CHAPTER - V

CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC, RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL CHANGE

The growth and development of the work of the Christian missionaries in Simla and Panjab Hill States was slow and gradual. It was during the second half of the nineteenth century that various Mission stations were set up in the Western Himalayas. Schools, Churches and Medical Centres were also established. This initiated a process of socio-economic and religious changes in this region. It is therefore important to examine the role of Christian missionaries in bringing about such changes.

I. Socio-Economic Change

Historians and social scientists have generally spoken of change in India during the nineteenth century in terms of such all-embracing processes of 'westernization', 'modernization' and transformation under the impact of British capitalism. Percival Spear assigns to Christian missions the role of an important 'westernizing influence' or agency through which western ideas and values reached the Indian middle classes who then worked out their synthesis between 'India' and the 'West.' Schools, medical work, and especially work among women were the means by which the missions played their role. Christian missions were largely responsible for the 'women's movement' in India. A.R. Desai also recognizes western education as one of the factors responsible for the crusades against the caste system, untouchability, the emancipation of women and the freedom of India.
M.S.Srinivas offers an analysis of change organized around the concepts of 'Sanskritization' and 'westernization'. Of these two processes of socio-cultural change, the latter was more profound in its effects and led to changes in the structure itself while the former was used by upwardly mobile jatis (communities) to improve their positions within the social structure. Although Srinivas does discuss the economic impact of British rule, his analysis of westernization parallels that of Percival Spear. The British introduced in India; new technology, institutions, ideologies and values and so created a kind of western 'sector' along side the traditional Indian one. However, those Indians who entered this sector through educational institutions, employment or commerce did not simply borrow things, ideas or institutions from the British, the borrowing was selective and the borrowed terms subjected to elaboration and reinterpretation. Like Percival Spear, Srinivas views Christianity as a westernizing influence and assesses its significance in terms of its impact upon the 'New Elite'. The missionary was, in Srinivas view, not only a westerner whose ways might be borrowed on a selective basis but also a harsh critic whose attacks upon Indian and Indian religion created in this 'New Elite' an ambivalent attitude towards both the West and their own culture. Also 'the conversion of the lower castes (especially Harijans) to Islam and Christianity was an important factor in producing a changed attitude among the Hindu elite toward caste and untouchability'. He treats the convert more as an object of missionary humanitarianism than a significant creator of change. Confronted with this 'Christian Threat', particular mention may be made of the Arya Samaj which was established in Simla in 1882. The Arya Samaj opened its first school in the hills at Dhada (now known
as Virgarh) in Kotgarh in 1920. The school called the Himalaya Anglo-Sanskrit Middle School was inaugurated by the well-known Arya Samaj scholar and leader Mahatma Hans Raj. Arya Samaj also started a Girls School in Lower Bazar in 1928 and D.A.V. School for Boys in 1934. Arya Samaj leaders then began to give serious attention to the grievances of the depressed classes in North India.

Rev. Dr. Prochnow was the first to initiate socio-economic change at Kotgarh by setting up European industrial agents at Kotgarh Mission whose function was, “not only to teach the children in the schools, but also to train them, and to labour with them in the fields, introducing in this way habits of industry and perseverance, and also, if possible new branches of industry and trade.” For this purpose, two German mechanics or industrial agents arrived at Kotgarh. Mr. Harrer opened an Industrial School at Kotgarh in 1856, and was in charge of all temporalities of the Mission. Mr. Steller took an active part in the instruction and management of the Kotgarh boys school. The greatest advantage derived from the settlement of these two men was the feeling of trust and confidence in the stability of the Kotgarh Mission. The European industrial agents were supported by funds independent of the Church Missionary Society. It was intended that they should not only assist in teaching the truth, but also labour among agriculturists, and thus set an example of profitable industry to the peasantry of the country. For instance, as an industrial and horticultural enterprise, Rev. H.F.T. Beutel planted about 1,000 fruit trees in the Kotgarh Mission compound. Under his care a flourishing orchard had grown up at
Kotgarh. The sale of the fruit and earnings thereof helped forward the mission work.\textsuperscript{13}

Another outstanding personality who was instrumental in bringing important change in Kotgarh and subsequently in the whole of Himachal Pradesh was Samuel Evans Stokes. He came from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania State of United States of America. He found the climatic conditions of Kotgarh similar to that of America. He brought delicious varieties of apples, viz., 'Starking', 'Winter Banana', 'Jonard', 'Golden Delicious', 'Summer Queen', etc. to Kotgarh, almost at the same time that they were being introduced in the United States.\textsuperscript{14} With patient persuasion, backed by his own example, Stokes induced the farmers of Kotgarh to use their land for a crop which would not mature for several years. C.M. Kashyap and Edward Post pointed out that, "today Kotgarh and its environs present an unending vista of apple orchards. Three-fourths of the population of Kotgarh, including the Stokes family, are engaged in apple growing, packaging or transporting. The affluence which apples have brought to Kotgarh is reflected in the modern and spacious houses which dot the valley and, in general, the rise in living standard".\textsuperscript{15}

Wilhelm Heyde who established the Moravian Mission Farm in Kyelang during his stay there from 1854-1898, established a 'Model Farm', to demonstrate new, more rational ways of farming, introduce new crops and thus raise the material standards of the Lahaulis. He demonstrated that crops could flourish without the ministrations of the Lamas. He also hoped that through its secular activities the mission would come into contact with local people who would otherwise have nothing to do with it.\textsuperscript{16} It was also aimed at providing
employment for Christian converts who had either been ostracised from their own community or, as in the case of a former Lama from Tibet had come from another area altogether. The Moravian missionaries always insisted on a long probationary period before converts were baptised so that it was certain that their motives for conversion were sincere. They continued to receive instruction after baptism to prove that Christianity was not a soft option. Wilhelm Heyde was keen to instil a typically protestant ethic of combining both prayer and work.

The Farm also provided ample opportunity for prayerful work. The British Government was happy to encourage new farming techniques and provided 190 acres of land but, before it could be put to use the Mission had to dig ten miles of irrigation channels through stony soil and rocks. In doing so, they were able to demonstrate another valuable Western technique, the use of blasting explosives. Once the Farm was established it did make a valuable contribution to the Lahauli economy. The Moravian missionaries introduced new crops such as turnips, lettuces and best of all, potatoes and hops, which are now major cash crops of the tribals of Lahaul valley. They also planted new varieties of fruit trees, introduced the Lombardy poplar and improved the quality of the local sheep by cross-breeding with other strains. The Mission also engaged in a little trading. In 1890 they made an arrangement with the nomads of Rupshu in Ladakh, who were to drive 200 sheeps to Kyelang each year. The sheep would carry loads of wool and salt and would come to be shorn at Kyelang. Thus, providing plenty of wool for the Mission's Cottage Knitting industry. They were then driven back to Rupshu, laden with vegetables.
The Kyelang Farm made considerable progress as long as Rev. Wilhelm Heyde was there to administer it. After his departure it gradually went into decline and until the closing years of 1940, the Kyelang Station was more of a liability than an asset. The future of the farm and indeed of the whole Kyelang mission came up for discussion several times in the course of the 1920's and 1930's but each time it was retained.\(^2\) In F.A.Peter's time (1935-40) the increased market for a new crop, *Kuth* also known as *rusta*, offered a fresh opportunity to make the farm commercially viable.\(^2\)

In Kyelang, the Moravian missionaries' wives organised classes for local women to learn knitting and *Bible* verses. The women were glad to have an extra source of income and before long were producing 1,100 pairs of socks a year, by Lahauli standards a sizeable cottage industry. Knitting classes became something of a Moravian tradition and the wives of the missionaries and evangelists carried it to Poo and Ladakh.\(^2\) Woollen socks of German style are now part of traditional Lahauli and Kinnauri costume. The purpose of Theodor Schreve's weaving industry, like the mission farms, was to provide employment for actual and potential converts, as well as generally boosting the tribal and local economy. In Leh, Walter Asboe, who had some business experience before becoming a missionary, started a cooperative society.\(^2\) He had somewhat more success with another cooperative venture as he started the Leh Spinners Association in 1939. The aim of this Association was also to capture the raw wool trade for the Ladakhis.\(^2\) But both Walter Asboe and Friedrich A.Peter, the last two European missionaries in Kyelang thought that the farming enterprise had turned out to be a mistaken mission strategy. While recognising
the need to support the early converts, they felt that too much dependency on
the Mission - 'bottle-feeding', in Walter Asboe's words, had been counter-
productive.\textsuperscript{26}

The closure of the Kyelang Mission Station in 1940 was not quite the end
of Moravian agricultural initiatives. Friedrick A. Peter and his sister were forced
to leave Kyelang after the outbreak of the Second World War because the
government suspected them of Nazi sympathies, although they were Swiss
citizens. It appears, the main reason for the government's suspicions was that
their parents were then resident in Herrnhut in Nazi Germany. They spent the
duration of the War at a Canadian Anglican mission station in Palampur where
Peter developed his skills as a 'rural uplift' worker. At the end of the Second
World War, he briefly returned to Leh to review proposals for an irrigation
scheme to use the waters of the Indus at Spitak near Leh. Afterwards he moved
to western Panjab. Also in 1939 Walter Asboe started an Industrial School in
Leh with financial assistance from the Kashmir-Government.\textsuperscript{27} The purpose of
the School was to provide alternative means of livelihood. Asboe introduced a
new design of loom, wider than the traditional Ladakhi version, to produce
shawls, blankets and broadcloth. The school also trained a number of Tibetan
carpet weaving apprentices. The Industrial School was closed down in 1947\textsuperscript{28}
but was eventually replaced by a government sponsored handicrafts training
centre.

In Poo, the greatest social pressures on potential converts came not from
local aristocrats (as was the case in Lahaul) or from the local Buddhist hierarchy,
but from villagers. The nature of these social pressures arose from the structure
of tribal village society. In contrast to Lahaul, where the local aristocracy continued to wield a decisive influence, the social system in Poo was more 'republican'. Important community matters would be decided by the village assembly which met either under a tree or in the village temple. But only 'nangpa' (nang pa) households had the right to send representatives to this assembly. Nangpa means 'insider', both in a religious and social sense. The lower members of the social hierarchy were not considered to be full members of the Buddhist community and were defined as 'pipa' (phyi-pa), outsiders.

Low as they were in the social hierarchy, it was possible for the pipas to sink one step further if they became Christians. If they did so, they risked losing their employment and could not share food or tobacco pipes with their Buddhist relatives or even enter their houses. The only way to restore their status was to formally renounce Christianity by drinking sacred Ganges water procured from the Raja in Rampur (costing two rupees and four annas a bottle in 1911). Interestingly, this prohibition of sharing food and tobacco, which suggests Hindu influence, only applied on the Indian side of the border. As soon as Rev. Ernst Reinhold Schnabel (1895-1920), Moravian missionary at Kyelang, crossed the stream marking the frontier on a visit to Shipke in 1898, all the members of his party sat down-Christians and non - Christians, nangpas and pipas-to share a hookah and, using a common cup, drink water from the stream, which was supposed to bring good luck.

Against this background, the Moravian missionaries recognised that villagers who did convert to Christianity would be abandoning their social as well as their religious status as the two were inextricably bound together. Since all
converts risked social ostracism and the loss of their former employment, the missionaries at Poo decided that they had to provide practical as well as pastoral support. Thus, in 1890 Rev. Theodor Schreve built a Cottage Blanket-Weaving industry using an improved loom imported from Germany. He followed this by extending the mission farm into fallow land. At one point he was employing 40 men to clear land. He also set up a seed trading business to improve the quality of the local varieties of vegetables. Meanwhile, Mrs. Schreve continued a longstanding Moravian tradition, which continues to this day in Lahaul and upper Kinnaur, by instructing the tribal women in the art of knitting socks which could then be sold at a profit. In short, the mission became a major local employer. Rev. Theodor Schreve was well aware of the dangers of this policy. The pipas were desperately poor and there was an obvious risk that converts would change their religion for the sake of economic advancement rather than spiritual enlightenment. However, he argued that “it was better for the Christians to be dependent on the Mission than to remain for ever in debt bondage to non-Buddhist masters”.

The Salvation Army had also started spinning and weaving industrial work at Chini (village near Kalpa). The Salvation Army’s spinning and weaving industrial work at Chini in 1910 had an establishment of 24 weavers and spinners who mostly manufactured blankets and tweed cloths (Pattis). The Salvation Army sent some of their goods to Africa, Gibraltar, England and Scotland and earned appreciation. Some local tribals were hired on cash payment to learn the industry. The Salvation Army tried to have wool spun for
them in distant villages and offered more than usual rates, but the people, generally, were not inclined to be so employed.  

Work amongst the Criminal Tribes has been a prominent feature of the activities of the Canadian mission in Palampur. The Criminal Tribes were a wandering gypsy people who made their living by any means but honest work. Such people became so troublesome that many years ago the government was compelled to segregate them in settlements. One such colony was established near Palampur and the inmates were put to work in neighbouring tea fields. The Kangra mission was asked to be responsible for their moral and spiritual welfare. In 1930 the settlement was closed and an endeavour was made to rehabilitate the people by settling them on the land under the supervision of land owners. Many of the boys and girls were placed in hostels connected with Mission Schools in Palampur and Kangra. The young people were given general education and were taught trades and handicrafts as well. The purpose was to equip them so that they might earn an honest living. On completing their training as bootmakers and carpenters some of the young men did very well, but others fell by the way side. It was a difficult task to wean them away from generations of criminal tendency, and there was both joy and disappointment in the results.

II. Religious Change

The Panjab and North India Missions of the Church Missionary Society, Moravian Mission and Church of Scotland Mission also played an important role in bringing religious change by means of maintaining educational institutions devoted to spreading western learning among the hill and tribal people. They
also did evangelistic work among women and outcastes. The Christian missionaries began to work among women of Simla and Panjab Hill States by establishing orphanages and schools and providing care. The main aims of all this work were evangelism and emancipation. Education, apart from evangelism was the most important work in which Christian missionaries were engaged. Their educational work brought them into contact with the Government officials and those predominantly urban Indian groups who wanted their children to have western education.

Christian missionaries like Prochnow, J.N. Merk, Beutel, P. Ireland Jones, J. Tunbridge, Haslam, August Wilhelm Heyde, Eduard Pagell, Rechler, Friedrich A. Redslab, Ernst R. Schnabel and Julius Weber from various mission stations in Simla and Panjab Hill States also played a vital role in religious change and proselytization. Besides these missionaries, the native Indian pastors like Thomas Edwards, Gulzar Shah and native pastors James Kadshu, Jaswant Singh, Dhan Singh (cousin of Samuel Evans Stokes), Anand Sorup Benjamin, Chandu Lal also contributed in this field. The Rev. James Kadshu who was a convert from the Kanet family of Kotgarh was appointed a Native Pastor in Lahore in 1867. Although stationed alone, and only occasionally visited by a Missionary from Amritsar, Rev. James Kadshu had shown considerable aptitude and diligence. At Kotgarh, the Rev. W. Rebsch encouraged Native brethren to become landed proprietors on a small scale like other hillmen. In this connection he stated, "it being a shame in many places in the plains that so few of Native Christians have their own houses and land, and therefore can so easily go about the country as beggars, or leave their situations on the most trifling
occasion. Almost all the Native Christians at Kotgarh have got their own land and cattle some more, some less. In consequence of this position, they felt the necessity of doing something for the furtherance of the work of God. They have formed a Missionary Association for mutual help, for spreading the Gospel among the hill people.\(^{46}\) He further stated, "One scripture reader supported by the Missionary Association of Native Christians has been working among the villages in Kotgarh, and one in Simla, and their funds are prospering. It has originated entirely among Native Christians, and also managed by them. A great part of the money collected has come from Europeans, but nearly all Christians in Kotgarh gave monthly something according to their ability. And evangelistic work in the neighbouring towns and villages has not been neglected."\(^{47}\) During the close of the year 1875, the Native Pastor, the Rev. James Kadshu was brought from Lahore, to be Pastor of the Simla congregation, but in November 1876, it pleased God to remove this Native brother to his heavenly respect.\(^{48}\)

At the turn of the nineteenth century, Kotgarh station of the Himalayan Mission became an important centre for a deep spiritual movement and exchange of experiences. Samuel Evans Stokes was the pivotal figure around whom the whole question of religious change was centred. Stokes came to India in January 1904 to serve leprosy patients in Subathu but shifted to Kotgarh to serve the patients suffering from Cholera.\(^{49}\) Later Kotgarh became his permanent place of stay and work. The evangelical work was at its peak in this region where almost all converts in the beginning came from the higher-castes.\(^{50}\) The mass-movements in the plains of Panjab and United Provinces were also at
A Sikh convert, Sunder Singh, who was associated with Stokes, was baptised in St. Thomas Church Simla by Rev. Redman on 3 September 1905. He began his career as a Sadhu, at the age of sixteen. He undertook theological study at the Divinity College in Lahore. He travelled all over India, Nepal, Tibet and overseas widely. Sadhu Sunder Singh came to Kotgarh in August 1906 with Samuel Evans Stokes. Stokes was interested in Indian spirituality. He came quite close to the Sadhu. Sadhu Sunder Singh wrote, in his diary that “Stokes asked him to stay for a time and if it is the will of God, I myself desire to serve along with you in Sadhu style because for India that is the method of service”. But Sadhu Sunder Singh’s Christianity was deeply mystical rather than learned. His teachings were simple and direct, based more on spiritual insight than intellectual sophistication.

Samuel Evans Stokes' initial dissatisfaction with the Christian missions in India increased with the passage of time. The racist attitude of the Christian missionaries troubled him. He had also become extremely disillusioned with Christianity, especially, as it was taught and practiced in India. Over the years he had become convinced that Christianity in India must change in its form and development. And the Church in India, which was a foreign institution, should be replaced by a Church that was Indian in ethos. He was also critical of the attitude of Western missionaries towards Indian Christians. The mission system tended to develop a sense of superiority among Western missionaries and a sense of inferiority among Indian converts which outraged the self-respect of
many Indians. The methods adopted by the missionaries in persuading Indians to convert were such that most conversions were of the poorest and the outcastes. As is often made out, these people had changed their religion for economic gains without undergoing any spiritual experience which would justify such a step. Apart from the form and work of missions in India and particularly in the Himalayas, and the attitude of the missionaries, it was in the acceptance of the basic principles of Christianity in which Samuel Evans Stokes differed from fellow Christians.

Another issue that distressed Stokes was the white man's deep-rooted prejudice against Indians. Even the missionaries were not free from it. Racism was so blatant that there were several Christian Churches in India to which admission was restricted to Europeans. In Simla, the Christ Church on the Ridge was exclusively for Europeans and the St. Thomas Church, for Indians. In other cases, Indians were admitted, but only in separate pews at the back. Stokes was so dismayed to see the unequal treatment accorded to Indian Christians as compared with European Christians that he sometimes wondered if intermarriage of foreign missionaries with Indians might not be the best way to get rid of these prejudices and bring about the unity of the Church in India. Marrying an Indian was a possibility that he had on occasion considered for himself and discussed with C.F. Andrews. Interracial marriage was a sensitive question. Even some of the most open-minded missionaries found it difficult to accept a Western missionary marrying a native from his congregation.

Samuel Evans Stokes became increasingly interested in Hindu philosophy. He was impressed by Arya Samaj, which had attracted a large
number of progressive Hindus and with which he first came into contact during the Kangra earthquake of 1905, when the Panjab Arya Samaj did commendable relief work. At the Gujranwala Religious Conference of February 1907 Samuel Evans Stokes met Mahatma Munshi Ram, the charismatic leader of the Arya Samaj and became interested in his gurukul system of education. In December 1907 he was present at the thirtieth anniversary of the Arya Samaj in Lahore where Mahatma Munshi Ram made a special mention of Stokes' interest in a gurukul for Christians. Stokes admired the dedicated spirit of the Arya Samajists even though their religious viewpoints were new to him. This period was of great spiritual and mystical movement in Kotgarh Mission. Rev. C.F. Andrews, who was a professor in St. Stephen's College, Delhi came to Kotgarh every summer from 1907-1911 and brought with him a group of students. There was already a movement among the Sadhus, who used to come together to Kotgarh and share their experiences in meditation and study of scriptures. With the visit of several leading Christians and intellectuals which included Rev. F.J. Western, Rev. C.F. Andrews, Susil Kumar Rudra, Alfred Zahir, Rev. A.B. Chandu Lal and Moravian missionaries from Poo and Kyelang and several Christian Sadhus to Kotgarh, a Christian Sadhu movement began to emerge.

'A Brotherhood of the Imitation of Christ', was established under the auspices of the Anglican Church in 1910 at Kotgarh. By adopting the ideal of renunciation. It might have gone beyond this had it lasted longer. Rev. F.J. Western and Swami Isananda joined this Brotherhood with Samuel Evans Stokes. Sadhu Sunder Singh did not join it. Some other Sadhus were
contemplating to join the Brotherhood when it was suddenly dissolved because Samuel Evans Stokes decided to get married. During this time Stokes began to drift into meditation and learning Occult.⁶⁰

Through these early years Stokes continued to maintain contact with the members of the Arya Samaj. His contact with the Arya Samaj was re-established during the days of the Begar struggle when he sought the help of Lala Lajpat Rai with whom he had made an acquaintance during one of the Arya Samaj functions.⁶¹ His later involvement in the national struggle led to long-lasting friendships with leaders of Arya Samaj including Lala Duni Chand, Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai. In the later years, when writing about Christianity in India, Stokes admitted how he had come to India to teach not only about Christ, but Christianity in the garb in which he had received it from his forefathers. In the course of time he studied the propagandist literature of missions, and soon came to the conclusion that the Christianity it presented would be unacceptable to most. And he drifted from the spiritual pursuits to family choruses. In the meantime the Christian Sadhu Movement became quite strong. It was now led by Rev. (later Canon) A.B. Chandu Lal. Several Sadhus among whom were Sadhu Soloman of Ani and some new converts, Buta Singh and Mohinder Singh came to stay at Kotgarh and Ani. Rev. Mohinder Singh became a close associate of Canon A.B. Chandu Lal. Canon Chandu Lal took a saffron robe instead of cassock and wore wooden slipers, with a Sadhu’s kamandal and a blanket on his back. He led the band of Christian Sadhus to the Kumbh Mela in 1932.⁶² This group of Christian Sadhus preached to the Sadhus at Kumbh and lived with them for a long time. This attracted more Sadhus who visited Kotgarh
the following summer. The missionaries perhaps had not liked this action of the Canon and he was transferred to the plains where he died after an accident.\textsuperscript{63}

Samuel Evans Stokes’ experiences as a Franciscan friar had caused him to reflect on missionary strategy in India, and subsequently led him to encourage others to join him in establishing a missionary Brotherhood. At first the missionary Brotherhood idea created great excitement in England among High Church men and leaders of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.). It received special backing from Canon Charles Robinson, the Editorial Secretary of the S.P.G., Archbishop Randall Davidson and Bishop George Lefroy of Lahore who was in England in 1908, for the Pan-Anglican Congress.

Stokes was in London, where he decided to associate his Brotherhood with the Church Missionary Society. Supported by outstanding references from Bishop Lefroy, W.E.S. Holland, Theodor Pennell, Eugene Stock, and C.F. Andrews, Samuel Evans Stokes was eventually accepted as a missionary by the Church Missionary Society on 4 August 1908. C.F.Andrews warmedly supported Stokes’ efforts to begin a new type of missionary work that was more in accordance with the higher ideals of the Indian hill people.\textsuperscript{64} Soon after Samuel Evans Stokes return to India in December 1908 he was joined by Frederick James Western, a distinguished graduate from Trinity College Cambridge, and one of the younger members of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi. C.F.Andrews also expressed a desire to join Stokes’ Brotherhood but poor health prevented him from doing so. Andrew accepted the role of ‘Chaplain’, and for that reason considered himself a de facto member of the Brotherhood. In 1909 other members who joined the Brotherhood were William Branch, a twenty year old
sailor who had studied at the SMS Training College in Islington and two Brahman converts, Swami Isananda and Swami Dar Tirath.

On 22 February 1910, in a service at the Cathedral Church of the Resurrection in Lahore Bishop Lefroy formally inaugurated the 'Brotherhood of the Imitation of Jesus'. The rule of the Brotherhood specified two spheres of services, the primary sphere being service to the sick, the secondary being that of education. Over the next three years the Brotherhood's distinctive ideals of being an itinerant missionary community was increasingly undermined as it became enmeshed in the complexities of bringing education to the local community in the mountain village of Kotgarh.65

Though the brothers eschewed methods of direct evangelism, the importance of evangelism to the Brotherhood is made evident in two of Stokes' books published in 1910. The first, *Arjun, the Life Story of an Indian Boy*, probably depicts the life story of Dhan Singh, Stokes first convert, and that of a young Sikh convert, Kartar Singh, thinly disguised as Sunder Singh. Samuel Evans Stokes concluded *Arjun* with an appeal to young readers to remember the young people of the mountains in their prayers.66 The second book titled *The Historical Character of the Gospel* shows Stokes seeking to make converts not only by example but also by persuasive argument. This book was first published in India by the Christian Literature Society for India with an editor's preface by C.F. Andrews. Stokes hoped that those who read the book might find that the Christian religion was itself 'beyond all doubt founded upon history', and therefore demanded the most careful and earnest consideration.67
The initial success of the Brotherhood of the Imitation of Jesus gave an enormous psychological boost to missions in the north of India in 1909-1911. Principal Allnutt of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi stated that the "Brotherhood's ascetic devotion had appealed to the minds and imagination of the Indian people and held promise of success where other organisations had failed." Younger C.M.S. missionaries like W.E.S. Holland and Norman Tubbs were persuaded by Samuel Evans Stokes' example to adapt their methods of village evangelism. Outside India, as well, the Brotherhood of the Imitation of Jesus gained enthusiastic endorsement. Throughout 1911, there was much confusion and depression in the Christian community in Kotgarh and by September of that year there were rumours that Stokes was about to sever his connection with the C.M.S., and establish industrial community on a fruit estate that he was about to purchase. On 28 August 1911 Stokes wrote to Cyril Bardsley, General Secretary for the C.M.S., indicating his intention to resign and stating that he had decided to abandon his commitment to the Brotherhood's ideal so as to give himself, instead, to the task of building the Indian Church, 'from within', by marrying an Indian Christian.

Stokes' decision caused intense disappointment and to some of his closest supporters it amounted to a catastrophe. For Bishop Lefroy, who had patiently nourished the Brotherhood, the news of Stokes' impending marriage caused not only deep disappointment but a measure of personal embarrassment. In the end, J.O.F. Murray, Stokes' editor and friend, summed up the feelings of many, "we find it difficult to believe that the life a simple hill farmer at Kotgarh can tell for as much on the whole life of India, as the life of the
head of the Brotherhood of the Imitation of Jesus". On 11 September 1912 Samuel Evans Stokes married Agnes Benjamin, daughter of John and Mary Benjamin, a pahari Rajput Christian at St. Mary's Church, Kotgarh. Stokes insisted that not conversion, but development of the communal life of the Church in India, was the greatest and most urgent need. If missionaries could develop a strong sense of community among India Christians, there was little doubt in Stokes' mind of the Church's ability, 'to transform the lives of her children and conquer India for Christ'. Missionaries, Stokes insisted must labour 'from within'. To Samuel Evans Stokes intermarriage was almost a religious duty on the part of the European missionary. Male and female missionaries, he believed should look forward to the possibility of intermarriage with Indian Christians. By marrying a pahari woman, Stokes perceived himself to be throwing in his lot with the local community and truly becoming a 'Christian Indian'. He intended to bring up his children as Indians in language, dress, education and love of country. He would show that the corner-stone of a vital and unified Christian community must be the Gospel of a Christian home-life, and would seek to make his home a pattern of what Christian Indian homes should be. This would convincingly the Christian community ability to make 'a pure noble home-life, full of optimistic altruism of the Christian religion and prove further that its brotherly love enables it to transcend all barriers of racial prejudice and caste exclusiveness.

Early indication of this new direction in Samuel Evans Stokes' thinking may be found in his letter to his mother in America, and in his article, "The Problem of Christianity in India", first published in the Indian Social Reformer (1919). In this article, Stokes proposed a plan for a truly indigenous Church
separate from the deadening influences of Western missions. He urged missionaries and Indian Christians to break, for God's glory and India's good, from the shackles of that foreign system of thoughts and discipline which arrogates to itself the name of 'The Indian Church'. The article indicated a radical shift in Stokes' theological position—more Hinduised and overtly syncretistic, and elaborating on his vision for an independent Indian Christianity. The real reason for the reticence of Hindus to accept Christianity from the West, he argued, lay in the missionary's inadequate perception of power, nobility and spirituality of the Hindu scriptures. Since his early years in India, Stokes had discovered that the Hindu scriptures (especially the Upanishads) contained 'vast and important areas of thought and speculation upon the meaning of life' with which the Church had never satisfactorily dealt. 

In a frank personal comment, Stokes admitted in 'The Problem of Christianity in India' that he had come to India convinced of the belief that he had everything to teach and nothing to learn. He had come to make India 'Christian'. Contrary to his former understanding, he now argued in favour of a 'divine synthesis' of Christianity and Hinduism. It was the will of God that Christianity should be brought to India to be completed and made a perfect whole—'a soul-satisfying and intellect-satisfying philosophy of life'. That, which was lacking in Christianity, he suggested, could be complemented by the nobler and often intellectually sounder ideals from the ancient treasure-house of Hindu thought. Christ needed Hinduism and Hinduism needed Christ. The best in Christianity and Hinduism was incomplete without the other. The truths of each remained but half-truths without the light of the other. If only people could shed their age-
old prejudices and preconceptions and embrace a 'divine synthesis', then a true Christian would be able to call himself a Hindu, and a true and perfect Hindu would be able to say, 'I also am a Christian'. As far as Stokes himself was concerned, his new viewpoint had not diminished his faith in Christ. On the contrary, he claimed to have become not less Christian but only more Hindu in his outlook on life. This, he believed, had helped him to be more Christian than he could otherwise have been. Light from the Hindu scriptures had revealed hidden depths in Jesus's message. His Lord now shone, he claimed, with a new and higher glory. The future faith of humanity, whether it be called Hinduism or Christianity, must incorporate the message and personality of Christ. The Indian Church, in his view, potentially stood in a unique position to make a valuable contribution to that world religion.

On Sunday 4 September 1932, Samuel Evans Stokes, along with his wife and children, converted to Hinduism through the Arya Samaj purification ritual of 'Shuddhi' in the presence of Sanyasi Rama Nand Shastri of the Sadhu Ashram, Hoshiarpur. The conversion or Shuddhi was performed by Pandit Goverdhan Das of Nirmand. The news that Stokes and his family had become Hindus was reported widely in the press. Stokes himself issued a statement saying that, “we hope and believe that time will demonstrate the rightness of the step as we see it”. Stoke's action surprised many, but few questioned his sincerity of purpose and his courageous and steadfast devotion to his peculiar ideas of service, and his unquestionable spiritual aspirations. In a lengthy rejoinder, published in Indian Social Reformer, he explained that his decision to join the Hindu community was a result of his increasing conviction that his family could work out
a more honest place for themselves in that community than they could hope to retain in Christianity. Almost all Christians expressed themselves against the conversion.

Samuel Evans Stokes' conversion had many implications. The Christians were, of course, unhappy with the situation but many Hindus of the area, too, found it difficult to accept. While they were not unfamiliar with the conversion of Hindus to Christianity, the conversion of a Christian to Hinduism was unheard of and posed problems. The entire population of Kotgarh was divided into two factions on this issue – the minority Shuddhi Party numbering about 250 people who supported the Shuddhi and the majority Shuchi Party consisting of more than 750 people who were against it. In July 1934 the Shuddhi Party finally took their case to civil court asking for the right of worship in the Mehlan Temple. The case was decided in favour of Shuddhi Party on 20 September 1935. But the Shuchi Party appealed against the judgement. It was three years before the case was finally concluded. The Shuchi Party not only lost but were also asked to pay all legal costs. Although the issue was legally settled ill-feelings persisted in the area, as there was opposition to the Shuddhi in the adjoining States both from their rulers and the people.

Finally, there was a reconciliation, largely due to the initiative of Stokes. It was ultimately agreed that the entire area would accept Shuddhi, provided he took Chandrayan (special holy water used at the time of Shuddhi) in the Mehlan Temple. The ceremony at Mehlan Temple, attended by representatives of the rulers of Kotkhai, Bushahr, Kumarsain and Khaneti, marked his final acceptance by the Hindu community of the hills. Members of Christian community close to
the Stokes family suffered most, especially since they were neither able to
denounce Stokes' steps like other Christians had done, nor could they be
comfortable with the situation. Among these were Dhan Singh, who was
exceptionally close to Stokes, and was confused by the turn of events. Finally,
Dhan Singh came to terms with the situation, even though he sometimes felt that
Stokes had abandoned him. Dhan Singh remained a prominent member of the
Kotgarh Christian community, loved and respected both by the Christian and
non-Christian.

Stokes' acceptance into Hindu community marked the beginning of the
disintegration of caste-ridden communal prejudices in the area. Stokes
conversion, however, had a deep impact on Christianity in the hills. New
converts lost confidence and many reconverted to Hinduism. Conversions to
Christianity also came to a standstill. It limited the growth of Christianity in the
Simla and Panjab Hill States. It is apparent, that when Stokes initially
considered joining the Hindu community, he did not foresee the extent to which it
would affect his relations with the Christian and other minority communities.
There is no denying the fact that his hope, that once he joined the Hindu
community, caste restrictions and customs would diminish resulting in more
interaction between Hindus and Christians, remained largely unfulfilled during his
lifetime. Stokes' position regarding Christianity in India had lost him many
Christian friends.

Stokes continued to spend long hours in study and meditation and strove
to cultivate a spirit of humility. He was also unwilling to enter into religious
discussions in which he had once delighted, or to embark upon a comparison of
the merits of Hinduism and Christianity. Stokes continued to be intensely absorbed in the study of scriptures, especially the Vedas and the Upanishads. The Bhagvad Gita had the most profound influence on Stokes' thought and life. In 1937, Stokes started building a small temple in Barobagh which had been his dream for many years. He wanted to decorate the temple with hymns (mantras) from the Vedas and Upanishads and Shlokas from the Gita. The Paramjyotir Mandir (temple of eternal light) in Barobagh, as Stokes named it, is exceptional in many ways. The wood paneled temple walls have Sanskrit shlokas, also in wood, impressed on them. Hindi translations of the shlokas are also displayed so that anyone with even basic knowledge of the language can understand and contemplate on them.

Though contemporary Christians may not have sympathized with Stokes' religious views, the liberalization of Christianity in subsequent years and its revised views about other religions indicate that Stokes' philosophy would have been more acceptable to the Christian community of latter-day-India. Stokes had visualized India in which Christian sanyasis could have Om on their cross and the Christa Prem Seva Ashram in Poona teach Christian beliefs through Indian religious thought.

Churches in Simla and Panjab Hill States

To keep the native congregation together the missionaries, with the help of British officials, felt the need of constructing the Churches in various mission stations at Simla and Panjab Hill States. Thus, the Churches became centres of religious activities and proselytization. Therefore, it is imperative to trace, in brief, the history of various Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches which were
built in later half of the nineteenth and early twentieth century and symbolized the presence of Christianity in the North-Western Himalayas or in the erstwhile Simla and Panjab Hill States. They also became the main centres of social, economic and religious activities and change.

a) Christ Church Simla

The first Church building in Simla, before the present Christ Church was constructed, was situated in Northbrooke Terrace near the present General Post Office. Its affairs were administered by a Church Committee. It was purchased in 1836 and was converted into a Church with a thatched roof.

The Church Record Book opens with an account of a meeting called by the Bishop of Calcutta to determine whether to build a new, or repair the existing structure. The decision was to repair, but events soon forced a reconsideration. By 1839, the population had more than doubled the 1830 figure. The Church-going population was reckoned in the neighbourhood of 400, and the Church accommodated only 100. When in 1844, the Bishop again visited Simla and found the building inadequate in size and unstable in structure, he called a meeting of the residents of Simla at the Bishop's residence at 11.00 a.m., on 6 June 1844 to consider the best means of improving the Church accommodation. It was resolved and carried that, 'the present Church accommodation being very inadequate to the wants of the station and the present building being very much out of repair, a subscription be opened for the purchase of a new site, if necessary. That the building be capable of affording accommodation to 300 persons without galleries. That 200 of the sittings be let at the rate of Rs.8/- each for the season or for the year, and that 100 be left free.'
Among other preliminaries a Church Building Committee was formed, and the architect for the new Church, and the Secretary of the Committee were appointed, which changed hands from time to time. Major Boileau, from whom Boileauganj took its name, and to whom for his long continued and devoted labours, the Parish of Simla is for ever indebted was appointed Secretary. The Record Book shows that regular services were held up to October 1844 during summer months only, and from April 1845 right through the year. In October 1844 the Lord Bishop delivered an address to Major Boileau before his departure to England, the purpose of which was to thank him for Rs.2,000 given to the Simla new Church, Rs.1,000 annually during his life to the Kotgarh mission, and a bequest to it of Rs.20,000, his estate and house in Simla, and also two bequests of Rs.10,000 each to the new Cathedral at Calcutta and the Calcutta Diocesan Additional Clergy Society.

The ceremony of laying the corner stone took place on 9 September 1844 having been postponed from 26 July on account of the weather. The inscription thereon reads, The first corner stone of a new Church for the station of Simla, to be called as Christ Church, Simla was solemnly deposited with prayers to Almighty God, for his blessing on the designer, the architect, builder, and all the benefactors to the same, by Daniel Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India in the presence of His Excellency Sir Hugh Gough, Bart, G.C.B., Commander-in-chief of India, the Hon.J.Cadwallander Erskine, Sub-Commissioner, North-West Frontier, and several of the gentry and military officer's resident at Simla.
The struggle for funds continued throughout the building period. The Government of India, indeed, made an official grant of Rs.5,000 in 1844 but to the donation were attached two conditions, which ensured good value for the Government. First, the right of property was to be so vested as to make the new Church part of the Ecclesiastical establishment of the country, and second, the committee were to guarantee the completion of the building without further expense to the Government.

The Committee accepted the challenge, and after detailing the case they obtained expert advice and episcopal approval. The Committee wrote on 7 August 1851 to the Government that “the aid we require is Five Thousand Rupees which we request the most noble the Governor-General would be pleased to place at our disposal at once and in one sum. This money we propose to repay out of the Pew Rents.” This drew the necessary advance, though not without a girding at the slow progress of work and regret for its incomplete condition. The most noble the Governor-General was empowered by the Hon'ble the Court of Director's to make a grant of Rs.3,000 out of Rs.5,000 leaving only Rs.2,000 to be repaid. The Simla Church thus was constituted as a Government building. From that time onward relations between the Church authorities and Government were markedly happy, and the Panjab Government was always helpful. The Building Committee had much work to do. The disposal of rain water, the whitewashing, the interior furniture, and fittings, the further clearance of the damp-exuding bank, loans and finance, sheds for jhampanis and for horses, decisions regarding the clock and the organ all this involved work for the Committee and much correspondence for the Secretary.
The edifice so consecrated stopped short of the chancel steps in the present building. In 1864 an extension was made from these steps to the present Sanctuary with a room on either side, that on the north being used as a Library, that on the south as a vestry, each separated from the Sanctuary by a brick wall but communicating with the main body of the Church. The Organ, hitherto, at the Western end of the Church, was placed on the floor of the new chancel and a new vestry was constructed. The upper portion of the old vestry room became a gallery. Until 1931, it was customary for those occupying the pews allotted to the Viceroy, the Lieutenant-Governor or Governor of the Panjab and the Commander-in-Chief to enter and leave by the southern door below it. In 1931 the Ven'ble Archdeacon Carden suggested dismantling of the unused gallery and making the beautiful 'Soldier's Chapel'. This came into use on 28 April 1933. Thus bringing into full view the previously half-hidden window presented by Lady Ker in memory of her soldier son, fallen in France. In 1932 the Organ, now erected in the present Organ loft, was expensively and extensively renovated and the Sanctuary furniture improved, largely due to the inspiring energy of the Rev. P.N.F. Young.

'The Church Committee, whilst acknowledging the advantage to the community of Simla by the addition made to the number of sittings and the increased accommodation given, desired to place on record that the changes have been carried out without any reference to their views on the subject. They believed that so great an alteration of the internal arrangement of a Church that necessitated in doing away of the central aisle, required a reference to the Archdeacon required by Government, previous to the adoption of such
alternation. As a Committee appointed by the Central Government, they trusted that, any further alteration be at any time required, their opinion respecting the matter may be taken into consideration. 90

The Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab used to have seats in the front row of the south side aisle, the Viceroy in the right and the Commander-in-Chief in the left-centre. In the later arrangement, dating back to 1886, the two front centre seats were reserved for the Viceroy, the second on the right-centre for the Governor of the Panjab, and the second on the left-centre for the Commander-in-Chief.

Records of bravery are frequent. There is, for instance, the tribute to Captain B.E.A. Pritchard, 'an intrepid explorer of the 83rd Wallajahbad Light Infantry, who was drowned in 1913, in the Taron river on the north-east frontier of Burma, in a gallant attempt to swim the river to secure a means of crossing for the remainder of his party. A tablet to the memory of Lieutenant Colonel E.R. Howell, who was born in Simla in 1868, and whose father, a distinguished Civil-Servant, spent many years here, records that he was drowned as a result of his ship being torpedoed off Crete on 30 December 1915. An usual addition to the tablet to the honour of Colonel A.C. Crookshank is the engraving of his medals. He died in 1888 from the effects of wounds received during the Hazara Rebellion. Long service in the Outposts of Empire is seen on the memorial to Lieutenant-General Sir T.D. Baker, who died in 1893 at the age of 56. He served in the Crimean Campaign, the Indian Mutiny, the New Zealand War of 1864, in the Afghanistan War of 1879 and in the Burmese Rebellion of 1886.
Later he became Military Secretary in Inda, Adjutant-General, and Quarter Master-General.

Other distinguished officers whose memories are perpetuated, and all of whom spent many years in Simla, include Major-General Sir A.R.Badcock, S.C.Turner, Director-General of Military works Major-General T.E.Hughes, Director-General Ordnance from 1884-1886, General F.C.Maisey, of the Bengal Army, Lieutenant Colonel E.E.Money, of the 9th Bengal Lancers, Lieutenant-General I.G.Medly, R.E., Major-General R.Broome, Colonel W.J.A. Beatson, R.A., Surgeon-General Oliver-Barnett. Famous administrators to whom tributes had been paid include Sir Alexander Phillips, Governor of the United Provinces, and to Sir D.C.J., Ibbetron Lt.Governor of Panjab.

Others who lived for many years in Simla, to whom tribute is paid are, Miss A.H. Wilkinson, Headmistress of Mayo School for 33 years Mr.Wilkinson, J.T.R.Stark, T.S.Bean and Mrs.H.Bean. They are but a few of those who have helped to make this House of Prayer and devotion a building which will remain until time with us shall be no more.

Christ Church Simla, one of India's famous Churches celebrated its centenary on 10 September 1944. The members in the centenary year were: Mrs.A.E.V.Adams, Miss D.Adams, Miss L.Baumgarton, R.E.Binns, Mrs.C.Budd, T.Carter, Mrs.O.Catling, John Chadwick, Major H.C.Druett, D.H.Edwards, Mrs. L.L.Geff, A.G. Murray Kilbls, Major R.J.Norris, Miss Francis Pope, Mrs. B.M.Shepherd, Mrs.V.M.Sherrard, R.J.South Cpmbe, Mrs.M.Squires, Mrs.M.Thorpe, and Miss I.M. Roberts, the organist.
b) St. Michael's Cathedral, Roman Catholic Church, Ripon Place, Simla

Simla and the Simla Hills were earlier included in the Archdiocese of Agra, and Chaplains were deputed by His Grace the Archbishop of Simla, Jutogh, Dagshai, Solan and Subathu. The first place of Roman Catholic worship erected in Simla was the little Chapel still existing at the west end of the Lower Bazar. The ground on which it stands was granted on the 1 March 1850 by Mr. William Edwards, Superintendent of Hill States, to Messers J. Robello, J. Walsh and R. Cantopher. Earlier it was occupied by a public hospital, and for this reason had also been free of ground rent. The deed grant to the Roman Catholic community recites that the, 'land being now appropriated for the erection of a place of worship, the same indulgence will be continued so long as it is used for that purpose.'

From the year 1885 when the new Roman Catholic Chapel under the Cutchery came into use, up to the year 1902 the little Chapel was used as a School. The new Chapel was constructed at a cost of about Rs. 80,000, this sum having been raised entirely by voluntary contributions, the largest subscriber being the Marquis of Ripon, who had entered the Roman Catholic Church not long before his appointment as Viceroy. Misses Fitzpatrick, daughter of Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, was also a consistent supporter of the Chapel. The ceremony of consecration was performed in 1885 by the Archbishop of Agra, and the building was completed in the year 1900 by the addition of a steeple and bells. Unlike the Christ Church on the Ridge, which has been plastered on the exterior, the Cathedral is a granite structure, an attractive grey beauty.
As the Catholic population grew, the need for a larger Church was felt. The site where Gordon Castle (now Accountant General’s Office) stands was initially bought for the Church. However, as it was needed by the State, the then Viceroy Lord Ripon purchased the present site for the Cathedral, and it is still known as Ripon Place. Additions continued to be made over the next two decades. And what meets the eye today is something unique in Church architecture in the Himalayas. The last portion was added three years later in 1929. The Church nave is over 600 square metres and can seat a thousand or so Catholics living in Simla. The Sanctuary measures about 120 sq. metres. Besides, there are side Chapels measuring 45 Sq. metres each. The Cathedral has five marble altars, all brought from Italy in 1885. The glass windows above the main altar, and the right altar are pieces of great art on stained glass. The central window above the main altar is unique depicting the crucifixion of the Christ.

The Church has some historic pictures and statues. The face of the crucified Christ at the main entrance is a powerful work of art. Other statues are of Sacred Heart of Jesus, Immaculate Heart of Mary, St. Joseph, St. Michael and St. Therese. In 1960 the parishioners of Simla installed a marble statue of Lord Christ in the outer wall, or rather the hillside, which attracts the passerby, irrespective of their religion, for its sheer beauty. The main architect of the Church, Mr. Mathews of London, was perhaps not well conversant with the geology of the town. This led to faulty foundations. The southern side was not dug up to virgin rock. The weight of the granite put more pressure and cracks appeared. These eventually damaged the windows, flooring and, last but not
least, the stained glass windows which had been imported from Germany. The cracks were noticed for the first time in 1938. Subsequently engineers, architects and geologists put their heads together to find out the real trouble.

The historic St. Michael's Cathedral, Simla, has become an important spot for devotees to visit. This beautiful Gothic Church structure of the city attracts more visitors because of the miraculous statue of Mother Mary presented by the Mexican Ambassador, Mr. Pedro Gonsalves Rubio, to the Bishop of Simla-Chandigarh, Rt. Rev. Gilbert Rego. Since the installation of this statue of Mary of Gaudalupe, people of every creed visit this Church to venerate and offer flowers to Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ. On Sundays a large number of devotees queue up with flowers before this beautiful Statue.

c) Union Church

The erection of the Simla Union Church which stands on a portion of the 'Constantia' estate (purchased by the trustees for Rs. 19,000), was commenced in 1869. But this site was not chosen until after a piece of ground had been obtained near the Combermere Bridge and leveling operations had been commenced there. Dr. Murray Mitchell and the Rev. John Fordyce were two of the earliest ministers connected with this Church. Dr. Murray Mitchell afterwards became the Moderator of the Free Church of Scotland, and Rev. John Fordyce was for many years, Secretary of the Indian Evangelisation Society. The Rev. Smith who after some fifty years' valuable service in the Baptist Mission at Delhi, gave some of the last years of his life to the pastorate of the Union Chapel is commemorated by a brass tablet. The Rev. J.H. Bateson, Secretary of the Royal Army Temperance Association, also ministered to the
congregation from 1892 till 1899. The Rev. William Wilson, minister of the Trossachs Parish, was pastor in 1903.

d) All Saints Chapel, Boileauganj

The little All Saints Chapel, Boileauganj, is built on ground within the Viceregal Lodge Estate, and was built after a plan by H.Irwin. It was consecrated by Bishop French on the 6 April 1885,\(^{96}\) and assigned to be perpetually a Chapel of ease to Christ Church. The total cost, incurred for building and furnishing it completely, in all respects, was about Rs.8,900 which was met out of private subscriptions, including special offerings from the communicants of the Church for the furnishing and windows of the Sanctuary. Lady Dufferin used to play the organ and train the choir during her residence in Simla in the 1880s. Colonel Conway Gordon spent three years in building an organ, which was replaced by an American instrument in 1892. Lord Elgin presented a beautiful little white marble Font in 1897, to commemorate the baptism in this Chapel of his son, Victor Alexander Bruce. There is a brass plate on the wall to that effect. The Chapel possesses a stained glass window erected by Miss. Mathew in 1900 to the memory of the son of Bishop Mathew of the Panjab Diocese. The Bishop was for many years intimately connected with Simla and much loved by the residents of the station.

e) St. Thomas (Native) Church

St. Thomas (Native) Church, which is situated in the Centre of Bazar, has accommodation for about 150 persons. Its construction was mainly due to the efforts of the Rev. Thomas Edwards, a Bengali by birth, and formerly clerk at Christ Church. This Church was consecrated by Bishop French on 9 August
1885, in the presence of a congregation which included Lord and Lady Dufferin. Services were held in Urdu and also in English for the benefit of the Bengalis, who understood the later language better than Urdu.

St. Thomas (Native) Church was erected through the contributions of the Indian congregation and some friends. It was a centre of evangelical work and many adult baptisms including that of Sadhu Sunder Singh (on 3 September 1905) were done in this Church. The congregation of the St. Thomas Church was given the option to merge with that of Christ Church which was empty after the departure of the British. They decided to merge with the Christ Church congregation. St. Thomas Church was closed in December 1947 and the congregation moved to Christ Church on the Ridge. The building of the St. Thomas Church, its parsonage and houses were taken over to start St. Thomas Girls School.

f) St. John's Church

St. John's Church, located at Forsythganj, upper Dharamsala, at an altitude of 6,000 feet, was built in 1852. And is one of the oldest Cathedrals in North India. St. John's Church, is an elegant example of English Gothic structure and Romanesque art. Its clustered columns, flying buttresses, huge stained glass windows, high pointed arches, ornamental pinnacles and adorned toweres give the Church a fairy-tale look. Surrounded by solid masonry walls and roofed with timber, the Church has three separate elevations in the oblong assembly halls, separating the clergy from the congregation. Inside, it has the finest stone craftsmanship while the exterior is plain and unadorned. On entering the main gate, one comes across a flight of circular stairs going upto the
top. The circular stairwell is punctuated with window holes to let in air and light. Atop this was a tower with the Church bell at one time. In the great earthquake of 1905 a portion of the tower tumbled but the rest of the building survived. An unusual feature of this Church is that it bears plaques of many soldiers who died in active service. These plaques bear the emblem of the first Gurkha Regiment. The same insignia adorns the top of two stained glass portraits of Christ. On both sides of the prayer hall are plaques in memory of the soldiers. Like the baptism bowl, a cassette box was also presented to St. John's Church Dharmsala. The brass plate on the box reads, 'Cassette Box', to the glory of God and the proud memory of my brother Lieutenant Lionel Bicketeth Rundall, 1st Battalion, 1st Gurkha Rifles. Killed in action in France, 19 December 1914, aged 24, and his faithful friend, orderly Churani Thapa, who fell beside him. The box is placed in a room meant for holy communion which also has a small library.

The earthquake of 1905 brought down the bell tower along with the bell. In 1915 the faithful flock donated a huge bell made of 'asht-dhatu (eight metals). The inscription on the bell reads, 'Mears and Stain Bank Founders, London, Soldiers of Christ Arise and put your Armour on', July 1915. Until 15 August 1947 the St. Johns Church Dharmsala was maintained by the Department of Ecumenical Affairs, Government of India. The following year it was handed over to the Church of India, Rt. Rev. C.R.H. Wilkinson (Canon) Bishop's Commissary, East Panjab, Palampur took charge of it on August 1948. The cemetery attached to the Church is in two parts. One part is adjacent to the Church while the other is situated below the Government College of Education.
Apart from the above noted important Churches, many more were erected at various places in the upper and lower parts of Simla hills. There is a School Church at Subathu holding 170 persons. It was built in 1850, and has not been consecrated. In the beginning the Chaplain at Subathu also visited Rupar (Ropar). Attached to Lawrence Military Asylum at Sanawar is the Church of the Holy Trinity built by the Government in 1853, and consecrated in 1860. It holds 500 persons. On the occasion of the shifting of Bishop Cotton School from Jutogh to its present site it was originally intended to build a Chapel in the new premises capable of holding 200 boys. It was however, agreed that additional cost being paid by Government and 100 seats reserved for the general public. Sanction was accorded to this project in 1864. The Chapel is known as the Holy Trinity and is situated immediately inside the entrance of the school grounds. The Himalaya Mission Church at Kotgarh was consecrated as St. Marys Church in 1873 by Bishop Milman. The Church of St. Michael the Archangel at Jutogh was built by the Government in 1885, and consecrated in 1886. It accommodates 250 persons. The Church is served by the Chaplain of Simla. And the Church of St. Saviour at Dagshai holds 500 persons. It was also built by the Government in 1886. There was a resident Chaplain who also visited Solan.

Another Church named Sidhpur Khalet Church, is said to have been built by the British in 1850. It is one of the oldest Churches of Himachal Pradesh, belonging to the Diocese of Amritsar, Church of North India (C.N.I.) and is located about seven kilometers from Palampur. At Chamba also in 1864 a valuable site was granted by Raja of Chamba, Sri Singh for the headquarters of the Mission House where a handsome Church was erected at his own cost by
the late Raja Sham Singh, and gifted to the Mission for the use of the Christian community in Chamba. The ‘Native’ Church of Chamba had a membership of 100 in 1907 including children, and was presided over by its own pastor. Dalhousie also has three Churches located at Church Convent School, Baloon Cantonment and at Gandhi Chowk.

III. Political Change

In the nineteenth century Christian missions and colonialism seemed to follow upon each other in Africa and Asia. It is for this reason that in the eyes of many peoples, colonialism was seen to assume both the role of ‘politician’ and a ‘priest’ and Christian missions appeared to be a part and expression of western colonial expansion. Some of them even go to the extent of characterising missions as merely the “hunting dog of western imperialism”. Where missionary activity was backed by colonial power, missionary preaching obviously assumed a political colour. In his instruction to the English navigators, Edward VI stressed that the service of Christianity must be their chief interest of such and they should make foreign discovery. In fact, commercial and missionary opinion constituted the basis of the nineteenth century English liberalism. The only difference was that the English colonial politics in India lay in the hands of a powerful private trading company, the British East India Company, which was motivated purely by commercial interest. British colonial policy seemed to be apparently over-shadowed by the Company’s antagonistic attitude towards the missionary movement. In most cases, the missionary was far ahead of the Government and even of the trader the missionary usually ventured to work in a backward and remote regions where a state of barbarism
or savagery existed. The selfless services which they rendered in terms of his expert knowledge and moral influence tended to have a far-reaching soothing effect on the peoples among whom they worked and lived. This sometimes made the way easier for the exercise or gaining of political control over the native peoples and this happened usually where the missionary and the government belonged to the same nationality.

With the assumption of political power in 1757 after the Battle of Plassey, the Company's government continued to view missionary activity in India with disfavour because of the presumed fear that missionary preaching was likely to create a hostile atmosphere which could affect the stability of the Company's rule. The concern for the salvation of the neglected section of English Society, consequently, grew into a concern for the salvation of non-Christians in other countries. As a result many foreign missionary societies were formed with a view to advancing their faith in distant countries. The Jesuit missionaries and to be more specific, Francis Xavier did indeed come as a royal missionary, with the right to correspond direct with the King of Portugal, and with extensive powers from the Pope as his legate for the whole of the East. But the Company's attitude towards missionary work was for the most part based on expediency.

There was, however, sometimes a shift in the government's attitude towards the missionaries. It is ironical that the government, by appointing William Carey as a teacher of Bengali, later on Marathi and Sanskrit at College of Fort William, became an accomplice in missionary work, while simultaneously refusing the missionaries legal status in India. On the other hand, Carey also readily extended his helping hand because he believed that this would not only
facilitate missionary work but also relieve them from embarrassment in getting support from the government in future. But, this had a serious implication, which the missionaries tended to overlook when a missionary took up a position in a government, he became directly or indirectly a part of colonial establishment.

The first response of Indian Christians to the National Movement came from Bengal, where several Christians of high-caste descent were closely associated with the Indian nationalist leaders. Besides Kali Charan Banerjee, other Christian patriots were Krishna Mohan Banerjee, Lal Behari De, Anand Chand Majumdar, and others. Among the outstanding Christian nationalists of the earlier time the name of Kali Charan Banerjee must be mentioned first. As early as 1870 he and Joy Govinda wrote in the first issue of their newspaper, the Bengal Christian Herald that "in having become Christians, we have not ceased to be Hindus. We are Hindu Christian, as thoroughly Hindu as Christians. We have embraced Christianity, but we have not discarded our nationality".

Indian National Congress was founded in December 1885 by seventy two political workers. In the words of Bipan Chandra, "it was the first expression of Indian Nationalism on all India scale". Its early sessions were largely attended by the Christians. According to the official report of the Congress in 1887, "out of 607 delegates, 35 were Christians, of these 7 were Eurasians and 15 were Indian Christians". The most conspicuous presence of Indian Christians in the early years of the Congress were Kali Charan Banerjee and Brahmabandhav Upadhya of Bengal, Madhusudan Das of Orissa, G.G. Nath of Lahore, Peter...
Paul Pillai and R.S. N. Subramaniam of Madras and Joseph Baptista of Bombay. Among the few Christian women who participated in the National Congress in its early years were Pandita Ramabai, a well-known social reformer of Maharashtra, Madame Trimbuck and Nikambe.

The missionaries, in those days, seem to have great influence upon Indian Christians, not only in religious matters but also in political affairs. Indian Christians were encouraged to participate in the National Congress in its early stage. *The Harvest Field*, a missionary journal, reflecting on the second annual session of the Congress urged Christians to join the Congress and to have proper influence on its programmes. In one way this missionary encouragement implied that the presence of Indian Christians was to keep the Congress movement moderate and non-political. The missionaries never believed at that time that the Indian National Congress would intend to overthrow the British Colonial rule in India. They had confidence in the leadership of the Congress which was held by men like Gopal Krishan Gokhale, who considered the British rule in India as 'Providential'. In fact, the Congress leaders at this stage sought to achieve their political objective through constitutional means.

By the turn of the century the Indian National Congress under the leadership of Bal Gangadhar Tilak of Bombay, Aurobindo Ghosh and Bipin Chandra Pal of Bengal, took definite steps towards achieving full independence. This affected the attitude of the western missionaries to the Indian National Movement greatly. This was because the missionaries could not go against the wishes and policies of the British Government. So they began to harbour a negative attitude towards the Indian National Congress. Consequently, the
interests of the Indian Christians in the National Movement also slackened\textsuperscript{112} and their participation in the Indian National Congress decreased considerably. The Indian Christian community who were heavily depending on the Western Missionary Societies for money and men had no other way but to withdrew themselves from the national struggle following the footsteps of the missionaries. Seeing that the missionaries and the British Raj from where they were getting numerous privileges of life were now opposed to the National Movement. The Indian Christians began to fear being regarded as disloyal to the British Government if they were involved in the national struggle and were anxious about their future under a new government in which the Hindus would be in majority, should the British for any reason decide to quit the country. The fear of future Hindu domination among the Indian Christian community did not originate from themselves but from their missionaries. As early as 1890 the Rev. W. Harper, a missionary warned the Indian Christians to be cautious about the domination of the Hindu over them.\textsuperscript{113}

Consequently, the contribution of Indian Christians to the National cause during the first quarter of the twentieth century became very insignificant. The earlier generation of the high-caste converts, represented by Kalipuda Mukherjee, Michael Madhusudan Datt and Raja Harnam Singh remained national minded Indians even after their acceptance of Christianity. But with the growing estrangement between the British Government, to which Christians as a community looked for encouragement and the nationalist movement whose avowed object was to recover Indian freedom, the Christian community found itself placed in a very difficult dilemma.\textsuperscript{114} However, even in the early years of
the twentieth century there were some Christians, Missionaries and Indians such as Susil Rudra, S.K. Datta, C.F. Andrews, K.T. Paul and others who took a positive stand for the National Movement.

K.T. Paul, who later on became one of the most prominent leaders of the Indian Christian community, knew full well that Indian Christians would not be able to depend on the British Government and the missionaries for all time to come. So he laid stress on a more positive and active approach to the Indian National Movement. In 1909 he asserted that by withdrawing or keeping aloof from the national struggle, Indian Christians could not solve their problems. It was rather by involving in the National politics that Indian Christians could hope for better life. He (K.T. Paul) wrote, "we will do well to realise that there is a terrible danger if we persist in the policy of keeping aloof. Materially, socially, morally, and politically viewed, in fact, from every standpoint, our interests are intimately bound up with those of the other Indian communities."

The withdrawal of Indian Christians from the nationalist movement, especially during the first two decades of the twentieth century, had two important effects. First, it brought about a decline in the conversion of educated Indians to Christianity. J.C. Chatterjee pointed out this fact as he wrote; "It is an undeniable fact that during the last decade or so the progress of Christianity in this land, so far as the higher or educated classes are concerned, has been greatly disappointing. Not only has there been a large decline in the number of conversions from these classes as compared with earlier times, but more than this, the Christian faith has been looked upon with feelings of suspicion, contempt and division hitherto unknown— The period of decline in the progress
of Christianity among educated Indians is, curiously enough, contemporaneous with the birth and growth of a national consciousness in India. Secondly, the Hindus as well as the other non-Christian communities began to look upon the Indian Christian community as denationalised and treated it with hatred and suspicion. According to S.C. Chatterjee, "this accusation made by the non-Christians were motivated by their national feelings and their hatred of the British Raj to utter these kind of strong charge against the Indian Christians. They even suspect the Indian Christians to be agents of British power. In the eyes of the Indian nationalists, the Indian Christian community appeared to be as much foreign as the British people."

It is true that Christian missions as a whole, have fought shy of the national question. Few missionaries as well as some Indian Christian leaders shared the view expressed by the non-Christians that missionaries were, to a certain extent, responsible for denationalizing the Indian Christians. So the national leaders looked upon the British missionaries as agents of British imperialism, other non-British missionaries as commercial agents and Indian Christians as products of proselytism.

The Christian Church of India as an institution did not take part in the national movement. But there were quite a number of Christian individuals who had taken part in the national politics either fully or partly. Others, directly or indirectly, had fought for the national cause by supporting the Indian National Congress. Indian Christians cooperated with the Congress in its policies and programmes of the National Movement. The Indian Christian leaders expressed
their political views through various Christian organisations and through literatures such as books, pamphlets, newspapers, etc.

In Simla and Panjab Hill States, though the Christian missionaries did not play any leading role in bringing about the political change, but the individuals like Samuel Evans Stokes and C.F. Andrews did play a significant role in raising the political consciousness among the hill people and participated in the National Movement. Before the advent of the Britishers and Christian missionaries in the hill states, the political consciousness among the hill peoples was at the primitive stage. The methods of protests of the hill people were traditional, such as Dum. During the closing years of the nineteenth century the form of protest changed as people started organizing and protesting against the high-handedness and exploitation by the State officials. Samuel Evans Stokes was the first to organize social and political movement against Begar and Beth in 1920s, under the influence and leadership of the Congress party. This movement focused at the vices of the existing social structure and social evils and the exploitation by the traditional system of Begar and Beth practiced in the hill areas.

Though Dum was prevalent in hill states prior to the Britishers but the documentary evidence of political protest in Simla Hill States came to notice in 1859 when the people of Bushahr revolted against the high-handedness of the government officials and forced labour. In 1862 and 1876, the people of Suket revolted against the ruler and his minister Narottam. In 1876, the people of Nalagarh rose against the atrocities committed by Ghulam Qadir Khan, the minister of that State. In 1883 the subjects of Bilaspur revolted against the
rule of oppression, injustice and high handedness by the state officials. In 1905 the people of Baghal State too revolted against their chief. All these movements were partly agrarian and partly political and were minimalist in character.

The second phase of the political movements against the state officials surfaced in 1909. Shobha Ram of Sarkaghat raised his voice against corruption by the then rulers of Mandi. He chalked out a systematic plan of agitation. A few zamindars were arrested as a result of agitation led by Shobha Ram and no notice was taken of his frantic appeals. Then Shobha Ram decided to make a grand demonstration and under his leadership about 20,000 agitators assembled at Mandi. A plan was prepared to bring about people's rule over Mandi. The raja's troops had to lay down arms. The volunteers then jailed all corrupt officials, including the wazir. The Raja Bhawani Sen sent a telegram to the British Government for help. Armed forces from Jallandhar, Kulu and Kangra were rushed to Mandi. Shobha Ram was caught, tried for treason, and sent to the Andamans. Another twenty three persons were sentenced to seven to fourteen years imprisonment and sent to Lahore jail. Thus, this movement was initially an agrarian in nature but when the demands of the people were not accepted by Mandi rulers the movement became violent. From this, it can be easily inferred that the political consciousness among the hill people was increasing against the repression let loose by the rulers.

The National Movement picked up in the Panjab Hill States after the First World War. The political events in the Panjab impacted the Panjab Hill States also. Some members of Ghadar Party, who had returned from America and had
been carrying on revolutionary work in Panjab, spread themselves out in Mandi and Suket to win adherents to their cause. Extracts from ‘Ghadar-ki-Gunj’ were read by them to influence the people. Mian Jowahar Singh and Rani Khairgarhi of Mandi came under the influence of the revolutionaries and helped them financially. Meetings were held in December 1914 and January 1915 and it was decided to murder the Superintendent and Wazir of Mandi State, to loot the treasury, blow up the Beas Bridge, seize the State of Suket and join up with Panjab revolutionaries. Except for a Nagchala decoity, they did not succeed in their terroristic activities. The revolutionaries were ultimately arrested, tried and sentenced to long-term imprisonment. The prominent among them were Jawahar Singh, Badri, Sidhu Kharara and Sidhu. The Khairgarhi of Mandi was exiled.

A large number of hillmen from Kangra working in British India also came under the influence of the nationalist movement. On returning to their villages, they organised branches of the Congress, conferences and processions. The 1927 conference held at Tal in Sujanpur recalls the merciless beating up of people by the Baluchi police. Thakur Hazara Singh, Baba Kanshi Ram (popularly called Pahari Gandhi), Gopal Singh and Chatur Singh were not only beaten up but their Gandhi caps were also snatched away. The Pahari Gandhi took a pledge to wear only black clothes till the country became free. The contribution made by Pahari Gandhi and Hazara Singh are noteworthy. They and their co-workers were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and sent to prisons at Gurdaspur, Lahore, Attock and Multan. The freedom movement in Kangra had slackened as a result of severe repression, but it picked up again
when the Congress decided to contest elections to the Legislative Assemblies being constituted on the basis of the Act of 1935.130

A new phase in the Indian National Movement came with the launching of non-cooperation movement by Mahatma Gandhi which transformed the nature of Indian National Congress from that of the “elitist to that of the masses.”131 In Simla the congress movement gained momentum during 1920-23 as many persons such as Pandit Gainda Mal, Maulana Mohammed Nauni, Abdul Ghani, Ghulam Mohammed Naqbi, Thakur Bhagirath Lal and Hakim Trilok Nath joined the movement.

Stokes also joined the National Movement in 1920 and was the delegate from Kotgarh to the All India Congress which met at Nagpur in December 1920.132 The Nagpur Congress brought Stokes into the mainstream of Indian politics, and he remained fully involved in the freedom struggle.

The people of Panjab Hill States participated in the National Movement after the First World War, whereas the Simla Hill States plunged in after the advent of Gandhi. The activities of the Congress against the oppressive rulers of the Hill States, however, could not pick up till 1930s when Panjab Riasti Praja Mandal held a conference in Simla at Ganj on 24 July 1930 after the conference of All India State Conference in Bombay in December 1927. A prominent Congress leader of the Simla District Committee presided over the conference which was open to subject of all States. It was resolved in the closed door meeting of the Simla District Congress that the Praja Mandal propaganda be carried on under the auspices of the Congress.133 However, Gandhi advised against any precipitate action on the part of the Congress so far as the people of
the States were concerned. For Gandhi, it was not appropriate at that moment to weaken the struggle against the British by alienating the native rulers.

But real activities of the Praja Mandal started in 1939 when Himalayan Riasti Praja Mandal was organised in December 1939 and was made responsible for directing the activities of the political and social workers in the numerous hill states. This followed the famous Bhai do na pai movement at Dhami.\textsuperscript{134} People were asked neither to give recruits for the British army nor money towards the war fund. The Simla Hill States and many other States in the Panjab enjoyed different measures of power and authority in dealing with their subjects and it will be well to bring such States under the judicial and administrative control of the government in which they were situated. Whatever the results of the Dhami Firing tragedy, it cannot be denied that it exposed the deplorable state of affairs not only in Dhami but in other small Hill States too, and that this incident occupied an important place in the growth of political consciousness in the Hill States.\textsuperscript{135} At about the same time Praja Mandal movement was started in Sirmaur, Mandi, Chamba, Rampur Bushahr, Jubbal and other small Hill States.

It may, however, be mentioned that the activities of the Praja Mandal movements in Simla Hill States are beyond the scope of the present study. Therefore, the Praja Mandal movement has been mentioned in passing. Stokes and C.F. Andrews were first to highlight the repressive practices of Begar and Beth and worked for the cause of social awakening. Later on the Praja Mandal movement of the Hill States followed the footsteps of Stokes in this regard. Thus, it is important to discuss in detail the struggle which Stokes and C.F.
Andrews waged against the social evils like Begar and Beth and the efforts they made to awaken the hill people.

Samuel Evans Stokes identified himself completely with the social and political aspirations of the people and actively participated in the Indian freedom struggle. During World War I Samuel Evans Stokes represented the stand of many political moderates in India as he firmly believed that English interests were identical with those of India. After the War, however, Stokes adopted a more radical posture. He was further politicised by his involvement in the campaign to eliminate ‘Begar’ (forced labour) in the Simla hills. His campaign on behalf of the hill people, commended him to Mahatma Gandhi whom he met for the first time in 1920. He fought ‘Begar’ until that system of forced labour was abandoned. He personally repaid many ‘Baithu loans’, releasing wretched families from the perpetual bondage in which they had been trapped by the need to borrow petty sums.

The most obnoxious form of exploitation that existed in Hill States was Begar. This system had been prevalent in India since time immemorial. Originally, it was a personal obligation, but later on it was definitely associated with the possession of land. The obligation of Begar was part and parcel of the revenue system. It represented the rulers’ claim to personal service. The British, instead of abolishing this oppressive form of exploitation, further increased its intensity by forcing the rulers to supply Begarees. Thus, the people of Hill states were exploited not only by the native rulers but also by the British. The compulsory service rendered to the rulers and officials was of several kinds. First, there was the road Begar or free or compulsory portrage on the roads.
Secondly, the land-owners and house-holders had to render many kinds of service to the chief and jagirdars. Some of the services were part of the revenue system.\textsuperscript{140}

In early 1919, Samuel Evans Stokes met the Deputy Commissioner of Simla, H.P. Tollinton, and told him about the hardships endured by the coolies in the hills on account of the rates and the injustice of them. Stokes wrote to Tollinton on 16 April 1919, “It is a form of helotism which would have to go absolutely in British territory at any rate, if its legality were called in question. He warned that if any question in India justified agitation at the time, this was one. Rather than have the people with whom I have associated myself subjected to another year such as last, I should be prepared to put the right of the government to exact this service to the test of the court and public opinion.”\textsuperscript{141}

In 1920, Samuel Evans Stokes, came into direct confrontation with the government over *Begar* or ‘impressed labour’. He had witnessed *Begar* at first hand as a recruiting officer during the First World War and its injustice had agitated his mind ever since. Stokes remarked that, “The system of *Kar* and *Begar* in the hills, so far as it applies to pleasure-seekers and other than officials administering the Simla District, must go, and go at once. It is that which is responsible for the thousands of poor people being forced to minister to the comforts and pleasures of those to whom their interest have been entrusted, at the cost of their own distress and loss. I desire to impress upon the government that if in this matter they do not do what they have long acknowledged to be pure justice, the way will be found to bring this evil system of *begar*, for non-officials,
and for officials not on duty, to an end. It will be done constitutionally and there will be little more delay.\textsuperscript{142}

Under the British Government, the burden of the \textit{Begar} system increased in the Simla Hill States. With the completion of the Hindustan-Tibet road, Simla became a popular hill station for the Britishers. The officials and non-officials began to go for sporting trips in the interior of the hill stations. They were permitted to make use of \textit{Begar} of hillmen on condition that they paid them.\textsuperscript{143}

The Englishmen living in the hills too were given the same privilege. Construction of dak-bungalows at ten-mile intervals encouraged summer travel into the interior. Narkanda and Baghee near Kotgarh, in particular, were popular locations. The number of travellers passing through Kotgarh increased. There were more hunters and holiday makers than officials on duty. These visitors received permits from the authorities entitling them to obtain coolies at various stages at government approved rates. The onerous task fell on the poor, simple hill men. Wages paid for the forced labour were so low that they were inadequate for the subsistence of a single man, let alone an entire family. They got what C.F. Andrews called ‘a pittance, which was often an insult and indignity’.\textsuperscript{144}

The injustice grew to vast proportions. The practice of \textit{Begar}, initially envisaged to be used only by the district administrative officers, spread to other departments. The Public Works and Forest Departments used them for developmental work in the hills. Not only did they employ \textit{Begar} coolies at nominal wages for carrying iron sheets, coal tar and other materials, but they also permitted their contractors to make use of them.\textsuperscript{145} The Postal Department
too, found it more convenient and economical to use Begar coolies during the rush season and sought and received permission from the government to do so.\textsuperscript{146} The \textit{Dak-Begar} which originally meant 'carriage by hand of letters, parwanas and other articles of the darbar, later on became a means for the Postal Department to keep expenses down by retaining fewer mail-runners and relying on Begar labour instead. The department demanded four coolies every day to carry mail from Kotgarh to Narkanda, Nirath or Kumarsain, which implied a loss of two to three working days for each Begaree and for which he was only paid one days wage. The \textit{Dak-Begar} was particularly dreaded because in several cases coolies had perished in the snow while carrying the Dak on the higher reaches during winter months.

Stokes took up the cause of the hill people and petitioned the government on this and wrote so many articles in the newspapers on this matter. After long suggestion received the long-awaited news in April 1920, from the new Deputy Commissioner and Superintendent of Hill States, Colonel A.C. Elliot, a most sympathetic officer, that the proposals for raising all coolie rates by one hundred percent were awaiting government sanction.\textsuperscript{147} A few weeks later the wages of Begar were doubled to eight annas per day. While enhanced remuneration helped the poor villagers, it did not justify Begar. They often lost entire crops because they were called for Begar during the sowing period and suffered through the year. For Stokes, therefore, it was not only a question of wages, but, as he said to the Deputy Commissioner, of the injustice of impressing the farmers and taking them away from their work. He also knew that as long as Begar was a permanent right of those in authority, the status of the villager, who
was ignorant and therefore unable to defend himself, would remain no more than
that of a 'chattel'. Therefore, Stokes' immediate aim had been to increase the
wages of the Begarees, his long-term objective was the total abolition of Begar.
Few shared Samuel Evans Stokes' belief that officers were not 'rulers' but 'public
servants', and that they were for the people, not the people for the officials.

To fight this obnoxious evil Samuel Evans Stokes mobilized the Kotgarh
community and on 26 August 1920 he sent a formal representation signed by
over two hundred farmers, and a large number of sympathizers, to the financial
commissioner, the commissioner and the deputy commissioner at Simla. The
carefully worded six page document contained a detailed statement of hardships
suffered by the people, and with it the ultimatum that after four months the
people of Kotgarh would discontinue to perform Begar for private persons and
officials not travelling on duty, as well as for the Postal, Forest and Public Works
Department or their contractors unless they could prove they had a legal right to
exact Begar. When a copy of the people's representation reached Colonel Elliot,
who was then commissioner of the Ambala Division, he forwarded it to Stokes
for his opinion, little realizing that Stokes was the one who had drawn up and
typed the objectives for the farmers. While Elliot remained sympathetic, officials
at Simla were not happy with these developments. Stokes insisted that the
forms of Begar in question should go because they were unjust and an
imposition upon a people too ignorant and inarticulate to defend themselves.

In September 1920, when the Viceroy of India, Lord Chelmsford, made a
trip to Baghee\textsuperscript{148} in the Simla Hills, thousands of poor villagers were called upon
to serve him in the midst of the autumn ploughing season, when winter wheat
and barley had to be sown. Stokes spoke to several farmers and learnt of the
great hardships they had to undergo and then publicly denounced the Viceroy’s
tour. His article, ‘The Viceregal Trip’, which appeared in Gandhi’s ‘Young India’
on 13 October 1920, gave an account of the suffering and acquired the
reputation of being the first shot fired in the fight against forced labour in the hills.
Stokes blamed the Indian Civil Service, one of the most highly paid in the world
for the situation. Stokes article, ‘Begar in the Hills’,149 which was published in the
Eastern Mail, also attracted much attention. These articles caused an immense
stir in Simla. It gave a country-wide impetus to the struggle. C.F. Andrews, who
had just returned from Fiji, reacted sharply. “The British government which
made such a profession of virtue for upholding the freedom and liberty of
oppressed people was caught red handed, employing the methods of slavery.
The very things which the leading newspapers in London had been publishing
with horror as being carried on territory in East Africa, were shown to be
practiced, in a lesser degree, by the Viceroy in India.”150 The age-long scandal
of forced labour in India had never come before the public so glaringly. Only
when Stokes challenged the Viceroy, the matter became serious for the
government, he wrote.

During the time Stokes had been fighting the battle for the rights of the
poor man in the hills, C.F. Andrews was preoccupied with the same cause in Fiji.
His description of the conditions of Indians working there as indentured labour
had sent shock waves throughout the country. Stokes then urged Andrew to
come up to Kotgarh and help him expose in the press the iniquities of forced
labour in the Simla Hills. Andrew arrived in Simla in November 1920 and
accompanied Stokes on a tour of villages on the Hindustan-Tibet road. He saw how Begar was affecting the people and how it was turning the sturdy hillmen into a race of timid serfs. The villagers flocked around Andrews, once a familiar figures in the neighbourhood, telling him of what Begar had meant to them. "The presence of Stokes in their midst", Andrews observed, "had however given them new courage and the will to act together".\(^{151}\)

The new Superintendent of the Hill States, A. Langley, was fortunately sympathetic to the people's plight and visited Kotgarh to study the situation. In a five-hour discussion with Stokes and Andrews, Langley agreed that forced labour for the Dak would cease immediately and that 'pleasure hunters' from Simla would also not be allowed to use Begar. On his return to the plains Andrews continued to campaign against Begar. He praised Stokes' efforts. In a series of articles published in leading newspapers through the winter months, Andrews exposed the injustice of Begar and demanded that it be abolished immediately. This system of forced labour, which Andrews witnessed in all its cruel beginnings in East Africa, was so widespread over India as to be one of the leading causes of Indian degeneration. He felt that if India is to become regenerated and to regain her full manhood and self-respect and her lost freedom and independence, then this system of Begar must be entirely and absolutely abolished.\(^{152}\) The Begar struggle in Kotgarh was a test of Stokes political belief.\(^{153}\) Begar was an issue, Stokes' tried to convince Gandhi, which would lead the Congress to certain victory. Stokes stated that, "To me it is one of the key questions, and if only Gandhi had made his point of attack upon the evils of the relations between the people and the government, I have not the
slightest doubt he would have been far more successful than he was", he reflected. Andrews endorsed Stokes views.  

Kotgarh farmers' struggle against *Begar* again received a setback when A. Langley, the Deputy Commissioner at Simla, who wanted to settle the issue amicably, was transferred. He was replaced by M.S. Williamson, a much less sympathetic official who seemed to think that the government's prestige would suffer from the acceptance of even their most just demand. On 7 March 1921, the Kotgarh Panchayat appointed a special committee to carry on all correspondence with the authorities on the subject. The seven-member Kotgarh *Begar* Panchayat Committee chosen from contiguous areas of Kotgarh, Bhuti and Kepu pledged to work together to put an end to the 'unwarranted' forms of *Begar* then prevalent in the *ilaqa* using every justifiable means. Although Stokes was prepared for a confrontation, he was anxious that the issue be settled without becoming an open contest between the authorities and the *ilaqa*. When there was no announcement by the government regarding the abolition of *Begar* by the spring of 1921, a reminder was sent to the Deputy Commissioner in Simla, which was ignored. The people of Kotgarh called off all forms of *Begar*, they had objected to, in their earlier notice of 26 August 1920. There was great enthusiasm in the villages as farmers rallied behind Samuel Evans Stokes, pleading to stand together and to furnish funds that might be needed for the defence of those who might be charged by the authorities.

In early April 1921, Williamson came to Kotgarh along with the divisional forest officer with the aim of finding ways of maintaining the old system. The people of Kotgarh had completely stopped giving *Begar* and *Kar* and the officials
were forced to re-open negotiations. Initially, they tried intimidating the people into giving in. The strike against Kar was so effective that the staff accompanying the two officers had to gather wood and fetch water themselves.157 After many rounds of discussions and long arguments the issue was finally resolved. But the final settlement of the issue was stalled when, a few days later, Williamson expressed his reluctance to comply with the contract clause, limiting the number of coolies for an officer on duty and the subordinates accompanying him to six. Stokes, however, was not prepared to make any compromises and replied in his usual candid manner that while the people were prepared to accept their responsibility to see that the administration did not suffer due to lack of resources, they were not prepared to admit the government's right to any Begar at all.

In a letter of 28 April 1921, Stokes warned the deputy commissioner that the people were firm in their resolve to give no Begar to anyone at all after 20 May 1921, unless the government treated them as a self-respecting community. But the officials continued to dither and Stokes became more suspicious of their intentions. Another meeting with Williamson in Simla on 10 May proved fruitless. Stokes was determined to persuade the Panjab government to resolve the issue. The following day was an unusually eventful one for Stokes. In the morning, he had an interview with the Viceroy, Lord Reading had explained the Begar system to him. In the afternoon, he met Mahatma Gandhi who had arrived in Simla only that morning and apprised him of the situation in the hills. In the evening, he met J.D. Boyd, the Revenue Secretary in charge of the Begar question with whom he had worked in the Kangra earthquake more than fifteen years ago.
In a final bid to reach an amicable solution, Stokes wrote a detailed letter to Boyd on his return to Kotgarh, describing it as the 'last act in an effort to cooperate with the government upon an issue in which justice is absolutely on our side'. He reiterated the position of the farmers. Wanting to preserve the dignity of the people, Stokes also insisted that the new arrangement between the government and the people should be in the form of a 'contract' and not 'orders or concessions'. The tug-of-war with the government finally ended in early June 1921, when the Superintendent of the Hill States accepted almost all the terms proposed by Stokes. As Stokes had been keeping indifferent health, a medical check-up revealed ulceration of the stomach and he was ordered several weeks rest. But rest and relaxation were yet a long way away, for even before the Kotgarh struggle had concluded he was drawn into the people's agitation against Begar in the neighbouring hill state of Keonthal. Stokes wrote, "Peasants in other hill states bore a greater burden of Begar than their counterparts in Kotgarh, for they were obliged to give Begar to their chief as well as to the British administrators. A considerable part of their labour was also unpaid for. The states had steadily increased their exaction under Begar irrespective of the terms of the Wajib-ul-Arz. In a number of areas there seemed now to be no assigned limit to the people, "the only standard apparently being the measure of its requirements". In the smaller states where the chiefs cultivated the land themselves, the demand for free labour included not only the service of the men, but also that of women and children. The men here were required to plough the fields of the chief with their own oxen, their families were required to help in the hoeing of potatoes and maize as well as in the harvesting of crops. They were
also responsible for cutting grass for the chief's cattle and for collecting pine needles needed for cattle-beds. All this labour involved more than three months of working days for one member of each household. Moreover, the labour had to be given to the chief when he demanded it which always coincided with the time when farmers needed to plough or sow their own land. As a result the farmer's fields suffered year after year from neglect at crucial times.\(^{158}\)

The hardships endured by the people were more or less the same in all the Simla Hill States. Farmers in these states had, therefore, watched with the deepest interest the people of Kotgarh fight their way to victory against Begar. If the Kotgarh farmers could fight the all-powerful British government, they felt they could at least attempt to seek justice from their chiefs. In early June of 1921, the people of Keonthal under the leadership of Munshi Kapur Singh, who had been Stokes assistant when Stokes was a recruiting officer, organised themselves to put up a fight against Begar. Like the people of Kotgarh, they planned to first petition the authorities and if no action was taken, they planned to go on strike. The leaders did not intend to offer any active resistance but they were arrested and imprisoned. Soon after, an excited crowd broke down the lock, and rescued them. This action led to the induction of a large police force into the state and more arrests aimed at intimidating the people. Munshi Kapur Singh's associates immediately sought Stokes' help. Stokes was tired and weak from his illness, but has once again felt compelled to stand in opposition to the will of the Panjab government. The arrest of villagers and the repression of people made him angry and his immediate reaction was to proceed to Keonthal and start a 'general strike against all Begar'. He was dissuaded from going ahead with his
plans by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who was then in Simla and, who strongly felt that it would be better to first give the authorities a chance to do justice themselves. It was then decided that the people's position should be again put before the administration respectfully and frankly, and if in spite of this no action was taken Stokes should go ahead with his plan and organize a complete strike from all Begar.¹⁵⁹

In an interview with Edward Maclagan, the Governor of Panjab, Stokes told him in no uncertain terms that it was the duty of the government to release those in prison and immediately settle the question of Begar to the satisfaction of the people. He said that he was not making an appeal but simply stating the people's position as he was most anxious that no one should be able, subsequently, to assert that the government had not been given an opportunity to execute justice and sympathy through ordinary channels.¹⁶⁰ Determined to leave no stone unturned in his efforts to get the authorities to act justly, Stokes had made plans to organize a big protest throughout the area where repression was actively practised. Meanwhile in a series of public meetings, Stokes continued to draw attention to the iniquities of Begar and the injustice of arrests. Mahatma Gandhi's four day visit to Simla in May 1921 had aroused 'unprecedented enthusiasm' in the town's Indian population. Public meetings addressed by Mahatma Gandhi, Lala Lajpat Rai and Madan Mohan Malaviya drew large crowds. It was the first time that nationalist issues were addressed to the people of Simla. Local issues also gained importance and Begar in particular came to be viewed in the national perspective.
On 26 June 1921, Stokes addressed a large public gathering in Simla. He condemned the arrests of Munshi Kapur Singh and others who were protesting against the system of forced labour in the hills. "No Hillman with any sense of honour could submit quietly to this act of repression." In another crowded public meeting three days later, Stokes declared that if the state authorities did not settle the case of Munshi Kapur Singh, the Simla public would take the matter in hand and would see that justice was wrenched out of the unwilling. It was more than a month since the arrest of Munshi Kapur Singh and his associates and still no charges had been brought against them. There were reports that witnesses were being 'terrorised and tutored' to ensure prosecution of the accused. Consequently, the agitation intensified and many prominent leaders took an active interest in it. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya extended his stay in Simla and Lala Lajpat Rai offered to come up and help, if needed. Andrews came to Simla again to render what help he could give. On the evening of 10 July 1921, at a crowded public meeting presided by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Stokes spoke passionately on the Begar issue. A resolution presented by him placing on record the deep sympathy of the people of Simla with Munshi Kapur Singh and his associates was passed and a pledge taken to work by every "legitimate and peaceful means to secure their early restoration of liberty".

After three months of as intense a struggle as Stokes had ever experienced, the issue was finally resolved, Munshi Kapur Singh and his associates were released and the officials responsible for their arrest were removed from service. Stokes was also able to obtain from the administration a
full and satisfactory settlement of the *Begar* issue in the entire Simla district. An official communique by the Panjab government shortly afterwards stated that in view of the complaints made regarding abuse of *Begar* or paid statutory labour on Hindustan-Tibet road between Simla and Bushahr, the government undertook complete revision of the existing system on that road. So far as the British territory of Kotgarh is concerned, the use of *Begar* has been practically abolished, government officers on duty alone being entitled to secure coolies on *Begar* system and that too on a very restricted scale. That the people began to look upon *Begar* and other levies as unjust, something which they had been tolerating for centuries, indicated the growth of political consciousness among them. *Begar* had for very long influenced their attitudes and beliefs. The *Begar* system was also one of the patent causes for the organisation of Praja Mandals in the Simla Hill States.

Though, Samuel Evans Stokes was not always in agreement with Mahatma Gandhi, from 1920 onwards there grew a life-long affection between the two. At the same time, Stokes became more closely associated with the National Movement. He became a member of the All India Congress Committee and a follower of Mahatma Gandhi. He contributed to Indian newspapers including Gandhiji's *Young India*, and in his books, *National Self-Realization* and *To Awakening India*, Stokes discussed the Mahatma's philosophy of Civil Disobedience and the justification for boycott of British and other foreign goods. Mahatma Gandhi mentioned in his speech at a public meeting in Simla on 15 May 1921, "I tell men of all religions that we wish to be bound in a unity of hearts. Are we not so bound to the Christians? Do we not accept the
help that men like Andrews and Stokes offer us? We do not desire to make anyone our enemy. We wish rather to give our own blood. If the British remain as servants, as brothers, if they agree to give up their domination and stay on they are welcome, otherwise they should quit.\textsuperscript{169} By July 1921 Gandhi could speak of Stokes as "living proof" that the movement of non-cooperation was neither anti-British nor anti-Christian. Stokes he said, "was a convinced non-cooperator and Congressmen, who had devoted all his energies to the eradication of the evil of 'Begar'. 'No Indian' wrote Gandhi, is giving such battle to the Government as Samuel Evans Stokes. He has veritably became the guide, philosopher and friend of the hill-men.\textsuperscript{170}

Samuel Evans Stokes became more effusive about Gandhi. He compared Gandhi to Jesus Christ. In his most popular work, \textit{To Awakening India} (1921), with a forward by Mahatma Gandhi, he gave a most spirited defence of Gandhi's Khadi Campaign,\textsuperscript{171} especially the much debated issue of the burning of foreign cloth, but he had also given the economics of Swadeshi in a nutshell. "The burning of foreign cloth was not a waste", he argued, "it was a kind of baptism into the spiritual Swaraj which Gandhi was building up in the heart of India".\textsuperscript{172} As the author of such writings and an ardent non-cooperator, it was not surprising that he was charged with sedition. The last paragraph of his book, \textit{National Self Realization}, written in 1920, expressed his position clearly. In the last para of the book he wrote "Not by hatred, not with anger, can we gain our end, if our end be worth the gaining. These are of ahankar, and lead to darkness. Where we see evil, selfishness, injustice, let us stand unflinchingly
against them, regardless of personal consequences, hating the deed and not the
doer, for the doer is but our other self."\textsuperscript{173}

After two months of actively supporting the nationalist cause in the Panjab
and signing 'The Non-Cooperators 'Manifesto', discouraging Indians from serving
in the military or civil service, Stokes was arrested on 4 October 1921, charged,
and imprisoned at Lahore Central Prison for six months. During this time, he
wrote the first draft of his most important work, \textit{Satyakama} or 'True Desires'
(being thoughts on the meaning of life), a work in which Stokes attempted to
reflect upon the meaning of life "as it has been shaped by his western heritage
and by his close contact with Indian life and thought."\textsuperscript{174} Samuel Evans Stokes' trial took place on 12 December 1921, in Lahore. The British District Magistrate,
Major M.C.Ferrar, sentenced him to six months imprisonment.\textsuperscript{175} Major Ferrar
knew Samuel Evans Stokes. He was familiar with Stokes' love for his adopted
country. He remembered how Stokes had volunteered in the British Indian Army
during the First World War held a Captaincy, and had also offered the use of his
estate in Kotgarh to the Government. Speaking of the true non-cooperator and
what his attitude towards his opponents should be, Stokes wrote, "it is not by law
council that any Swarajya will be won which is worth the having. If we fight with
the ignoble weapons of pride and hate and prejudice, we are undone even if we
win a sort of unmoral victory. If we fight in the spirit of true nobility, God and
Eternal Justice fight for us and the victory is certain."\textsuperscript{176}

At the time of his imprisonment, Samuel Evans Stokes had lived in India
for nearly eighteen years. He belonged to an old and illustrious American family.
Some of his ancestors had participated in the Boston Tea Party. A conscience
which could not compromise with freedom was part of his family heritage. Stokes had urged upon Gandhiji that it was in the interest of the country that he should relax and regain sufficient energy to do the mental work required for the purpose. Gandhiji appears to have written to Stokes earlier, "It is my duty before coming to a final decision to understand thoroughly the viewpoint of those who advocated council entry."\(^{177}\)

While Samuel Evans Stokes role in the Indian Freedom Movement was noteworthy, it is for his pioneering work as a planter, a social reformer and a community builder that his memory will be especially cherished. He had the foresight to see what a difference apple-growing would make to the economy of the Kotgarh region and to hundreds of families steeped in poverty. In Samuel Evans Stokes, Gandhiji had indeed found a dedicated and able exponent of the Nationalist cause. Like his Guru, the Yankee of Kotgarh lived what he preached. As an advocate of Khadi, Stokes always dressed in garments spun by Agnes. Stokes did not live to see the reality of the goal for which he laboured. He died shortly before India's Independence in 1946.

To sum up, the impact of the Christian missionaries was perceptible in the social, cultural and economic life of the people of the Simla and Panjab Hill States, whereas there role in bringing about change in basic political structure was negligible. The main contribution of Samuel Evans Stokes and C.F. Andrews in the field of political change was that they brought the political consciousness among the hill people who were exploited by the rulers, zamindars and later by the British officials. They encouraged them to raise their voice against the obnoxious evils like Begar and Bethu. Stokes also taught the hill people
democratic methods of the political protest against authoritarian rulers and officials. The focus of their attention were the women and other depressed classes of society. Efforts were made to make people economically better off and socially and politically awakened. Christian missionaries played a pioneering role in education, in the relief of the suffering, in the process of emancipation of both women and outcastes.
NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. While this view pervades all of Percival Spear's many general histories of Modern India, it is most fully laid out in his India, Pakistan and the West, Third Edition, (Oxford University Press, 1961).


5. Ibid., p.50.


10. Ibid.


19. Moravian Church House, *Tibet Reports Copy of Letter from Walter Asboe to J.D. Penny*, Chief Secretary to the Government of Panjab, 4 May 1940.


30. The *pipas* worked as labourers on the farms of the *nangpas* or earned their living as weavers, carpenters, tailors and shoe-makers. Metal workers were lower still in the social hierarchy and musicians lowest of all. The *nangpas* dominated the *pipas* economically as well as socially. In 1894 Theodor Schreve estimated that eight of the 70 houses in Poo had ample surplus, enough to feed the entire village if they wished. In the summer months the landless labourers could find work in the fields but in the winter they would rapidly run out of supplies. Landowners would lend grain, but at 25% or even 50% interest so that the *pipas* would run deeper and deeper into debt which they had almost no hope of ever paying off.

34. Missions-Blatt aus der Brudergergemeine, (Herrnhut, 1895), pp.327, 334.
35. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
44. Ibid., pp.150-51.
47. Ibid., pp.103-04.
48. Ibid., pp.104.
50. Ibid.
55. *The Tribune*, 16 June 1921.
57. *Ibid*.
63. *Ibid*.
66. *Ibid*.


82. Civil Appeal in Courts Sub-ordinate to the High Court, 26 November 1935, Stokes papers, quoted in Asha Sharma, *op.cit.*, 285.


93. V.P. Prabhakar, *Done up for Xmas*, Article published on *The Tribune* 22 December 1993.

94. Edward J. Buck, *op.cit.*, p.82.


97. K.N. Thakurdas, *One Hundred and Fifty Years of Christ Church, Simla, 1844-1944*, Article published in *150th Anniversary, Christ Church Simla, 1844-1944*, (Simla, 1994).


112. G.A. Oddies article in *Indian Church History Review*, Vol.II, *op.cit.*, p.48, suggest: At the 1896 Indian National Congress Session, Indian Christians representations was down to 9 or 1.2 per cent, at 1901 session it ws 6 or 0.68 per cent and in 1906, 7 or 0.4 per cent of the total number of delegates.


115. Except C.F. Andrews, the rest were Indian Christian Laymen. C.F. Andrews, was an Englishmen. He was an Anglican Priest. He came to India in 1904 A.D., to enter the Cambridge Brotherhood at Delhi and to join the Faculty of St. Stephen's College, Delhi.


117. *Ibid*.

118. *Dum* is a name given to any popular combination raised for the redress of special grievances, or for enforcing claims to certain rights. It was thus a public demonstration of discontent against the ruler, and has been known to occur before, and since, in Bushahr and in other States too. The method of procedure appears to be for the malcontents to leave their homes and encamp on the hill side, temple, or a forest, refusing to return until their wrongs had been redressed. For more details see also, *Panjab State Gazetteer, Simla Hill States*, Vol. VIII, *op.cit.*, p.10 and *Gazetteer of Mandi State, 1920*, (Lahore, 1920), p.68.
There were various kinds of *Begar* prevalent in Simla Hill States. These *Begar* were as follows:

a) **Athwara Begar.** The people rendered personal *Begar* to the ruler and his family and performed such duties as cultivation of the Chiefs Basa (*Khud Kasht*) lands, supplying firewood to the Darbar, and grass for cattle and horses and leaves for spreading in the cattle-sheds.

b) **Batrawal.** Under Batrawal the *Begarees* carried stones and wood for construction or repairs of state buildings and bridges etc. Normally, it was taken at the rate of one *Begaree* from each house.

c) **Jaddi – Baddi (Hela).** Under it *Begarees* brought grass and fuel, and did other labour on the occasions of marriages or deaths in the rulers family, and the installation of the ruler.

d) **Gaonsar Begar.** Under it *Begarees* were used for carrying luggage of State ahilkar when touring the villages.

See also for more details.


130. Ranbir Sharma, *op.cit.*, p.54.


134. Ranbir Sharma, *op.cit.*, p.34.


141. Samuel Evans Stokes to H.P. Tollinton, 16 April 1919, Stokes Papers.


147. Lt. Colonel A.C. Elliot to Stokes, 10 April 1920, Stokes Papers.


149. *Ibid., p.131.


164. *Ibid*.


168. Gandhiji addressed a meeting of about fifteen thousand people at Idgah ground. He was requested to speak on the purpose of his visit to Simla and the result of his meeting with the Viceroy. Gandhiji's speech was reported in the *Bombay Chronicle* dated 17 and 19 May, 1921.


172. Ibid., p.24.


176. C.M. Kashyap and Edward Post, Yankee in Khadi, op.cit., p.23.