CHAPTER IX

MISSIONS AND POLITICS

An important issue for any foreign religious community in a country is its relationship with the established political authorities. The Christian missions, being related to foreign religious organisations, needed permission to enter the country to occupy land for establishing settlements to preach and propagate their religion. They had to safeguard their interests and to work for the welfare of the converted persons and their families. The missions entered the Indian territories through the European trading settlements. In the beginning the British East India Company, in its own interest, had imposed restrictions on their entry but could not check them for a long time. The public opinion in England compelled the parliament to remove those restrictions through its Charter Acts of 1813 and 1833. As a result the missionaries poured into the country from the western world and gradually the opposition of the East India Company to the missionary activities in its territories changed into sympathy and support to them and encouraged to their evangelical work. Since then India became the most important place for the missionary activities in the world under the benevolent umbrella of the British Raj.

In the central regions, prior to the annexation of Nagpur

1. Beveridge, H. | A Comprehensive History of India, pp. 5-6 and p. 245.
and the formation of the Central Provinces, the Company possessed sovereignty over the Sagar and Narmada territories and its Resident had a good deal of control on the big Bhonsla Kingdom of Nagpur. During this period the first two Protestant missions viz. the C.M.S. and the U.F.C.S. were established there and the rest of the missions, came after the annexation of Nagpur and formation of the new province by the amalgamation of the two regions in 1861. The missions had to deal with four authorities-- the landlords, the princely states, the Company Government and the local boards at different places and times.

Whenever the leaders of the missions reached any British District or town for the establishment of mission stations, their first contact was invariably with the Deputy Commissioner and other government agencies, second with the landlords for acquiring land, third with the municipalities whose permission was necessary for constructing buildings within their limits, and fourth with the Indian princes where they entered into their territories. They behaved like good and useful citizens and abided by the rules and regulations framed by the various authorities from time to time. Being generally interested in better administration of the town some of them rendered their services by becoming members of the municipal committees in different capacities and made valuable suggestions for improvements. They convinced the local governments of the need to open schools and hospitals in the interest of public welfare. By their integrity and sincerity of purpose they gained confidence of the authorities and by their selfless, benevolent and useful social work they received praises from the people.

The contacts of the missions with the district authorities which consisted of British nationals, were always most cordial. The Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners extended every kind of support
and guidance to them. Hence, the missionaries faced no problem in general for installing institutions like schools, hospitals, orphanages etc. The government sanction was necessary which was obtained without any difficulties. For acquisition of land for the mission establishments and their institutions the missions had to contact the malguzars or zamindars. Whenever sale of land to them was refused, the government agencies came to their help and by official influence or pressure, land was acquired with the least trouble. Broadly, the political relations of the Christian missions will be studied under two heads viz. (1) relations with the Indian Princes (2) relations with the British Government.

Relations with the Princely States.

After the annexation of Nagpur there were fifteen feudatory states in the Central Provinces under British suzerainty. The government generally did not interfere in their internal matters. The proclamation of Queen Victoria reassured them in 1858 against any unwarranted interference. The missions generally did not find an easy entry in their territories as in the British Districts. However, they tried their best to get permission to extend their activities to those princely states with the help of the British Political Agents.

The first Protestant mission to establish its stations in the Bhonsla State of Nagpur was the U.F.C.S. The Nagpur State was then ruled over by Raghuvdi III. His Royal House did not interfere with the benevolent activities of that mission. While direct preaching of Christianity was disdained, the opening of schools, dispensaries, hospitals and other charitable institutions was very much appreciated. The Maratha girls school established by them was attended even by Lullo Bai and her cousin, the sisters of the principal wife of the Rajah who

derived benefit of modern education.

The Scottish Mission did not, however, have smooth sailing throughout. In 1848, its evangelical activities aroused suspicions and generated hostility when Baba Pandurang, a student of the mission school, aged sixteen, was converted to Christianity and granted shelter in the mission compound. His father complained to the Rajah and the latter to the Resident, who asked Rev. Hislop to surrender the youth immediately. Rev. Hislop appealed to the Company's Government against the injunction but Lord Dalhousie was too busy to reply. Hislop, therefore, chose to make it a public issue by publishing 'The Nagpur Case' in the Friend of India and Bengal Harkar in their October issue. The mission's contention was strongly supported by John Clark Marshman, Dr. Alexander Duff and Sir John Kaye. However, under pressure and apprehension that the issue might take an ugly turn and make mission unpopular, Baba was delivered after hundred and ten days. But this measure did not bring about any reconciliation. On the contrary the incident of converting the young boy to Christianity and detaining him in the mission left unpleasant memories and a bad trail behind.

Durand, on his arrival as Acting Resident of Nagpur in 1851, influenced the Bhonsla Rajah to grant sites for the mission buildings and helped in bringing the misunderstanding and tension to an end. Thereafter the missionaries were frequently invited by the Rajah to the entertainments and they conversed with him frankly and amicably. On the whole the relations of the missionaries with the Nagpur Royal Family were quite cordial. But the highly astonishing and most disappointing thing to the missionaries at Nagpur was the participation of the British officials in the celebrations of the Hindu festivals and their behaviour.

in the festivals identical with the Hindus. In 1854, when the annexation of the Nagpur State was proclaimed by Lord Dalhousie, the mission could not escape the wrath of the people. While going to visit the city mission school Stephen Hislop was surrounded, backled, insulted, assaulted and wounded near the palace by people who did not know his identity. His life was spared when somebody recognised him and told the mob that he was not a British official.

Most of the feudal states in the regions of Central Provinces were in Chhattisgarh ranging from Sakti in the north to Bastar in the south. Quite like other states, these states in general were not hostile to the entry of the missions into their territories but never invited them to establish their stations. Hence only a few missionaries could gain access to these places to propagate their religion, distribute Christian tracts and popularize the stories relating to the illustrious life of Jesus Christ with the aid of the lantern slides. Rajah Durjan Singh of Fatehour called J.H. Williams who was on the way to Pachmarhi and conversed with him for an hour, discussed Christianity with him, purchased 'The Life of Jesus Christ' and allowed him to show pictures depicting the life of Christ. During the famine relief operations Rev. J. Resseller and Dr. W. Page of the American Mennonite Mission earned good fame and endeared themselves to the people by their service. The Rajah of Kakair allowed them to travel on horse back throughout the tahsil and provided a palanquin and his own elephant as a token of regard for them. The old queen of Umaria near Pendra welcomed the missionaries of the D.C.I.M. and gave land to them for establishing a settlement. A zamindar of Pendra gave some forest land to that mission. The Gond Rajah of Harrai in Chhindwara District invited the Swedish missionaries to his

court, listened to their preachings and allowed them to open dispensaries at Harrai and Amarwara in Chhindwara District.\(^1\)

The Methodists received friendly gestures from the local rajahs of Jagdalpur and Marsinghpur where the mission was allotted sites by them. In Chhattisgarh the mission entered in the states of Durg, Chhuikhadan, Bandal, Silhati, Parpori and Patan in 1900\(^2\) Rev. G.K. Gilder received a cordial invitation from the feudatory chief of Sironcha to send missionaries to his people for educational and medical work and offered land to the mission on easy terms for the construction of their buildings.\(^3\)

While quite a large number of princes allowed the missionaries to work in their states of estates, some were either reluctant to give permission or flatly declined to oblige them. For some years the Bastar State was a heavy bolted door to be opened since the king was unwilling to grant any concession to the missionaries. But on the installation of a new king in 1892 the Commissioner Fraser invited Rev. C.B. Ward with a promise that there would be no trouble in obtaining a suitable site.\(^4\) The A. Menno. Mn. tried hard to obtain some land for mission buildings in Sakti State, but its chief denied his consent to it. Ultimately he acceded to the request only after receiving a high price for it.\(^5\) The ruler of Rewa, a neighbouring state, turned down the request of the missionaries to establish a mission in his state.

With the exception of Nagpur the mission work in the princely states of the Central Provinces was mostly started during the

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1. Letter from Alexana Lundquist to Montelius, dated January 10, 1892. Scottish Archives.
last decade of the nineteenth century and on the whole it was a small scale as compared with the work done in the British Districts. In general the princes were interested in the philanthropic work of the missions rather than in their religious preachings and conversions. Therefore the missions had very little hope of converting any chief or his subject to Christianity. S.E. Routtree of F.F.M.A. informed his headquarters from Sali in Noshangabad District that a Kurku Rajah had sent words expressing his desire to become Christian, which he never did in action. Thus the relations of the Protestant missions with the princely states in the regions of the Central Provinces were either quite cordial or indifferent but they never encouraged their evangelical work. Hence their conversion work in the princely states except during the years of famines and epidemics was insignificant.

Missions and the Government

After 1833 the missionaries were allowed entry into British India from all parts of the world provided they were sponsored by a recognised missionary organisation and held a valid permission from the government before entering the British territories in India. Every missionary organisation desiring to send its missionaries to India had to sign a pledge of doing nothing against the British Indian Government. In response the government afforded protection to them but reserved to itself the right to deport a missionary of doubtful bona fides or one who engaged himself in any subversive activities.

The missionaries were highly disciplined and basically religious people. They generally confined their activities to the work assigned to them and never transgressed the defined limits. They never

indulged in politics in the Central Provinces. But they were always conscious of their responsibilities. They were imbued with a sense of obligations and duties towards their religion and society. They never forgot that they were in the Central Provinces by the courtesy of its government and never belied the trust reposed in them. Having firm belief that the government is an institution ordained by God, they fully cooperated with it not only morally but also in action. From the government they enjoyed protection from molestation and engaged themselves in their work fearlessly.\footnote{Letter from G.Cayford to the Secretary of F.F.M.A. dated April 19, 1873, Friends House.}

While the missionaries of all denominations were allowed complete freedom in their evangelical work without any interference or interruption from the British authorities, officially the British government adopted a policy of neutrality in the religious matters of its Indian subjects. The chaplains appointed in the metropolitan cities by the Charter Acts of 1813 and 1833 had nothing to do with the missionaries and evangelism. The policy of neutrality was professed several times and incorporated in the Queen's proclamation of 1858 to allay the apprehensions of the Indian subjects that the government was helping in the evangelical work of the missionaries. But in reality, every British functionary in India had a soft corner for the Christian missions largely due to their racial and religious affinities with them and the cooperation the missionaries had extended to the government in the implementation of their diverse schemes and policies such as those dealing with education, famine-relief and epidemic eradication etc. The officials encouraged the educational activities of the missions, presided over their school and college functions and wrote excellent reports on their educational institutions. Lord Dalhousie gave fillip
to the conversion work of the missions by passing the Religious Disabilities Act in 1850 by which all civil rights including inheritance of the converts to Christianity were protected. The Christian missions applauded this enactment. The missionaries enjoyed so much confidence of the British officers because of their loyalty, attachment and helpfulness that several times they were asked to take charge of the famine-relief and epidemic-eradication operations of the government and their meritorious services were appreciated with gratitude.

There are instances when the government officials took lead in the installation of the missions. The first German mission, sponsored by Rev. Cosner, sent to Mandla District in the Central Provinces was initiated by Captain McDougal who was stationed at Seoni for some years. Captain Hill bequeathed his fortune for the establishment of Nagpur Mission. The D.C.I.M. at Damoh and the E.S.N.A. at Dhamtari in Raipur District were helped by the Deputy Commissioners and the Commissioner Fraser helped the Methodist Mission in Bastar State. At several places the religious-minded officials took lead in the Sunday services and gave valuable advice in their personal capacities. Active support of Donald McLeod, Sir Richard Temple and William Muir to the missions indicated the imperial favour to the Christian missions. In response to such favours the missions honoured the helpful high dignitaries of the government. The Scottish Mission nominated the Chief Commissioner A.H.L. Fraser as a member of the mission council.

By the spirit of cooperation with the government, by their neutrality in controversial political matters, by their role of informants to the government and creators of good-will among the people towards the government, they endeared themselves to the British officers. A.H.L. Fraser found little difference between a devoted government officer and a loyal missionary. To him it always appeared in intensely unsatisfactory to find a government officer and a missionary standing aloof from each other with suspicion and dislike. Such a state of thing seemed to him to indicate that one or the other of the two was unfitted for the position he occupied. Sir Donald McLeod showed so much concern for the mission work and led a real Christian life that a Sikh gentleman exclaimed, "If all Christians were like Sir Donald McLeod there would be no Hindus or Mohammedans."

In the British territories too the missionaries never forgot their main purpose of coming to India, i.e. evangelism, the focus of all their activities. They were always prepared to undergo any suffering and sacrifice for the achievement of their objective but would never compromise with anything that hindered the goal. They appreciated the support they received from the government officials, but resented the reconciliation of the Christian government with the unchristian practices and ceremonies of the heathens. They had already disapproved the participation of the British officials attached to the courts of Indian Princes in the saturnalia of Hindu festivals. Their criticism of the official tolerance to the religions and the religious practices of the Indian subjects exposed their own intolerance, prejudices and lack of open-mindedness in religions and social matters.

The government officers did not appreciate this narrow-mindedness of

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1. Fraser, A.H.L.: Among the Indian Rajahs and Ryots, p. 270.
2. Quoted in C. Smith Life of John Wilson, p. 397.
the missionaries and most of them remained unaffected by it. Surprised at this general trend of the British officers G. Smith, the biographer of Stephen Hislop, remarked disgustedly:

"Either we must defend our countrymen at the expense of Christianity, or we must support Christianity to the shame of our countrymen." 1

The missions as a class considered this sort of behaviour as an hindrance to their work and the Scottish Missionaries took lead in exposing the errors of the government officials and appealed to all the Christians in India to register their solemn protest against the sanctions given in various forms to the unchristian ceremonies by the British Government. As a result of it John Lawrence, Herbert Edwards and Donald McLeod made a public declaration in 1862 condemning the government policy of tolerance.

Another issue on which the missionaries and the government did not look eye to eye was the official tolerance to idolatory. Though ideologically to British officers, as true Christians, were against idolatory but they did not launch a crusade against it in the land of idolatory, as it was not practically a wise proposition and would have been dangerous to their imperial interests in India. The missionaries in England could not appreciate the delicacy of the situation and abused the Indian Government for its tolerance to idolatory and in derision called it 'the church warden of Juggernaut and dry nurse of Vishnu'. 2 The government repudiated this allegation and carried on its policy of religious neutrality as practical ideology and a political power in an eastern country inhabited by non Christians. The Christian missions wanted politics to be made a handmaid of religion.

With all sympathy for the mission work, the British Government did not subscribe to this view. The success of the missions' attempt to drag politics with religion would have been suicidal to the government. They probably expected too much from the government.

The Revolt of 1857 and the Missions

The Revolt of 1857 was the first widespread anti-British collective uprising to drive out the British from India to achieve redemption from them. The government under estimated it as a rebellion of the sepoys joined by the dispossessed chiefs and discontented Hindu-Muslim elements for several selfish reasons. Started from the north, it engulfed several regions of the subsequently formed Central Provinces. During the period of this political upheaval only two Protestant missions viz. the C.M.S. and the U.F.C.S. were functioning in these regions. Rev. J.W. Rebsch of the C.M.S. witnessed its occurrence at Jabalpur and has recorded his observations and experiences. As soon as the revolt occurred the British supremacy was temporarily at an end. All the mission institutions were closed down for want of surveillance and security. The missionaries numbering 44 gentlemen, 10 ladies, and 14 children with more than 100 natives moved to the Commissioner's campus for safety. The Gonds threatened the life and property for some time. The small group of Europeans was rescued on the arrival of the Madras Infantry and Cavalry with 6 guns. On the execution of Shankar Shah and his son and others, the missionaries heaved a sigh of relief that a furious storm passed over their heads, leaving the mission and its inmates unharmed. The apprehension that the rebels might try to burn the mission bungalow and besiege the missionaries came to an end.

2. Letter from J.W. Rebsch to the Secretary of C.M.S.,Folder No.G I 1/0, 236-37. C.M.S. Archives.
At Nagpur, the capital city of the Bhonsla State, Rev. Hislop recorded in his diary, "The 'chapatees' were circulated at Nagpur in the month of March, and about the same time.....the conspiracy for the overthrow of the British power in the province was formed."¹ According to him 16th June was fixed for the insurrection at Nagpur. At that time the irregular Cavalry at Nagpur consisted of almost all Mohammedans and the irregular Infantry of high caste Hindus. On the 13th June, Faiz Buksh, who was acquainted with Hislop for a long time, informed him about the insurrection in offing and urged him to send his family immediately to Bombay. This secret news Hislop relayed to Ellis, the then Deputy Commissioner of the city, who took all precautionary measures for the safety of the European families and for meeting any eventuality. The ladies and children were asked to rush to Kamptee or take shelter in the fort under the protection of Captain Johnston. The mob which came to burn the houses along with their inmates returned unsuccessfully. Thus, because of the influence of Hislop with Faiz Buksh, Nagpur was saved.² Despite this fact the Company's government brought a charge against the missionaries that the revolt was caused by their religious activities which to the missionaries appeared far from the truth.³

The local opposition to the missionaries, if there was any, on the eve of the revolt, was due to the lurking fear of conversion and the suspicion that the missionaries were in alliance with the British administrators, as both belonged to the same racial stock. In fact the rebels were more swayed by the opposition to the

¹. Quoted by G. Smith in Life of Stephen Hislop, p.149.
political domination than by the fear that by the preaching of the missionaries their religious feelings would be offended. They were not so much against the missionaries as against the British Government. A.T. Embree has expressed a doubt about the idea that the minds of the sepoys were inflamed by a plot of the government to compel them to become Christians. A letter sent from C.E. Bell to the Secretary of the U.F.C.S. in November 1857 said:

"At Nagpur, another and perhaps the most unjustifiable and reckless of all Lord Dalhousie's annexations, there were plottings enough, but owing to the wisdom and prudence of a venerable lady, Her Highness the Sanka Bai, the widow of Raghuji II who fought against us at Assaye and Argaum, no important conspiracy was brought to maturity. The Maratha chieftains at Nagpur without her countenance would not attempt a rising." 2

The C.M.S. in its paper, 'The Mutiny in India' printed for private circulation in 1857, refuted the blame for the insurrection on the missionaries3 and, also presented a memorial to Queen Victoria strongly denying the allegations levelled against them and put the whole responsibilities for the revolt on the government.4 The missions levelled another charge against the government, that it was prejudicing Indian mind against them and their activities and asserted that the

1. Quoted in Colonialism and the Christian missions, p.97.
2. Bell, C.E.: The English in India; Letters from Nagpur 1857-1858, p.25.
3. C.M.S.: The Mutiny in India 1857-A paper."It is not to be asserted that in no place has any missionary perished, or that mission premises have not been destroyed, in an indiscriminate attack by all the ruffians of the districts, after the preliminary mutiny of the troops, and after the murder of government officers, but not a word has been said, not a deed done, to show any, even the slightest, especially enmity to the missionary any where;....on the other hand, sympathy has reached our missionaries from the natives.
4. The Indian Crises: A memorial to the Queen from the C.M.S. on the religious policy of the government of India, Dec.1857, p.5."Thus your Majesty's government has presented to the people of India a disingenuous aspect, and has exposed itself to the charge, falsely alleged against it by the mutineers, of designing to make them Christians by fraud or coercion,"
rebellion was not directed towards the missionaries or originated from a malice against them but the government.

Alarmed by the outbreak of violence and apprehension of the mob fury, the missionaries took all precautionary measures for their safety, kept in constant contact with the European administrative authorities of the towns wherever they had their establishments and sought their protection. During the period of tension, turmoil and uncertainty of future the missions of various places had lost their contacts with one another and for several months did not know what had happened to their brethren elsewhere. In every mission centre there was anxiety about the safety of their mission centres. But as soon as normalcy was restored the hearts of missionaries were gladdened to know that no harm was done to the property and persons of the missions and its inmates anywhere in the regions of the Sagar and Narmada and Nagpur territories.

During the period of common danger to the Europeans the missionaries extended their fullest cooperation to the British officials. But for the intelligence supplied by Rev. Hislop, the British administrators of Nagpur would not have been alerted. This created better mutual understanding, greater goodwill, respect and consideration for each other and brought them much closer than in the past. This intimacy and confidence proved fruitful in later years of the nineteenth century when a great deal of support was needed by the government during the famines and epidemics. The Indian Christians who were under great strain and stress all the time, remained firm in their faith and steadfast in their loyalty to their missions. None deserted the missions. According to the testimony of Sir Richard Temple, "There was no noteworthy instance of apostasy whatever." 1

The treatment of the local population towards the Christian missions during the period of the revolt against foreign rule was not disheartening to them. The C.M.S. reported in 1860 that every investigation made by it revealed that the missionaries were spared by the local rebels. This was considered by the missions that the people were not alarmed by the peaceful propagation of Christianity. They were received with more respect and attention than before and the Christianity was discussed in high ranks. This encouraging report gave a great impetus to the missionary work in the newly formed Central Provinces and it encouraged the Christian missionary organisations in abroad to take a deeper interest in the evangelical work in India. Many missionary societies were formed for the promotion and extension of the Gospel in India in the post mutiny period. They established many institutions even in the remotest parts of the province.

Evangelism and Nationalism

Nationality is a constant feeling of belonging to a particular nation, which is nourished by common historic traditions and kept alive by a common national goal. Its fullest expression is found in the so-called freedom-seeking nationalism and during the external invasions.

There is enough ground to think if the revolt of 1857, which had affected only the Narmada valley, Bundela tracts and Malwa in Central India, was really the first attempt inspired by a national goal to gain independence. To many it appeared more like a widespread feudal outbreak led by the discontented and dispossessed elements. Since then, after the collapse of feudal aristocracy no effort of this type was made.

which could be counted as a national movement in the Central Provinces for removing the foreign rule. The Indian National Congress was organised only in 1885, and had no special impact on this province till the end of that decade. The Nagpur Session of the Congress held in 1891 gave a great impetus to the national movement in the Province, but freedom could not become its goal till the emergence of B.G.Tilak as its extremist leader and the concept of 'swaraj' propounded by him. The Indian National Congress was a loyal pro-British organisation with political reforms as its chief goal.

The missions in the Central Provinces did not play any important role directly in the national movement for reasons of their own. Being primarily religious organisations they were not supposed to participate actively in politics. They had to sign a bond to the effect before coming to India and they did not like any diagegression from their main goal. Moreover in the interest of their missions they were extremely cautious not to indulge in any political activity which might rouse the anger of the government and result in termination from India for violation of the bond. At the same time they did not like to oppose the Indian National Congress as they favoured all round reforms, but were too discreet to voice their opinion publicly. Finding themselves in a dilemma between the empire-hunting British imperialism and freedom-seeking India they preferred to teach their converts the irrelevance of the national movement to Christianity. In fact, the British element among the missionaries had natural sympathies with Britain rather than with India. Hence they did not play any positive or negative role in Indian politics in the nineteenth century. They kept themselves away from any political or non-Christian social organisation. They remained pro-British and taught the Indian Christians loyalty to the government which

meant loyalty to the British rule. The annual report of the Methodists represents the view of the missions. It says, "It is our duty as Christian ministers, to pray for our rulers, to uphold the State in all things lawful; but, there is another king one Jesus; and we owe to Him, a super allegiance." Living generally in the precincts of the mission compounds or in the isolated colonies the Indian orphans kept themselves aloof from the mainstream of pulsating national life, which the Congress and other organisations in the country would freely give vent to their feelings in favour or against a measure of the Government, with all their sense of awakened loyalty to the British Government, the missions and the Indian Christians preferred not to discuss, criticise or comment upon anything pertaining to the government. Hence they had no direct contribution to make to the development of national movement in the Central Provinces in the nineteenth century. They could neither throw up a nationalist leader nor attend national forums. Their attitude of blind loyalty was prompted by gross self-interest and the bindings of their white superiors. Among their indirect contribution was the development of their educational activities with special reference to English education in their institutions which proved to be one of the political causes of everyone of political consciousness and nationalism in the country. According to the F.F.M.A. the Christian church wherever it existed in the country, inculcated the qualities of good citizenship among its constituents and others who came in contacts with them. The Mennonites held similar views about the loyalty of the missions to the Government and the training of good citizens by them. According to them, being Christian did not mean disloyalty to the government and a true Christian was a true citizen.

2. F.F.M.A.; India, pp. 82-83.
class in India believed in the amelioration of the lot of the submerged communities and inculcated the idea of social equality. In this way they prepared social background for the rise of national awakening but did not actively participate in it, as by doing so they would have lost the patronage and support of the Government and would have been thrown into wilderness.

Thus for the Christian missions in the Central Provinces, as elsewhere in the country, religion and politics were two different things in the nineteenth century. The missionaries were no politicians and if they had any politics it was nothing but Christianity and its expansion and loyalty to the Christian Government. To these, they subordinated everything else. The Indian nationalist movement, which the Government suspected to be seditious, was an anathema to them and an antithesis to that cult of loyalty to the government, harmful to their interest and displeasing to the European missionaries and to British rulers. Hence in their own interest the foreign missions and the Indian Christians discreetly abstained from any association with Indian National Congress and remained fully attached to the British rule. However, the missions' contribution to the growth of the idea of good citizenship was not negligible.¹

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