the rural areas and the principal agricultural products are rice, maize, potato, cotton, orange, ginger, bay-leaf, areca-nut, jute, mesta, banana and pineapple. The source of income of the rural population of this state is from agriculture. We also find excellent carpenters and masons. About 83% of the total population of Meghalaya depend on agriculture for livelihood, but its topography provide extremely limited scope for extensive cultivation. In spite of this, the state is steadily progressing in the field of agriculture. Cash crops and horticultural crops are grown and it has achieved success also in the cultivation of tea, mushroom and tomatoes.

In this state we also find some medium and small scale industries. The public sector Cement Factory is situated at Sohra, the Tantalum Capacitor unit of the Meghalaya Electronics Development Corporation is at the Industrial Area at Umiam-Khwan and the Mini Cement Plant is at Damas (East Garo Hills District) and at Sutnga (Jaintia Hills District). There is also an increasing number of small scale industrial units covering service industry, batteries, furniture-making, iron and steel fabrication,

tyre-retreading, spice, oleo-resin, etc. The Government too is giving thrust on Entrepreneurship Motivation and Development and the Meghalaya Industrial Development Corporation (MIDC) assists the industrial units by way of financing and equity participation.

Trade and manufacturing are not new among the Khasi-Pnar tribe, and iron, limestone, lac, ivory, wild rubber, bay-leaves, betel-leaves and cattle are traditional items for trade and commerce. They are trade-conscious and trade with their neighbours (Assam & Bangladesh) was carried on from the past. Hoes, plough, bill-hooks, guns etc. are manufactured. In the past, iron-smelting was an important industry. Does, axes, wedges, hammers, etc, are manufactured and exported to the plains. Smelters and black-smiths are found and iron-smelting and forging formed the sole occupation of many. Cotton-spinning, weaving, rearing of eri-worms, pottery, basketry, brass-work, bee-keeping, domestic service, labour, etc. are also noticed.

Market is very important for economic development and there are several markets spread all over the land. The main markets are Iewduh (Shillong), Iew Sohra (Cherrapunjee) in the East Khasi Hills District; Iewmusiang (Jowai) in Jaintia Hills District; Iew Langstieh (Mairang) and Iew Nongstoin (Nongstoin) in the West Khasi Hills District, Tura market, Phulbari market, Garobedha market .

West Garo Hills District; and Williannagar market, Rongjeng market and Mendipathar market in East Garo Hills District. Iewduh in Shillong is the biggest market in the state and we find mostly women as shop-keepers.

In the state of Meghalaya, the literacy rate according to the 1991 census (Provisional) is 48.26%. The community plays a significant role in setting up and maintenance of schools, and almost all primary, middle, high schools and colleges are under private management. The state government extends support to such institutions by extending maintenance grants.

CHAPTER III

CHRISTIANITY IN NORTH-EAST INDIA

North-East India lies approximately between latitude 20° - 29° North and longitude 90° - 98° East; consisting of seven states which are Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur, Mizoram, Nagaland, and Tripura; and covering an area of 254,993 sq.Km. The largest portion of the area is hilly and mountainous. One also finds an extremely complex ethnic composition of the people. The majority of the peoples are of the Mongolian stock. Christianity has made a great impact on those tribal people who were not Hinduized before the advent of the British in 1820.

The tribes of north-east India, have their own unique cultures, social structures and tribal religions.

At the end of the first Anglo-Burma War, the treaty of Yandaboo (24th February 1826) was concluded between the East India Company and the Kingdom of Burma. Thus the north-east-Indian region was brought within a single political system for the first time in its history.

The gradual extension of the British administration brought about widespread changes in social, economic and cultural spheres; and they could also gradually extend their administration throughout the region

(except NEFA) within one hundred years.

This paved the way for the Christian missionaries to come and work in this region. Christianity provided a means of preserving their identities and promoting their interests in the face of powerful forces of change. This resulted in reinforcing the traditional animosity between the hill tribes and the plains people which was unintentional on the part of the Christian Missions. In 1981, Christians in the North - East India constituted about 16.5% of the total Christian population in India.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Catholics were the first known Christian contacts with North East India. A large Christian community associated with the Mughal garrison at Rangamati was present (a place which according to Downs is in the present Goalpara District of Assam, while Syiemlieh is of the opinion that this place is in Cooch Behar, based on his study of evidence), which left no permanent community in the region. There were also a small Portuguese Catholic community at Hondashill (Cachar district of Assam) and a similar community at Mariamnagar in Agartala which existed since the seventeenth century, but these did not take on the work of spreading Christianity in the North-East India.

The Baptists of Serampore took an interest in North East in the earliest nineteenth century. The

Serampore Missionaries from 1816-1837 worked independently of their parent society (The Baptist Missionary Society), raised their own fund and established mission network centres at various places in Bengal and even as far as Rangoon. It was during this time that the missionary work had started in Assam and Meghalaya. In 1819, an Assamese New Testament was published while the entire Bible was finished in 1833. This was not a good translation and a new translation was done. In 1813, Krishna (Chandra Pal) of the Serampore Mission worked for eight months at Pandua under the British Protection but within the Systemship of Cherrappunji (Meghalaya) where four sepoys, two Khasi natives and one Assamese use were baptized. The earliest known converts from the indigenous North-east population are the two baptized Khasi named **U Duwan** and **U Anna**. Pal's mission here was shortlived and after his departure, it took twenty years to restart the missionary work there. William Carey in 1813 made it possible the translation of the New Testament into Khasi by using Bengali script, which was found inadequate. In 1827, New Testament translation of the Bible into the Manipuri language was also done.

David Scott, a British commissioner encouraged the Serampore Mission in starting a school at Guwahati which was opened in 1829. This enabled the evangelistic work to be carried out in the surrounding area of Lower Assam, which proved unsuccessful. Late in 1832, the work

among the Khasis was resumed and a missionary was sent to Cherrapunje where the government had recently reestablished a health resort. The eighteen year old Eurasian, Alexander Lish, started schools at Cherrapunji, Mawsmai and Mawmjuh and began to start the development of Khasi literature. This station was closed in 1830s due lack of new converts.

Then Francis Jenkins, a British commissioner, invited the American Baptist Missionary Union to undertake a work among the Khamti and Singpho tribals. The first missionaries arrived at Sadiya, at the eastern extremity of the Brahmaputra valley in March 1836, and this marked the starting point of the emergence of indigeneous Christian communities in the North East India. The American Baptists and the Welsh Presbyterians are the two major Christian missions throughout the nineteenth century in North East. The first American Baptist stations in the North East were established as the strategic outposts for reaching the Shan tribes of Northern Burma and Southern China. In 1841, there was one Assamese convert and by 1845 the first Church had established stations at Sibsagar, Nagaon and Guwahati; and schools were opened up whenever new stations were established. The Orphan Institution at Nagaon was the coeducational institution in Assam, and from 1847 (beginning of the Nowgong Revival) till 1856 (closing of this institution) there were many converts.

The Welsh Presbyterian Mission decided to

establish a foreign mission work of its own in 1840. Jacob Tomlin, a former London Missionary Society missionary, who had spent nine months in Khasi Hills during 1837 suggested this place as a field. Thomas Jones and his wife then arrived at Cherrapunji on 2nd June 1841. In 1843, the residence of the missionaries was shifted to Nongsawlia and here the two converts, **U Amor** and **U Rujon**, were baptized on 18th March 1846. The first church to be established in the North-Eastern hills is the Nongsawlia Church and this church was systematically organized 'on lines of self-management' only until 1849. The Khasi people were opposed to Christianity during the early years when the Welsh Presbyterian mission started their work. Despite this, the mission gradually expanded to other areas of the hills, and even until the 1880s, the Christian community grew very slowly in both the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. The development of both educational system and church organization involving the literate Khasi Christians paved the way for the later growth of this mission in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. It was only in 1890 that the first four Khasis were ordained as preachers. The first theological training centre in The North East was set up at Nongsawlia with only six students in 1887. The church gradually grew and the five presbyteries of the church were formed in 1895 which were grouped together in an Assembly that met annually.

The first full time Christian medical programme

in the region was established by the opening up of a small dispensary at Mawphlang, when Dr. Griffiths arrived from Wales in 1878. The centre was shifted to Sohra in 1981 and after the earthquake of 1897, shifted to a village near Shillong. It was only in 1922 that a large and well equipped Presbyterian hospital was opened up in Shillong. A medical centre was also established at Jowai in the Jaintia Hills. Some mission work was also done in Sylhet and Cachar regions of the plains and Mizoram.

Significant development was also taking place in the work of the American Baptist Mission in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Garos and the Chota-Nagpur tea garden workers of upper Assam were the two Christian groups associated with this mission. They had attempted work among the Nagas of what is today the Tirap district of Arunachal Pradesh as early as 1839-40, which was a part of the Shan mission abandoned in 1841. By the late 1850s, work was started among the Karbis (a tribal people living in the hills near Nagaon) even though there was minimal response. In the 1860s, there was a real breakthrough with reference to conversion with the beginning of the work among the Garos started by the Garo people themselves. Jenkins started a government school for the Garos at Goalpara which was instrumental in preparing for the christian movement among the Garos though the school did not last long. The two students of this school, Omed and Ramhe of Watrepara

village, were baptized in 1863 at Guwahati. They returned to work among their people in 1864 when they were convinced of the value of Christianity for their own people. Ramhe started a school at Damra, and the first Christian Garo village, Rajasimla was established by Umed, who was the first person of the North-East to be ordained and to baptize others. In terms of the number of missionaries stationed and the size of the Christian community, the Tura station established in 1877 became the largest in the American Baptist Assam Mission.

There was also an extensive response to the American Baptist work among the tea garden workers of Upper Assam. The first contacts were made by the Assamese evangelists working out of Sibsagar in the early 1870s. The Naga Hills later became a major centre of Christian movement which started with a visit by Godhula Babu, an Assamese evangelist out of Sibsagar, to the Ao hills in 1871. Edward W. Clark, a missionary, then lived at Molungyimjen (known as Haimong then) in 1876 and later on at the newly formed village at Molungyimsen. Molung was the first mission station in the North East which was not a government station. A second Naga centre was opened up at Kohima in 1880 and the third was established among the Kyong (Lotha) Nagas at Wolha in 1885 (both in the Angami area to the south)

Mizoram and the hill areas of Manipur later

became important centres of the Christian movement due to the work of the Protestant missionaries who started their work in the last decade of the nineteenth century. In 1894, J. Herbert Lorrain and T.W.Savidge came to live among the Mizos. These belonged to the Arthington Aborigine Mission founded by a wealthy but eccentric Englishman named Robert Arthington. This mission did not last long due to the principles involved in this mission and these two missionaries later joined the Baptist Missionary Society and returned to serve under this board in southern Mizoram.

The first Welsh Presbyterian missionary, D.E.Jones accompanied by a Khasi, Rai Bhajur arrived in Aizawl in September 1897 and this was the start of a permanent work. At the end of the following year, another Welsh missionary arrived and D.E.Jones departed from here. The first two Mizo Christians who were baptized in 1899 are Khuma and Khara.

In Manipur it was William Pettigrew, an Englishman, who started the work at Uthruil in the Tangkhul Naga area, north east of Imphal under the auspices of the American Baptist Mission after resigning from the Aborigine Mission. In 1894, he started a school at Imphal which was abandoned. In the new centre, he also started a school which produced the first converts to Christianity. Twelve boys attending the school belonging to both Nagas and Kulis were baptized in 1901. There was a restriction by

the British government for the Christian mission to work in Manipur due to the fear of disturbing the orthodox Hindu Manipuris present there. Another mission permitted by the government to work here on limited basis was the Indo-Burma Thado-Kulu Pioneer Mission established by Wallon Roberts, a Welshman, at the beginning of the twentieth century. This mission worked in a small area on the southern border of Mizoram.

The other important Christian groups which began work in the north-east were the Anglicans, Lutherans and Roman Catholics. Robert Brand, a chaplain of the Anglican (Church of England now called Church of North India) resided at Guwahati in 1844 to cater to the spiritual needs of the European members of their denomination. No missionaries were sent to this region but only regular chaplains were appointed. There was a conflict at first with the American Baptist missionaries as each would attempt to take away members from the churches of the other and a more cooperative spirit later developed. Sydney Endle arrived in 1864 in Tezpur as the first tea-garden chaplain. There were a few Kachari converts, and the attempts at missionary work among the Padams of Arunachal Pradesh were unsuccessful.

The Lutheran Santhal Mission of Bengal established in the 1870 a colony in Goalpara district and the neighbouring Boros were evangelised. The primary

relationships of this community were with the churches in Bengal rather than with other Christian groups in Assam. Another Gossner (Evangelical) Lutheran Church of Chotanagpur also followed its members to the Assam tea gardens and organized them into churches.

The Khasi and Jaintia Hills Unitarian Union originated in this period. It was a small and interesting group started by Hajon Kissor Singh, who left the Presbyterian Church and was converted to Unitarianism through correspondence with C.H.A. Dall, an American Unitarian missionary living in Calcutta, introduced to him, through a Bengali member of the Brahmo Samaj residing in Shillong. The first Khasi Unitarian Church was organized at Jowai in 1886 and Hajon continued to espouse Unitarianism until his death in 1923, even after Dall's death. In 1936, an English Unitarian arrived in Shillong named Margaret Barr. She was involved in building up two schools that had already been established in Shillong, and after the Second World War she established a rural centre on the Gandhian model at Kharang village (midway between Shillong and Jowai) and resided there in 1951. Her effort to run something of a basic theological training programme was unsuccessful, and so a senior Basic school was established there.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Roman Catholics started their work among the North-eastern

tribes. Their interest in Assam was associated with attempts to find an easy route to Tibet. The Paris Foreign Mission Society thought that Assam would provide an alternative route. Three missionaries, arrived at Guwahati, in June 1850, and these were Fathers Julien Rabou, Nicholas Michael Krick and Louis-Marie-Noel Bernard. Krick made the most lasting contribution through his written account of the people of Arunachal Pradesh. The first Catholic priest assigned specifically for service in Assam was Father Jacopo Broy, an Italian under the charge of the foreign Missionaries of Milan. He served in the plains of Assam for eighteen years and wanted to start his work in Shillong, which he could not do so. Proper Catholic missionary work in North-east started from the creation of the Prefecture Apostolic of Assam, Bhutan and Manipur in 1889, which was made the responsibility of a young German order, the Society of the Divine Saviour or Salvatorians. Four Salvatorians arrived in Shillong in February 1890 under the leadership of Fr. Otto Hopfermueller. The first Khasi Catholic was baptized in 1891, and in 1892 a station was opened at Raliang (Jaintia Hills). The work spread gradually in the Khasi and Jaintia hills and work among the Chota Nagpuris and other tribals working in the tea gardens of Upper Assam was also started, and even in 1900, the Catholics in northeast was very small in number.

Fredrick S. Downs wrote that,

By the end of nineteenth century, Christianity has gained at least a foothold in most areas of north-east, with the exceptions of Tripura where missionary work was not permitted until the 1930s and Arunachal Pradesh where the Christian movement did not really begin until the post-Independence period. (Downs, 1992: p.94).

During the twentieth century, Christianity began to spread throughout the whole North-Eastern region and Christian followers vary in strength from tribe to tribe, and institutional development i.e., self governing ecclesiastical structures and setting up of advanced educational and medical facilities also developed. Mizoram is a state where Christianity grew rapidly during this period due to a series of revival movements. The Lutheran Pioneer Mission, and independent mission led by Reginald A. Lorrain among the Mara peoples (living to the south of Mizoram) also established its own denomination-The Mara Independent Evangelical Church.

The significant growth of the Christian community in Nagaland also took place the First World War. The First World War was also a turning point for the Roman Catholic Church, where the members were found in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and Shillong had become an important centre of work and where beginnings were made for what was to become highly influential educational work-an industrial

school (1907), St. Anthony's College (1908), a girl's school opened by the Salvatorian nun in Shillong in 1910 as well as a convent for sisters, Catechist-Missionaries of the Immaculate Conception at Guwahati were set up. As the Salvatorians were of the German order, they were eventually repatriated by the then British government when the First World War started and were not permitted to resume work in India even after the war. For six years (1915 - 1921) the work in Assam was entrusted under the care of Fr. Paul Lefevre and a small company of Belgian Jesuits from Bengal. In 1921, the Holy See entrusted the Assam mission to the Selesians and Don Bosco, which emphasized on education for children of the poor and was interested in missionary work. On 13th Jan. 1922, eleven missionaries (six priests and five lay brothers) arrive in Shillong to take charge of the Prefecture Apostolic of Assam under the leadership of Fr. Louis Mathias. New stations and institutions were established and the work was taken up with great zeal. In 1923, the Selesian Sisters (the Daughters of Mary Help of Christian) sent their first missionaries to work in Guwahati. The Selesians made remarkable progress and the Catholic community grew in number as the years passed on. The Prefecture of Assam was made a Diocese in 1934 and Fr. Mathias Hermanns was the first consecrated Catholic Bishop of Assam.

In the Kuli village of Senvawn (Manipur) a small church of the Indo-Burma Thado-Kuli Pioneer Mission was

established(1910). The name of the mission in Manipur was later changed to North-East India General Mission in 1919. The Mizo Presbyterians later undertook work of their own in Manipur and formed a Synod there.

In the period following the First World war there was the development of indigeneous ecclesiastical structures and indigeneous bodies took over the responsibilities assumed by mission organisations in the past. The Welsh Mission seems to take the gradual turning over of responsibilities to the Indian Church structures that were being developed more seriously, though all the Protestant missions talked about it. At the time of the celebration of the centenary of the arrival of the first Welsh missionaries (1941), the responsibility was transferred to the Presbyterian Church in North-East India (PCNEL) by the mission, except the medical institutions as they would be too expensive for the Church to maintain. This too was given over to the Church at the Synod level after independence. The American Baptists in 1950 formed the Council of Baptist Churches in North east India (CBCNEI) after several name changes, to take over the property and function of the mission, though it did not have as much centralized authority as the Assembly of the PCNEI. Such development took place among the smaller Protestant denominations, though a few, like the Assam Diocese of the Anglican Church and the Gossner Evangelical

Lutheran Churches had their major centres outside this region. The Roman Catholic churches of North-east India were also not autonomous within the region. The development of indigenous and autonomous structures take different forms among Protestants than among Roman Catholics, due to the difference in ecclesiastical organization.

The Protestant Missions always encouraged the assumption of responsibility by local Christians at the congregational level which lead to financially self-supporting local congregations by 1940. The Welsh Mission founded at Cherrapunji (1887) the first theological Seminary specifically for the training of clergy. Theological education at an advanced level was emphasized after the second World War and Independence. In 1950, the CRFNEI established a theological college at Jorhat known as the Eastern Theological College. At Aizawl (Mizoram) a third Protestant theological college was established in the 1960s and the Clark Theological College was established in the Ao area of Nagaland in 1972. The Bible schools in Manipur and Nagaland of the Baptist churches were upgraded to the college level recently.

Meanwhile, the Roman Catholics could draw upon a large missionary force and well qualified priests of their order (Salesians) from South India, mainly Kerala, after 1948. Minor seminaries were established in several diocese. A major seminary, Our Lady's House was established at

Shillong in 1925 which was destroyed by a fire in 1936. The Sacred Heart Theological College was established in 1938 for providing theological training for Salesians, Christ King Major Seminary was established for philosophy students in 1970, and the Oriens Theological College in 1979 for training diocesan seminarians. The Missionary Sisters of Mary Help of Christians, an order for Indian women was established in 1942, and became increasingly important as a source of staff for the church's institutions and social programme.

The period after the second World War saw more indigenization of church leadership in the region and there was a proliferation of new missions and sectarian groups like the Australian Baptist Mission, the General Conference Baptist Mission, the Baptist Mid-Mission and the Salvation Army, and sectarian groups like the Seventh Day Adventists, Pentecostals like those related to the Assemblies of God and the United Pentecostal Church, other indigenous Protestant churches also sprung up like the Church of God (1902) and many of the small 'revival' churches of Mizoram, Manipur and Nagaland emerged and grew.

Attitude of the British administrators towards Christianity

Christian missions and the Christian church benefitted from the British administrators as their growth and expansion were related to the advent and consolidation of British rule. Even though the British administrators

were neutral in religious matters, yet there were many ways in which highly placed British representatives assisted Christian missions. The purpose of the missionaries was propagate the Gospel and not to be agents of the colonial power. According to Downs,

Christian missions and government, were there for their own purpose, each found the other useful. Government found the missions useful, or so they hoped, in pacifying the hill tribes and providing education at minimal cost to itself: the mission found the government useful in underwriting in many cases, their educational work and in providing security for both themselves and their converts. ...Thus the relationship between the missions and the government can best be described as cooperation in certain limited areas of mutual coincidence of interests. In other areas there was often conflict between the two .(Downs, 1992:30,31)

Mathew Mutumana is also of the same view. To quote him:

It was never the policy of the British Government to help the missionaries in their activities of preaching the Gospel in Assam. The Government had no interest in that matter and was not

willing to cause any disturbance in Assam on account of religion. If some missionaries had succeeded in getting some help from the British officials, it was not the result of any political policy towards the missions, but due to personal relationships to a particular officer belonging to a church. But whenever the British found it profitable to use churches as a factor of disciplining and educating their rather wild subjects in Assam, there they came forward to be guardian of Christian principles and the protector of Christianity donating land to the mission and giving them contributions very generously (Muttumana, 1984:9)

Contributions of Christianity:

The Christian movement in north east India developed first in those areas where the introduction of British administration brought about significant socio-cultural changes in life in Meghalaya. Christianity also brought the skills necessary for capable and efficient functioning within the new society, thus enabling the political and economic power to be under the local hands. It contributed a lot to adjusting the tribal in the traumatic situation of change. It played a vital role in the North-east India politics, and greatly influenced the process of social change which is far greater than in other

parts of the country. It helps the people to preserve their tribal identity in the face of perceived new threat of assimilation into the Hindu society as the lowest level of the socio-ritual hierarchy.

The Protestant nineteenth century evangelicalism emphasized upon Christianity as a way of life; and the doctrines were associated with a transformed life. Character building, which is purified, sanctified and it helped in the adoption of new lifestyle by emphasizing on the maintenance of certain standards of conduct of the Church members. Alcoholism was a social problem which Christianity was opposed to and ^{so} too opposed the government policies for supporting this trade. Hygiene was introduced and personal cleanliness and hygienic living conditions emphasized, decency in dress adopted, and the position of women raised by encouraging them to enter into educational institutions. Christianity made the Christian family relationships more egalitarian for the benefit of both husband and wife.

The establishment of orphanages, undertaking of relief work and village development, hospitals, dispensaries, hostels, medical service and education were also the works and contributions of Christianity to these hills.

Another important contribution was the contribution to the development of tribal identity and

unity.

To quote Downs :

the fact remains that the recovery of literacy would have had considerable impact upon their self-image. They were restored to a state of civilization that they had once had, but had subsequently lost. (1992:195).

The education of the tribal people was significantly contributed by Christianity. Educational facilities provided by the Christian missionaries in Meghalaya helped the indigeneous tribal folk in their adjustment to the new situation that prevailed in the nineteenth centuries. Alexander Lish, the first missionary serving in North-east India opened up a school at Sohra, and the Welsh missionaries also became involved in establishing schools whenever a new station was opened. So too are the Roman Catholics.

Education enabled them to read in their own language; and it drew the children to schools having trained native teachers. It helped in educating the tribal people and enabled them to break down superstitions which resulted in the emergence of new beliefs. and provided Christian institution and access to Christian Scripture and literature to build up the indigeneous Christian

community. The impact of modern education is greater among these people with a relatively unsophisticated background and with no literary tradition; and at a time when the British administration posed a greater threat to their culture, social, economic and political institution.

To quote R.K. Roy Burman on the role of Christianity :

In many areas, Christianity appears to have served the role of filling up the intellectual and spiritual vacuum caused by the growing scepticism among the tribal population, about their traditional faith and world-view. It has also tended to serve as the vehicle for unification of the isolated small communities into a larger entity.....the tribal communities are not always the tools of the foreign missionaries. that they are made out to be. (Roy Burman, 1972:80).

D.R. Manjekar opines that humanistic religion and modern civilization in place of the primitive way of life was brought about by the Christian missionaries. They also inculcated in the tribal population the Western and ^{Christian} concepts of life and ethics (Manjekar, 1972:111).

S.M. Dubey shows that education is a potent agent

for the social and psychological changes and its influence on productivity and economic development. There is a relationship between education and economic development and education is an investment, helping the socializing process and development of human personality, social mobility, occupational change and the rise of professions.

To quote Dubey:

An analysis of the socio-cultural life of these tribes will show that there is a ^{positive correlation between} conversion to Christianity, high percentage of literacy and social change and modernization. The British Administration, Christianity and modern education arrived simultaneously in the first quarter of the 19th century in the North east India. (Dubey, 1972:281).

A.P.Sinha also agrees that education is a contribution of the Christian to these hill tribals, which brought social and economic advancement. Commenting on 'Politics and Economic Development in the Hill Districts of Assam' he wrote:

Compared to their neighbours on the plains, the people in the Hill Districts are more change oriented. They are ready to make experiments on alternate ways of life or ^{risk Christianity and the high incidence} with economic of education have liberalized their attitude.

towards change. (Sinha, 1972: 350).

G. Chattopadhyay also wrote:

As a matter of fact, if we closely examine the tribal values, we may even find that they are more suited to the industrial organisations, given education and training, than the Hindus or the Muslims. The tribals do not have taboo on female labour. They do not have any negative values on working with machines or on craftsmanship. (Chattopadhyay, 1971:491).

The report of the study group for tribal Labour (National Commission on Labour, Delhi, 1969, pp. 5-6) also tells us that the tribal ethics is free from the greed for accumulation of wealth and that the tribal approach to material acquisition is moral and rational.

B. Pallem has analysed the continuity and change of the socio-political system of the Jaintia tribes and has written that the people believed in religious toleration and have not embraced Hinduism or Islam though they have mixed with them for hundreds of years. Christianity is accepted by them 'as they choose' to accept any religion with a least resistance to their old and sometimes forgotten tribal religion, and Christianity is one of such religion.' (Pallem. 1972:360).

CHAPTER IV

WEBER'S THESIS ON PROTESTANT ETHIC AND THE SPRIT OF CAPITALISM

Max Weber, who was a trained jurist and professor at Freiburg, Heidelberg and Munich, wrote on various subjects—ancient agrarian history, condition of the rural populations of Prussia, methodology of social sciences and sociology of religion. Travelling widely, he was also interested in contemporary political and social movements. It was at the age of 56, in 1920, that he died in Munich. His prolonged ill-health and premature death hindered him from giving the final revision to many of his writings, and his collected works were published posthumously.

The discussion provoked by **The Protestant Ethic and the sprit of Capitalism** has not since diminished, as the questions ~~he~~ raised possess a universal significance, and both method and conclusions of his essay are important. It threw a brilliant light on this specific field explored, and suggested new approach to a range of problems of permanent interest to all who reflect on the deeper issues of modern society.

R.H. Tawney in the foreword to his translated essay, opined that the fundamental and simple question Weber attempts to answer is that of the psychological conditions which made possible the development of capitalist

civilization. To quote Tawney :

Capitalism, in the sense of great individual undertakings, involving the control of large financial resources, and yielding riches to their master as a result of speculation, money-lending, commercial enterprise, buccaneering and war, is as old as history. Capitalism, as an economic system, resting on the organisation of legally free wage-earners, for the purpose of pecuniary profit, by the owner of capital or his agents, and setting its stamp on every aspect of society, is a modern phenomenon. (Weber, 1930; 1974 : 1(b) and (c)).

Capitalism, a type of economic system is a successful revolution in many countries of the world today. After centuries of struggle, its title was finally established as it involved a code of economic conduct and a system of human relations sharply at variance with venerable conventions, accepted schemes of social ethics, and the law of the church and of most European states. The emergence of this form of economic enterprise was the result of changes in the character of economic environment it is used. Weber wrote :

The notion that our rationalistic and capitalistic age is characterised by a stronger 'economic' interest than other periods is childish. The moving spirits of modern capitalism are not possessed of a stronger economic impulse than, for example, an Oriental trader. The unchaining of the economic interest, merely as such, has produced only irrational results: such men as Cortes and Pizarro, who were, perhaps, its strongest embodiment, were far from having an idea of a rationalistic economic life. (Quoted in Weber 1930/1974: 11d) & (c)).

"Rationalism" as used by Weber is a term to describe an economic system based not on custom or tradition, but on the deliberate and systematic adjustment of economic means to the attainment of the objective of pecuniary profit. According to him, this movement which has their source in the religious revolution of the sixteenth century.

The new conception of religion taught the pioneers of the modern economic order to regard the pursuit of wealth, as not merely an advantage, but a duty. It is

not the strength of the motive of economic self-interest that is significant, but the change of moral standards. The force producing it was the creed associated with the name of Calvin, and thus, the social counterpart of Calvinist theology was capitalism.

To confirm his theory, Weber's central idea was expressed in the characteristic phrase of a "calling". This meant that the state of life is set by Heaven to the individual, and to rebel against it was considered impious by most medieval theologians including Luther.

While for a Calvinist, it is not a condition in which the individual is born, but a strenuous and exacting enterprise to be chosen by himself and to be pursued with a sense of religious responsibility. Labour is considered as a spiritual end and not merely an economic means; and covetousness less formidable menace to the soul than sloth. The virtues incumbent on the elect, diligence, thrift, sobriety and prudence; are the most reliable passport to commercial prosperity. The pursuit of wealth is now considered and welcomed as an ally of religion.

He suggests that if capitalism begins as the practical idealism of the aspiring bourgeoisie, it will end as an orgy of materialism. He also emphasized the connection between religious radicalism and economic progress. His essay was confined to the part played by

religious movements in creating conditions favourable for the growth of a new type of economic civilization. But recent studies of the development of economic thought suggest that the change of opinion on economic ethics ascribed to Calvinism was by no means confined to it, but was part of a general intellectual movement. This was reflected in the outlook of Catholic as well as of Protestant writers.

Calvinist teaching also varied widely in time and space with difference of economic condition, social tradition and political environment. The second, individualistic phase of Calvinism rather than the remorseless rigours of Calvin himself, may, according to Tawney, plausibly be held to have affinities with the spirit of capitalism.

Introducing The Protestant Ethic and the spirit of Capitalism, Weber has written that capitalism is the most fateful force in our modern life. The impulse for unlimited greed for gain is common in all people, times and places, whenever the objective possibility of it is or has been given. But "capitalistic economic action" is "one which rests on the expectation of profit by the utilization of opportunities for exchange, that is on (formally) peaceful chances of profit" (Weber, 1930/1974 : 17) and capitalistic acquisition is rationally pursued.

The capitalistic enterprise and the capitalistic entrepreneurs, not only as occasional but as regular entrepreneurs, are very old and widespread. Rational industrial organization where there is a separation of business from household; and rational book-keeping, are peculiar to western capitalism and this is influenced by the development of technical possibilities and modern science, rational structures of law and administration, and rational economic conduct.

Religious affiliation and social stratification

Glancing at the occupational statistics of any country Weber pointed out that the findings showed the presence of an overwhelmingly Protestant business leaders and owners of capital, as well as the higher grades of skilled labour and even more the higher technically and commercially trained personnel of modern enterprise.

This may be explained in terms of historical circumstances extending far back into the past, but to a certain extent the religious affiliation appear to be the result of them which involves previous ownership of capital and an expensive education. Weber in this essay investigated the peculiarities that the religious groups have which might have resulted in such economic behaviour in western societies.

In attempting to formulate the difference

of the Protestant and Catholic attitudes towards economic life, Sombart wrote that the Catholic is quieter, having less of the acquisitive impulse and prefers a life of the greatest possible security, even with a smaller income, to a life of risk and excitement, even though it may bring the chance of gaining honour and riches. He also opined that the Protestant prefers to eat well while the Catholic prefers to sleep undisturbed. (Weber, 1930/1974 :40-41).

To Weber, those vague ideas as the alleged other-worldliness of Catholicism, the alleged materialistic joy of living as Protestants and others like them, accomplished nothing for his purpose. Not all the Protestant denominations seem to have an equally strong influence in promoting the development of the spirit of capitalism.

The Spirit of Capitalism

Weber has pointed out certain difficulties in defining "the spirit of capitalism" and the final and definitive concept comes at the end of the investigation. According to him.

If any object can be found to which this term can be applied with any understandable meaning, it can only be an historical individual, i.e., a complex of elements associated in historical reality which we unite into conceptual whole

from the standpoint of their cultural significance. (Weber, 1930/1974 : 47).

But Marianne Weber, in his biography wrote:

By economic ethics he meant, as he did in the first study, not ethical and theological theories but the practical impulse toward action that derive from religion. (Weber, 1975 : 331-330).

Time and credit are considered as money, and money is of the prolific, generating nature. These concepts with punctuality, honesty, industry, frugality, justice in all dealings, living according to one's earning and saving, and prudence, is the spirit of capitalism in characteristic fashion, classical purity, free of preconceptions and from all direct relation to religion.

Today's capitalism dominates economic life. It educates and selects the economic subjects which it needs through a process of economic survival of the fittest. In order that a manner of life so well adapted to its peculiarities be selected and dominates, it should originate as a way of life common to whole group of men, according to him.

Provisionally, the expression spirit of

(modern) capitalism is used to describe the attitude which seeks profit rationally and systematically, as the capitalistic form of an enterprise and the spirit in which it is run generally stands in some sort of adequate relationship to each other, but not in one of necessary interdependence.

Historical facts justified that the attitude of mind has on one hand found its most suitable expression in capitalistic enterprise, while on the other, the enterprise has derived its most suitable motive force from the spirit of capitalism. The question of the motive forces is a question of the origin of the spirit of capitalism. The capitalistic system needs the devotion to the calling of making money, a well suited attitude towards material goods, so intimately bound up with the conditions of survival in the economic struggle for existence.

The need for support of any of any religious forces is no longer felt nowadays. The commercial and ^{social} interests then tend to determine men's opinions and attitudes in such circumstances, and adaptation to the condition of capitalistic success is necessary. As modern capitalism has become dominant, and emancipated from its old supports, the development of its spirit can be understood as part of the development of rationalism as a whole.

Luther's conception of the calling

The religious conception -calling; that of a task set by God, has existed for all predominantly Protestant groups; its modern meaning comes from the Biblical translation through the spirit of the translator. The valuation of the fulfilment of duty in worldly affairs as the highest form which the moral activity of the individual could assume, which gave every -day worldly activity a religious significance, is a product of the Reformation.

The calling is that the only way of living acceptable to God is through the fulfilment of the obligations imposed upon the individual by his position in the world. Luther developed this concept in the course of the first decade of his activity as a reformer.

The Lutheran view of Christianity is sharply differentiated from that of the Roman Catholicism of his time. The three ideas - the principles of gratuity, faith and God's Word are the foundation of Protestantism.

During Luther's time the word "vocation" meant vocation to priesthood or religious life. He was against such a concept, and believed that withdrawal from the world is un-scriptural. It was here that he struck at the roots of mediaeval monasticism.

Luther's concept of calling is traditionalistic. His calling is something which men has to accept as a divine ordinance, to which he must adapt

himself. This aspect outweighed the other idea which was also present, that work in a calling was a , or, rather the, task set by God.

Though the moral emphasis on and the religious sanction of organized worldly labour in a calling was mightily increased, yet, Luther cannot be claimed for the spirit of capitalism in the sense Weber used, as there was a stronger emphasis on the idea of providence. The only ethical result was negative as worldly duties were no longer subordinate to ascetic ones, and obedience to authority and acceptance of things as they were, were preached.

But Weber also opines that even the Lutheran form of the renewal of the religious life may had some practical significance for the objects of his investigation. But significance evidently cannot be derived directly from its attitude to worldly activity or not so easily grasped as in the connection with other branches of Protestantism.

To quote Robert M. Brown :

What the Reformers did was to cut through that distinction (between religious and lay) and assert that one's calling could be fulfilled in any kind of occupation and not just in a specific "sacred" one. As Luther put it, a shoemaker can serve God at his bench just as

fully as the priest does at the altar... Thus the "sacredness of the secular"... was reaffirmed. One's response to God in love could be carried out wherever one was. All of life was invested with meaning, and all work was invested with dignity. (quoted in Scott, William A., 1971: 25, 26).

The Religious foundation of worldly asceticism:

The four principal forms of ascetic Protestantism are (1) Calvinism, (2) Pietism, (3) Methodism and (4) the sects growing out of the Baptist movement according to Weber. The types of moral conduct which interested him might be found in a similar manner among the adherents of the various denominations derived from any of these four sources or a combination of several of them. Similar ethical maxims may be correlated with very different dogmatic foundations.

The interest of the study is on the influence of those psychological sanctions which originating in religious belief, and the practice of religion gave a direction to practical conduct and held the individual to it. These are derived from the peculiarities of the religious ideas behind them.

Calvinism

Calvinism has the doctrine of predestination as its most characteristic dogma. For Luther, religion is

essentially man - centred and his thinking about God reflects anthropocentrism. It is what God does for man that is important while for Calvin all is God and his theology is radically theocentric. The importance lies in man's learning of God's plan for the world and then fitting himself to the divine scheme of things. Man exists for God and the supreme act of religion for man is to accept this and submit himself humbly to the absolute sovereignty of the all Holy God.

The three basic ideas of Calvinism are : the absolute sovereignty of God; all else exists for God's glory and the doctrine of predestination. God is sovereign and the vision of God reflects the Old rather than the New Testament. Man cannot do anything to alter His will and what happens in His creation happens because He wills it so. For man, only the knowledge of God has any worth; which leads to three basic religious attitudes - humble adoration before the mystery and sovereignty of God, acceptance of man's own significance and the total dedication to manifesting His glory.

God is inexpressible in human terms and to know Him we have to turn to His revelation - His Word. He is the beginning and end of His creations as all things that exist come from Him and they have an end on Him, and that for His own purpose God acts. Man must only acknowledge that His existence is only for God's glory and for reflecting the

purpose for which God created him.

As for predestination, there is a belief that everything man does and his final destiny is according to what God has foreordained. To God alone who is sovereign rest the decision who He will save and who will be lost in terms of His own will and that decree is irreversible. Even suggesting man's action whether good or evil can affect His will is regarded as blasphemy against His absolute sovereignty. To him God has not chosen to reveal how the decree is executed, how mercy and justice are served in its execution. Man is only to accept both the fact and the mystery behind this which shows his reverence to God's word.

The world exists to glorify God and the elected Christian is to increase this glory of God by fulfilling His commandments to the best of his ability. God wills that the social life be organized according to His commandments and thus He requires social achievement of the Christian which is shared by labour in a calling which serves the mundance life of the community. Brotherly love is practised for God's glory and this is expressed in the fulfillment of the daily tasks; and in the process this fulfillment assumes a peculiarly objective and impersonal character, that of service in the interest of the rational organization of the social environment. Hence, labour in the service of impersonal social appeared to promote the glory of God and

willed by Him.

The individual is placed entirely on his own responsibility in religious matters. Here lies the source of the utilitarian character of the Calvinistic ethic; and important peculiarities of the Calvinistic idea of the calling were derived from this same source.

Pietism

The doctrine of predestination, as historically a starting point of the ascetic movement also called Pietism. There is a deep distrust of the Church of the theologians and it wished to make the invisible Church of the elect visible on earth. The members attempted to live in a life free from all worldly temptations and dictated by God in all its detail, to be certain of their own rebirth by external signs manifested in their daily conduct.

The German Pietism led away from the doctrine of predestination. Pietism to it simply meant the penetration of methodologically controlled and supervised, thus of asectic, conduct into the non-Calvinistic denomination. Grace is offered to all, either once for everyone at a definite moment in his life or at some moment for the last time.

Comparing Calvinism and Pietism the former "appears to be more closely related to the hard legalism and the active enterprise of bourgeois capitalistic entrepreneurs, while the purely emotional form of Pietism

is a "religious dilettantism for the leisure classes".
(Weber, 1930/1974 : 139).

Metho dism

It is a combination of an emotional but still ascetic type of religions with increasing indifference to or repudiation of the dogmatic basis of Calvinistic asceticism. The methodical and systematic conduct of the adherents is its characteristic, and they believed in the undeserved possession of divine grace and the immediate consciousness of justification, forgiveness and sanctification.

Works are not the cause but the means of knowing one's state of grace when performed solely for the glory of God. The feeling of grace and righteous conduct are also necessary. This added nothing new to the concept of calling.

The Baptist Sects

The Baptists, Mennonites and Quakers formed a second independent source of Protestant asceticism. The ethics of these religious group rest upon a basis differing in principle from the Calvinistic doctrine. The religious community (sect) is a community of personal believers of the reborn only.

The intensity of interest in economic occupations was considerably increased by factors such as the refusal to accept office in the service of the state,

originated as a religious duty following from the repudiation of everything worldly; the invincible antagonism to any sort of aristocratic way of life; the consequence of the prohibition of all idolatry of the flesh and their unpolitical or even anti-political principles. The shrewd and conscientious rationality of the Baptist conduct was forced into non-political callings.

The doctrine of salvation which attributes immense importance to the role of conscience as the revelation of God to the individual also gave their conduct in worldly callings a character which was of the greatest significance to the development of the spirit of capitalism. The maxim "honesty is the best policy" is adopted by them.

Asceticism and the spirit of capitalism

Writings derived from ministerial practice were examined by Weber to understand the connection between the fundamental religious ideas of ascetic Protestantism and its maxims for everyday economic conduct. Ascetic Protestantism was treated as a single whole.

Richard Baxter, a writer on Puritan ethics, discussed wealth and its acquisition as of great danger. The moral objection to this lies in the distraction from the pursuit of a righteous life as the enjoyment of wealth leads to idleness and temptations of the flesh. To be certain of one's own state of grace, man on this earth,

must do the works and only those activity serving to increase God's glory, according to the definite manifestations of His Will, as the saints everlasting rest is in the next world.

Thus waste of time through sociability, idleness, luxury and even sleep which is more than necessary for health is the deadliest sin. Time is infinitely valuable as every time lost is lost to labour for the glory of God. Those who are not diligent in their calling have no time for God when the occasion demands it according to Barler.

Hard, continuous bodily or mental labour is preached. Labour is seen as an approved ascetic technique as a specific defence against the temptations of the unclean life, and it came to be considered in itself the end of life, ordained as such by God. The symptom of the lack of grace is the unwillingness to work.

There is a difference from mediaeval view-points here as labour is viewed only as a necessary natural rationale for the maintenance of individual and community. Thomas Aquinas interpreted the division of labour and occupations in society, among others, as a direct consequence of the divine scheme of things. It is a religious duty for the Lutheran to preserve in the place he was placed and within the limits which God has assigned to him. The world had to be accepted as it was, and in

Luther's realm of ideas, the ethical principles for the reform of the world could not be found.

But in the Puritan view, the providential purpose of the division of labour is to be known by its fruits - that of utility, and there is a systematic, methodical character of worldly asceticism. The Quaker ethic too demands rational labour in a calling. Wealth and its acquisition, thus, as a performance of duty in a calling, is morally permissible and actually enjoined. Wishing to be poor is objectionable as a glorification of works and derogatory to the glory to God, while begging, on the part of one able to work, is a sin of slothfulness and a violation of the ^{of} duty/brotherly love.

Therefore, Puritanism carried the ethos of the rationalization of capital and labour. Their belief that they were God's chosen people saw in them a great renaissance and the thankfulness for one's own perfection by God's grace penetrated the attitude toward life of the Puritan middle class which shaped the formalistic, hard and correct character peculiar to the men of that heroic age of capitalism.

Man as a trustee of the goods coming to him through God's grace must give an account of everything entrusted to him; and as such, possession is also for the purpose of serving the glory of God and not for one's enjoyment. Greater the possessions heavier is the ^{responsibility} for

holding them undiminished for the glory of God and increasing them by restless effort. It was in the ethic of ascetic Protestantism that a consistent ethical foundation was first found which is that a consistent ethical foundation was first found which is significant for the development of capitalism.

Asceticism condemned dishonesty, impulsive avarice, covetousness and mammonism as the pursuit of riches for their own sake. It looked upon the pursuit of wealth as an end in itself as highly reprehensible, but the attainment of it as a fruit of labour in a calling as a sign of God's blessing. The accumulation of capital through ascetic compulsion to save is thus, inevitable; when the limitation of consumption is combined with this release of acquisitive activity. The Puritan outlook also influenced and favoured the development of a rational bourgeois economic life.

The idea, that faithful labour, even at low wages, on the part of those whom life offers no other opportunities, is highly pleasing to God - the conception of this labour as a calling also has an effective force to affect the productivity of labour in the capitalistic sense of the word. But with capitalism being victorious, the religious roots die out slowly and pass over gradually into sober virtues which give way to utilitarian worldliness.

S.N.Eisenstadt writes that to understand the core of Weber's thesis, it is worthwhile to survey briefly

some of the major stages of the controversy grown around it. Broadly, there are two types of arguments corresponding to some extent with the chronological stages in the argument's development.

The first dealt with the direct analysis of the alleged direct causal connection between Protestant Calvinist ethic on the one hand and the development of capitalism on the other.

While some stressed that most of the initial Calvinist communities did not favour the development of a new, more autonomous economic orientations or organizations because of their conservative and restrictive character with regard to such activity, others stressed that the first great upsurges of capitalism occurred in pre-Reformation Catholic Europe. There are those who cast doubt on the psychological derivatives of the idea of predestination in motivating worldly economic activity, other doubted the relevance of any aspect of the Calvinist religion for the development of modern economic structure and activities.

On the other hand, there are those who pointed to the different aspects of the Calvinist "Weltanschauung" that might have facilitated capitalistic development. Others attributed the disposition of Protestantism to various aspects of modern world - economic, scientific or political - to the exigencies of the wars of religion and

the Counter Reformation.

Some attributed Protestant's congruity with the modern world to its indirect impact on the over-all institutional structure of those countries in the direction of pluralism and tolerance. Others believe that the Protestant participation in capitalistic society was a later development, perhaps symptomatic of its adjustment to a more pluralistic, tolerant, semisecularized world and of the decline of its own strong religious commitments.

Thus, we find an ambivalent attitude toward Weber's thesis in almost all the criticisms of this state of controversy. On one hand, we find a critique of the alleged direct relationship between the rise of Protestantism and the development of economic activities which Weber described in their concrete European and American settings. On the other hand, most of these critics admitted that there is something in the Weberian thesis despite nothing. They acknowledge, in one way or the other, the kernel of truth in Weber's thesis without exactly defining it.

Lisenstadt opines that Weber's work is not direct religious injunctions about different types of economic behaviour, but on those broader attitudes inherent in the ethos of each which influence and direct economic motives and activities. To him the transformative capacity "means" the capacity to legitimize, in religious or

ideological terms, the development of new motivations, activities and institutions which were not encompassed by their original impulses and views. (Eisenstadt, 1968:10).

In Protestantism is the nature of a given religion that creates such a transformative potential, inferred from several aspects of its basic religious and ethical outlook - the strong combination of 'this-worldliness' and transcendentalism, the strong emphasis on individual activism and responsibility and the direct relationship of the individual to the sacred and to the sacred tradition, as given by many scholars. The directions that such transformative capacities can be effective was the institutional aspect - central symbols, identities and institutions of the political sphere; and modern institutions-development of new types of roles, role structures, role set and in the motivation required for the adoption and performance of such roles.

The transformative potential of Protestantism had at least three specific economic effects in terms of role development. These are : (a) the definition of new economic roles and new economic goals and collectivities not tied to existing economic or political frameworks. (b) the provision of broader institutional, organizational and legal normative settings which gave the new roles both legitimacy and the necessary resources and frameworks with which their continuous operation was facilitated and (c)

the development of new types of motivation for the understanding of such roles and for identifying with them. These aspects of the development of new roles and role complexes are closely interwoven, yet, distinct, because to some extent at least they may develop to different degrees. (Eisenstadt, 1968: 13).

The conditions under which the transformative capacities of Protestantism (or of other religions) could become "absorbed" or institutionalized, according to Eisenstadt, are the autonomy in the social, cultural and political orders. These are seen in the way in which the new religion took up the elements of autonomy and pluralism and helped recrystallize them in a more differentiated setting. This can vary even within the Protestant countries and groups, though to some ^{minimal} extent, it probably existed in most of them. To quote Eisenstadt :-

The concrete development and institutionalization of such tendencies depended to no small extent on the interaction between the attitudes and influence of the major Protestant groups on one hand and, on the other, the preexisting social structure, especially on the potential openness or flexibility of political and cultural centres and of the broader groups and strata, and on their initial

reaction to religious innovation . (Eisenstadt,
1968: 14).

CHAPTER = V

WEBERIAN THESIS AND THE KHASI SOCIETY

In the foregoing chapter, we have already summarised the Weberian thesis on the Protestant ethic and the spirit of Capitalism. Here, we are going to examine it in the context of the Khasi society.

A locality in Shillong urban area, Jaiaw - the name of the chosen locality - is situated in the Municipality area of the Shillong town falling under the East Khasi Hills District is chosen as the universe for the present study.

The Shillong Municipality covers an area of 10.36 Sq. Kms. according to the 1991 provisional census, of which, Jaiaw locality forms a part of it. This locality covers a large area and it is supervised by four local headmen with different territorial jurisdictions within it. These are :- (1) Jaiaw Lairdom, (2) Jaiaw Shyiap, (3) Jaiaw Pdeng and (4) Jaiaw Langsong, each having its own 'Durbar shnong' or local durbar.

For the purpose of this study, only those sub-localities of Jaiaw which fall under the jurisdiction of the Jaiaw Lairdom Durbar are taken. They consist of the whole of Jaiaw Lairdom, Jaiaw Lumsyntrew, Jaiaw Lumbatemon, Jaiaw Chapel Road, Jaiaw St. Joseph's, Jaiaw Mawbyinna and

part of Jaiaw Lansonalane. The Jaiaw Laitdom Durbar is headed by a headman of this locality who is assisted by many office-bearers .

According to some sources, the name of this particular locality originated from the first settlers of this locality. These settlers migrated from a place near Mairang under the East Khasi Hills district and came to settle here. The name of their original place is called "Laitdom" and that was how this locality got its name.

In the past forty five years or so, this place was covered with forest and was thinly populated, unlike today. The early settlers were poor people who earned their livelihood as animal-bone collectors and grass-cutters. The place was infested with a type of grass locally known as "U traw" used for thatching the roof. Thus, the natural products were utilized as a means of sustaining their livelihood; and there was a great dependence on nature.

With the passage of time, the Khasi-Jaintia Presbyterian Synod Hospital (commonly known as the Robert Hospital) was established in 1922 at Jaiaw. It was only after this and especially after the Second World War, i.e., in 1950, that people started migrating to this area. The development of this locality also took place gradually and today, there are many amenities like medical, educational, transport and communication, water supply, electricity, telephone, recreational and others.

According to the ration-card holders of this locality, as was registered by the local headman, there is a total of nine hundred and eighty seven households. Every eleventh house was served with a questionnaire using random sample method. Out of eighty nine questionnaires served, only seventy five of them were returned.

Respondents 's Profile

Out of the seventy five respondents who returned the questionnaires, forty-six of them are female and the rest (twenty nine) are males. Of the total, 76% are the Khyriam, 2.67% are the Bhois, 8% are the Wars and 13.33% are the Pnars.

Their age-group ranges from fifteen-years of age to eighty years (Table I)

Table I. Age-Group Classification of the Respondents

| Age group | Female | Male | Total |
|-----------|--------|-------|-------|
| 80-70 | 2.67 | - | 2.67 |
| 70-60 | 1.33 | 2.67 | 4.00 |
| 60-50 | 9.33 | 6.67 | 16.00 |
| 50-40 | 16.00 | 12.00 | 28.00 |
| 40-30 | 17.33 | 5.33 | 22.66 |
| 30-20 | 14.67 | 9.33 | 24.00 |
| Below 20 | - | 2.67 | 2.67 |
| N | 46 | 29 | 75 |

Source:- Questionnaire-Survey

The males are represented in nearly all the age-groups except in the ~~age-group~~ of seventy to eighty years. Here, we find that the females have a higher longevity than the males. Both males and females are represented almost equally among those belonging to the age-group of forty to fifty years. The females belonging to the age group of 30-40 years are more in number compared to the males. We find that between 20-50 years, the females are more in number, while the males are more in the age-group of 60-70 years.

This locality is predominantly a Protestant locality. The Presbyterians consist of the majority of the population here, which may be due to the opening of the Robert Hospital in this locality in 1922 and the establishment of the Jaiaw Presbyterian Church. The Presbyterians are also more in number than the other Protestant denominations and Catholics because it was established earlier than others. The Church of God is represented by 15.33%, the Church of Jesus Christ by 2.67% and the Seventh Day Adventist by 1.33%, out of the total seventy five respondents.

As mentioned before, there are many sub-localities or *Kyntoit* in the Jaiaw Laitdom Durbar area. The respondents also naturally hail from one of these sub-localities as shown in table JJ

Table II : Sub-localities of the respondents

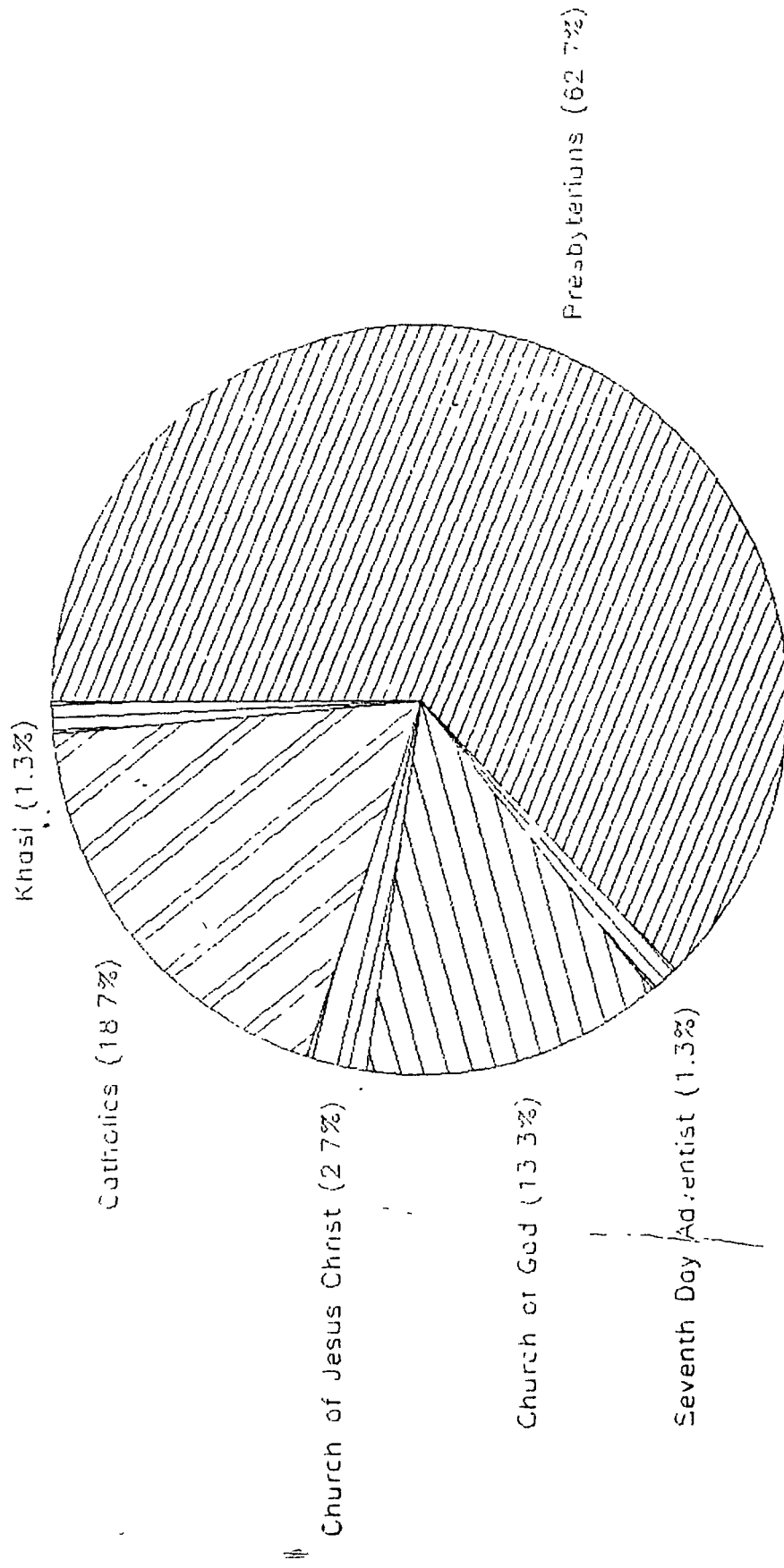
| Jaraw Lairdom Durbar Area | Male (in %) | Female (in %) | Total (in %) |
|---------------------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|
| Jaraw Lairdom | 17.33 | 26.67 | 44.00 |
| Jaraw Lumsyntiew | 1.33 | 8.00 | 9.33 |
| Jaraw Lumbatemon | 4.00 | 6.67 | 10.67 |
| Jaraw Chapel Road | 1.33 | 1.33 | 2.66 |
| Jaraw Lansonajane | 5.33 | 6.67 | 12.00 |
| Jaraw St. Joseph's | 6.67 | 10.67 | 17.34 |
| Jaraw Mawbyinna | 2.67 | 1.33 | 4.00 |
| N | 29 | 46 | 75 |

Source : Questionnaire-survey

Jaraw Lairdom covers the largest area under the Jaraw Lairdom Durbar while the smallest one is the Jaraw Chapel Road. The high concentration of population in the former and the low concentration of the people in the latter seem to depend on the accessibility of the two sub-localities.

Single, married, separateds, divorcees, widows/widowers are also found. 22.67 % are single, out of which 8% are males and 14.67% are females. The married respondents consist of a large percentage, which is 61.33% out of this percentage, 29.33% are males and 32% are females. Among the separated or divorced, we find only 2.67% belonging to the females. 13.33% are either widows or

Fig. 5.1. Religious Distribution of Respondents.



Source : Questionnaire - survey.

widowers - 1.33% are widowers while 12% are widows.

The single females are more in number than the males, and the percentage of widows is also more than that of the widowers. This may be due to the responsibilities that a Khasi woman has to shoulder which is not quite the same for the Khasi male. The marital status may also have a bearing on the industrious nature of the females of the Khasi society.

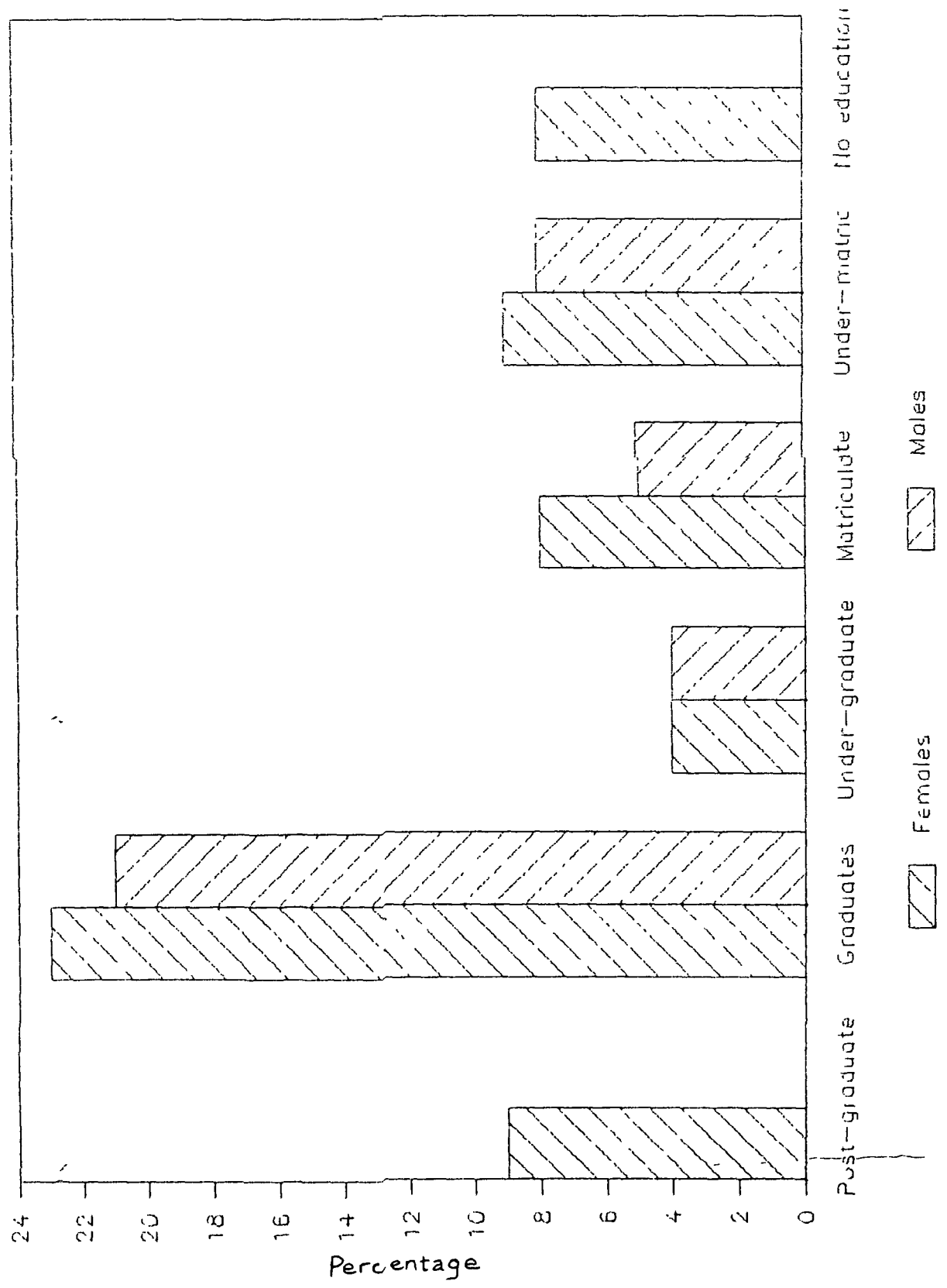
Out of the total 75 respondents, 74 of them (98.67%) are Christians; while only 1 (1.33%) belongs to the traditional Khasi 'niam'. Among the Christians too, we have both the Roman Catholics and the Protestants. The Protestants comprise the largest religious group in this locality-80% of whom belong to different denominations and sects, 18.67% to the Catholic church; while 1.33% belong to the Khasi 'niam'.

The following Pie-Chart shows the religious distribution of the respondents. (Fig.5.1)

This locality is also situated in the Shillong urban area and many amenities like schools, hospital, dispensary and others are found. A Catholic school and many other private schools were opened up here. Educationally, we can say that the people of this locality are highly educated as can be shown in the Bar-Chart (Fig.5.2)

The graduates also consist of M.B.B.S., B.D. and

Fig. 5.2. Sex-wise distribution of education



Source : Questionnaire - Survey.

Diploma holders.

The chart shows that only females are represented among Post-graduates and among those who have no education at all. The presence of females only among those who do not have educational qualification is because they belong to the older generation and in this locality too, the females have a longer longevity.

The under-graduates, and graduates are distributed almost equally between the males and females. The percentage of matriculate and under-matric is more among the females than the males, but the difference is only slight.

The females show a tendency of continuing their academic pursuit as there is opportunity in this state for them. The men tend to opt for technical education or occupation rather than higher academic achievement. Thus, we find only females represented among the Post-graduates.

With regard to occupation, this area seems suitable for transacting business, especially trade and commerce, as it is linked by well-maintained roads and by-lanes. There is no dearth of transport and communication, and we find a high concentration of government servants here while businessmen come next to them.

Table III

Main Occupation

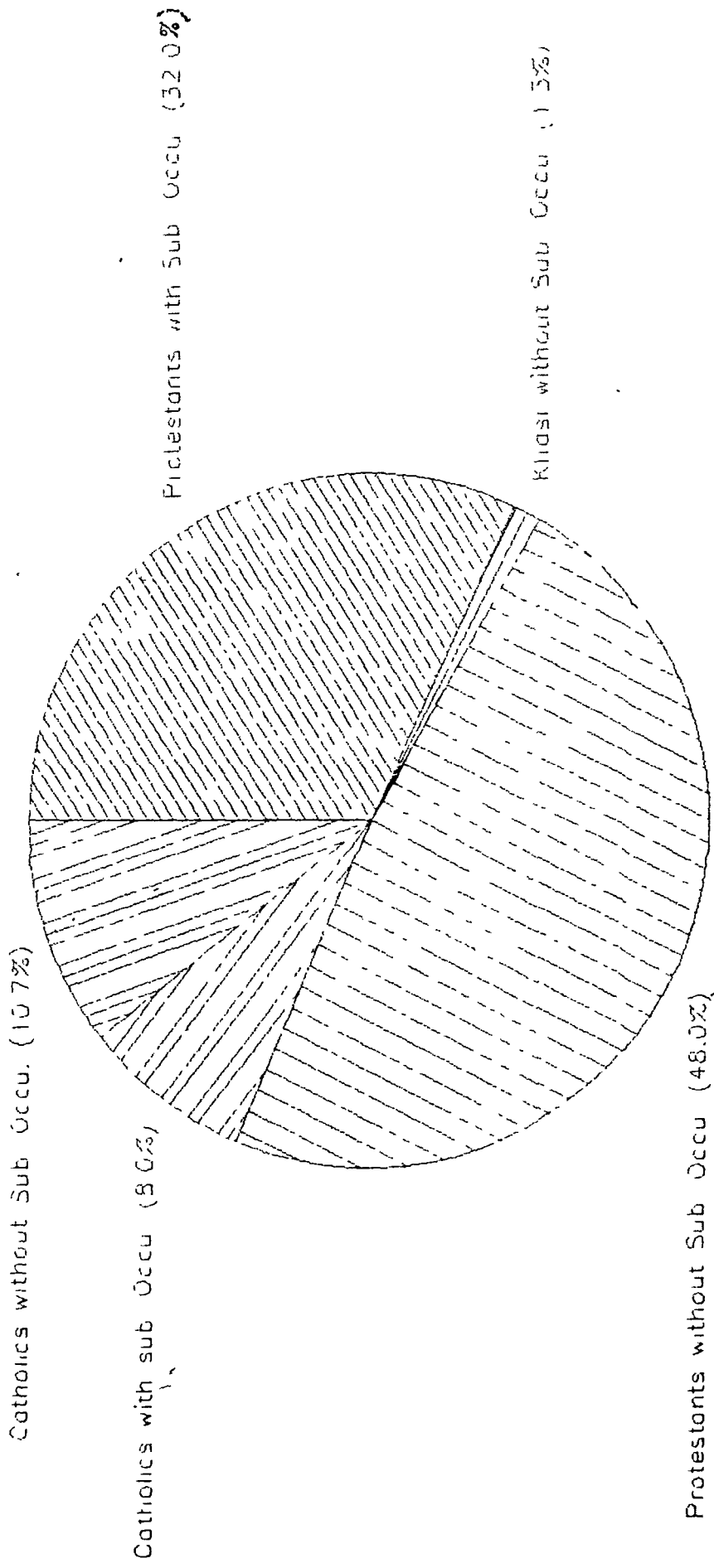
| Types of OCCUPATION | PROTESTANTS | | | | CATHOLICS | NIAM KHASI | TOTAL |
|--------------------------------|-------------|------|------|------|-----------|------------|-------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | | |
| Govt. & Semi Govt. Servants | 38.67 | 5.33 | 2.67 | - | 5.33 | - | 52.00 |
| Business (women) | 10.67 | 8.00 | - | - | 4.00 | 1.33 | 24.00 |
| Manual labourers | 2.67 | - | - | - | 5.33 | - | 8.00 |
| Carpenters | - | - | - | - | 1.33 | - | 1.33 |
| Pastors | 4.00 | - | - | - | - | - | 4.00 |
| Housewives | 6.67 | - | - | - | - | - | 6.67 |
| Students | - | - | - | 1.33 | 2.67 | - | 4.00 |
| N | 47 | 10 | 2 | 1 | 14 | 1 | 75 |

Index = Among the Protestants ;
 1 is for the Presbyterian
 2 is for the Church of God,
 3 is for the Church of Jesus Christ
 4 is for the Seventh Day Adventist.

Source : Questionnaire Survey.

Doctors, retired government servants, college and University teachers, school teachers and all types of government servants are included in the class of government and semi-government servants. More than half of the total respondents fall under this class as people prefer the secure and easily available government service to the risk involving business. Others who lack the educational

Fig. 5.3. Distribution of Subsidiary Occupation



Source : Questionnaire - Survey.

qualification have to be content with manual labour and carpentry. The manual labourers include cleaners, maid servants and daily wage-earners employed in all types of household works.

Besides these main occupations, 40% of the people carry on subsidiary occupations. Business is the main subsidiary occupation, while some consider agriculture, government service, social work and religious work as their subsidiary occupation besides their main occupations. Business (subsidiary) consists mainly of trade and commerce, like shopkeeping, assets (like land, house, shops) utilization, knitting and sewing; teaching and carpentry, shorthand and typing tutorship, tuition (private), and such others are the type of subsidiary occupations carried on by them. A pie-chart shows the number of Protestants and Catholics who carry on subsidiary occupations (Fig.5.3)

Many Protestants do not carry on subsidiary occupation unlike the Catholics among whom we find that there is no great difference between those who carry on only their main occupation and those who carry on both main and subsidiary occupations. This may be due to the governmental policy of not allowing one person to carry on two occupations at the same time. But in a private enterprise, this problem does not arise. The types of

subsidiary occupations carried on by male and females of the different religious groups is shown in Table IV

TABLE IV : SUBSIDIARY OCCUPATION :

| Types of Subsidiary Occupations | PROTESTANT | | | | | | | | | | | | TOTAL IN NUMBERS |
|---------------------------------|--------------|----|---------------|---|------------------------|---|-----------------------|---|----------|----|-------|---|------------------|
| | PRESBYTERIAN | | CHURCH OF GOD | | CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST | | SEVENTH DAY ADVENTIST | | CATHOLIC | | KHASI | | |
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | |
| Business | 3 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | 12 |
| Tuition | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| Knitting & Sewing | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | 2 | - | 4 |
| Teaching | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | 1 |
| Manual Labour | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | 1 |
| Agriculture | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| Carpentry | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| Govt. Serv. | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Social Work | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Religious Work | 3 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 |
| Short Hand & Typing | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| None | 9 | 20 | 1 | 6 | - | - | - | - | 2 | 6 | - | 1 | 45 |
| N | 20 | 27 | 3 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | 4 | 10 | - | 1 | 75 |

Source - Questionnaire Survey

From the above table, it seems that the Protestants belonging to the Church of Jesus Christ are more enterprising. Out of the two respondents belonging to this denomination, we find that all considered business as their subsidiary occupation. One female is a retired government servant who is now doing business while the male is a government servant. Tuition, knitting and sewing are generally done by the female. Teaching is a subsidiary

occupation to one Catholic, while government service is considered the same by one Presbyterian male. To both, business is the main occupation.

Due to the large number of the Presbyterian respondents, we also find them represented in nearly all of the categories of occupation (subsidiary).

Income per month of the people also varies from below Rs. 1000/- (Rupees one thousand only) to about Rs. 18,000/- (Rupees Eighteen thousand only). 50.67% of them earn approximately around Rs. 3000/- (Rupees three thousand only) to Rs. 6000/- (Rupees six thousand only) per month. Business is the main factor for the high-income generation. Table V shows the distribution of income groups with respect to religious affiliation of the people.

TABLE V : - INCOME PER MONTH

| INCOME PER MONTH | PROTESTANTS | | | | | | CATHO: LICS | KHASI | TOTAL |
|------------------|-------------------|------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|------|-------|----------------|-------|-------|
| | PRESBY: TERIAN | CHURCH OF GOD | CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST | SEVENTH DAY ADVENTIST | | | | | |
| 18000-15000 | 1.33 | 1.33 | 1.33 | - | - | - | - | 3.99 | |
| 15000-12000 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| 12000-9000 | 2.67 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2.67 | |
| 9000-6000 | 4.00 | - | 1.33 | - | - | 1.33 | - | 6.66 | |
| 6000-3000 | 34.67 | 10.67 | - | - | - | 4.00 | 1.33 | 50.67 | |
| 3000-1000 | 20.00 | 1.33 | - | - | - | 10.67 | - | 32.00 | |
| - 1000 | - | - | - | - | 1.33 | 2.67 | - | 4.00 | |
| N | 47 | 10 | 2 | - | 1 | 14 | 1 | 75 | |

Source - Questionnaire - Survey

The highest income-groups belong to the Protestants . 3.99% are represented in the income class of Rs. 18,000-15,000/- per month and 2.67% in the income class of Rs. 12,000-9000/- per month , represented only by the Protestants. This may be due to the fact that historically , the Protestants came earlier than the Catholics and are, therefore, much more able to utilize their capabilities in the economic sphere due to the education and awareness of opportunities.

The majority earn from Rs. 6000-3000/- per month. 45.34% of this group are Protestants while only 4% are Catholics. The data also shows that a large percentage of the Catholics earn Rs. 4000-3000/- per month, while among the Protestants , we find a large percentage of them earning Rs. 6000-3000/- per month.

Different types of shops, industry and business are also owned by the respondents. The site of their presence may be inside or outside the locality, in the nearby areas or villages. The merchants usually own shops selling rice, betel-nut or clothes at lewduh.

Table VI: Type of shops/Industry/Business.

| TYPE OF SHOP/INDUSTRY/ BUSINESS | PROTESTANTS | | | | | | TOTAL |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|-------|-------|
| | PRESBY- TERIAN | CHURCH OF GOD | CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST | SEVENTH DAY ADVENTIST | CATHO- LICS | KHASI | |
| 1.grocery shop | 6.67 | 1.33 | - | - | 4.00 | - | 12.00 |
| 2.stationery shop | 1.33 | - | - | - | - | - | 1.33 |
| 3.Retail shop | 2.67 | - | - | - | - | - | 2.67 |
| 4. food stall | 1.33 | 1.33 | - | - | 1.33 | - | 3.99 |
| 5. shoe shop | - | - | - | - | 1.33 | - | 1.33 |
| 6. Merchant | 1.33 | 5.33 | 1.33 | - | - | 1.33 | 9.32 |
| 7.mechanical workshop | 2.67 | - | - | - | - | - | 2.67 |
| 8.furniture workshop | - | - | 1.33 | - | - | - | 1.33 |
| 9.fabrication industry | 1.33 | - | - | - | 1.33 | - | 2.66 |
| 10.comstruction | 2.67 | 1.33 | - | - | - | - | 4.00 |
| 11.private school | 1.33 | - | - | - | - | - | 1.33 |
| 12.none | 41.33 | 4.00 | - | 1.33 | 10.67 | - | 57.33 |
| N | 47 | 10 | 2 | 1 | 14 | 1 | 75 |

Source : Questionnaire-survey.

Among the people who own shops/industry/business; we find that the Protestants are represented in nearly all the categories mentioned above. This can be explained by their high frequency in this locality compared to either the Catholics or the 'niam Khasi' respondents. Less than half of the respondents have

these while the rest (57.33%) have none. The 57.33% consist mainly of the government and semi-government servants, students and manual labourers.

THE WEBERIAN THESIS AND APPLICABILITY :

In chapter IV we have discussed the different aspects of Puritanism and how these built up the attitudes and characteristics essential for the development of a rational organized behaviour which is essential for the growth of the spirit of capitalism. It is the 'spirit' rather than the growth and development of capitalism that Weber was interested in his study. The desire for accumulation of wealth and riches is universal, but here we are not going to deal with this aspect. The main purpose here is to correlate the 'spirit' of Protestantism and the 'spirit' of Capitalism.

Christianity has gained a firm footing in Meghalaya and among the Khasis in particular since its advent in the nineteenth century. For more than one hundred and fifty years, i.e. from 1841, there was a proselytization process of the tribal people with the coming of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist's Foreign missionaries. This was not the only Christian mission which came to these hills. There were others too like the American Baptist missionaries (whose main work was among

the Garos), the Unitarians and the Roman Catholics . Within the Protestant groups, we see also the emergence of new indigenous denominations and sects, right from the past and continuing even today. The percentage of Christians in Meghalaya according to the 1981 census is 52.6%. Christianization of the tribes of Meghalaya is not of recent origin and among the Christians, the Presbyterians have been there for more than one hundred and fifty years.

The table below will show the percentage of people who have been christianized since their great-great-grandmother's generation, their great-grandmother's generation, their grand-mother's generation, their mother's generation and their own's generation.

Table VII: Generations of Christianized Khasi

| Generations: since one's | PROTESTANT | | | | | Total |
|---|-------------------|------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|-------|
| | Presby- terian | Church of God | Church of Jesus Christ | Seven- th day Adventist | Cath- olic | |
| A. Own Gene- rations | 5.41 | 4.05 | - | - | - | 9.46 |
| B. Mother's Generation. | 16.22 | 5.41 | 1.35 | - | 8.11 | 31.09 |
| C. Grandmo- ther's Gene- ration | 21.62 | 4.05 | - | 1.35 | 6.76 | 33.78 |
| D. Great-gra- nd mother Generation | 13.51 | - | 1.35 | - | - | 14.86 |
| E. Great-Great grand mother's Generation. | 6.76 | - | - | - | 4.05 | 10.81 |
| N | 47 | 10 | 2 | 1 | 14 | 75 |

Source: Questionnaire survey.

It seems Christianization, especially among the Protestant group is on-going process. The higher percentage of Presbyterians being Christianized since their great great grandmother's generation is due to the fact that they were the first to come to these hills. The Catholics are also represented here as they arrived in 1890 in Shillong to start the work, while the Presbyterians arrived earlier in 1841. The Seventh-Day Adventists in North-east India proliferate in the period after the Second World War, the Church of God emerged in 1902, while the Assembly Church of

Jesus Christ (F.G.) was formed in 1930. The later two churches are indigenous in origin. Christianization of the different church members thus corresponds to the historical period of the churches' formation, and acceptance of the people to their doctrines.

Christianity also taught the people to appreciate, inculcate and build up the essential characteristics which form the 'Spirit' of capitalism. Weber has pointed out thrift, honesty, saving, viewing labour as a responsibility towards humanity and God, etc., as the important Christian ethical doctrines inculcated into the people which bring about a rationalized spirit in all their dealing, including economic pursuits.

These ethical values are also found in the Khasi society, as the data show. As to whether they value thrift, honesty, planning, budgeting or saving the most, 21.61% opted for thrift, 49.93% for honesty, 8.1% for planning, 2.7% for budgeting and 17.54% for saving (see Table VIII.)



Table VIII: Values Regarding One's Wealth

| Values | PROTESTANTS | | | | | | Total |
|----------------|--------------------|------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|-------|-------|
| | Presby- terians | Church of God | Church of Jesus Christ | Seven- th day Adventist | Cath- olic | Khasi | |
| Thrift | 14.67 | 4.00 | - | - | 2.67 | - | 21.33 |
| Honesty | 34.67 | 4.00 | 2.67 | 1.33 | 6.67 | - | 49.33 |
| Planning | 2.67 | 1.33 | - | - | 4.00 | - | 8.00 |
| Budget- ing | 1.33 | - | - | - | 1.33 | - | 2.67 |
| Saving | 9.33 | 4.00 | - | - | 4.00 | 1.33 | 18.67 |
| N | 47 | 10 | 2 | 1 | 14 | 1 | 75 |

Source:- Questionnaire -Survey

With regard to wealth, people mostly value honesty as a virtue followed by thrift, saving and planning. Budgeting is appreciated by a small percentage only as a value liked most. Honesty ranks first among the Protestants and Catholics alike. The percentage of the Protestants who consider thrift as most valuable comes second, followed by saving, planning and then budgeting. Among the Catholics, the percentage of those who value saving and planning come second followed by thrift and lastly budgeting.

Budgeting as a virtue seems to be the least considered one in the Khasi society, and the people have yet to cultivate this virtue.

Though the doctrine of predestination according to Calvin is an alien doctrine to the Protestant Khasi community, yet, they believe in God's planning and predetermination about their life and work. Their concept of a 'calling' is more along the Lutheran view.

Occupation is viewed by many^{as} God's direction and planning. But some believe that it is fruit of one's own hard work first of all, and God's blessing to prosper and grow afterwards. There are also those who believe that it is determined by one's own educational qualification; while to some family tradition is the determining factor.

Table IX View on Occupation

| Views on Occupation | PROTESTANT | | | | Catholic | Khasi | Total |
|--------------------------------|--------------|---------------|------------------------|-----------------------|----------|-------|-------|
| | PRESBYTERIAN | CHURCH OF GOD | CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST | SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST | | | |
| Determined by God | 33.33 | 12.00 | 1.33 | - | 9.33 | 1.33 | 57.33 |
| Fruit of one's hard labour | 17.33 | - | 1.33 | - | 5.33 | - | 24.00 |
| Determined by education | 12.00 | - | - | - | 4.00 | - | 16.00 |
| Determined by family tradition | - | 1.33 | - | 1.33 | - | - | 2.67 |
| N | 47 | 10 | 7 | 1 | 14 | 1 | 75 |

Source:- Questionnaire -Survey

The belief that occupation is predetermined by God is shared by 46.6% Protestants and 9.33% Catholics. This belief is also shared by 1.33% 'uniam' Khasi respondents. The high percentage of people sharing this belief is because both the traditional Khasi religion and Christianity believed on this.

74% (18.66% Protestants and 5.33% Catholics) considered that occupation mostly depended on one's own hard work and it was the fruit thereof. These people shared the view that God helped those who helped themselves.

16% pointed out at education as the determining factor as most of them are government servants whose jobs required certain educational qualification.

Family tradition is pointed out only by 2.66% Protestants only. This factor plays a role as the determining factor for occupation depending on the type of occupation. Agriculture and business (trade and commerce especially when a shop is owned in the family) are the types of occupation where family tradition can play its role.

Preferences for occupation also differ. Most of the Khasis prefer the stable and secure government service, some would like to develop agriculture, some prefer trade and commerce while others would like to teach. There are also those who prefer business with all its risk and uncertainty. Though the percentage is high, yet at

present, it is not yet considered very attractive to the people. We also find those who prefer social and religious work and also those who prefer manual labour: as shown in Table X.

Table: X Preference for occupation.

| Preferred Occupation | PROTESTANT | | | | Catholics | Khasi | Total |
|---|---------------|---------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-------|-------|
| | Presbyterians | Church of God | Church of Jesus Christ | Seventh Day Adventist | | | |
| A. gov't. Service | 28.00 | 4.00 | - | - | 6.67 | - | 38.67 |
| B. agriculture | 5.33 | - | - | 1.33 | 1.33 | - | 7.99 |
| C. Trade & commerce | 2.67 | 5.33 | - | - | - | - | 8.00 |
| D. Business (other than trade commerce) | 17.33 | 2.67 | 2.67 | - | 6.67 | 1.33 | 30.67 |
| E. teaching | 2.67 | 1.33 | - | - | - | - | 4.00 |
| F. Any manual labour | 1.33 | - | - | - | 4.00 | - | 5.33 |
| G. Social work | 1.33 | - | - | - | - | - | 1.33 |
| H. Religious work | 4.00 | - | - | - | - | - | 4.00 |
| N | 47 | 10 | 7 | 1 | 14 | 1 | 75 |

SOURCE : QUESTIONNAIRE - SURVEY

The data show a high percentage of people preferring government service which corresponds more or

less with Table III on main occupations. Job-preference depends on the value they attach to a particular job, which include their interest, capability, and the availability of the job. There is also fear of venturing into some unknown occupations in some of them.

There is no social discrimination on job preference as long as it is acceptable to the church and the society. As any other tribal society, the Khasi society is egalitarian in spirit. Social discrimination is therefore absent as we can find in a Hindu society. But dignity of labour has yet to receive due value from them.

Wealth is considered as God's blessing. But they also believe that hard work and labour are required to attain wealth, though without God's blessing many people consider their labour a vain and unfruitful. Some of them consider hard work as the cause of wealth accumulation, while only a few believed in destiny. The people's view on wealth can be shown in Table XI.

Table XI : View on wealth

| View on Wealth | PROTESTANT | | | | Catholic | Khasi | Total |
|----------------|---------------|---------------|------------------------|-----------------------|----------|-------|-------|
| | Presbyterians | Church of God | Church of Jesus Christ | Seventh Day Adventist | | | |
| God's Blessing | 50.67 | 9.33 | 1.33 | 1.33 | 10.67 | 1.33 | 74.66 |
| Own Hard work | 10.67 | 4.00 | 1.33 | | 6.67 | - | 22.67 |
| Own's luck | 1.33 | - | - | - | 1.33 | - | 2.66 |
| N | 47 | 10 | 2 | 1 | 14 | 1 | 75 |

Source:- Questionnaire-Survey

The data show that Christianity as represented by the Presbyterians and Catholics in the columns of those who view wealth as one's own luck, has not been able to eradicate the superstitious nature of the people. This nature may have hampered the rationalization of thoughts and actions. Although superstitious beliefs are prevalent in every society, the Khasi society suffers from certain superstitions which are detrimental to the nurturing of the spirit of capitalism.

The people's beliefs reflect their attitudes to life and work. In the Khasi society, we find that rationalization of labour is achieved, taking the majority of the Christian population.

The above views are given with regard to one's own wealth. But with regard to others' wealth, the Khasi

usually see it differently. Being superstitious by nature, they consider every wealthy person as keeping a Thlon where the proprietors have to sacrifice human-being in order to bring riches to them. This makes people afraid of the wealthy Khasis, and this rumour tends to pull down a rich person instead of helping him.

What one does in life affects one's after life. This view was reflected by 47(62.67%) Presbyterian, 10(13.33%) Church of God, 2(2.67%) Church of Jesus Christ, 1(1.33%) Seventh Day Adventist and 1(1.33%) Niam Khasi respondents. This is the principle which the majority of the Khasis believe in.

Among the Catholics, some of them, i.e., 3(4%) do not share this view, while the rest, 11(14.67%) believes in this.

When one views wealth as a blessing from God, or, when one views it as a fruit of one's hard work coupled with God's blessing, naturally, we can expect the impact of this idea on one's labour. This principle creates a sense of responsibility towards God as well as towards the humanity. But to what extent can these views on wealth shape the ways of acquiring wealth cannot be ascertained from the available data.

On the issue whether God accepts a wealthy person or not; the opinion of the people varies. To 32.35% Presbyterians, 8.00% Church of God, 1.33% Church of

Jesus Christ, 9.33% Catholics and 1.33% Niam Khasi to be wealthy is acceptable to God. But for 29.33% Presbyterians, 5.33% Church of God, 1.33% Church of Jesus Christ, 1.33% Seventh Day Adventist and 9.33% Catholics it is not so.

Similarly, the percentage of the respondents is the same as above to the question on whether a rich person can go to heaven or not. For those who believe that to be wealthy is acceptable to God also believe that a wealthy person can go to heaven. Those who think otherwise believe that a wealthy person cannot go to heaven.

The above two views are closely related to each other and these seem to have affected the type of jobs/occupation that the people have chosen as these act as incentive to their job preference.

The uncertainty of the means of acquiring wealth among the Khasis also brings the uncertainty of the people with regard to a rich person going to heaven, and his being acceptable to God. The Khasis are usually wary and suspicious of a rich person and tend to think of the worst reasons for his being so.

The extra income can be spent in various ways according to one's own suitability. The respondents are asked about ^{how} would they like to spend it and opinions on the way they like best in utilizing it are given in Table XII.

Table XII : Ways of Utilizing Extra Income

| WAYS OF UTILIZING EXTRA INCOME | PROTESTANTS | | | | | | TOTAL |
|--------------------------------|--------------|---------------|------------------------|-----------------------|----------|-------|-------|
| | PRESBYTERIAN | CHURCH OF GOD | CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST | SEVENTH DAY ADVENTIST | CATHOLIC | KHASI | |
| Loan Without Interest | 4.00 | - | - | - | - | - | 4.00 |
| Start Own Business | 9.33 | 1.33 | - | - | 2.67 | - | 13.33 |
| Help & Donate to Others | 10.67 | 2.67 | - | 1.33 | 1.33 | - | 16.00 |
| Buy Luxurious Item | - | - | - | - | 1.33 | - | 1.33 |
| Saving | 20.67 | 4.00 | 1.33 | - | 10.67 | - | 42.67 |
| Invest In Business | 10.67 | 5.33 | 1.33 | - | 2.67 | 1.33 | 21.33 |
| Furthering evangelizing Work | 1.33 | - | - | - | - | - | 1.33 |
| N | 47 | 10 | 2 | 1 | 14 | 1 | 75 |

Source - Questionnaire - Survey

Saving comes first among the Protestants and Catholics alike as shown by the table above. The percentage of Catholics who would like to start their own business and those who would like to invest in it are the same.

Among those who want to start their own business, the Presbyterian show a high percentage. Taking only the Church of God into consideration we find a high percentage of those who want to invest in business. The

higher percentage found among the Protestant group is because they are represented more than the others.

To buy luxurious items is considered the best way of utilizing extra-income according to one Catholic respondent. But this view is not shared by others. The fact that the respondent is a female and a housewife may have urged this desire.

Evangelizing works among the Protestants are done by both the clergy and the laymen. There is no distinction between the two and this accounts for the presence of those who would like to further evangelizing work among the Protestants, and the absence of such among the Catholics.

Certain qualities are always wanted in a person doing entrepreneurial works. Honesty, sincerity, Punctuality, behaviour and reliability are given as the qualities looked for in an entrepreneur. The quality liked best in an entrepreneur is given below according to the religious affiliations of the people.

Table XIII Quality liked best in an entrepreneur

| QUALITY LIKED BEST | PROTESTANTS | | | | | | KHASI | TOTAL |
|--------------------|--------------|---------------|------------------------|---------------------|----------|------|-------|-------|
| | PRESBYTERIAN | CHURCH OF GOD | CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST | SEVENTH DAY ADVENT. | CATHOLIC | | | |
| Honesty | 37.33 | 17.00 | 2.67 | 1.33 | 13.33 | - | 37.33 | |
| Sincerity | 16.00 | 1.33 | - | - | 5.33 | 1.33 | 16.00 | |
| Punctuality | 2.67 | - | - | - | - | - | 2.67 | |
| Behaviour | 5.33 | - | - | - | - | - | 5.33 | |
| Reliability | 1.33 | - | - | - | - | - | 1.33 | |
| N | 47 | 10 | 2 | 1 | 14 | 1 | 75 | |

Source - Questionnaire - Survey.

There is a high percentage of people who like honesty; the best, followed by sincerity. The Protestants being more in number than the Catholics and "niam" Khasi, are thus represented in all the categories in the above table.

The poor economic condition of some of the Khasis can be due to several factors. Among the respondents, 16.00% gave lack of opportunities as the main cause. Others, i.e., 5.33% pointed out to unemployment, 12.00% to lack of capital, 10.66% to under graduation, 2.67% to illness, 8.00% to poverty, 2.67% to trouble and calamity and another 2.67% due to ^{lack of} political connection explain their own existing economic condition.

Again, there are 26.67% of the respondents to whom the above criteria do not apply. The rest 2.67% see it as God's blessing and ^{the} other 10.66% stress on hard work as the main cause for their existing economic conditions.

The data also show that those who work hard despite odds in life faced, rise up in the occupational ladder. It also seems that necessity is the mother of invention even in the economic sphere. Usually, in the Khasi society, it is those who are unfortunates in the past that later on became wealthy. The wealthy ones looked as if they are contented with whatever they have and do not strive to enhance it.

From the data collected, we can also say that the "spirit" of capitalism is present in the Khasi society. The virtues of honesty, hard work, living according to one's means are internalized in the society's belief system. Christianity has reinforced them and Protestantism has rationalized their thoughts and actions. Thrift and saving, may also be pointed out as the virtues introduced by Protestantism.

Protestantism, thus, introduces the Khasi society to the particular ethic which Weber talks about, which gave shape to the spirit of capitalism. Yet we cannot say that the Khasi society is a capitalist society though Christianity has been introduced there for more than one hundred and fifty years. The development of capitalism is

at its nascent stage and other factors besides the religious are necessary to look into.

The ethical principles of thrift, honesty, hard work, saving, living according to one's means, viewing labour as a responsibility towards God and humanity, and the life, which according to Weber built up the spirit of Capitalism are present in the ethical doctrines of the Protestant sects of the Khasi community. But Calvin's doctrine of predestination is absent.

Even though Protestantism has been able to imbibe and instil these ethical values in the Khasi society, we cannot conclude that Weber's thesis is totally applicable here. The available data do not confirm to what extent are these values actually lived up in their economic pursuits.

According to Weber, there is a significant correlation between Protestantism, especially Calvinism and capitalism. But in the Khasi society, we find Protestants but not Calvinists.

Though we find the higher percentage of Protestant doing business as the main or subsidiary occupations compared to the Catholics, yet, at this stage we cannot say that Weber's thesis is applicable here due to the smaller sample of the Catholics represented in this study.

The universe under study also falls under the Shillong Municipality which is an urban area. It is therefore probable that being an urban centre, business as an occupation becomes more important in comparison to the rural areas. With lack of the necessary criteria, the rural population have to depend heavily on agriculture as the main occupation. In the urban setting, every facility is available for businessmen and women to carry on their trade. This is also one of the limitations why we cannot accept Weber's thesis completely in the Khasi society.

Jairaw locality, due to its location; as in the central place of Shillong town can offer job-opportunities to the people. The people too being mostly-educated are aware of the various governmental aids and loans offered to those who would like to start their own business. These might be attributed to the presence of entrepreneurs in this locality. Compared to other places where these are absent, we might not be able to reach the same conclusion. Thus, we cannot generalize about the whole Khasi society as such, based on this particular study.

The Khasis are also known to be materialistic in nature. It is therefore difficult and impossible to point out exactly whether the capitalistic spirit spoken by Weber or the materialistic spirit which gets precedence in regard to wealth acquisition.

The available data only indicate that the Protestants engaged in entrepreneurial works are ^{more} in number than the Catholics. But they fail to establish with clarity Weber's prepositions.

We cannot, therefore, confirm or negate Weber's thesis in the Khasi society on the basis of the available data and the limitations given in the preceding paragraphs.

CHAPTER - VI

CONCLUSION

The thesis of Weber on the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism is described in the first chapter. A small paragraph on the Khasi people and Christianization is also given. Besides, several literature are surveyed to get a better understanding of the topic under study and for examining various viewpoints presented by different writers on the topic. First of all, literature concerning this issue is examined. Then the literature in the context of the Indian society is surveyed and lastly, the works and contributions of the Christian missionaries and Christianity in the Khasi society are also surveyed. The objective, methods and plan of the whole study are then mentioned in this chapter.

The second chapter describes the land and the people -- its formation and geographical location, topography, climate, its state capital --- Shillong, within which the Jaiaw locality falls; religion, culture, descent and racial affiliation, their economy and literacy rate.

The next chapter is a brief history of Christianity in North-east India especially Meghalaya, the attitude of the British administrators towards Christianity and the contributions to and impact on the society.

A detailed discussion on Weber's thesis, his explanation and conclusion is made in the fourth chapter of this study, along with the comments made by some authors.

The last two chapters are mainly on the analysis of data generated through questionnaire - survey and the conclusion derived therefrom.

Nowhere in his work did Weber point out that Protestantism is the sole and only cause of the development of capitalism, but regarded it as a factor for its growth. His main study is not on the history of capitalism as such but on certain religious ethics, which leads to the growth of the spirit of capitalism.

A conducive atmosphere is needed ^{for the growth of} capitalism. Psychological sanctions originating in religious belief have their own influence and the practise of religion give a direction to practical conduct which bound an individual to it. The peculiarities of religious ideas behind them according to Weber are the derivatives or incentives for the growth of the spirit of capitalism.

Traditionalism seems to be the greatest opponent of the spirit of capitalism. The capitalist system needs the devotion to the calling of making money rationally. In the Khasi society, money earned is not always rationally spent. The Khasis are rather extravagant and spend lavishly on rites and ceremonies like birth ceremonies, marriages and deaths. The Khasi social structure is such that it

entails large amount of spending during these occasions as all the relatives, friends, and neighbours are invited.

"Rationalism" to Weber is an economic system not based on custom and tradition but on the deliberate and systematic adjustment of economic means to the attainment of the objective of pecuniary profit. The pursuit of wealth is taken as a duty as a result of the change of moral standards. It is in the concept of calling that Weber saw the root and cause for producing this.

Eisenstadt has pointed out that the direction which the transformative capacities of Protestantism, in order to be effective, has to be directed to the institutional aspect. Again, to become "absorbed" or the institutionalized, autonomy in the social, cultural and political orders is necessary.

The data show that the spirit of capitalism is present in the Khasi society, but we cannot ascertain the extent of the materialistic spirit in shaping up the acquisitive nature of the Khasis. Christianity has of course been able to foster the ethic, called by Weber which built up the spirit of capitalism. It reinforced and strengthened the old traditional values of honesty, hardwork and living according to one's mean. It has also reformed the economic roles of the people by introducing them to education.

Diligence, thrift, sobriety and prudence are the

passport to commercial prosperity according to Weber. These values may be said to be introduced by the Protestants as gambling, drunkenness, idleness, the traditional Khasi beer, and waste of time in unfruitful activities are not encouraged.

Value for time, credit, punctuality, honesty, industry, frugality, justice in all dealings, living according to one's earning, saving, prudence, one's sense of responsibility toward one's labour may be taken as the criteria of the "spirit" of capitalism when seen from Weber's viewpoint.

Traditionally, the Khasis believed in diligence, sobriety, honesty, industry, justice in all dealings, living according to one's earning and saving. But whether these values are determinant or not about their economic pursuits could ~~not~~ be ascertained.

But seeing from the context of the majority of the population, they lack thrift, prudence, sense of value for time, punctuality and frugality. Thrift and frugality especially on the part of a wealthy person is categorised as stinginess and miserliness among most of the Khasi population.

With the advent of Christianity, new values of thrift, prudence, sense of value for time, punctuality and frugality are being taught and introduced. Punctuality as a value was introduced through the timing of the church

meetings. An Adherent has to reach on time and this also created the spirit of discipline.

Thrift and prudence are indirectly influenced by the religious teachings. Education, knowledge, and contact with other people may be important criteria in shaping the practicability of these values besides the sense of value for time and frugality.

Christianity played a vital role in elevating the economic condition of these people by opening up avenues in education, job-opportunities, though they may be in a limited way. But it cannot be argued that in the Khasi society, it is the Christian missionaries along with the British administration that gave a new revolutionary change to the whole society. The modernization process started primarily only through these agents in this particular case.

In the Khasi society, the man is considered the bread-earner of the family while the female as the house keeper. The Christian missionaries introduced education which changed this whole idea. Today both males and females contribute to the up-keeping of the family economy. The data from the questionnaire survey supported this, and we can see that females in this society are more industrious than the males. This is mainly due to the sense of responsibility a Khasi female has toward her duties compared to the males. This factor can be felt strongly with regard to education too.

A large majority of the Khasi population are Christians. The Protestants are also more in number than the Catholics. Christianization process has started since more than a decade ago, and it is still an on-going process.

The Presbyterians have come earlier in their field and we find a high percentage of them among the Khasi. With their coming, they also bring along education. At the same time, the British administrators also brought about modernization and westernization processes.

The Protestant are thus more attuned to these processes as they been Christianized for a longer period than the Catholics. The western Protestant missionaries created a great impact in these people in respect to their dress, customs and habits.

Catholicism, on the other hand, encourages the traditional beliefs, customs and traditions in this society. It strengthened their beliefs by drawing parallel to the traditional Khasi custom, culture and belief system. Opening up of liquor shop, gambling, and others which are forbidden among the Protestants are tolerated by them. In this respect, they seem to be more amenable to entrepreneurship than the Protestants.

Thus the Protestantism in the Khasi society has brought about a change - in their beliefs, customs and traditions. It has also opened up new avenues for the

people by giving them a new outlook of the world and of themselves. The restructuring of their economic system is achieved by inculcating a rational spirit toward labour and strengthening their faith through religious indoctrinations which bind an individual to his duty.

Calvin's doctrine of predestination is absent among the Protestant group of the Khasi community. Even though the Presbyterians combine both Calvin's and John Wesley's teachings, yet, this doctrine was not accepted. The only aspect taken by them is Calvin's church administration. The concept of the "calling" as given by Calvin is therefore absent.

According to Weber's thesis, Calvin's doctrine of predestination forms a central part, it is the pivot of the Calvinist's life. In this society, we see a difference. This doctrine is absent among the Protestant group to enable to give shape to the capitalistic enterprise as Weber pointed out. Instead, other vital doctrine like Salvation, Redemption, and other spiritual doctrines form the central teaching of many Protestant denominations.

By this, it does not mean that those religious virtues necessary for developing the spirit of capitalism are absent in the Protestant teaching. The difference lies only in the impact and thrust given by the various Protestant sects.

the concept of "calling" among the Protestants

in the Khasi society corresponds more or/less to the Lutheran concept. This "calling" seems to be taken seriously only by those who want to work in the Church, while the laymen tend to ignore it.

The laymen of the Church who remember their "calling" and who can challenge the limitations imposed by the Khasi society are able to raise their head and the fostering and growth of the spirit of capitalism can be seen. Their job then is to perform their duty as well and honestly as a responsibility toward God and humanity.

The Protestant believed in heaven and hell and in the reward given by God here and afterward based on their conduct of life here. While for the Catholic, hell is non-existent, and in its place, there is only a purgatory fire which is not eternal damnation as the hell of the Protestants.

In the Khasi society, this doctrine shapes the conduct of life of the Protestant and Catholics. The Protestants are more puritanic in their outlook and they lack the differentiation between the clergy and the laymen in this aspect. God to them is a just God and his justice applies equally to all men.

On the other hand, the Catholic believe that the clergy has a safe passage to heaven as he has given his life for God's work. For the laymen, it depends on the rites and ceremonies he performs in order to get to heaven.

The concept of a "purgatory" as believed by the Catholics greatly vary from the Protestant concept of "hell". To the Protestant, hell is eternal damnation, while for the Catholic the purgatory is only a temporary ~~cleansing~~ period according to one's misdeeds on earth before getting to heaven.

The Protestants have only two ways to choose - either heaven or hell, which is for eternity. But the Catholic can go to heaven either directly or indirectly after going through the purgatory fire.

This doctrine greatly affects the outlook of the Protestant and Catholic towards life and labour. There is a great difference in their belief about ^{eternity} /too. It is this that gives shape to one's conduct in life, and makes a Protestant take life more seriously and responsibly. The Catholic, on the other hand, enjoys life, and is more concerned about his religious affiliation than the religious discipline.

That wealth is considered as God's blessing is believed by both Protestants and Catholics alike. Some also believe that it is the fruit of their labour and a small percentage believe in luck. But wealth is not considered as the indication of God's favour in the Khasi society.

Thus we find a difference of opinion among them on whether God accepts a wealthy person or not or whether a wealthyman can go to heaven or not. A wealthy person is

always looked down with suspicious eyes with regard to one's means of achieving it.

A Khasi society is plagued with the superstitious mind. Both rich and the poor have been enslaved by it to some extent. A wealthy individual is always subject to rumours of keeping a "thlen" who always needs human sacrifice in order to bring wealth and riches to the keeper. Every wealthy person is subjected to suspicions and people are scared to socialise with or rely on rich people. On the other hand a poor person is often considered to be a thief and an opportunist.

Though in recent years, the superstition in "thlen" seems to abate, the suspicious character does not. Corruption and unfair means hit the lists as the causes for one's accumulation of wealth. It is therefore necessary to eradicate this suspicious nature so that the Khasi society might be able to develop as it should.

Christianity has not been able to totally eradicate this suspicious character of the people. The teachings and doctrines imbibed by the Church has yet to have their impact in this respect despite the fact that Christianity was introduced in this society for more than one hundred and fifty years.

Honesty, thrift, saving, planning and budgeting are the characteristics that people live with regard to their wealth. Honesty is the virtue which the Khasi people

life best in this regard followed by saving, planning, and budgeting.

Preference of occupation as shown in Table X, indicate that the majority of the Khasi population prefer ~~government service~~ followed by business. In business too, the Protestant group seems to prefer it more than the Catholic group.

The high-income group of the population also belongs to the Protestant group (Table V₁). This may be due to much older exposure to education and attitudes towards life and wealth shaped ^{by} their religious doctrines.

Though Christianity has played a vital role in elevating the economic condition of the tribal Khasi, it has not been able to create exemplary impact on their customs and behaviour. Certain types of behaviour and social customs prevalent in it suppressed the spirit of capitalism to foster and grow.

The easy-going and fun-loving life is the lifestyle of the majority of the Khasi population. They are content with whatever they have and shun extra responsibilities. Idleness and sloth are the worst enemies of the spirit of capitalism in the Khasi society. The people are satisfied easily in their existing economic condition-whether rich or poor; as long as they have enough to eat.

There is also a lack of motivation for

aspirations in their economic pursuit and with life as a whole. The competitive spirit instead of raising their standard of life tend to obstruct their dreams as it means hard work which is not for the majority of the population.

Westernization as a process of change has a great impact on the Khasi value system. They value the western way of life so greatly and follow them blindly. It is probably this reason that has led many of the Khasi people to alcoholism which in turn has led to their economic degradation.

It also seems that after so many years of being Christianized, the Christian doctrines on work and ^{labour} do not seem to have much dint on them. The moral degradation has led to the materialistic spirit where dirty politics and corruption reign. The Christian values seem to have lost their efficacy in the practical life of the majority of the Protestants who have been Christianized for many generations. The new converts are the ones who will implement them as these have meanings and foundations for them.

Home is a place which the Khasi holds dear to his heart. Nothing can compel him to work or go outside his place even for higher studies. This tendency of the majority of the Khasi people has isolated them from the outside world and their outlook has become somewhat narrow. The emotional ties attached to the family, the peer-group

and the sense of security in being with those they know account for such a tendency.

Children of wealthy parents also tend to depend on their parents economically and fail to expand the business of their parents. Most of them tend to live a luxurious life as long as their parents can support them. In times of hardships and difficulties, the economic assets given by their parents are either sold or mortgaged.

There are also many responsibilities a Khasi person has to shoulder. There are responsibilities toward one's family, clan, village, locality, church and other organization of which they are members. To be an entrepreneur is taxing on one's strength and energy which they find difficult to bear sometimes.

It is better to give an example to illustrate this. A Khasi entrepreneur, whether he is a Christian or not, will have to close down his work for not less than three days in case death occurs in the family or among his many relatives. Unlike the plains people, this custom really affects one's generation of income. Beside, he also has to contribute to the expenses incurred on such occasions.

Early marriage can also be a contributing factor for the society's great dependence on government jobs and petty business. To support the family, one has to grasp any job available. The sense of security offered by the

government jobs, the lack ^{of} capital, lack of knowledge to utilize the assets they have and low educational qualification may contribute to the presence of a higher percentage of the government servants than business men.

Government service was introduced during the British period, and this was one of the most sought after occupations among the older generations. The value system has remained dominant for many Khasis in later generations too. Nowadays with the scarcity of government jobs, people have to carry out business too. The trend of the presence of entrepreneurs in the Khasi society can also be explained by this factor.

The government too has not been able to utilize the skills of the people as job-opportunities are limited. There is also a lack of awareness and knowledge about the various governmental aid and assistance to amateur entrepreneurs specially in the rural areas.

Business of the parent is not always inherited by those children who could have enlarged it. The parents do not train their children in their business. Thus, business is mostly pursued for one generation and often dies in the next.

The progress towards a capitalistic society is therefore slow. To my mind, the scarcity of government jobs and the changing value system that the people have in ranking government jobs superior to others, have had an

adverse effect on the growth of entrepreneurship and capitalism in the Khasi society.

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