Chapter II: EVANGELICAL IDEOLOGY OF THE MISSIONARIES

The previous chapter has dealt with the ideological forces that shaped the various faces of the British presence in India: secular imperialism, racial imperialism and missionary or missions with an imperialistic logic. The history of India during this period, in one sense, is the history of cultural encounter i.e. the encounter between the East and West and also between Christianity and indigenous religions. Hence, the analysis of the nature of relationship between Colonialism and Christian missions and the impact of Christianity and Indian response and how it was a matter of conflict or cultural adaptation or rejection, is taken up in this chapter.

Ideological trends and ideas are the driving forces behind human history determining human destiny. All ideologies are not similar, as Michael Mann observes, for these varied ideas came from different cultural readings of the sources of social power. Two centuries of colonial rule in India had also witnessed a strong impact in the cultural and literary traits. Much of Western ideology of power has been shaped by thinly veiled colonial attitudes that continue to dominate the intellectual and philosophical space in the field of Indology, comparative studies and in anthologies of world history and culture. Many Europeans such as Sir William Jones, William Carey, Max Muller etc., had drawn their own conclusions and ideas very carefully over orientalism. William Jones, a learned scholar, arrived at Calcutta in 1783 as a Supreme Court Judge. He set up ‘The Asiatic Society’ in 1784 to pursue research in the subject of India’s cultural past. From his own writings, we learn that the problem of his ignorance of Sanskrit in the court proceedings

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1 Europeans and the forced conversions by them became unpopular. The Portuguese inflicted much severity on the families of Marathas within their districts who refused to become Christians.
was a political motive, which persuaded him to learn Sanskrit. The decision not to admit
the pundits of Bengal into Asiatic Society was a proof of his racism, and therefore Jones
had an ambiguous attitude towards India and Indians. William Carey’s oriental approach
is also a context of diffusion of Christianity. Another famous Indologist, Max Muller
specialized in Sanskrit and made a thorough study of the Vedas. In spite of Muller’s
memorable works on Hinduism, he was judgemental from an Euro-centric worldview.
Muller saw his scholarly work as part of a mission to convert India to Christianity. Thus,
Orientalism, to study Indian culture and learning took the role as a mask on imperial
direction. Therefore, the ideas built upon a theory tries to influence on every aspect of
human society and culture. Mainly the ideology of mission with its links to power was
 driven by a wish to convert, and transform India.

The origin of Evangelicalism was deep rooted in the Religious Revival of
the 18th century. John Wesley and Whitefield of Methodist Movement became popular
with the English public. It was Whitefield who first enjoyed great popularity among the
common people. John Wesley followed the same path. Many of those converted through
Whitefield’s preaching, and these preachers, later became known as Methodists. The
fundamental doctrines of Christianity – sin, atonement, salvation, repentance, faith and
holiness were central to these groups. Methodism in England was linked to the Protestant
movement. Some of the Anglican clergyman like Howell Harris in Wales, Rev. George

3 S.N. Mukherjee, *Sir William Jones: A Study in Eighteenth Century British Attitudes To India*, Orient
Baptist historian remarks that Carey’s joining in the faculty of Fort William College was his vocation to
train the native priesthood, which would be a boon for the progression of mission in India and his
translation of the Scripture into Sanskrit and other vernaculars were ethics for reform and conversion.
5 Andrew Walls meant conversion that a conversion from past offences. Andrew Walls, *The Missionary
Movement in Christian History: studies in the Transmission of Faith*, Mary Knoll, 1996, p.53; Here
conversion does not mean a change of faith rather a change of mind results in a transformed life.
Thomson in Cornwall, Rev. Henry Venn in west Yorkshire and other itinerants like Grimshaw, Romain Rolland etc., spread the Revival to all parts of England. Later in the century, this Religious Revival left a deep impression on the Victorians, of the doctrine of conversion and the doctrine of second coming of Christ i.e. the millenarian belief. These doctrines formed the fundamental ideology of the Evangelicalism of the 19th century and therefore also of the missions.

The doctrine of conversion on one hand and the doctrine of Christ’s second coming or millennial rule on earth (the later doctrine was a contribution of Brethren missionaries) together with a perpetual sense of accountability on the Day of Judgement for every lapse in life on the other, stood at the heart of Evangelical ideology of the overseas missionary endeavour. The enthusiasm and the emotional conversion experience of many Evangelicals or the missionaries did not limit the task of evangelization to the British Isles alone but was extended to the entire population of the world. Mr. Edmund, a missionary in India, published his letters to the cause of Christianity, and in one of his letters he envisaged: ‘As all India obeyed one government, as in all parts of the country one kept up constant communication with the other by means of electric telegraph- and as the railway system united the extremes of this peninsula, it was necessary that there

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6 J.C. Ryle, *Christian Leaders of the 18th century, Banner of Truth*, London, 1990. This whole book is the finest piece of historical work contains vivid biographies of the men, who shook England from one end to the other. J.C Ryle (1816-1900) was the first Bishop of Liverpool. His writings exhibit true puritan theology in a highly readable and modern form.

7 Religious belief is the major trait found in *Jane Eyre* and in the other novels of Charlotte Bronte. Jane Eyre and the other characters hold strongly to one form or another of Evangelical Protestantism. One of the characters, i.e. Helen Burns represents the purity of inner life and espouses the Christian doctrines, as her tomb stone reads ‘Resurgam’ (I shall rise again) revoking the doctrine of Christ’s second coming. Another character, St. John Rivers wants Jane to support his missionary work among the heathen (India), who pay prayers to Brahma and kneels down before Juggernaut p.78. The man that Jane rejected, St. John Rivers, seemed to her had passion only for missionary work in India, not at all for her.
should be one religion also, and therefore, that every one should embrace Christianity’.\textsuperscript{8}

To achieve such goals they used every means of publicity among the public as well as the British officials. The missionaries as messengers of Gospel of Christ, and the Utilitarians as advocates of progress and civilization were busy promoting their respective ideologies in India. The Evangelical missionaries and the Modernist Utilitarians formed the two faces of the western civil society, which grew out of western intellectual traditions. The secular and public was the official face, while its private face had a homogenous Christian identity. However, in the colonies, the public face remained predominant, especially after 1858 in India. Therefore, Evangelicalism in its Utilitarian colour was the intense ideology of the missionaries of the 19\textsuperscript{th} and early 20\textsuperscript{th} centuries.\textsuperscript{9}

I

The Background to Missionaries in India:

To delve on this ideology of the modern missions in India, my study opens with the beginnings and expansion of missions in the field. The missionary spirit that had a homogenous Christian identity, together with social activity, was spread to America through Jonathan Edwards. These were responsible for giving birth to many missionary societies in England, America and elsewhere, clearly Calvinist in doctrine.\textsuperscript{10} Eventually, the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS), first in the mission field was formed in 1792. William Carey arrived in India on 10th November 1793 despite the company’s hostility towards missions and remains the most memorable day of Baptist Mission in India. Then

\textsuperscript{8} L.P. Sharma, \textit{History of Modern India}, 2\textsuperscript{nd} edition, Konark Publishers, Delhi, 1996, p.196.
\textsuperscript{9} Eric strokes, Utilitarians, p.p. 54-58.
followed the founding of the London Missionary Society (LMS) in 1795, and among the Anglicans, The Church Missionary Society (CMS) for Africa and the East in 1799. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign missions was set up in 1810. In 1813 The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS) was added. The technology of print was essential for these missions, and the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SPCK) of the Church of England was founded long back in 1698. It carried on works of supplying the Bible in more than seventy-five languages. It helped in the maintenance of Bishops and the clergy by contributing endowment funds and assistance to medical missions. It maintained colleges, schools; printing presses etc., The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) grew out of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SPCK). The Society for the Propagation of Gospel, from its inception, was closely linked to the Church of England. The key dates in the early nineteenth century India were 1818, the founding of The Society for the Propagation of Gospel Mission and 1820, the Bishop’s College in Calcutta. The relationships between those missions were not always cordial.\footnote{Handbook of Foreign Missions (The missionary Year Book), Paternoster, London, 1889, p.p.23-96.}

There was an inevitable clash everywhere in the world between foreign missions and the ancient religions of the colonies. India was no exception to it. The cultural response of the missionaries was confrontational, as they were ignorant of these religions. Sometimes they responded in a positive fashion and tried to understand a different worldview from a more sympathetic stance.\footnote{Indian Church History Review (ICHR), Vol. XXI, No.1, June,1987, p.16.}
The Indian Christian converts were the result of this cross-cultural encounter and there were group conversions. This meant a shift from one faith to another, and possibly, but not necessarily, a shift from one culture to another. The Gazetteer of India, however, puts that ‘conversion at that time implied an undesirable break from the cultural and social traditions of India and adoption of European names and ways of living which detached the Christian from their social ambit’\textsuperscript{13}. This view is borne out by the fact that the initial converts adopted western model of life and felt themselves superior from their pagan brethren and condemned the traditional heritage of the latter. Some converts did not leave behind their heritage but used those sources of their early traditions in the expression of their new faith. It is also important to note that the official document (Gazetteer) understood the cultural shift as ‘undesirable’.

The Hindu reform movements of 19\textsuperscript{th} century neutralized the strength of missionary ideology and organization amongst the educated Indians. The reformers used the techniques of the missionaries in teaching and social welfare and their organizational and authority structures, and in some situations used them as example for the reconstruction of their own traditions. This was true in the works and beliefs of the Brahma and with Arya samajists. Dayananda Saraswati said he had never met a missionary in his life, but his social reform activities had some features of evangelism. Though the missionaries attributed this failure to the stigma of caste, their extra confidence that Christianity would supersede India’s ethical and metaphysical background, as it did elsewhere, also suffered a set back for their lack of intellectual

orientation i.e. contextualizing their religion to Indian culture. Particular mention of this was made in the book of Jonathan Rice, which spoke of only very few missionaries who had university degrees or excellence in oriental languages. Scholars like William Carey who took passionate interest in this culture is of special mention here. However, mission and conversion should be placed in the wider context of a cultural encounter between India and the West.

The half-century between 1830 and 1880 was a crucial period in the history of Protestant Mission in India. There was a bitter confrontation between Christianity and the Indian religions. The British Protestant missionaries in this period had a due share in this confrontation with Indian society. The attitude and feelings of the Indians towards missions is referred to in the statement of Raja Ram Mohan Roy thus: “It is true that the apostle of Jesus Christ used to preach the superiority of Christian religion to natives of different countries. But we must recollect they were not of the rulers of those countries where they preached. Were the missionaries likewise to preach the Gospel and distribute books in countries not conquered by the English, such as Turkey, Persia etc., which are

14 J.N. Farquhar, Modern Religious Movements in India, Macmillan, New York, 1915, p.p.101-129. Farquhar, a Scottish missionary worked in India during 1891-1923. He tried to project some good points in Hinduism. In his writings, one can see very constantly a sympathetic approach towards non-Christian religions.
15 Ralph D. Winter, (Ed), International Journal Of Frontier Missions, USA, Vol. 21:1, Jan-march, 2004, p.p.25-26. An article ‘The Two Awesome Problems-The Tragic Failure of Britain’s Evangelical Awakening’ by Jonathan Rice was published in the Journal, where the author was furious about the Evangelicals’ serious weakness: ‘anti-intellectualism’. They forbade everything, which was ‘secular’ (reading secular novels, engaged in intellectual debates etc.) for their children. This tendency worked upon their children or those would be missionaries to produce anti-intellectualism. This influenced their theology, which lacked intellectual orientation. This inflexibility or proto fundamentalism brought atheistic tendency also in some of their children.
16 Only two out of the forty-four English missionaries enrolled prior to 1824 were university graduates. D.T. Barry, (ed.), Church Missionary Society Register of Missionaries and Native Clergy, London 1896, pp. 1-11.
much nearer England, they would be esteemed as a body of men truly zealous in propagating religion and in following the example of founders of Christianity. In Bengal, where the English are rulers, and where the mere name of English man is sufficient to frighten people and encroach upon the rights of her poor, timid and humble inhabitants and upon their religion, cannot be viewed in the eyes of God or the public as a justifiable act.”

The accounts of the western writers, the foreign travellers and of the Christian missionaries are of great value. But the preconceived notions, religious or other biases, limited experiences, ignorance about traditions and the environment led some of these people to aggressive and intolerant attitudes. Thus criticisms of Hinduism were virulent. Some prominent members of Clapham sect like Charles Grant and Wilberforce or the Scottish missionary Alexander Duff used provocative words against Indian religion and morals. These preconceived notions led the missionaries to draw a wrong picture of India to the English public. K.M. Panikkar, however, attributed the reason for missions’ failure to Christianize India, to the virulent attack of the missionaries on everything that pertained to Hinduism and their insistence on a clear breakaway from the family relationships and surroundings of Hindus. The missionaries had made little or no headway in India because they clung to European customs and ignored ancient culture of the East. This exclusivist and sectarian attitude of the missionaries brought no good but
contributed to the rise of nationalist feeling among Indians. However, though the majority of ignorant missionaries displayed intolerance, from the early years of 19th century there were also growths of a sympathetic attitude for non-Christian religions. Even a few Evangelicals showed this sympathy in missionary conferences.23

Brian Stanley, a modern church historian, commented that the congenial Christian message of universality was ever superseded by the message of polarity in the mission ideology. This was an ideology of both the Catholics and the Protestants who tended to relegate large sections of humanity, those living in other continents far from Europe to an inferior status of being, as ‘pagans’ and ‘heathens’. This outlook of missions was much against the universality of God’s grace and to the unity and equality of humanity. Racism along with perceived inferiority, bifurcated human beings on the basis of anthropology and geographical and cultural frontiers. Thus in one of the sermons which led to the formation of the Baptist Missionary Society in 1792, the preacher John Sutcliff maintained that the Christian duty of benevolence to one’s neighbour could not be confined to the person next door, but must extend to any representative of the human race: “Let him be a Negro, dwelling in the unexplored regions of Africa; or an untutored savage, wandering in the inhospitable forests of America; he is your fellow creature; he is your neighbour; he is your brother. He has a soul, - a soul that will exist for ever.” 24

In 1889 ‘the Methodist Times’ a journal of the Wesleyan Mission, published a series of articles among whom the prominent papers were written by Hugh Price and

Keshari N. Sahay, Christianity and Culture Change in India, p.24.
23 Eric Sharpe’s work on J.N. Farquhar (Uppsala, 1965) would give some idea of these factors.
Henry Lunn. They dealt with the real problem of Wesleyan Mission in India: the social gap between the missionaries and the Indian people. Lunn, a Wesleyan missionary in India, complained that the high standard of living of the missionaries kept them apart from the masses. This identification with the ruling class further widened the social and cultural gap. He further accused that the missionary life style produced a feudal spirit and and negated the Christian principle of the brotherhood of all men. He wished that the missionaries would adopt a Eurasian life style, something between the asceticism of India and the extravagance of Anglo-Indian.\textsuperscript{25} The article of Hugh Price commented that “we carry our social pride and our pride of race where ever we go… and we constantly wound the natives by our assumption of superiority. This is done so habitually that we have become almost unconscious of it”\textsuperscript{26}.

II

Role of Colonial State

The Portuguese in India were the first to mingle religion with politics. St. Francis Xavier came to India in 1542, not as an ordinary missionary but as the representative of the King of Portugal. In 1548 he wrote a letter to the king of Portugal to instruct the Portuguese officials in India to assume direct responsibility of converting India to Christianity and the responsibility should be taken out of the hands of the missionaries and put in to the hands of civil authorities.\textsuperscript{27} Another such occasion of involvement of missionaries in the state politics was, when the Madras company administration decided

\textsuperscript{25} Henry Lunn, \textit{A monograph on “The Missionary Controversy: Discussion, Evidence and Report”} 1890, p.2-7
\textsuperscript{26} A Journal, \textit{‘Methodist Times’}, October 13, 1887, p.669
to send an envoy to intercede with Hyder Ali of Mysore. This way Swartz, a missionary of Tanjore, who commanded once both the politics and the missionary work.  

This raises the question of a notion that the overwhelmingly secular preoccupation of the missionaries depicted western missions as forceful and effective agents of empire. Though the colonial state was secular, did it encourage the missionary activities? Brian Stanley’s book, ‘The Bible and the Flag’ reflects the belief that the Bible and the flag went hand in hand in the imperial agenda of expansion. The colonial administrators had a potential interest in the phenomenon of Christian missionary expansion. On the one hand Missionaries were under many strong compulsions, especially millenarian, to distrust government and to go their own way and on the other hand they looked to government to provide them with a means of self-defense. There were still occasional feelings of their original missionary sense of self-sufficiency, and likes and dislikes of imperial politics and government remained peripheral to their activities. In general, it was understood that the colonialists aimed at the reformation of Indian society through knowledge of the West as was dreamt of by the Utilitarians. However, the missionaries desired the transformation of individuals, families and communities not only through knowledge but also through conversion to the Christian Faith. Their unilateral agenda ‘to become Christian’ meant ‘to become civil’.

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29 Andrew Porter, Religion Versus Empire, Manchester, 2004, p.6
30 Indian Church History Review, p. 21
But this amalgamation was short lived as the Vellore mutiny (1806)\textsuperscript{31} caused greater alarm in England even than in India. A member of the East India Company, Twining, who quoted from Claudius Buchanan’s \textit{Memoir}, moved the Court of Proprietors to expel all missionaries from India and stop all printing of the scriptures in Indian languages. Many a war of pamphlets ensued over the issue of continuing missionaries in India\textsuperscript{32}. However, from 1813 onwards all pervasive influences of evangelicalism had brought the church and state together and mobilized young men as the missionary administrators to India.\textsuperscript{33} Though non-intervention in the matters of religion became the policy of the government, at a private level, a number of government officials of the army and the civil service, supported the missionary work.\textsuperscript{34} Even before that, the colonial state displayed anxiety. The Army officials and administrators often felt themselves insecure over the supposed disloyalty of native sepoys, and much contrary to the effect, encouraged proselytization.\textsuperscript{35} This phase ended by 1858 after the Great Rebellion, which was much against the proselytization. Sir John Keye in his book ‘\textit{Christianity in India}’ observes that ‘It is always religion that is to blame. If a man catches cold, he caught it at church…and the presence of missionaries’

The discussions currently engaged in exploring relationships between missions and company officials in the development of which both appear to have played a part.

\textsuperscript{33} Indian Church History Review, p.21.
\textsuperscript{35} Dr. Akbar Haq, an international Evangelist of present day, draws a distinction between proselytization and Conversion thus ‘the process of conversion was the result of a change of heart, which proselytization was the result of pressure and inducement’. Any conversion based on considerations other than spiritual was ‘attempts to cheat God and fellowmen’. Christians are those who live a true Christian life as envisaged by Christ. Mere enlistment of people on a mass scale is wrong. \textit{Christianity in India}, Vivekananda Kendra Prakashan, Vol. 8, No. 2, Madras, 1979, p. 15.
Some missionaries were also more involved and receptive to Indian society and culture than were the civilians imbued with an imperial ideology that stressed superiority. Therefore, Missionaries were often a cultural bridge between the east and west and between the Company and the people. Barbara Metcalf argues that this was a very important period for Hindu faith formation. The writings and translations of the English and German scholars, Max Muller and Deutsch, helped enormously to revive the interest of educated Hindus in their ancient literature and earlier forms of religion. Therefore, Elizabeth Alexander writes that the late 19th and early 20th century socio-cultural renaissance in India was thus the result of the attitude of the government as well as the western scholars. A good example was Lord William Bentinck, who was an ardent disciple of Charles Grant and who had strong influences of both Evangelicalism and Benthamism had abolished Thugee, Sati, and female infanticide. The missionaries had demanded these state interventions a long time. This way, the imperial government in India played a new role as a humane government, which sought to inculcate the spirit of

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36 M.N. Srinivas, _Social Change in Modern India_, Orient Longman, New Delhi, Reprint 2002, p. 59-61
Bernard Cohn writes ‘the officials were recruited at an earlier age and went to India with an idealized adolescent view of their own society and culture. This adolescent view tended to become fossilized in India. It was to this idealized culture that British officials compared their segments of Indian culture with which they came in contact. This compression heightened the officials’ sense of ‘moral exile’ and contributed to the separation of the British from the Indians’.


38 Smt Elizabeth Susan Alexander points that the initial efforts of missionaries to convert the higher castes did not happen were a historical fact. The educated higher castes, she says, had the strong reformist and nationalist trend in them. Henceforth, the missionaries shunned the urban orientation and concentrated on the lower castes of the rural areas. Elizabeth Susan Alexander, _The Attitudes of British Protestant Missionaries Towards Nationalism In India_, Konark Publishers, Delhi, 1994, p.p.67-78.
western civilization in the Indians. In essence, through the extension of the gospel, missionaries believed that ‘pagan’ culture would become both Christian and modern.

III

The theological perspectives of the missions:

Theology did influence ideology. The Christian Church has been, since early times, constantly bringing into bear sermons to its actions. Proselytization, as a holy duty commissioned missionaries: ‘go ye therefore and teach all nations’. In England there arose the Oxford movement (1830) to bring evangelical revival among Missions. The doctrines of regeneration of the sinner and the sanctification and the assertion of the autonomy of the Church from the State, of Episcopal authority, and also of the universality of the Church were the underlining theology of early 19th century Evangelicalism. Charles Simeon (1783-1836), Vicar of Trinity Church, Cambridge, and the ‘Old Apostle of Evangelicalism’ constantly gave scriptural readings—‘He is no Christian who does not see the hand of God constantly’, and ‘Be Bible Christians not system Christians’; to encourage devotion for the dogmas, further activated the Mission. Later in the century many Evangelicals took up the millenarian view of the doctrine of the Second Coming of Christ, followed by the accountability view of end time judgment of Christ. This so-called nineteenth-century evangelical revivalist theology as a way of life was reinforced within a framework of rationalism and was dialogue oriented.

39 Indian Church History Review, p.p. 18-22.
There arose a new theological phenomenon. Edward Irving advocated ‘Romanticism’ among Evangelical circles, which underlined a greater belief in the inspired nature of the Bible and what was earmarked as fundamentalist ideology. Irving questioned a missionary’s dependence on his aiding society or foreign mission for his necessities and therefore argued that the Missionaries should trust God for their sustenance.43 My research work, Brethren Movement of the early 19th century, was laid upon this ideological foundation. Missionaries of this sect followed the Faith policy as their ideology. Anthony Norris Groves, a millenarian, was the first Missionary of this kind coming without any mission’s support and was instrumental in bringing about the birth of Brethren Movement in the world and India (Andhra) in particular.44 ‘Yet this one time dentist cum missionary probably did more to transform the world of mission more than any one else at that time’: this was the tribute offered by Patrick Johnstone and George Verwer of the Christian Television Association, Wraxall, Bristol. With the growth of his prophetic movement in India, missions’ emphasis changed from civilizing the world to preaching the gospel. By the late 19th century missionaries began to embrace a premillennial view of Christ’s return.45 Another Missionary of this sect, Bro. Silas Fox who was a Graduate of Ontario Bible College in 1916, that same year without benefit of Board or Society sailed for India and led an ascetic life. All Missionaries of this fold recognized the authority of the Bible.46

43 Ibid. p.p. 282-283. Romanticism was a new mood gaining ground in the western society from 1790, as a reaction against enlightenment and reason. The Romantics stressed feeling and intuition. The Romantic Poets, Words Worth, Cole ridge and Sir Walter Scott even influenced the Evangelicals like Edward Irving. Irving’s Association with Cole ridge transformed him to begin a novel Premillennial teaching in church circles, which was absent in Evangelical movement. Irving’s sermons transformed the missionary ideology.

44 Letters From Madras During 1836-1839 By A Lady (London, 1846). This lady was Julia Thomas, wife of Circuit Judge of Rajahmundry, Mr. Thomas. Later Mr. Thomas was shifted to Chittoor about 1839, where this family was friendly with A.N. Groves. She made mention of A.N. Groves in her letters, p.72.


46 The Brethren Movement was called the ‘Back to the Bible Movement’; Donald S. Fox, White Fox Of Andhra, compiled based on Fox’s Dairy, Dorrance & Co, Ardmore, 1977.
moved away from the Mission affiliation and got accustomed to the Faith policy. Here was a highly romantic perspective ideology addressed to the missionary, a soldier of Christ battling it out on his own.

IV

Actual Impact

This Romantic novelty in theological sphere unveiled a fresh vocation on the subject of hell and heaven. The missionaries felt that there would be no reason for their stay in India, had there not been souls being won from hell. James Long a missionary pricked in his conscious at ‘the thought of 800 millions passing into eternal fire every 30 years without a ray of hope often overwhelms me, then I ask myself the question, am I doing my part to avert these dire consequences’. Justus Richter gives the numerical picture of Indian Christian converts between 1851 and 1900. The number of converts in 1851 was 91,092 and was increased to 1, 38,737 in 1861. In 1881 the total number increased to 4, 17,372 which exceeded the Sikhs. This was a fruit of the work of 976 ordained clergy by the year 1900. Added to this, the women missionaries in India were 1174 by 1900. In the Madras presidency the Christian population in 1851 was 74,516; in 1861 the number was 110,078; in 1871 the number increased to 160, 955; in 1881 the number was around 299, 742. Among them the Telugu converts in 1871 were 15, 393 and

47 Church Missionary Intelligencer, Special Supplement, July 1888, p.9; Journal of Ecclesiastical history Vol. XXV No.1 Jan 1974. James Long came to Calcutta in 1840. He acquired proficiency in Bangla, Sanskrit and Persian and was recognized as an Orientalist. His paper on comparative philology was published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, in 1843. His resentment against European Indigo planters was expressed in the Drama ‘Nil Darpan’, which roused a sensation and led to legal proceedings in 1860. James Long was imprisoned for one month in 1861 for his comments against Indigo planters. Amaresh Datta, ed., Encyclopedia of Indian Literature, Vol. II, Sahity Academy, New Delhi, 1988, p.1647.
in 1881 the number was 71,759 and thus the increase was nearly five fold.\textsuperscript{48} George Smith observed that by 1890, there was one missionary per 1, 67,000 of the Indian population. Smith’s study reveals that the Mission was getting on in its progression only as the Crown took over reigns from the company. There was fabulous growth in the total number of Protestant Christians in Andhra between 1857 and 1878 with a notable number of native ordained agents as the following table shows\textsuperscript{49}:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Native ordained agents</th>
<th>Baptized Christians</th>
<th>Adherents unbaptized</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>2,318</td>
<td>1,505</td>
<td>3,823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>29,574</td>
<td>83,396</td>
<td>1,12,994</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, considerable conversion movement that was headway between 1830 and 1850 heralded the History of Christian India.\textsuperscript{50} The Brethren movement in colonial Andhra was rising during these years, precisely about the year 1837, in the absence of any missionary for 50 lakh Telugus along a coast of 600 miles\textsuperscript{51}, the Brethren missionaries pioneered evangelization of Coastal Andhra only to reap early converts for Christianity in 1850.

\textsuperscript{48} Julius Richter, \textit{A History of Missions in India, Morrison & Gibb Ltd. Edinburgh}, 1908, p.p 219-220
\textsuperscript{50} George Smith p.204-207.
\textsuperscript{51} A survey of a missionary tour in 1837 along the Coastal Andhra, was taken up for discussion in the 24\textsuperscript{th} Annual Meeting of the American Baptist Convention, held in New York on April 25, 1838, reveals this. Thomas S. Shenstone, \textit{Teloogoo Mission Scrap Book}, 1888, p.13, UTC Archives, Bangalore.
V

Missionaries And Class

Social background of the missionaries also influenced the mission ideology. The missionaries of the early phase of the modern missions had comparatively come from different social backgrounds. William Carey, most of his colleagues and contemporaries were skilled mechanics, artisans and tradesmen. They were generally averse to hereditary hierarchies in their country and therefore had same concern towards the rigidity of caste and the condition of lower classes in our country. As they were lower class in their society, most of the missionaries felt themselves equivalent to Pariahs in our country. Hence they were antagonistic to both the class superiority in their society and caste stigma in our country. Sydne Smith, an English clergyman, opposed Christian missions to India particularly infested by missionaries of lower class. Sydney Smith used no ordinary terms while writing about this in ‘Edinburgh Review’ (1811). He poured out the vials of his venomous scorn and satire upon the devout missionaries those ‘consecrated cobblers’ and ‘renegades from the anvil and the loom’, who dared to attempt so quixotic an enterprise as the evangelization of India. He wondered ‘why do such religious embassies…devolve upon the lowest of the people? If a tinker is a devout man, he infallibly sets off for the East.’ In Smith’s opinion, the lowest social class of the English society from which most of the missionaries came, would generally have radical views based on egalitarian orientation, in protest to English hierarchies, and would

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question the social order in India. This exhibited the fears of moderate and aristocratic English opinion. The missionary vocation was considered as an improvement of social status for them from artisan to more intellectual sphere. For many missionaries colonial service provided a substantially higher position than they ever could have aspired to in Britain because they were invested with the cultural authority of the predominantly middle class in prosperous mission societies. Therefore the evangelical industry had an emancipatory value, and missionaries were working for greater recognition, as was the case in the industrializing society, which was in itself in the process of social change. Education was thought as a means among the missionary circles to this social change.

After the year 1824 this notion fetched results i.e. in Oxford and Cambridge a collective outcome of 27% of missionaries had university degrees and thus rose to middle class in the social ladder. Social status may clearly have been one possible motive for becoming a missionary. This class-consciousness and social tensions of their own background did not bother the missionaries, but it was the caste in Indian society that kindled their wrath. On numerous occasions the missionaries made caste an excuse for their failure despite their own social ambitions and egalitarian beliefs. Both the European missionary and Indian heathen were the guardians of ‘class’ and ‘caste’ stigma respectively. Caste was attacked as a hindrance to conversion, and therefore observance of caste was blamed as a sin, neglecting theirs class stigma. They were so hostile to caste and were almost

53 The Indian Evangelical Review, Vol. No. LVII, Traill & Co, Calcutta, July, 1888, p.77. Sydney Smith (1771-1845) was an English Clergyman noted as the wittiest man of his time. His personality was as winning as it was amusing. In 1802, Sydney Smith, Francis Jeffrey and Henry Brougham founded the Journal, ‘Edinburgh Review’ as a vehicle for reformist Whig ideas. He opposed Christian missions to India. Hence, his articles in Edinburgh Review (1811) reflected his antagonism towards missions.

54 For example in the CMS circles, only two out of the forty-four English missionaries enrolled prior to 1824 were university graduates. D.T. Barry, (ed.), Church Missionary Society Register of Missionaries and Native Clergy (London 1896) p.p. 1-11.

under compulsion in classifying Indian society along caste lines.\textsuperscript{56} John Pemble rightly remarked that beyond the bounds of Southern Europe the role of the British was to civilize others, not to civilize themselves.\textsuperscript{57} Brian Stanley, the church historian was very critical of the way the British evangelicals went on with their over seas missions despite their own decadence of morale. The S.P.G mission did not view the slave trade, maintained by its own countrymen in the West Africa, who were serious about evangelization. George Whitefield, the greatest Evangelist of Methodist movement regarded slaves as necessary in his ministry. The founder of the L.M.S Thomas Haweis, a Chaplain, had very substantial slave interests in the Caribbean speaks volumes of their uncivilized and selfish schemes.\textsuperscript{58} This embittered ideology of the missionaries is apathy of a case study of cultural encounter. No society was undergoing such drastic social change as nineteenth-century Britain and missionaries, the same anxieties, which they projected onto Indian society.

Edward Irving, a Scottish evangelical and whose eschatological views were influenced by the cultural Romanticism of his friend and poet S.T. Coleridge\textsuperscript{59}, speaking in a celebrated sermon before the London Missionary Society said: ‘just at present, the tendency in many quarters seems to be to exalt a celibate and ascetic missionary ideal. India it is said, accustomed to fakirs, and identifying a true religion with the renunciation of all earthly delights, will never be won to Christ by evangelists dwelling in comfortable homes and bound by family ties… There may be circumstances in which this may be desirable: we have even heard of cases in which Protestant missionaries, like begging

\textsuperscript{56} Duncan B. Forrester, \textit{Caste and Christianity}, p.p. 5-16.
\textsuperscript{57} Anthony Copley, \textit{Religions in Conflict}, New Delhi, 1997.
\textsuperscript{58} Brian Stanley, lecture on “Christian Mission and the unity of humanity” p.1
friars, have carried a bowl for alms.’ Edward Irving admonished the missionaries to be humble and be a model before any evangelization and no pride of race or a high standard of living should part them from masses. The Brethren movement had its roots in the fertile soil of this Romantic mood. The efforts in this direction and the personal lives of the missionaries did bring change in the people’s consciousness.

In the context of cultural romanticism, the life and labour of Benjamin Robinson, a Methodist missionary of Mysore is all worth mention here. He spent whole of his missionary vocation in adaptation to the mannerisms of the Kanarese people. Henry Haigh in his foreword to the book ‘In the Brahmans’ Holy Land’ which was written by Robinson himself, makes a mention of the mode of life of Robinson in the following terms ‘especially did the brooding mysticism of the East make congenial appeal to him. He gave it free but discriminating access to his deepest nature, and until he became saturated with it. Recognizing deep differences between himself and the people of his adoption and his love, he nevertheless discovered real and fundamental kinship. Thus it was easy for him to move about them in kindly, sympathetic fashion. He put on no airs; he claimed no privilege to help, the patient, modest teacher whose method it was to suggest and elude rather than dogmatically to affirm. So it became a passion with him to break down barriers, to reconcile differences, and to embody in his life the spirit of a true fraternity’. A Hindu priest came to him and had a long talk on religion. Finally, the priest asked ‘would you please let me see your sacred book? The missionary handed a leather

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60 The Hand Book Of Foreign Missions (The Missionary Year Book), op.cit. p.p 8-9. It was highly unjustifiable, as often, the missionaries did compare the Indians to that of the Negroes of Africa, for the Indians were educated, thoughtful and competent people and as exactly gentlemen as the English and therefore, Irving admonished the Missionaries to deal Indians with all the aesthetic humility.

61 CMS Archives, University of Birmingham DA30/3/7: photographs of Past, Present Mysore Missionaries at Methodist Conference in 1911 when Henry [Halgh] was President, among whom was missionary, Benjamin Robinson.
bound Bible to him. The priest shrank back in horror and amazingly said, ‘Charma’ (leather). Touching the leather was a defiling abomination to the priest. The Missionary felt ashamed and besought his pardon. The missionary was compelled to question himself as to ‘how far does my life defile Christ’s message? But as I learnt and felt how abominable leather was, and how sacrilegious flesh eating was?’ He decided to give up eating flesh entirely, and to wear the cotton waistcloth and sandals and to live on the food of commoners and thus identified himself in the mannerisms of the local people.  

A Church Missionary Society turned independent Missionary, Rhenius and his native adherent Arulappan who was greatly influenced by the early Brethren missionary A.N. Groves, were the pioneers in founding Christian villages (Christian Pettahs) in South India during 1820 and 1840, so that the converts who could not continue in their own places could live and worship together here. As a consequence, the Society for the Propagation of Gospel (SPG), the Church Missionary Society (CMS), and others followed the method of creating Christian villages and communities, where missionaries also resided among the converts side by side for collective identity. Such Christian villages were mostly created in the Bishop or missionary headquarter towns of entire colonial Andhra. Some Diocesan towns like Nandyal, Cuddapah etc., consists of such villages still going by the names ‘Viswas puram’, ‘Gnana puram’, ‘Daniel puram’, ‘Zion

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62 Benjamin Robinson, *In the Brahmans’ Holy Land*, The Epworth Press, London, Undated, p. 2; 19-20. Though the year of publication of the book is not mentioned, the missionary task of Robinson in and around Mysore, could be placed in 1889 as recorded in Chapter VI, p. 112.

63 CMS Book of Proceedings from 1831 to 1835 Vol. V, UTC Archives, Bangalore, p.468: Read letter from Home Committee marked S.No.1 Dated Feb. 13th, 1835 with resolution about dissolution of connection of Rhenius with CMS. Letters were already exchanged between them over the independent convictions of Rhenius pp. 259-468. The visit of A.N. Groves, the first Brethren missionary, to Tinnevelly in 1833 precipitated this crisis. Most of the Papers received by CMS, London, from 3 Nov. 1836 to 15 Feb. 1837, reveals letter correspondences among A.N.Groves, Rhenius and the CMS.

puram’ etc. They were akin to Brahmin Agraharams. Later, these villages served as the means of awakening the consciousness of the poor and the depressed and provided them with an identity. Some times the facilities, with attached modern hospitals, reading rooms, recreation clubs, and burial grounds for converts even exceeded that of the Agraharams. As the converts in these villages accepted the missionaries as their new leaders, they were willing to modify the administration of their villages according to new principles. Without any caste discrimination few upper castes converts also took shelter in these villages. The autobiographical novel of late 19th century ‘Saguna’ gives a picture of a Christian village ‘Vishrampur’ (Peace Village); where the converts from depressed classes and the Brahmin convert family of Krupabai, lived together. The missionaries and their families lived amidst the converts of all walks of life.

Lila Krishnan, a sociologist observes that while negative religious beliefs are a hindrance to social change, positive beliefs nurture the idea of working in order to improve the quality of worldly life. Therefore, the positive side of the professed faith was nurtured and worked upon for the good of the society bringing a social change. One such potent source of cultural and social change that brought enlightenment and

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66 CMS Letter Book (5th June 1896-9th Dec.1898) Vol.1, p.337 gives types of information to be included in reports on Christian Villages. CMS went on founding several Christian villages such as Grace villages, Gospel villages etc., throughout the country, was a new ideological trait followed among several CMS missionaries, where philanthropic societies like Dharma Sangham were set up to provide poor fund, widow fund etc to converts and to carry other translation and literary work. H.L. Puxley, ‘Christian Land Settlements’, De Sales Press, Nagpur, 1941, gives the clear picture of Christian colonies and says that the colonies developed for the economic, social, psychological and moral betterment of the converts. p.p.13-42.
enhancement of women in the society was the Zanana mission. M.N. Srinivas, a reputed sociologist of India assessed ‘while educated Indians dislike deeply the evangelizing aspect of missionary work, they readily acknowledge the good work done by the missionaries in providing education and medical relief to all sections of the population, and especially to untouchables and women’. All new social experiences worked together to the elevation of Indian women, led them to the extent of fighting the British in the national movement. Rabindranath Tagore’s novel is a good testimony to this. Practically imprisoned inmates of the Zena led a miserable life, where enlightenment through education or access to medical aid, were nearly out of sight. It was said that, by the year 1929, there were some forty million women in India to be living more or less behind purdah. Mrs. Wakefield of the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East did succeed in gaining access into a native house in Calcutta in 1835 and became thus the first Zenana missionary who reached India. The government efforts under Dalhousie extended support to the education of women in general.

69 *Zen* is a Persian word signifies female wife; Zenanas, the women’s apartment. Every large house in India set apart a portion exclusively to females, where no male ever enters.


71 Rabindranath Tagore, *The Home and The World*, (Trans), Macmillan, 1919, Reprint-1976, India. Tagore wonderfully personified the role of Bimala, an imprisoned inmate of Zanana, in his novel. Miss. Gilby, an English missionary in Zanana school, tutored Bimala. ‘I did not insist on keeping you shackled, you are free’ told Nikhil, the husband of Bimala. The young wife Bimala, entranced by the patriotic rhetoric of her husband’s friend, Sandip, becomes an eager devotee of the Swadeshi Movement.


VI

Transformation of Indegenous Society-Overt and Covert influence of Missionaries in Shaping Indian Response

Access to the Zenana women in India had been greatly enlarged from 1880. General desire for education had been evinced more, and in the medical part of the work there was a great encouragement. 41 Zenana missionary stations were further opened in 1880 in particular places of North India, Punjab and South India. 95 foreign lady missionaries and 534 native and Eurasian workers were involved in these stations. 3118 Zenanas were under visitation and 179 Zenana schools with 6,916 pupils regularly learnt in them. The curriculum in Zanana generally was, reading and writing, arithmetic, English Grammar, Poetry in the vernacular, Geography, Gospel history, sewing etc.\(^75\) Besides Zanana education in South India, in the Madras Presidency by the year 1866-67, there were 4,638 girls in mission schools and by ten years it was six fold increase to 28,151 girls in 1876-77\(^76\). There were 248 women missionaries in the Presidency in 1901, involved in Zenana education. Missions like Free Church of Scotland and the Church of England, involved in Zanana home teaching at places like Masulipatnam, availed the privileges of grant-in-aid and the government scholarships to purdah ladies\(^77\).

The Indian women, such as Ellen Goreh and Cornelia Sorabji fought for the cause of Zanana women. Ellen Goreh was the talented and well-educated daughter of Nehemiah Goreh, whom we discussed in the Chapter ‘conversions’. She wrote the book

\(^76\) Proceedings of The Missionary Conference of South India and Ceylon, Bangalore, 1879, p.164.
\(^77\) Proceedings of Education Department, Govt. of Madras: G.O. No.215, 216 Educational April 6,1904, p.28; G.O.No.394 Educational, 1 May 1913,p.7.
‘From India’s Coral Strand’. She and her associates, connected with the education of Zanana, were well received in many houses.78

Cornelia Sorabji,79 a Parsi convert always stood for the rights of Zanana women as a first woman barrister. She was one of the seven distinguished daughters of Rev. Sorabji Kharsedji and was born in 1866. She spent most of her childhood in Deccan. While she was studying at Deccan College, Poona, she was the only girl student at the college among 300 men students. They used to behave rudely and used to shut classroom doors on her. At such instances she thought that she would be a pioneer in the cause of her country women’s advancement. She took her Honours degree in 1887. She was appointed as Acting Professor of English in Ahmedabad. Later she went to England and pursued law degree in Oxford with an intention to uplift the condition of women in India. She was the first woman Barrister of India and had served under the Government of India in the Court of Wards, Calcutta, where she was the guardian and friend of widowed Ranis. She was a powerful advocate on behalf of their issues80. While she was in England she was frequently asked to speak at missionary meetings, especially at those in support of Zanana missions. Her mother Francina Sorabji too was involved in the Zanana mission. Francina made a gift of the property of her Victoria high school to Zenana Bible and Medical mission. As the first woman lawyer of the English-speaking world, Cornelia helped in establishing the legal rights and promoting the social uplift of Purdah

79 Antoinette Burton in her book, Dwelling in the Archive: Women Writing House, Home and History in Late Colonial India, Oxford University Press, 2003 has analysed the life and writins of Cornelia Sorabji as the archive of Zanana life in India. Her beautiful works, India Calling (1934) and India Recalled (1936) tell Zanana as a quintessential symbol of authentic India and also the mouthpiece of anxieties and aspirations of modern professional women under British rule.
Nasheems. She took up cases of women in the courts of Baroda, Indore, Kathiawar, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Nearly six hundred wives, widows, orphans and minor heirs benefited from her. For her services to Indian women, the government chose her for the award of Kaiser-I-hind Gold Medal.\textsuperscript{81} She was a brilliant writer very much focusing on the contemporary problems of Indian women and girls, as is testified by her illuminating books interpreting the women and children of India – ‘\textit{Between the Twilights}’, ‘\textit{Life Behind the Purdah}’ and ‘\textit{Sun Babies}’.

Cornelia Sorabji and Pandita Ramabai aspired for medicine. But Sorabji pressed to study Law rather than medicine, as she had desired. Ramabai had to give up medicine in England for teacher training. Why this shift from one to another? They were convinced of the dire need of the hour. Therefore they opted for the best serving vocations to serve the women folk of India. Cornelia Sorabji expressed in her writings the influences of western literature and Victorian women ideologies. Writer’s discontent with the plight of upper caste and traditional Hindu women imprisoned by the shackles of purdah, Sati and widowhood\textsuperscript{82} are disclosed in her writings and she herself managed the affairs to tackle the problems through her legal practice towards the economic independence and individualism of women.\textsuperscript{83} These efforts of such women like Cornelia and Pandita Ramabai did not lay waste but did really evince for social transformation\textsuperscript{84}. Missionaries were the pioneers in women’s education in Madras presidency as it was already noted. A native Kandukuri Veeresalingam (1848-1919), an admirer of English liberalism, represented several social issues in Andhra, particularly issues relating to women.

\textsuperscript{82} ‘\textit{Friend of India}’ 18 Nov 1841, focused the severities relating to native widows
\textsuperscript{84} \textit{Economic and Political Weekly}, April-May 2006, Vol XLI No 17, p.p.1643-44.
Thereby the movement for general uplift of women grew steadily. The Dailies like ‘The Hindu’ gave propaganda to these ideas in their columns\textsuperscript{85}. Very soon Women’s associations sprang in several places in Andhra and the need for more women’s organizations was stressed\textsuperscript{86}. The leading woman writer and a reformer in Andhra, in this connection was Bhandaru Atchamamba (1874-1905) who undertook a tour of entire Andhra in 1903, giving lectures and organizing women’s associations. Like Ramabai in Maharashtra, she too provided asylum to many destitute women\textsuperscript{87}.

VII

Missionary Conferences –The Review of Ideology: -

From the beginning missionaries were busy in applying new methods for conversions. Some of the missionaries learned the Indian vernaculars and kept themselves busy in the translation of the Bible into the vernaculars and also in composing Christian vernacular literature. William Carey was a formidable linguist and in thirty years, six translations of the whole Bible into vernaculars were completed. Such translations were always to be key elements in the missionary enterprise. From the birth of Protestant Missions the ‘Press’ has been one of its agents for the spread of the Christian truth. Sir Charles Aitcheson “the Bible is the best of all missionaries. Missionaries die; the printed Bible remains forever. It finds access through doors that are closed to the human foot, and into countries where missionaries have not yet ventured to go… No book is more studied in India now by the native population of all parties than

\textsuperscript{85} The Hindu, September 28, 1888
\textsuperscript{86} Krishna Patrika, December 1905.
\textsuperscript{87} Telugu Zanana, February 1905.
the Christian Bible”. Itineration of the Gospel in the villages, markets and streets was also propagated through printed tracts and four Gospel books of the Bible were in vogue. Bible study was one of the special features of missionary vocation. Mr. Bennett, a close associate with the Serampore Print establishment, no sooner he reached India than he printed from March 1832 till December of the same year 3,840,000 tracts. Missionaries like Alexander Duff set their mind over the conversion of the elite and the upper class through western education. An outcome of this brisk missionary activity was the dawn of the Indian Protestant church. In the beginning missionaries were indifferent towards the emerging Indian church and its own priesthood, on the pretext that it would divert their attention from the itinerary. In the mid-19th century much debate had taken place over the issues of Indian church, the training of Indian priesthood, itinerary and education in the series of missionary conferences held from 1850 onwards. Thus the missionaries were always in the assured belief that the British were in India for just this missionary purpose—it was for this that Providence had spared England from defeat in the hands of Napoleon.

The first Missionary Conference ever to take place was at Calcutta in 1855. The proceedings of the conference was serious in nature. It was widely discussed that there was certain challenge from written books of the Hindu culture than those cultures with an oral tradition. Hindu doctrine, above all its pantheism, rendered preposterous’ any apologetics for atonement. The other issues like Caste, the position of outcaste Indian converts, the warnings and threatening of excommunication to caste Hindu converts from

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90 The Missionary Jubilee, Account of the 50th Anniversary of the American Baptist Missionary Union, New York, 1869, p.279.
91 Church Missionary Society Archive, ACC.91 O13, University of Birmingham Library : Miscellaneous printed papers mainly relating to education in India 1832-1853, Appendices to report on education by Alexander Duff 1852.
the Brahmin priesthood were also raised; The Brahmo samajists saw the Christians as rivals to their reform movement. These were a special challenge to Missionaries. Poor mastery of the vernaculars often led to misunderstandings. All these practical difficulties put missionaries under review against any expectation of immediate success.

A Baptist missionary, J. Wenger of Calcutta out of pity for Europeans, felt that the ‘preaching in a hot climate and in the midst of a steaming crowd, requires an amount of physical exertion and endurance which the strangest man cannot sustain much longer than an hour at a time’ Besides, the joint activities of Europeans and Indians proved that Christianity’ constitutes a bond of brotherhood unknown to Hinduism.

Revd J. Stubbins of Orissa stressed upon features of his itineration on horseback. A tent would be pitched among the villages, for some six weeks to two months, making visits to surrounding villages on an average travel of four to ten miles a day: ‘we sometimes travel as much as a thousand miles during a cold season’. To attract attention one sang a song from hymns, followed by a passage from the Holy Scripture.

Another missionary conference was held at Ooty in 1858 in the following year of the great rebellion of 1857. Ragland, a missionary preacher of north Tinnevelly read a paper on his exemplary itinerating tours and overruled the necessity of learning the vernaculars and understanding the Indian religions. One paper in the conference condemned the unfair vocabulary such as calling Indians ‘niggers’ used by

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92 Proceedings of a general Conference of Bengal protestant Missionaries, the Baptist press, Calcutta, 1855, p. 43, Andhra Christian Theological College Archives (ACTC), Hyderabad.
93 Proceedings of South India Missionary Conference, Madras, ISPCK, 1858, p.p 140-153
missionaries. The next conference was held at Lahore in 1862. Rev. Herron opened his debate on the poor relationship existing between the missionaries and the Indian converts. One complaint was that the missionaries had often prejudiced their converts in all aspects of race, class, culture, manners and customs. The missionaries, it was alleged, was friendlier to the heathen than they were towards the converts. ‘Saguna’ the first Autobiographical novel in English by an Indian woman was an exemplary book of late 19th century, portraying the racial prejudices of the missionaries towards their Indian converts. Saguna explains herself how a missionary family in a south Indian village of Vishrampur, though they were drawn from upper stratum of society, mistreated her and her mother. The missionaries treated them on par with their counterpart converts from depressed sections, which were economically dependents on missionary charity, and without realizing Saguna and her mother belong to another category of Christians whose conversion was a genuine and spiritual and nothing to link with material benefits. Missionaries, generally, were unawares of such flaws in their methods of evangelization.

In the Bangalore conference of 1879, the paper ‘Accessions in Ongole’ was read by Rev. Downie, a missionary of Nellore, in which he categorized the mass movement at

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94 The Victorians deliberately chalked racial Stratification. The racial discrimination was in the forefront in the wake of 1857 revolt. The Victorians categorized Indians similar to Negroes. Ignorance and brutality appear where the Blacks with receding forehead and projecting jaws are present. In contrast, the fullness of intelligence and morality appear, where the Anglo-Saxons with broad forehead and upright jaws are present. This is one possible meaning implied intentionally in the usage of the word ‘niggers’ by the foreigners, emphasizing their racial superiority. C. Bolt, Victorian Attitudes to Race, Routledge & K.Paul, London, 1971, p.16.


96 Chandani Lokuge (ed), Saguna, p.99. She argues that the missionaries were socially a middle class in their country and they were no more superior to Saguna’s family, which belonged to upper class in the Indian society. Here Saguna responded emotionally when exposed to racism and she rose in revolt against white superiority. Economic and Political Weekly, April-May 2006 Op-cit. p.p.1642-1643.
Ongole, making the church membership to a total of 12,804. Mass movements were one agenda of this conference. ⁹⁷ One Indian Christian the Rev. Rajgopal F.C.S.M. Madras, made some interesting comments. The Christians were said to have been observing good and bad days. A sneeze, a Brahmin widow, a cat etc., were considered as bad omen. He also raised the issue of caste for discussion. The Rev. W. Burgess of Madras, presented a paper ‘The dangers of a Christian community emerging from Heathenism’ condemned the Christian converts of the observance of lucky days, placing the lights during the day in sick room and about the dead, hiring temple girls to dance at weddings. ⁹⁸ All this suggests that the ideology that the missions upheld was a failure. To eradicate these practices, the education of the masses, that too female education was emphasized in the conference ⁹⁹. In the Calcutta conference of 1882 the Rev. T. Smith criticized the confrontational attitude towards Indian religions. This missionary was a great lover of Indian music and lyrics. He identified himself as one among the Hindus and suggested that a missionary of India must be a Hindu to the Hindus. ¹⁰⁰

After reckoning these flaws and frails of missionary endeavour, a conclusion was conceded by one missionary report, which observes that the evangelization of a country containing two hundred millions of inhabitants can never be affected by a handful of

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⁹⁷ Downie, *From Mill to Mission Field*, Philadelphia, 1928, p.27. Following the Great Famine (1876-77) in Nellore, 2222 people were converted around 1880. In Ongole alone, converts were 9606, making the total membership of the church to 12,804. Missionary read a Paper on Conversions in the Conference, which followed by heated discussions on genuineness of such conversions. Minutes of the Missionary Conference, South India and Ceylon, Bangalore, 1879, Vol. I, Madras, 1880, p. 36-39, Union Theological College Archives, Bangalore.


⁹⁹ Minutes, emphasizing female education, were already in the missionary agenda from South India Missionary Conference held at Ooty, 1858.

They were forced back on an alternative agency of Indian priests\textsuperscript{101}. Had European missionaries felt threatened by the prospect of such an emergent Indian priesthood? Henry Venn and Anderson’s ‘Three-Self’ triad – self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating (1854) that focused on establishing indigenous churches under native agency in a contextualised native cultural form was the answer to this. Several minutes of London Missionary Society, Church Missionary Society etc. speaks on the issue of native agency\textsuperscript{102}. Gradually this contributed to the nationalist vision of churches on native governance. Correspondingly, national churches sought autonomy by self-governance on par with the nationalist demand for freedom from foreign rule.

On the cultural side, the English education and westernization allured and delighted the Indians till the first half of 19\textsuperscript{th} century and also gradually provoked them to react on the reassertion and defense of Hinduism by its reformers\textsuperscript{103} such as Veeresalingam and Raghupathi Venkataratnam in Andhra as their counterparts fought in the national scennario. On the political side, Indians, suspicious of British rule and driven by the growing nationalism, longed for Swaraj. The Indian Church was no exception to it\textsuperscript{104}. The Indian converts and native workers too were tempted to separate themselves from the foreign missions to form a nationalist church.\textsuperscript{105}

\textsuperscript{102} LMS (London Missionary Society) Minutes from 1839 to 1874, UTC Archives, Bangalore: At a meeting of Bangalore District Committee held in Bellary, Jan. 3, 1870, pp.283-311 and the same met in Bangalore on Jan. 1, 1871, pp.313-329 resolved on the minutes and accordingly wrote letters for all pastors giving instructions to raise native agency and rear their children for continuation of the agency for future gospel work.
\textsuperscript{103} ‘The Madras Crescent’ 1846, attacked the deputation of missionaries led by J. Tucker and the proselytizing missionary methods. CMS: Proceedings of Madras Corresponding Committee 1816-87, Monthly meetings 1846-47.
\textsuperscript{105} C.B.Firth, An Introduction To Indian Church History, ISPCK, New Delhi,2000, p. 248.
The culture of Christianity as brought into Hindu land by foreign missions was altogether strange. A cultural gap prevailed between the missionaries and the natives. Into this cross cultural enigma entered the Native Agency. Some of their early converts were these native agents. The native workers in translating the Scriptures and communicating with the native population helped the missionaries. They were trained and ordained by missionaries as evangelists, pastors and even native missionaries, such as Purushotham Choudhary, Pulipaka Jagannadham, Nehemiah Goreh, N.V.Tilak, Lal Behari Day, Krishnamohan Benerji, J.C. Arulappan, Gollapalli Nathaniel, Agrippa etc.

We find in the second half of the 19th century a greater inclination among the native agency, as if they were dissatisfied under foreign yoke, to seek Indian ways of expressing their Christian devotion. Indigenous ways of expression through Hindu mode of music and lyric became prominent. All the categories of native agents contributed their share in consolidating the native church by arousing the cultural consciousness and contextualising the new faith. The religious lyrics of N.V.Tilak in Marathi, lyrics of Purushotham Choudhary, P.Jagannadham, G.Nathaniel etc. in Telugu, and Krishna Pillai in Tamil created close native parallels.

We also find attempts being made by certain Indian converts to adopt the acetic life of Sanyasis. Tilak’s bid to Maratha mission led to a new career of sanyasin to contextualize Christianity more in an Indian fashion. Similarly Brahma Bandhopadyaya

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and B.C.Sircar in Bengal, Sadhu Sunder Singh in Punjab followed Indian attire. The Christian sadhu, most of all the converts, caught the public attention. 107

In the next stage, the native workers thoroughly worked out to lead a self-supporting and independent missionary vocation evading the foreign support. Their new faith expressed a strong consciousness of nationality and attachment to the Indian heritage. Many Indian Christians were instrumental in the formation of several Indian missionary societies, ashrams, seva sanghs etc., in Andhra and elsewhere from 1905 onwards.108 The Indian converts, V.S.Azariah, K.T. Paul and V.Santiago to the amazement of foreign missionaries, defined more independently their stand in the native missionary conferences held from time to time109. As an Indian nation they liked the national church should be liberated from foreign rule and as a native priesthood, they liked to fulfil all the indigenisation requirements. This national consciousness among the native Christian community developed since the early phase of he Indian National Congress110. For example in the third annual session in 1887, out of 607 participants, 15 were Indian Christians. In the Congress session of 1889, among the ten women delegates, 3 were Christians: Pandita Ramabai, Mrs. Triumbuck and Mrs. Nikambe111. They gave full support to the nationalist cause to the embarrassment of the British colonial government.

108 The National Missionary Society (Bharat Christava Sevak Samaj) was founded at a meeting of Indian Christians held in Serampore from the 24th to 28th of December 1905.
109 The National Movement and the Indian Church: Resolutions of the All India Conference of Indian Christians (1921). Report of the VIII All India Conference of Indian Christians Held in Lahore from 28th to 30th December 1921, p.p. 40-41.
‘The evangelization of the World in this generation’ was a movement, which took impetus in the world scenario of Protestant missions by the late 19th century\textsuperscript{112}. While the movement was taking shape, the motto of the missions in India underwent radical change. There had been a mission’s magazine, the ‘\textit{Missionary Review}’ started by Royal G. Wilder in 1878 intended to promote the idea of evangelizing the world in the present generation by the end of 1900. Most of the widely circulated missions periodicals of the day joined to voice the same. The \textit{Baptist Missionary Magazine} (1881) admonished its missionaries and members around the world to bring the gospel into contact with three souls each year for twenty years\textsuperscript{113}. Eventually, the Gospel message, was diffused far more extensively among the nations, tongues and people\textsuperscript{114}. The Evangelisation of the World was highly recommended to its clergymen as well as its missionaries by the Church Missionary Society through its periodicals\textsuperscript{115}. Under this scheme, a great missionary force of students and other evangelicals in sufficient numbers to furnish the means of propagation particularly to India, China and Japan, expedited the missions’ movement of the late 19th century with single but speedy ideology of evangelisation. This enthusiasm was continuously kindled among the missionaries of India through hundreds of periodicals. The imperial British Empire fueled the belief in the possibility of India and the world being evangelized quickly.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{112} \textit{Missionary Review}, January. 1878, p.10
\item \textsuperscript{113} \textit{Baptist Missionary Magazine}. November 1881, p.381. Oct. 1883, p.348, February 1885,p.50.
\item \textsuperscript{114} \textit{Missionary Review}. July 1882, p. 251, January 1887, p.19
\item \textsuperscript{115} \textit{Church Missionary Intelligencer}. February 1888, p.120
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