

# Understanding Missionary Activity Within A Broader Historical Perspective: Two Micro Studies Of The Brethren Movement In Andhra (1833-1969)

*Thesis submitted to the University of Hyderabad for the award of Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy in History*

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### **DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that the work presented in this thesis entitled '*Understanding Missionary Activity Within A Broader Historical Perspective: Two Micro Studies Of The Brethren Movement In Andhra (1833-1969)*' has been carried out by me under the supervision of **Dr. Anindita Mukhopadhyay**, Department of History, University of Hyderabad. The thesis or a part thereof has not been submitted for any other degree at this university or any other university.

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### **CERTIFICATE**

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This is to certify that the thesis entitled '*Understanding Missionary Activity Within A Broader Historical Perspective: Two Micro Studies Of The Brethren Movement In Andhra (1833-1969)*' submitted by **Mr. B.Vijaya Raju** for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History, is a record of bonafide work carried out by him under my supervision and guidance.

This dissertation has not been submitted either in part or in full to any other university or institution of learning for the award of any other degree.

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

AAM:	American Arcot Mission
ABMS:	American Baptist Missionary Society
BAHNR:	Brethren Archivists & Historians Network Review
BGC:	Billy Graham Center, Wheaton, Illinois
BMS:	Baptist Missionary Society
CIG:	Ceylon and India General Mission
CMI:	Church Missionary Intelligencer
CMS:	Church Missionary Society
EIC:	East India Company
FMS:	Free Church Mission of Scotland
GDM:	Godavari Delta Mission
IBMR:	International Bulletin of Missionary Research
ICHR:	Indian Church History Review
JRLM:	John Ryland Library, Manchester
LMS:	London Missionary Society
NAMP	North Atlantic Missiology Project
NMS:	National Missionary Society
SPCK:	Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge
SPG:	Society for the Propagation of Gospel
TLM:	The Leprosy Mission
WMS:	Wesleyan Missionary Society

## Introductory Note

In selecting this area of research in missions I have been delving into a subject which has long interested me. General histories, published till 1970s simply referred to overseas missions as humanitarian, educational, philanthropic and social in context. It was rarely acknowledged by them that the missionary activity contributed to imperial expansion of the British. However, in the early 70s interdisciplinary study in the social sciences developed new approach. This led to research into the political significance of religion. This significance was explored initially in British politics. Unambiguously, it was recognized that the British imperial history could not be fully understood without giving detailed attention to the varieties of Christian belief. The 19<sup>th</sup> century missionary impulse to ensure religious involvement in the interests of the Empire was important for this. The Foreign mission societies: Church Missionary Society (CMS), London Missionary Society (LMS), Free Church Mission of Scotland (FMS), Wesleyan Missionary Society (WMS), all arose as an extension of it. Interestingly, there was one British missionary sect which distanced itself from the stigma of imperialism. This is the theme of this thesis: the Brethren movement in Andhra pursued a religious course that was not linked to the imperialist agenda. No researcher, so far, paid attention towards this area. This is entirely a new study.

I deal with missionary activity in a broader historical perspective in the initial chapters. Then a close study of distinctive tenets of the Brethren movement in Andhra from the non-imperialist viewpoint, to follow in the succeeding chapters.

**Significance:** - The theme of the thesis is embedded in the past two hundred years of Protestant missionary activity in India. As in the recent decades the explosion of writing by historians, which mostly concentrated on debates such as missions and modernity, missions and imperialism etc., focused more sharply on Protestant than on Catholic Christianity. The reason, as this volume investigates, was largely due to a Protestant evangelical phenomenon called the ‘evangelicalism’, which was intrinsically associated to the rapid expansion of Christian missionary activity in the 19<sup>th</sup> century to Asia and Africa. The ‘Enlightenment’, as most historians observed, created this evangelical version (evangelicalism) of Protestantism. Hence forth evangelicalism, the particular blend of the doctrines of grace, the canons of empiricism and common sense philosophy has come to be known as the key that unlocked ‘liberal theology’ in Christianity, which, in turn, contributed to contradictory trends making the British Christians arrogant, racist and imperialistic. This also endowed CMS (Church Missionary Society), LMS (London Missionary Society), Baptist Missionary Society (BMS), Wesleyan Missionary Society (WMS) missionaries etc., with notions like non-Westerns were ‘heathens’, lost in the degradation of sin, and with a belief in the superiority and liberating potential of ‘western civilization’. These philosophical emphases, as my investigation goes, current in the Enlightenment were responsible for the way the evangelical missionaries in India addressed and encountered the non-Christian faiths and cultures. Stephen Neill, writing the first extensive study of colonialism from a missiological viewpoint, suggests, ‘all the West has done tends to be interpreted in terms of aggression’ (Neill,1966:12). That aggression encompasses political, economic, social and intellectual, the ‘most dangerous of all forms of aggression’ was missions. In fact, knowingly or not, missionaries were



pioneers of western colonial expansion as well as supporters of imperialism. Missionaries often enjoyed the benefits of power while serving in regions under the control of colonial empire.

This first phase missionary enterprise, by Denominational missionary societies: Church Missionary Society (CMS), London Missionary Society (LMS), Free Church Mission of Scotland (FMS), Wesleyan Missionary Society (WMS), was followed in the second phase by the 'Faith missions' such as the Brethren movement in India. Missionaries of this Christian group, now quite large in Andhra, avoided the pitfalls of colonialism in their sect. Changing the face of Evangelicalism from liberal theology (for example British Christianity) into fundamental theology (Apostolic Christianity) was the doctrinal theme of the Brethren missionaries. Moreover, the mingling of religion and state was strictly forbidden by these Calvinist ideologues. The Brethren spirituality had expounded extreme Calvinism in its most uncompromising and aggressive form and that they took no voluntary or active part in the government, politics, or conflicts of any one nation under imperial obligation. They took the teaching of separation from the world as an important doctrinal and practical tenet. British civilisation was "worldly" for them. It was inconsistent with Brethren theology which was critical of all human cultures, including Western culture, as hopelessly tainted by the Fall. Also, the Brethren missionary writings provide some good solid evidence for spiritual rather than imperialist language. I further probe the indigenous missionary movement by Indian initiative, followed after the Indianised Christian worship and service, as was the fruit of the Brethren movement in Andhra. The final argument of my investigation suggests the anti-imperialist idealism of the Brethren missionaries, and their support of indigenous leadership. Indigenisation

opens the door for the layman's creative participation in the form of Christian assemblies at several villages and all the towns in Andhra, thus cutting across rural and urban divides.

In this study the researcher is concerned with the following objectives which essentially involves:

**Objectives:** - 1.The study explores contradictory social and ideological complexities of British Christianity and missionary activities, in relation to distinct but significantly interconnected arenas in British politics, both domestic and imperial.

2. The study investigates the extent of the politically oriented Christianity or Christian imperialism that used the imperial state's constitutional and legal apparatus.

3. The study examines why and how the Denominational missions viz., CMS, LMS, BMS, WMS etc. contributed towards the lack of success in bringing about totally indigenous churches or promoting indigenous leadership.

4. The final objective appraisal of the study is to show the extent to which the truly independent, anti-imperialist and anti-racist Brethren missionaries promoted independent and indigenous assemblies with indigenous leadership. The study examines two case studies of Brethren missionaries in Andhra, who contributed to this indigenizing process.

**Scope:** - The missionary enterprise earlier to 19<sup>th</sup> century is also touched upon. This work is placed in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century when the first Brethren missionary, A.N. Groves and his associates arrived in India about 1833. A detailed description of Brethren missionaries, together with the demographic trend, is set out to support my basic

argument. 1969 is the end of the work when the Canadian Brethren missionary, Silas Fox, left India in that year.

**Chapterization:** - In the first two chapters the diffusion of Christianity and other ideologies are dealt in detail. Particularly British Christianity held strategic for the civil and military structures connected with India and the Empire. These Christian imperialists, formally connected to religion, were more concerned with power and material interest, and religion to them was mere ideological justification for furthering imperial urge. Therefore, chapter one and two, examine encounters between Asian and Western people from the Portuguese to the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The development of Orientalism and Occidentalism as justifications for the colonial rule over the Indian sub-continent are important sub-texts to the growth of missionary activities over this region. Therefore, I evaluate further the strategies and methods of missionaries used for evangelism. This work scrupulously observes changes in missionary approach of the Indian traditional people precipitated by constant contextual pressures. I also hold that it was the missionaries' failure to contextualize Christianity to Indian religious life that saw the rise of 19<sup>th</sup> century socio-religious movements in Hinduism. Indianization of Christianity is further discussed.

In Chapter three, how the Reformation, and the Religious Revival of the mid-eighteenth century, impacted on the organization and the advent of the Christian missions to India, and how Men and women of Victorian era fired with one potent reason, the 'Gospel of Christ' forsook all comfort and secure home environments reached the people of distant lands, are narrated in the light of missionaries' commitment, passion and vision.

Chapter four deals with the ways in which the missions began their activities among the indigenous people, guided by their evangelical ideologies. Further I discuss thoroughly the response and the resistance from the side of traditional Hindus towards missionary conversions. An account for the political, economic, and socio-religious conditions of the people of the area and how the missions expanded and consequently pioneered the mass education in technology and the professions and thus opened avenues for an Andhra Renaissance is also given.

Chapter five explores one mysterious phenomenon called ‘Evangelicalism’, which swept England and Europe in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. This was also time Evangelicalism was challenged by the Enlightenment thought and the consequent crisis of faith. However, the movement was endowed with the high participation of middleclass and Low Church wing, and very particularly of laymen. This is a kind of ‘theology of Liberation’, which very much affected the trends in Dalit liberation theology of India. The Brethren movement, though wholly the product of increased participation by laypeople in nineteenth-century evangelicalism, spawned in it, a fundamental approach to fight against the Enlightenment thought.

In chapter six, I make a lengthy study of the ways in which, in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the fundamental Brethren movement within the Church of England continued to reminisce the 1<sup>st</sup> century Apostolic Christianity. This fundamental movement raised in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, imperatively stood for ecclesiastical fulfillment and could hold faith against the enlightenment thought that ranged across philosophical, social and psychological domains for the ‘faithful’. The ‘Faith mission’ movement, the extension of Protestant evangelism into India was a part of this. Chapter seven, therefore, examines

the biographical studies of two individual Brethren missionaries of the Faith mission who were led to distance themselves from the identification of imperial and British interests and who were instrumental in the unusual phenomena of promoting Indianised Christian Groups and training indigenous leadership in Andhra. Thus the scope of this study will be to the extent that it may contribute to the spontaneous growth of independent and indigenous churches in Andhra under 'native' leadership.

The focus of the study is also on the Indian Christians, and upon religious and social backgrounds of Indian Christians, which might explain their conversion. The study also sees, as to was there any thing susceptible to something like intellectualism or western culture that drew some towards Christianity. More attention is paid upon these issues in this thesis.

Several books provide a significant resource of the present work, particularly on British imperialism from a missiological viewpoint, towards fresh thinking on missions. The study is also based on the archival resources, which are of two categories: 1. Government records 2. Missionary Reports, Manuals, Periodicals and Diaries.

Some vital sources, which are immensely useful for the present study involves:

1. Reports of the administration of the Madras Presidency
2. Manual of the administration of the Madras Presidency
3. District Collectorate Records (Pre-mutiny) and other district annual reports
4. Census Reports of Madras Presidency
5. Report of Fort St. George, survey and settlement reports, Revenue, Legislature, Judiciary departments provide useful information. District Gazetteer by Hemmingway, the Madras District Gazetteer and Lady Hope's detailed book on 'General Arthur Cotton' are some

other valuable works on Brethren movement in Andhra, in which the initial role played by Sir Arthur Cotton is recorded. Reports of Director of Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency and the Reports of Administration of the Madras Presidency speak volumes of the system of missionary education and their influences on the curriculum. The necessary documents will be obtained at National and State Archives and relevant libraries and research centers.

This study will explore the base of Global Christian and mission research resources including databases, libraries, archives, special collections, institutions, and current research in the field. The specialist libraries of Christian Theological Colleges and seminaries located at Hyderabad, Bangalore, Madras etc., which have specialist archives with missionary reports, journals and magazines, the CMS-Foreign division, South India mission at the University of Birmingham special collection department, Main library and JRLM Brethren Archives, University of Manchester, and BGC Archives, Wheaton, Illinois, are of useful assistance to this study. In addition, a great deal of attention is paid to gather sources through group or individual interviews with religious functionaries, community leaders, which I feel, is an effective method for my research. The memoirs, Diaries, Biographies and other literary works of vernacular Telugu of the missionaries and Indian Christians are also used.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

My area of research encompasses an extremely wide field of enquiry, since I am examining the missionary voices and actions in England and their efforts in colonial India. I further narrow down my broad framework on missionary activities in India to the Brethren movement, to show that this movement was shaped by different anti-imperialist parameters. The spread of imperialism and capitalism brought the missionaries bearing the flag of Christianity. Western colonialism, with its economic, technological, and social organizations came in the public secular garb of imperialism. Riding piggyback on the 'modern west' the missionaries were convinced that 'conversion' to Christianity through western culture was possible.

From Vasco da Gama's conquest of the western coast in the 16th century, the missionaries came with their own agenda right up to the 19th century. During the 19th century, primarily with the rise of the Protestant mission force, missions took to a purer religious footing. 29<sup>th</sup> *Annual Report of the Calcutta Baptist Mission*, 1849, maintains that even William Carey, the father of modern missions, had different motives from the imperial administrators who banned him from Calcutta in the 1790s. Carey also had a weak grasp of the realities of politics and power. He opted for a post in an Indigo plant, and was quickly co-opted by imperial administrators and was deployed for their own purposes as Professor of Oriental Languages at the College of Fort William. The missionary enterprise disapproved of the secular approach of the East India Company towards acquisition of Indian Territory. The '*Memoir*' by Claudius Buchanan was the first statement by a Company missionary chaplain, for the evangelism of the indigenous

population. In the wake of 1806 Vellore mutiny, Buchanan countered the voices raised in England and in India against the missionaries and the demands for their recall from India, by issuing an open invitation to missionaries to India. The propagation of Christianity and the role of governance were clubbed together in this program.

Ironically, both the missionary chaplain Claudius Buchanan and the Scottish missionary Alexander Duff, supported the cause of colonialism and its progress in India. While at home country on leave in 1835, Duff spoke before church's General Assembly that 'the English language...is the lever which, as an instrument, is destined to move all Hindustan'. The General Assembly approved schools on Duff formula and set up them in Bombay (1832), Madras (1837) and Machilipatnam (1842) in the Andhra region. With the Free Church of Scotland mission, the curriculum was progressively broadened to relate to Christianity far more closely. Interestingly, Bernard Cohn in his book, '*Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*' located one of the most concrete links in the relationship between English language and the empire within a group of indigenous multilingual specialists who mediated between the colonizers and the colonized. The study of English literature in the Arnoldian sense and the study of modern knowledge based prominently on literature and science of the most celebrated missionary, Alexander Duff for the diffuse of Christianity among the high caste Hindu students, is thoroughly dealt in the book, '*Masks of Conquest*' by Gauri Viswanathan.

A new twist came: the missionaries, knowingly or unknowingly, were harbingers of 'civilization', relating British metropolitan cultures to culturally alien societies. Thus, the rule of law, commerce, good government, literature and education were all translated by the missionaries through the idiom of Christianity. Hence, the historical novel, '*The Missionary: An Indian Tale*', by Lady Sydney (Owenson) Morgan, spoke of the civilizing



and christianizing mission that could uproot Indian tradition. This civilizing mission encompassed even the commercial activity and thus clubbed together the spread of imperialism and capitalism. This position is clear in the writing of Dr. John Philip in his celebrated book, *'Researches in South Africa'*: he observed that missionaries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, were everywhere extending British interests, British influence and the British empire while scattering the seeds of civilization, social order and happiness. Evelyn Waugh's *'A Handful of Dust'* echoes the same idea of 'religion' with that of the spread of 'civilization'.

Andrew Porter in his book, *'Religion versus Empire'* argues that the British Protestant missionaries did not claim to be part of the British imperial authority, though they understood imperialism's value for their evangelical project. Porter quotes missionary William McCullough writing in 1893 back home about his experience in India: 'I am a missionary first and an imperialist afterwards'. Porter explains it thus: 'in the divinely driven world it was for the modern missionary to discern the means available for spreading true religion...' 'Means' such as English education, social reforms, economic changes, and above all, the Empire. The Empire was at best something to be turned to missionary advantage.

Another approach to a representation of India available to the Anglo-Indians and to the public in Britain was the divine agenda of a Christian providence. Evangelicals and missionaries were under the strong notion that the presence of the British in India was one that was intended by Providence. There were many in the mission world who justified the Christian presence in India in terms of providential vision and reached wide British public through their books, articles and through their missionary reports home to the SPG, the CMS and the Methodist missions for publication in their respective journals.

An English churchman Bishop Daniel Corrie of the CMS (Church Missionary Society) in his address on the occasion of anniversary meeting of the corresponding committee, Calcutta (Church Missionary Record, no.11, vol vi, Nov. 1835, p.263), said ‘I verily believe the British power has been established in India with the permission, and under the direction, of Divine Providence...There was Burmese war why? To open a way to the free dispersion of the Gospel and now missionaries are baptizing great numbers of them...The Gorkha war too? To bring us acquainted with those brave highlanders...I believe that God will support the British government in India for the good of the people and that his servants may have free liberty and protection’. This statement is one example how missionaries, mixed evangelicalism with theological conviction. Hundreds of English men came to India as missionaries with total belief in Providence. Most of the missionary journals, ‘*Church Missionary Record*’, ‘*The Church Times*’, *Guardian* etc., served as stimuli in drawing them to India. As an evangelical idealist and a character in the novel, ‘*Jane Eyre*’ by Charlotte Bronte, the 19<sup>th</sup> century English novelist, John Rivers was a good example of this project.

The Celebratory histories of missionaries, on the same track as the works of Kenneth Scott Latourette, ignored the Saidian critique<sup>1</sup>. Of course the very evasion of the Saidian presuppositions makes the celebratory story a useful one in some ways for a historian wrestling with the relationship between Western religion and imperialism. Celebratory is not necessarily uncritical. There is a tradition of criticism of missionaries to study their roles in the imperialist project. In the context of Said’s ‘*Orientalism*’ and ‘*Culture and Imperialism*,’ the historiography of missions’ historians has also been

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<sup>1</sup> K. Latourette (1937-45) *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, 7 vols (New York: Harper); K. Latourette (1957-61) *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age*, 5 vols (New York: Harper).

studied. A recent book by Brian Stanley addresses the relationship between Western religion and imperialism as the central theme of his book<sup>2</sup>. Missionaries were fundamentally different from imperialists, he argues, because their motives were fundamentally different. Imperialists were motivated by a desire to coerce, control, and dominate; missionaries by a desire to persuade, either through conventional forms of conversion or, much more characteristically, through the subtle rhetoric of doing good works in a non-Christian setting. Andrew Porter noted that, the relationship between missionaries and imperial governments, the missionary sense of self-sufficiency, their disdain or suspicion of imperial politics and government, constantly resurfaced<sup>3</sup>. In a different take, there are also scholarly positions on the missionaries. Missionaries like Beidelman who demonstrated that the missionaries were implicated in systems of coercion and control, and were even entrepreneurs in that field.

Robert Glover, wrote of two realms of missionary motivation: external and internal. The external motivations were based upon consideration of the state of the 'heathen', of their degrading habits, abominable practices, unmentionable cruelties and crimes while the internal motivations were based upon consideration of evangelizing the heathen<sup>4</sup>. The dominant theme in his writing was the Western cultural hegemony. Imperialists and missionaries discovered common interests. Stephen Neill, writing the first extensive study of colonialism in his book, *'Christian Missions'* suggests, "all the West has done tends to be interpreted in terms of aggression". That aggression encompasses political, economic, social, intellectual and the "most dangerous of all forms

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<sup>2</sup> B. Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant missions and British imperialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*, Apollos: Leicester, 1990.

<sup>3</sup> Andrew Porter, *Religion Versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914*, Manchester University Press, 2004.

<sup>4</sup> Robert H. Glover, *The Progress of World-Wide Missions*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Harper and Brothers, New York, 1931, p.23

of aggression” missions. Neill points out that the colonial idea is used almost exclusively as a term of reproach with the notion of European exploitation and impoverishment of cultural others.

Several missionaries say particularly, the most celebrated missionary, Alexander Duff, all shaped their policy in accordance with the demands of the Indian situation in which the determinative factor was the position and influence of Hinduism. Duff recognized this factor and applied indirect methods to undermine Hindus by the transmission of literary, philosophical and scientific culture of Christian presence. The same strategies were no less practiced in the Madras Presidency by missionaries like Robert Noble of the CMS (Church Missionary Society) who introduced Anglo-Vernacular schools to win Brahmin converts. This detailed study of the educational missionaries of the Scottish Free church, Wesleyan and the Church Missionary Society from the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century was the fundamental argument refracted through each of these facets of the imperial relationship. Affirmatively the mid-Victorian missionary theorist, Henry Venn envisaged that a mission that was dependent upon colonial rule would not survive the withdrawal of colonial rule<sup>5</sup>. Evidently understood the fact, the later missionaries like C. F. Andrews and Edward Thompson left the missionary world altogether to become active anti-imperialists<sup>6</sup>.

## I

The England between 17<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries produced ideas thick and fast. These ideas whether they concerned the generation of a new breed of Indians through education, training, character building or simply good governance were produced by Englishmen

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<sup>5</sup> C. P. Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church: a study in Victorian missionary strategy*, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1990.

<sup>6</sup> H. Tinker, *The Ordeal of Love: C. F. Andrews and India*, OUP, London, 1979. Also E. P. Thompson, *Alien Homage: Edward Thompson and Rabindranath*, OUP, Oxford, 1993.

who were of seminal importance to both English public and the educated Indian public. My arguments take into account the manner in which these intellectuals straddled between secular and religious identities that were part of the intellectual climate of England. Some of them were clearly of a religious and ethical bent, while others had a more secular and intellectual approach to the debatable issues at hand. My argument takes place at two levels. The first develops a frame of analysis from the existing scholarship on colonialism, and its hidden face-the missionary enterprise. At the second level, I strive to link the first frame to the intellectual and political context of both England and the colonial state's presence in India. The missionary movements are rested in both the locales-England and colonial India, within the power of the state. But there is a difference. In England, the state, as well as the English public, have a homogenous identity-at both the public and the private domains,-Christianity. Therefore there is no fundamental contradiction between the two domains, unlike the situation in colonial India. It was important for the votaries of an alien foreign colonial state to have a neutral face of power in its colonial territories. There was an apparent split between its religious identity, spirit, ethics and its functional understanding of power and governance. The latter was clearly going to represent its secular face. The former, its religious face, had to be veiled completely, dependent upon the acceptance of the colonized. For the sake of convenience, I will club intellectuals who were caught up in the debates on governance, pedagogy, progress, issues of morality,-growth of institutions, nations, but within a more secular understanding of guiding parameters of these issues-men like John Locke, David Hume, Edmund Burke, Jeremy Bentham, James Mill, John Stuart Mill, Edward Gibbon etc.

There was also another powerful voice-that of an overtly religious conviction-the voice of the Evangelicals. Both these voices were raised in the public space, namely the media and the parliament.

Sir Isaac Newton and John Locke were the true fathers of the Enlightenment. John Locke wrote his '*Two Treatises on Government*' and with it the natural laws and natural rights that focused much on individual liberty. Kant characterizes Enlightenment as a process that releases us from the state of immaturity. By immaturity, he means, accepting some one's authority through faith in him. This, he says, is a denial of true reason in order to make room for faith. Against these rational trends Frederich Schleiermacher, the father of liberalism in theology, spawned Enlightenment thought in Christian theology. Consequently, rationalist teaching or Higher Criticism, which originated from Kant spread to Great Britain, and caused embarrassing scandals within the church and the Intellectual skepticism prevailed. Darwin's '*Origin of the Species*' became the basis for the polemics of racism and imperialism intertwined with romantic nationalism embodied in British enlightenment theory. The Enlightenment is identified in best aspects with its secular counterpart 'Romanticism'. Darwin provided a rationale for those who believed that the existence of the Empire proved the British were selected by Nature to rule but also to convince the Indian people that the British were not mere colonial conquerors but a superior race on a noble civilizational mission. The British Enlightenment paved the road to modernity as the colonial state in India took the garb of civilizing mission and contested traditional Hindu religious prejudices. While the missionaries came with an agenda of civilizing mission, the English settlers came with a colonizing nemesis together called 'colonial Anglicanism'. The Anglican missions at that time were firmly embedded in Enlightenment theories which led to categories of imperialist ecclesiology. In

consequence to this, the 'Providential theory' took shape in the hands of the Evangelicals and imperial historiographers. The evangelicals more clearly marked out Providence as a ground for India's existing subjection to Britain, while Prof. Seely in '*The Expansion of England*' attributed the expansion of the colonial regime to the hand of Providence. On the other side, the skeptical philosophers and historians, David Hume, the French deist, Voltaire and at a later period, Edward Gibbon, were all naturalists and they, of course, attributed the course of history to natural causes-birth, growth and decline of civilization. Especially Gibbon's first volume of '*The Decline and Fall of Roman Empire*' (1776) is the good example of this kind. He marginalized supernaturalism to naturalism implying that the moral constriction wrought by imperialism causes the hegemony of Christianizing mission possible. Using the same argument Joseph Conrad, Rudyard Kipling and E. M. Forster engaged in a novelistic process, whose main purpose was not to raise more questions, but to keep the empire more or less in place justifying its imperial stance.

## II

The English East India Company established a merchant empire in India and was more interested in commerce. The kind of capitalism introduced by the Company exploited India economically. This evolved a system of two spatial zones, the public and the private faces in the imperial structure of British rule in India. Andrew Porter (ed), '*The Two Faces of Colonialism*', *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Volume III*, is a good work in that direction. As a result of it, the 18<sup>th</sup> century anti-imperial arguments were often heard from the intellectuals like Burke, Adam Smith etc, over the injustices of foreign despotism. Burke scorned the exploitative face of the British as what was wrong

in the west could not be right in the east. P.J. Marshall (ed) '*Speeches of Edmund Burke*' gives a vivid picture of affairs of East India Company and its rulers and how they were contradicted by Burke. From the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the imperialist trend swept among the intellectuals, such as James Mill, John Stuart Mill, T.B. Macaulay etc. Colonialism with the religious attempts of the Empire marked the politically conservative ideology of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The nature of British imperialism from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century to the end of the British rule, and the political and historiographical debates that have surrounded it, thus became a subject matter which comprises the motivations and assessments of relevant historiographical debates. Jennifer Pitts, *A Turn to Empire*: is a splendid contribution to the history of political thought in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries associated with colonial imperialism

George Psalmanazar's '*A Historical and Geographical Description of Formosa, an Island Subject to the Emperor of Japan*', was published in 1704. The author categorized Formosa and Britain in terms of 'false' religion--that is, priestly superstition--against 'true' religion--that is, Anglican Protestantism. Peter van der Veer in his work, '*Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain*' that the Mill's book, '*History of British India*' was influenced by Psalmanazar. Besides having a backward religion, India was, in Mill's eyes, an example of immoral feudalism. The historiographical debate of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was not only imperialistic but also a misrepresentation of India. Hegel in his work '*Philosophy of History*' opens a chapter describing the womanized beauty of India awaiting masculine treatment by the west. In this Hegel joins with the Robert Southey's '*The Curse of Kehema*' to marginalize a Hindu with his 'narratives of deceit, cheating and murder' and the Hindu nature was a character of 'spirit in a state of dream'. Mill-Hegel's articulation devalued India as



wandering in poetic imaginations and fantasies. The Mill-Hegelian discourse had no place for the orient and the orient too had no say in the onward utilitarian and evangelical momentum. The Mill-Hegelian articulation was a driving force behind the Anglicist movement, the effort of utilitarians and missionaries who also combined this ideological position with their own agenda.

The imperial ideology of the day took to a vague concept of a civilizing mission of sharing the missionaries belief in the transformative powers of education, a compulsory preoccupation for colonial administrators. This work draws from highly analytical perspectives of Percival Spear (*The Oxford History of Modern India 1740-1947*), Eric Stokes' (*The English Utilitarians and India*), and Clive Dewey's (*The Mind of the Indian Civil Service*). English-style education was promoted by Utilitarians such as James Mill and John Stuart Mill who envisaged a class of Indians, well-educated in western ideas and sentiment, who would spread their influence to the rest of India. Almost armoured by Mill-Hegel orientation, Macaulay pushed for the introduction of English education in India, which interpreters justified as a conduit for Macaulay's downward filtration to transform people loyalty to the Raj. Kalyan K. Chatterjee's '*English Education*' articulates that Evangelism, which equated social progress with Christianity, promoted a form of 'European education in alliance with the doctrine of Christianity, to the colonies the superior morals and knowledge of Europe, would destroy the basis of their old beliefs and pave the way for conversion to Christianity'.

The infiltrations of the company administration by large numbers of people from Charles Grant, were seeking to impose a colonizing mission agenda in India, which was very different from simply being people of Christian belief, but it is argued here that a language of belief, interpretations and judgement are described in terms of the category

of religion. It had a pervasive impulse to control and to direct the British rule in India and was one of the important stories of long years of colonialism to dispel the myth of the separation of church and state and the evangelicals and the missionaries did their best to fulfill that pledge. Religion and power were mixed for material interests. British Christianity had substantive importance to many significantly placed individuals in the civil and military structures of the administration, as well as others back at home in England, and the mission circles in India and England who had direct or indirect responsibilities connected to India, both with utilitarian voice of law and administration and evangelical reforming impulse, were involved in the rational operation system of the British imperialism. This book surfaces how even more, the Christian historiography of the period with great resonance of providential theory, had its roots in British Hegelianism as well as Whig notions, and was thoroughly reinforced by the ‘Protestant Ethic’ of capitalism legitimizing (God’s approval implied) accumulation of wealth, which shaped the minds of Evangelicals in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century is. Max Weber’s ‘*The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*’ (1976) and Boyd Hilton’s ‘*The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought 1885-1865*’ (1997) are books of authority which prominently dealt these issues.

### III

Primarily I discussed how the Anglican missionaries of branded societies viz., the Church Missionary Society (CMS), London Missionary Society (LMS), Wesleyan Missionary Society (WMS), Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) etc., pervaded by Enlightenment theories led to imperialist ecclesiology of liberal theology and who were, politically and enthusiastically pro-imperial in their policy and their own presence, side by side with British administrators who maintained that India had to be ruled by the

British. Finally I compared and contrasted the Anglican missionaries with one unique British missionary sect, the Brethren missionaries in Andhra (India) around whom the last chapters of this thesis are structured. They were committed to their call, set apart themselves from all vices of imperialism such as colonial, racial and cultural prejudices as they often claimed themselves as ‘men sent from God’. Their teaching was fundamentalist theology with lofty Biblical ideals and stood apart from the state’s imperial ideology. Brethren bookshelves were the amassed store house of Brethren missionary records of labour in many lands (*Echoes of Service Issues*, Bath, London) and Brethren Archivists and Historians Network Review Issues in Archive at Manchester, confirm Brethren attitudes, a separation from the world. For example, ‘...are we not... aliens in this country in which we dwell, belonging in heart and interest to another and better country...? That is to say, a heavenly country’. Anthony Norris Groves, the first Brethren missionary to Andhra, who was against taking up arms, left the Church of England and started the movement of Brethrenism. Due to Groves dynamic personality the idea of rejecting war took hold of his colleagues and became a fixed tenet for the emerging sect of Brethrenism. A good number of military officers and soldiers gave up their colonial army positions before they joined the Brethren movement at the instance of Anthony Norris Groves in Madras and Chittoor about 1837. *Memoir of the Late Anthony Norris Groves by His Widow* (1857) is a highly informative book about Groves’ pioneering work in Andhra. The Brethren believed belonging to no one nation, and no specific land on earth. Consistent with such a call, they took no voluntary active part in the government, politics, or conflicts of any one nation under imperial obligation. Pauline Summerton’s *Brethren Missionary Settler and A Colonial Settler Compared and Contrasted* (2003) is a good work explaining how the Brethren missionaries managed to

avoid the pitfalls of colonialism. In India the founding Brethren missionaries A.N. Groves at Chittoor, Bowden and Beer at Narsapur and in the early part of 20<sup>th</sup> century the later missionaries Handley Bird at Madras and Bro. Silas Fox at Anantapur all located themselves among the indigenous people, far from the temptations of colonial society, which they felt might divert them from their life style of pilgrim character. Several Indian Christian companions of the Brethren missionaries are also dealt in detail in this thesis mostly based on their diaries and letters. G.H. Lang's, '*The History & Diaries of An Indian Christian, Arulappan*'(1939) is a master piece in the history of indigenous missions inaugurating native missionary movement. Often the foreign missionaries bore the blame of being imperialists and racists whereas the Brethren missionaries were exonerated from such charges and held forth for the integrity of indigenous church and Indian leadership.

## Chapter I: CONTESTING IDEOLOGIES OR RELIGION AS POWER?

### i. Political and Social background:

British Protestant Missions versus British Empire in India in their broader historical perspective is the main theme of this chapter. This chapter also explores the relationship of Christian missions with the simultaneous spread of imperialism and capitalism. Andrew Porter, a missionary historian described the link: ‘a mission station is an essay in colonization’<sup>1</sup>. Therefore, the emphasis of understanding imperialism in its interdisciplinary links has led the historians to the study of the political significance of missions. I underline the importance of mission studies within the framework of British imperialism. It was thought that English education, social reforms and economic changes, all would facilitate conversion to Christianity. Indeed, it became the crucial debate of the colonial project in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Although Andrew Porter balanced his argument when he stated ‘in the divinely driven world it was for the modern missionary to discern the means available for spreading true religion. In such a world national developments might have their place, empire might provide an arena for providential fireworks, but no necessary priorities was to be attached to either. Empire in the form of British rule was never more than one among many such means...to be employed or ignored as Providence thought fit...empire (held)...limited potential when set within the...global perspective of

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<sup>1</sup> Andrew Porter, ‘Cultural Imperialism’ and Protestant Missionary Enterprise in the *‘Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History’*, 25, no.3 (September 1997) p.369. Colonialism was summarized with three C’s: Christianity, commerce and civilization. In this project of colonialism mission stations had played a dual role, one to evangelize and one to civilize. Jacobs, Donald A., ‘Contextualization in Missions’ in James M. Phillips and Robert T. Coote (ed.), *Towards the 21st Century in Christian Mission*, Grand Rapids, 1993, p.p. 235-244.

evangelical Christianity’<sup>2</sup>. This truly defined the missionary’s two realms he occupied in his mind, one a public stance of religious commitment, but that was intertwined with another the private, secular guise of imperialism. The state sponsored Anglican mission, the Society for the Propagation of Gospel (SPG), no doubt represented British imperialism in ecclesiastical garb, drawing church and state together in the colonies. However, at the very outset, I will state that the colonial state certainly maintained the realms of religion and politics separately: questions of faith and religion did not obfuscate governance. The religious world of the missionary could not evade the state connection because as sustainable activity, it needed both state protection and patronage<sup>3</sup>.

Many of the missionaries even shared policy-making powers as members of Parliament or as members of Board of Directors. Britain’s own capitalist culture pervaded the missionaries like David Livingston and the missionary administrators, like Charles Grant or Claudius Buchanan who were strong advocates of ‘Christianity, Commerce, and Civilization’. Capitalism was useful as the innovative missionaries took to cattle breeding, farm house culture and industrial establishments and set living examples of “progress”.

The ambiguity of this multi-tasking was also apparent in the initial administration of the empire (1700). The most crucial years of territorial expansion were between 1757-1772 and followed by years of supremacy at war till the close of 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>4</sup>. This was

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<sup>2</sup> Andrew Porter, *Religion Versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914*, Manchester University Press, 2004, p.61.

<sup>3</sup> For Wesleyans, generally, enthusiasm for imperialism and for missions were two sides of the same coin, and for nowhere did they feel that double-sided responsibility more keenly than for India. *Journal of Asian Mission* 4:2 (2002) p.244.

<sup>4</sup> Timothy Albarn, *Conceiving Companies Joint Stock Politics in Victorian England*, Routledge, London, 1998, Chapter 2; I.B. Watson, *Foundations for Empire*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1980; G.J.

also the period when English rationalism was popularizing the idea that social, ethnic and cultural differences explained disparities in wealth and power. Thus, the kind of capitalism introduced by those policy makers of British parliament, seemed to emphasize the economic and social backwardness in India<sup>5</sup>.

Between 1770 and 1813, anti-imperialist philosophy emerged among the western intellectuals denouncing the effects that alien civilized nations practicing despotism, corruption and lawlessness had upon the helpless and voiceless indigenous people. Edmund Burke was one such voice<sup>6</sup>. But he also felt that indigenous cultures should not be altered in any way. It was the colonizing western imperialists who forgot their Christian upbringing in their quest for wealth<sup>7</sup>. Burke wanted a sharp divide between the morally upright Christian administrators and the native population<sup>8</sup>. Therefore he insisted on the accountability for the conduct of men to the one great master or the Providence. Burke noted the contradiction between the stark colonial corruption and the working of providence on the side of powerless or voiceless subject people<sup>9</sup>. As early as 1783 Burke predicted that the annual drain of Indian resources to England without equivalent return

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Bryant, 'The Military Imperative in Early British Expansion in India, 1750–1785' in the *'Indo-British Review'*, XXI, 1996, p.p. 18-35.

<sup>5</sup> Truly this trend inaugurated the double task of two spatial zones, the public and the private appeared in simultaneous pursuit of both in the imperial structure of British rule in India. When looked back at the English parliamentary history an unfolding private face of parliament legislation and public face of their implementation in India by East India Company of the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries is striking how many important political controversies were touched on matters of religion, commerce, education etc., disputing the injustices of European imperial rule in India. However, the native Indian eyes were always apart over these developments. Washbrook, D.A. 'India, 1818-1860: The Two Faces of Colonialism,' in Andrew Porter (ed), *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, Volume III, *The Nineteenth Century*, Oxford University Press, New York. 1999.

<sup>6</sup> Sankar Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire*, Princeton University Press, 2003, p.p.1-6.

<sup>7</sup> George D. Bearce, *British Attitudes Towards India, 1784-1758*, London, 1961, 11-14.

<sup>8</sup> Percival Spear, *The Oxford History of Modern India 1740-1947*, OUP, Delhi, 1976, p.80

<sup>9</sup> Francis Canavan (Foreward), *Select Works of Edmund Burke*, 4 Vols, Liberty Fund, Indianapolis, 1999, Volume IV: *Miscellaneous Writings- Speeches on Fox's East India Bill* (1783).

would eventually destroy India<sup>10</sup>. Burke developed an imperial discourse of justice towards the oppressed in India. This fitted the pattern that capitalism and belief in providence forged a religious worldview that promoted colonial expansion<sup>11</sup>. However, James Mill and J.S. Mill constructed an alternative discourse of empire based on the notion of impartial rule of law, which provided the bedrock of governance for the nascent colonial state. The liberal secular intellectuals like David Hume, the French deist; Voltaire and later Edward Gibbon often contradicted the theory of Providence<sup>12</sup>.

The Evangelical Anglican and the humanitarian voices, criticizing the fraud within the colonies and in England were triggered by strong Christian ethics, as represented by Burke and Wilberforce. Under the leadership of Wilberforce the Parliament became an unrivalled platform for them to disseminate their views in shaping the country and the colonies<sup>13</sup>. The impact of this vital Christianity or muscular and masculine Christianity was wide ranging in the colonies through its evangelical missionaries and evangelical administrators. Thus they helped to create a professional civil service, an ethic of public administration and finally contributed to the development of militarism in Great Britain<sup>14</sup>. Broadly speaking the evangelicals represented four fronts, the commerce, the civil service, the politics and the armed forces in the colonial power project. The Indian army had been rich in English evangelical armed men like

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<sup>10</sup> P.J. Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes: The British in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century*, Oxford, 1976, p.p.110-115.

<sup>11</sup> Burke said 'it is well known that enormous wealth has poured into this country from India through a thousand channels, public and concealed...Forty millions of money at least have within our memory been brought from India into England'. Edmund Burke, *Speeches on the Impeachment of Warren Hastings*, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1987, p.17.

<sup>12</sup> Gibbon's theory implies that the triumph of religion was part of the downfall of Rome and thereby, concedes that the moral constriction wrought by imperialism caused the rise and spread of Christianity possible. He marginalized the supernaturalism to naturalism. J.M. Robertson (Introduction), *Gibbon on Christianity*, Rupa & Co., New Delhi, 2003, p.p. xiv-xv..

<sup>13</sup> Kevin Belmonte, *Hero of Humanity: A Biography of William Wilberforce*, Colorado, 2002, Preface, p.16

<sup>14</sup> Percival Spear, *The Oxford History of Modern India, 1740-1947*, OUP, New Delhi, p.212



Gen. Henry Havelock, Capt. Charles Ackland etc. Most of the missionary journals, '*The Christian Spectator*', The Evangelical Review, '*The Friend of India*' etc., played significant roles in drawing government attention to social problems. The annual missionary conferences in different parts of India formulated different schemes and secured the support of government especially for the promotion of education<sup>15</sup>. No doubt, the intelligent and industrious representative evangelicals were power sources in India combined with the adoption of free trade policies created a congenial civil and moral background suitable for promotion of Christianity<sup>16</sup>.

Strikingly, as P.J. Marshall observed, the anti-imperialist sentiments largely of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, came to a close. Still, the Burkean rhetoric on India was adopted in the later imperial discourses<sup>17</sup>. Prof. Andrew Porter, for example, argues that Burke was instrumental in forming a notion of 'Imperial Trusteeship', which remained central in what came to be recognized as the humanitarian approach to empire and overseas influence throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Porter does concede that Burke formulated a 'conservative and defensive' notion of imperial responsibility appropriate only to an eighteenth century society in which government possessed a limited range of functions<sup>18</sup>. Some others argue that a connection existed between Burkean conservative approach to Indian law and later orientalist pursuit of the study of Indian languages against the oppressive nature of English power and authority.

The eighteenth century reformers were also against missionary activity in India in their parliamentary arguments. However, the missionaries in the 18<sup>th</sup> century did not use

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<sup>15</sup> M.K. Kuriakose, *History of Christianity in India: Source Materials*, ISPCK, Delhi, 1982.

<sup>16</sup> P.J. Cain & A.G. Hopkins: *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion 1688-1914*, p.p.321-325

<sup>17</sup> P.J. Marshall (Ed), *The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke*, OUP, 2000, p.p.20-21

<sup>18</sup> Andrew Porter (Ed), *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, Vol. III, *The Nineteenth Century*, Oxford, 1999, p.199.

the argument of imperialism for undertaking missions to India. As the empire stabilized their successors became more amenable to missionary activity in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In 1793 Wilberforce stated that it was his notion of divine obligation and not the profit-motive, which compelled him to speak about the missionaries' passage into India in the parliament of England. In 1804, Charles Grant, a leading member of the politically influential Clapham Sect of evangelicals and a former servant of the Company, was elected to serve as a Deputy Chairman of the Company, thereby giving evangelicals their first powerful advocate within the Company itself. Grant appointed evangelicals to posts in India, one of whom was Claudius Buchanan. Buchanan's 'Memoir', written in 1812, was the first statement by a Company official calling for the conversion of the native population.

During the second phase of 1813-1833-34 of Company's history in India, both the Evangelicals, and the Utilitarian thinkers turned decisively, a little ahead of the earlier thinkers' views about the empire and its consolidation<sup>19</sup>. The British Empire in India in the early nineteenth century, with Parliament's Charter of 1813, ended the East India Company's monopoly. The colonies were now open to British free merchants, and British evangelicals were permitted to establish missions there. The effect of this charter was not only to align British imperialism with the civilizing mission but also to promote the economic and moral aspects of the empire, now superintended by the British nation, and separated from the political aspect, which remained in the hands of the Company. The former claimed to advance the cause of 'modernity' or civilizing and christianizing mission; the Company on the other hand rationalized its politics by insisting that it was

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<sup>19</sup> Jennifer Pitts, *A Turn to Empire: The Rise of Imperial Liberalism in Britain and France*, Princeton University Press, 2005, p.1

concerned to preserve 'native traditions'. The reforms of 1813 again re-emphasized the liberal civilizing mission through clerical influence. On the other hand the colonial administrators saw native traditions as the necessary prop for a stable government. Therefore the Liberal Tory school bureaucrats like the Governor of Bombay, Elphinstone and the Governor of Madras, Thomas Munro, opposed missionaries<sup>20</sup>. The conflict of these opposing ideologies came to the forefront during Anglicist-Orientalist controversy of 1835.

After 1813 Grant's lobby had become so powerful within the company that every year either the chairman or the deputy chairman was an evangelical. A group of people, the Clapham sect who took their religion seriously, proposed a missionary movement to convert Indians to Christianity. The English Evangelicals began to believe that Providence had given India to them for her salvation. The evangelicals did not find it difficult to convince Great Britain of its providential destiny. Their attitudes provided the inspiration and the basis of government policies related to India as well as Africa throughout the first half of 19<sup>th</sup> century. Lord William Bentinck, an ardent disciple of Grant took over the reins of India as Governor General, believed in and worked for the moral regeneration of the masses of India. The Charter Act of 1833 was drafted by Grant's son, Charles, together with another Clapham evangelical, James Stephen. This ended the British support for Hindu temples. The Charter marked the final abandonment of the toleration and non-interference in native affairs and confirmed Britain's acceptance of its new role in India as Christian missionary and harbinger of western civilization<sup>21</sup>. The

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<sup>20</sup> Percival Spear, *The Oxford History*, p.p.134-137. & George D. Bearce, *British Attitudes Towards India, 1784-1858*, OUP, London, 1961, p.p.142-143

<sup>21</sup> Ian Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness: The Evangelical Impact on the Victorians*, London, 1976, p.p.80-87.

Charter of 1813 recognized education of the colonial subjects as a major principle upon which the colonial enterprise should be based. Grant's dream became real when Macaulay proposed the English educative system during his speech in English parliament in 1835 to conquer India culturally. The missions laid the groundwork for much of the linguistic and cultural imperialism that would follow with government involvement<sup>22</sup>.

The third phase of the company's history in India between 1833-1858 was marked by two political developments. Firstly, The Company became a nominal head. Secondly, Queen Victoria ascended the British throne in 1837 and became the virtual head of British India in 1858. At the instance of these developments, a new spiritual phenomenon called 'Evangelicalism' (a topic that has been widely discussed as separate chapter) was at force in shaping the character of the Victorian Britain. These were the years when hundreds of Englishmen went out to India on a Christianizing mission with unbounded optimism. The evangelicals availed a supreme opportunity to influence national policies in this sphere<sup>23</sup>. Interestingly, in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century evangelical missionaries proved to be the strongest advocates of colonization and annexation of "native lands" by Britain. The 1857, the Revolt of the Indian communities, sparked by the mutiny of the Bengal Regiment, was a turning point in Anglo-Indian relations<sup>24</sup>. The evangelicals were more convinced that India was a religious duty assigned by Providence. The colonial government, on the other hand, formally detached itself from missionary activity.

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<sup>22</sup> Government of Madras-Public Consultations: Consultations No.56, 1817; No.27, 1817; No.34-A, 1846;No.11, 1847 reveal missionary activities of the government in league with missionaries.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid p.p.13-15.

<sup>24</sup> Paul Rich in his essay '*The Quest for Englishness*', in '*Victorian Values*', ed. Gordon Marsden (1988) probes that the heightened racial awareness in Victorian concepts of Englishness and the imperial mission strained the Anglo-Indian relations. *Political Theory*, Vol. 32.

The imperial historiography reached a new height with the texts of Seely, James Anthony Froude and their contemporaries. Seely (*The Expansion of England*, 1883) interpreted the manifesto of colonization as the hand of Providence<sup>25</sup>. The hand of providence became increasingly the ideological basis of the Empire. However, this remained the spring of motivation for the ruling race, as popularly understood by the western public<sup>26</sup>. Conversion was not included in this perception of religio-social difference. In this sense, the missionary movement remained apart from the colonial state, even as they claimed the colonial state's protection. The imperialist Historians like Seeley and Froude retained this perspective.<sup>27</sup>.

The slightly later imperial historians, E. A. Freeman and Lord Acton, were more concerned with articulating the historical and racial connections between Anglo-Saxons, Teutons, and Greeks in order to promote Britain's imperial greatness to the world than with examining popular manifestations of that racialism in their own historical present<sup>28</sup>. The domestic and white ethnic minorities who were in the far colonial lands could and did become the imperial ruling classes and claimed for themselves that greatness by

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<sup>25</sup> Catherine Hall (ed), *Cultures of Empire: A Reader*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2000, p.p. 1-3.

<sup>26</sup> Boyd Hilton described the actions of Providence in two ways, viz., 'ad hoc' and ad hominem; Ad hoc meant the natural law that God operates in a regular, mechanical and non-interventionist way. Ad hominem meant that God acts in a special or particular way through catastrophic interventions. Therefore, it is difficult to decide the actions of Providence associated with a particular interest. Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought*, 1785-1865, OUP, 1988, p.p.10-17

<sup>27</sup> Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, London, 1993, p.61. Similarly, David Abernathy defines empire as 'a relationship of domination and subordination between one polity (called the metropole) and one or more territories (called colonies) that lie outside the metropole's boundaries yet are claimed as its lawful possessions'. David Abernathy, *The Dynamics of Global Dominance: European Overseas Empires*, 1415-1980, Yale University Press, New Haven, 2000, p.19; Said also refers to a small inner core of politicians and intellectuals in London, which formed what John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson called the "official mind of imperialism" formed various lobbies in Britain with overseas interests.

<sup>28</sup> H. A. McDougall, *Racial Myth in English History: Trojans, Teutons and Anglo-Saxons*, Harvest House, Montreal, 1982, p.p. 89-116

virtue of their essential Britishness and a shared past history. Here Christianity took a back seat, and imperial history became a cultural code marking the identity of the ruling classes<sup>29</sup>. Alan Sandison states in *'The Wheel of Empire'*: 'Whether as administrator, trader or adventurer the imperial intruder in his embattled consciousness provides the most dramatic evidence of the moral struggle which his physical presence symbolizes'.<sup>30</sup> Imperial nation at home and global empire abroad were instrumental for sustaining those quintessentially Victorian myths of religious, cultural and racial superiority. Similarly Studdert-Kennedy writes that the empire expansion was the morality of the state as well as the significant characteristic of national life of the British under providential dispensation as was regularly argued by the imperial historians. Another passing observation that the wiser Anglo-Saxon race was elected by the superintending Providence for fulfilling this historical duty, made in the book, *'A Short History of British Colonial policy'* (1887) by one celebrated historian, Eagerton. And, in keeping with the Whig-historical notions of Christian Providence and progress, the movement of ideas, culture, and improvement was presumed to flow in one direction from home to imperial territories. P. J. Marshall reminds us that British models from utilitarianism to the welfare state have historically been projected on to the empire<sup>31</sup>. Historiographical practice down to the 1950s neatly replicated the orientalist frame out of which it distantly originated, so that the 'otherness' of empire became the natural possession of British national identity. Therefore, it is impossible to understand histories of Britain or historical notions of

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<sup>29</sup> J. Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: the manipulation of British public opinion, 1880-1960*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1984, p. 254.

<sup>30</sup> Sandison, Alan, *The Wheel of Empire*, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1967, p.121

<sup>31</sup> P.J. Marshall, *Empire and authority in the later eighteenth century*, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 15, 1987, p. 105. His argument rightly reveals that the Missionary plus Christian utilitarianism plus benevolent Paternalism provided different frames for the Empire.

Britishness outside of the imperial and post-imperial experience<sup>32</sup>. Said maintained that writers like E. M. Forster, Joseph Conrad and Rudyard Kipling engaged in a novelistic process, whose main purpose was not to raise more questions, nor to disturb or otherwise preoccupy attention, but to keep the empire more or less in place<sup>33</sup>.

Much of the standard British historiographical ideology regarding Empire in the late 19th and early 20th centuries thus conforms to two basic related themes. One body of ideological writing emphasizes Britain as the most highly developed civilization in the world and therefore asserts that the people of the regions it controls can only benefit through their exposure to Britain and its culture<sup>34</sup>. A. P. Thornton in his book *The Imperial Idea and Its Enemies*, elucidates: 'England by her traditions and institutions was the natural guardian of liberty...She must see to it that her ideas were asserted, her influence felt, and her anger feared'<sup>35</sup>. Thornton, himself a Scot, is thus plotting his own particular imperial and colonial trajectories. The other ideological theme is distinct in focusing specifically on racial, socio-religious and cultural differences between Europeans and native peoples. British imperialism, as compounded by the myth of religious zeal of the Church of England, found a way out within the paradigms of

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<sup>32</sup> S. Marks, *History, the Nation and Empire: Sniping from the Periphery*, *'History Workshop' Journal*, 29, 1990, p. 113.

<sup>33</sup> Jane Austin's *Mansfield Park* was published in 1814 and, according to Said; it was then the latest in a long line of literary products that had supported English imperial interests.

<sup>34</sup> Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, An Article by Lyons, Donald in the *'Commentary' Magazine*, Vol. 96, July 1993, No.1; McClure, John A, Kipling and Conrad, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1981. 1899 poem by Rudyard Kipling, the 'white man's burden- To serve your captives' need... was a worldview for justifying the imperialism of westernization and also Christianization. *'Heart of Darkness'* by Joseph Conrad in the context of Africa and *'A Passage to India'* by E.M. Forster in the Indian perspective are significant in the degree to which they closely examine the individual psychology, and the underlying ideology that informs it, of the European imperial foot-soldier, the representative on the ground, who carries out the imperial burdens, duties and self interest of his homeland in a climate that is hostile and in a culture he does not understand and where he is not welcome.

<sup>35</sup> A. P. Thornton, *The Imperial Idea and Its Enemies: A Study of British Power*, Macmillan, London, 1959, p.4

missionary enterprise, which turned often into mouthpieces for power, greed and naked self-interest and a lack of any real morals whatsoever and missionary activity became a hidden face of its colonial project. Thus, in the name of 'Providence' both the missionaries and colonial administrators erected a structure of imperialism, endowed it with elements of race, class, colour, creed and civilization and functioned as the eyes and ears of imperialism, and which intersected neatly with the enthusiasm for the British Empire.

Enquiries into historical dimensions of Indian social relations and culture by the investigative modalities of historical anthropology was a means to brandish native culture as inert and passive, in contrast to the dynamism of European culture, which in the imperial sense was destined to play the role of civilizing mission. Bernard Cohn<sup>36</sup>, a anthropologist-turned-historian, made a thorough study of the rhetoric of the civilizing mission and its various modalities of knowledge in the anthropological context and exemplified how the British transformed the very texture of indigenous interactions through writing about themselves and their negotiations with the Indian Population<sup>37</sup>. Gauri Vishwanathan in her book, *Masks of Conquest*, analyzed the nature of colonial hegemony. She states that it was an overtly political act muffled by Christianity that revolved around the centrality of the English language as the carrier of western religion and culture<sup>38</sup>. Orientalists and Indologists saw the Indic civilization as the cradle of Europe, but they surmised that the rise of 'superstitious and irrational' practices had

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<sup>36</sup> Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*, OUP, 1997

<sup>37</sup> A missionary historian Andrew Porter quotes 'missions strengthen our hold over the country (colony), they spread the use of the English language, they induct the natives into the best kind of civilization, and in fact each mission station is an essay in colonization'. Andrew Porter, Cultural Imperialism and Protestant Missionaries, in the *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Sept, 1979, p.369

<sup>38</sup> Gauri Vishwanathan, *Masks of Conquest*, OUP, New Delhi, 1989



caused India to stagnate and regress and only the English-style education could lead India in to the path of progress<sup>39</sup>. However, for the Evangelicals the utmost priority of the Empire was the conversion of the natives through a cultural sub field of English literature inculcating Christian principles<sup>40</sup>.

The connection between Christianity, capitalism and the working classes has also been a matter of debate for a century. Capitalism, intrinsic to the colonial economy, was essential to imperial ideology and the cooperation of the working classes as an important part of the ruling race. Moreover, the historical process in Europe had anyway ensured that the working classes were imbued with a work culture specific to 'industrial capitalism'. E.P. Thomson argues that peasant societies could not have been forced to adapt 'industrial capitalism', had there not been a change in their mentality as a result of Calvinist discipline and more particularly at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, of Methodism that swept through the mining and industrial towns of England<sup>41</sup>, paving the way for future socialist revolutions. In connection to this, Vladimir Lenin in his work *'Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism'*, describes imperialism as the 'product of highly developed industrial capitalism. It consists in the striving of every industrial capitalist nation to bring under its control or to annex larger and larger areas of...territory,

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<sup>39</sup> William Stafford, *John Stuart Mill*, Macmillan, 1998. Utilitarians, J.S.Mill and James Mill promoted English education, which wanted to create a class of Indians, well educated in western ideas and sentiment, which would spread their influence to the rest of India and had thus, confined them to a thorough canvassing of the (English-language) literature on India. Particularly the James Mill-Hegel articulation of empire is a devaluing force in Indian perspective, marks a leap in English imperial ideology.

<sup>40</sup> S.Radha Krishnan, *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, OUP, 1990, p.10. Radha Krishnan comments that the westerners' desire for world Christian empire transformed the simple faith of Jesus into a forceful proselytization creed. Radha Krishnan was a student of William Miller, the principal of Madras Christian College and who taught English literature to Radha Krishnan with religious persuasion.

<sup>41</sup> E.P. Thompson, *'Time, Work-discipline, and Industrial Capitalism'*, Past and Present, No.38, 1967.

irrespective of what nations inhabit those regions...'<sup>42</sup>. British imperialism, Lenin argues, is the highest or final stage of capitalism and the eve of emergence of socialist revolution<sup>43</sup>. In the outer reaches of the Empire, the working classes of Britain seamlessly converted to the 'ruling class', and were thus staunch defenders of the Empire, and the subordination of the 'natives'. It is in this public domain that 'Christian' identity of the 'ruling class' took on a popular marker of imperial identity<sup>44</sup>. The notion of imperialism as a core ideology thus worked to produce unifying imperial identity<sup>45</sup>. The ruling classes thus divided into the elite, secular notions successful of governance, and its popular, working class reading of a strong Christian identity and its link to state power. The wide conversion of Indians to Christianity therefore lost all political force, as it was non-essential to the idea of the Empire. In this specific sense, the British Empire laid claims to the Roman imperial heritage<sup>46</sup>. The modern British Empire saw itself playing the role as new Romans, charged with civilizing and Christianizing the backward peoples incessantly to immortalize the empire<sup>47</sup>.

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<sup>42</sup>Vladimir Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism, Collected Works*, Moscow, 1964, in particular p.155, p187, p260, p283.

<sup>43</sup> The years following the I World War were ground for anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist trends and the success of 1917 Revolution was the success of these tirades especially in the context of British Empire. *Journal of South Asia Research*, Vol 26, No.2, July 2006, p.165.

<sup>44</sup> The Britain's fiscal advances in India matched with Industrial Revolution bestowed standard theories of commercial imperialism of free trade, the resultant of laissez- faire. It concurred revenue base of British rule, later on under Crown. The Benthamite reforms were interpreted to suit this enduring fiscal imperative. Karl Marx writes, '(The moneyocracy) the millioocracy have discovered that the transformation of India into a reproductive country has become of vital importance to them and to that end it is necessary above all to gift her with means of irrigation and of internal communication'. P.J. Cain & A.G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion, 1688-1914*, Longman, London, 1993, p.p. 317-326.

<sup>45</sup>J. Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire.*, p.p. 1-10

<sup>46</sup> Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power, vol. I: A History of Power from the Beginning to A.D. 1760*, CUP, 1986, p.p.306-368.

<sup>47</sup>Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj.*, p.3

Therefore, many Englishmen and Anglo-Indian public believed that the power in the dispensation of Christian providence and the power in the Evangelicals' ideology animated state imperialism, which represented the ruling classes in India. Sir John Lawrence, who in 1864 was to become one of the most famous evangelical viceroys of India, articulated this point of view dearly, 'we have not been elected or placed in power by the people, but we are here through our moral superiority, by the force of circumstances, by the will of Providence. This alone constitutes our charter to govern India'<sup>48</sup>. Therefore, the evangelical religion and power were in an explosive mixture in men of mission and imperial duty throughout the British rule in India.

The minds of British scholars were shaped by their position as rulers of a fast expanding Empire and by its need to consolidate itself ideologically and politically. As rulers, they felt a new racial and cultural superiority and, reinforced by their religion, developed a strong conviction of their civilizing mission. Many of them also felt a great urge to bring the blessings of Christian morals and a Christian God to a "benighted paganism", as long as the attempt did not endanger the Empire. The dialectic between the imperial perspective and the local one is inevitably adversarial and impermanent, at some later point the inevitable conflict between the ruler and ruled breaks out into all-out colonial war, as happened in India in 1857.

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<sup>48</sup> Edwardes, M., *British India, 1772-1947: A survey of the Nature and Effects of Alien Rule*, 1967, p.176-7

## ii. RELIGION AND THE COLONIAL STATE:

Most religions have begun at the local level and even been tribal in their character, yet always had some knowledge and belief in one supreme god. Many religions such as Hinduism, though with the idea of the unity of all godheads, has shown no disposition for proselytization. Three religions alone seem to form the exception, and to have been missionary and universal in their outlook from the beginning- Buddhism, Christianity and Islam. Of the three, two can be understood as revealed religions and all three have identifiable founders.<sup>49</sup> Christianity, armed with powerful Western nations during the heyday of Western colonialism, has succeeded in achieving a global reach. In a famous sermon at his enthronement as the arch bishop of Canterbury in 1942 the late William Temple referred to the existence of this world wide Christendom, the result in the main of the Christian missionary work of the last two and a half centuries as the great new fact of our time. How is it that a religion of the Middle East radically changed its character and became the dominant religion of Europe? Protestantism has ongoing positive significance for the history and theology of Christianity. It has strongly influenced the cultural, political, and social history of several countries. Reformation was seen as the recovery, within a Trinitarian framework of Christocentric focus for faith and piety.<sup>50</sup> Along with the emergence of Protestantism, there came scientific discoveries, trade, and centralized nation states - all of which transformed Western Europe into an enormously powerful zone with worldwide reach and impact. Moreover, faith-oriented

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<sup>49</sup> Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, Penguin Books, London, 1964, p.13

<sup>50</sup> *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, op-cit, p.27.

language of medieval Europe began to show great cracks with the advent of scientific principles and rational philosophy. The human condition outgrew religious doctrines.

Methodist movement of Wesley and Whitefield in 18<sup>th</sup> century caused religious and social awakening that shaded into the 19<sup>th</sup> century Evangelicalism in England.<sup>51</sup> Evangelicalism influenced every sphere and every individual in England. In the British Isles, with its three or four million adherents, its stated services, its home mission activities, and its philanthropic enterprises, it was wielding an influence on all classes and led to far reaching consequences so far as the imperialist identity of Britain is concerned.

‘Go, therefore and make disciples of all nations’, (Matt.28: 19)<sup>52</sup> what was uttered by Jesus was literally taken up by the Protestant men and women as they moved out from their homes, cultures, and societies to make their own particular ways and various methods contributing to the new imperialism through evangelization, converting alien cultures to western Christianity. Some missionaries also recognized the great difficulties inherent in trying to accommodate Christianity to vastly different religious and cultural traditions and devoted much effort on translation work and educating themselves in the cultures of the peoples they sought to convert. The very nature of the missionary enterprise reinforced the goals of the new imperialism. Missionaries provided essential

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<sup>51</sup> F. Hrangkhuma, *An Introduction to Church History*, Theological Book Trust, Bangalore, III ed., 2002p.318. The Great Revival and the Great Awakening in England and America respectively were responsible for slowing down the sliding of both the societies into quasi-humanist secularism, as these societies came under the fresh influence of Whitefield and Edwardian (Jonathan Edwards of USA) Calvinist Theology. William G. Mc Loughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1978.

<sup>52</sup> Sir William M. Ramsay(1851-1939) was a classical scholar and a Biblical archaeologist. His contributions to the study of Ancient History and Geography of New Testament times, are the articles he wrote in 5 volumes, Hastings, ed. *A Dictionary of the Bible*, NewYork, between 1898 and 1904. There are 63 articles, primarily deals with geographical terms of Greece and Asia Minor. The most important of this series is the extra volume on ‘ The Roads and Travels in the New Testament’, which explains the rapid expansion of the Christianity in the Roman Empire, p.p. 375-402.

information needed for conquest. The other related issues were discussed in detail in the second chapter. The missionaries served as critical communication links in areas remote from the colonial centers. They generated new preferences for literacy, clothing, square houses, villages, work disciplines etc., which produced men prepared to work for colonial capitalism, women prepared to keep their homes, and a domestic market for industrial goods. A handful of missionaries even operated beyond the colonial boarder could still produce a 'state of colonialism'. While by no means all Europeans adopted the stance of racial superiority dictated by social Darwinists, the pseudoscientific origins of racism were to have a virulent and long-lasting impact around the globe. In the nineteenth century, however, the Protestant missionary movement provided ideological support for the new imperialism or capitalism, especially in Asia and Africa<sup>53</sup>.

The expansionist Empire innovated specialized prospects for settling down on a long term rule took a turn as consolidationist and brought Indian subjects more directly under its conceptual management in all probability from 1813 onwards. As a consequence of it, the moulding of Indian character to suit British administrative needs assumed great importance<sup>54</sup>. Whatever ideas of conserving indigenous traditions in India were replaced by the 'imperial urge to govern them and 'civilize' them according to British ideas'<sup>55</sup>. This trend was clearly visible taking root in two developments. One was the opening of India to free trade in 1813. The London city traders or the political groups,

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<sup>53</sup> John and Jean Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, II Vols, Chicago, 1991 and 1997. The authors largely directed their cultural colonial debate towards the preparedness of the missionaries for Empire by undermining indigenous cultural self-confidence.

<sup>54</sup> Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest*., p.35

<sup>55</sup> Kalyan K. Chatterjee *English Education in India: Issues and Opinions*, Macmillan, New Delhi, 1976, p.15

among whom few were successful evangelical bankers and traders also<sup>56</sup> were responsible for the 1813 act, and who were unfamiliar to India's conditions, reflected their biases and assumptions influenced the home government in doing good for their subjects rather than what the then situation demanded. Free Trade would thus also assist moral transformation. The second development, that was more influential was a group of evangelical missionaries i.e. Clapham Sect. They were men, among whom was Charles Grant, who bestowed upon British expansionism, an ethics of reform and religious conversion.

## I

### The Missionaries and the State Building Efforts:

Many missionaries had criticized, was the role of the company as the protector of temples and the chief patron of thousands of temples and also the Company's increasing connection to Hinduism. As a result the Charter act of 1833, of the time of Lord William Bentinck withdrew the support of the government for Hindu temples. This way the imperial government in India played hidden role of Christian government and the introducer of western civilization. To appease the evangelicals of such, company granted rights of inheritance to Christian converts in 1850, and adopted grants-in-aid system for private school in 1854 which mainly benefited the Christian educational institutions. Stephen Neill summed up the relationship of the company and missionaries like this: Mission had assumed many of the attitudes of colonialism, its paternalism, and its arrogance, even its racism. The state was also doubtful of its secularism and neutrality.

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<sup>56</sup> Ian Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness*, p.159

There is a popular myth that the British government stayed away from conversions and that the Christian missionaries stay away from politics. Missionaries like William Carey, Claudius Buchanan etc., were able to mobilize secular authority as a vital aid to their undertakings and needed at times to compel authorities to act in their defense. The writings of Buchanan were a call to the English young people to come to India as missionary administrators and thus, the ruler and the ruled acknowledged that contribution.

In the course of a discussion of Methodist missionary work, Rev. Sydney Smith, the editor of '*Edinburgh Review*' was asked, if it is actually wise to teach foreigners the Gospel. He replied 'if the Bible is universally diffused in Hindustan, what must be the astonishment of the natives to find that we are forbidden to rob, murder, and steal; we who, in fifty years, have extended our empire from a few acres about Madras, over the whole Peninsula, and sixty millions of people, and exemplified in our public conduct every crime of which human nature is capable'. Further he remarked 'It would actually be better to tell those natives that Machiavelli is our Prophet'.<sup>57</sup> This comment was made as an eye opener and a check on double role played by the missionaries as well as the evangelical administrators. The Bible and the political aggrandizement would not fit into one sheath. Sydney Smith thus acknowledged the obligation to promote religion, but disputed vehemently the circumstances in which it was practicable and devalued missions as unnecessary. Further he meant that there was scarcely a parish in England and Ireland in which the zeal and activity of these "Indian apostles" had done any good and then what

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<sup>57</sup> Rev. K.S. Macdonald, ed., *The Indian Evangelical Review*, Vol. No. LVII, Traill & Co, Calcutta, July, 1888, p.77. 'Edinburgh Review' as a vehicle for reformist Whig ideas. The editor, Sydney Smith opposed Christian missions to India. Hence, his articles in Edinburgh Review reflected his antagonism towards missions.



good could be expected in India through these men<sup>58</sup>. Therefore, his advice to missions that there was lot to set order at their home than in the populous regions of Asia.

The missionaries and the company administrators from the closing years of 18<sup>th</sup> century encountered the Indian religions, particularly Hinduism, from several fronts like itineration, orientalism, anglicism, anglo-orientalism and through series of legislations. Christopher Bayly, a recent historian, explained that the 18<sup>th</sup> century was a period of creativity in Indian religious life and culture, and the 19<sup>th</sup> century was the radiance of Hinduism. Whereas James Mill pictured Hindu culture of the period had always been Gothic and crude.<sup>59</sup> Therefore, missionaries tended to subscribe to a view of Hinduism as a road to decline. They present in their writings odd criticisms over Hinduism and society. James Mill in his '*History of British India*' observes 'the real character of Indian religion was superstition and priest craft...the Hindus, in mind and body, were the most enslaved portion of the human race'. The evangelicals and some members of Clapham sect like Charles Grant and Wilberforce used provocative words against Indian religion and morals. Charles Grant wrote to Court of Directors about the 'hideous state of Indian society,' and it was not only inborn weakness that made the Hindus degenerate but the nature of their religion. Wilberforce comments 'In short, their (Indians) religious system is one grand abomination'. A famous Christian missionary, J.A.Dubois wrote in his book '*Hindu Manners Customs and Ceremonies*' as his 'mission of civilizing the heathens'. Even the famous Scottish missionary Alexander Duff held that India had 'sunk in to depths of demoralization...manifested in aggravated forms, perpetuated and engraved with a pen of iron upon their character'. Such a negative attitude ripens of any promising

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<sup>58</sup> *The Edinburgh Review* XII (April 1808), pp.179-80.

<sup>59</sup> Eric Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1959,p.53.

encounter between Christianity and other religions, but bitterness. These preconceived notions led the missionaries to draw a wrong picture of India and the missionaries and the civil servants who arrived in India came with a pre-determined idea of the emptiness of the Indian world which kept them in dark from testifying anything good in Indian society.<sup>60</sup> The 17<sup>th</sup> century missionary methods of Robert De Nobili noticed a significant departure from the 19th century missionary policy. Firstly Nobili's mission was an effort to withdraw from too close an association with the colonial rule; secondly it was to adapt to Indian social customs and manners, and thirdly an attempt to master Sanskrit and other local languages to understand the native philosophy and religion was regarded a true encounter between Christianity and Indian culture. Nobili was naturally called as Roman Brahmin, the 'Tatwa Bodha Swami' who wore a sacred thread. He spoke Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu and wrote books on Palm leaves and even commentaries on Vedas. The books<sup>61</sup> in Telugu 'Gnana Sanksebamu', 'Punarjanma', 'Akseparamu' and 'Viswasa Sallapamu' are identified as written by Nobili. This idealistic missiology was turned down by the British missions whose minds were set on imperialist ecclesiology.

This kind of fundamentalist and sheer extremism among missions and company officials was due to certain changes in England at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>62</sup> These changes, which were brought by Industrial Revolution and the evangelical revival, gave the British a new vigour and pride in their religion, culture and civilization. This over enthusiasm led them to pass pejorative statements and cultivate intolerance. Britain was looked upon as an advanced and progressive civilization while India was condemned as

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<sup>60</sup> K.K.Datta, *Social History of Modern India*, New Delhi, 1975, p.p.4-5.

<sup>61</sup> J. Mangamma, *Book Printing in India: With Special Reference to the Contribution of the European Scholars to Telugu (1746-1857)*, Bangore Books, Nellore, 1975, p.p.21, 294.

<sup>62</sup> C.B.Firth, *An Introduction To Indian Church History*, ISPCK, New Delhi, 2000, p.p.112-118.

barbarous and superstitious. Consequently, from the early years of 19<sup>th</sup> century, the life and works of such missionaries like J.N. Farquhar would give some idea of the factors which help to explain the growth of an increasing openness and sympathy for non-Christian religions even among Evangelicals, a trend also visible in papers and speeches of missionary conferences.<sup>63</sup>

Susan Bayly in her book *“Saints, Goddesses, and kings: Muslims and Christians in South Indian Society”* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 1992) marked the nineteenth-century missionary enterprise where the social disruption between the Christians and Hindus in south Indian society led to a communal divide.<sup>64</sup> She referred to one Mr. Colonel John Munro, British Resident in Travancore from 1810 to 1819 as a staunch evangelical Christian, imbued with a blend of reformer-official qualities, but a strong critic of “heathenism”, “native superstition”, and was in a hurry to reform and “uplift” Indian society. She mocked it as ‘super-charged evangelical Protestantism’ and this led to communal disharmony and communal riots between caste Hindus and Syrian Christians, much accelerated by the mass conversion of low-caste Hindus at the end of the century. She did not reproach the missionaries entirely but admitted that the Indian society was undergoing change quite rapidly barricading each community with communal boundaries. Very often the missions bore the blame of promoters of communalism. Col. Munro had political motives behind his interest in the Syrian church. He called the need for mass support for British rule in

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<sup>63</sup> J.N. Farquhar tried to draw a synthesis between modern religious movements sprang from the soil of the old religions of India and the Christian missionary movement as an evolved one from Indian Church History. He states all these movements oppose both idolatry and caste, which tried to adapt Christian concepts. Eric Sharpe’s work on *J.N. Farquhar* (Uppsala, 1965) would give some idea of these factors.

<sup>64</sup> Susan Bayly is currently working as lecturer in Social Anthropology in the Department of Social Anthropology, Cambridge. Generally her areas of study were the cultural and intellectual legacies of colonialism; Religion, society and politics and the indegenization of Christianity. Most of her writings were a result of her extensive research on South India marked with a variety of information.

India. He writes as quoted by Campbell in 'British India in relation to the decline of Hinduism and the progress of Christianity' that 'In Travancore and Cochin, there is already a numerous body of Christian inhabitants, who with the moderate assistance and encouragement from the British government, will firmly attach themselves to its interests...' <sup>65</sup> The connection between the Resident and C.M.S (Church Missionary Society) Missionaries continued for many decades. In 1814 Col. Munro obtained a grant of two fields from the government for the missions.

The relationship between Protestant missions and colonial administration has been a matter of debate at least since the publication of the book '*Christian Missions*' by Stephen Neill. Colonialism provided a atmosphere helpful for the growth of missions. Therefore the impact of colonialism was seen in the missions. <sup>66</sup> Evangelicals like Charles Grant was desirous of establishing and extending direct British rule over India and the British rule only can dispel its moral and spiritual darkness. The late 19<sup>th</sup> century missionaries opposed any evacuation of the English from India, but strongly advocated of colonization and annexation of the native land, with a view that any withdrawal of the English from India would result in its degeneration. <sup>67</sup> Therefore, the evangelical religion went along with the territorial expansion of the Imperial government. This shows the Imperialist tendency of the missionaries. The study of British religion abroad would take one directly into imperial history. The assertion raises the issue of the point of view of the scholar, and the nature of the explanatory narratives chosen to tell the story of imperialism. Because, sometimes the scholars marginalized the role of missionaries in the

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<sup>65</sup> *Missionary Register of the CMS*, 1816, p.p.452-454.

<sup>66</sup> *Mission and Evangelism*- Study project workshop conducted by protestant Churches at Chennai, Feb 15-17, 1996

<sup>67</sup> Charles Grant, *Observation on the State of Society Among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain*, London, 1793, p.94.

imperialist politics. Ranajit Guha in '*Subaltern Studies*', identifies the dominant foreign groups such as... British officials of the colonial state, foreign industrialists, merchants, financiers, planters, landlords and (lastly) missionaries...<sup>68</sup>The modern missionary societies, which emerged in the eighteenth century in Germany, Britain, and the United States, were the characteristic form of modern religious activity on a large scale in the West: the private, voluntary society maintained formally at least by private contributions and private recruitment of the missionaries included this activity and commenced abroad, most concentratingly in the east. One consequence is that the missionary enterprise was treated as a closely related branch of imperialist activity.

This raises the question whether Evangelical ideology is on par with the state's ideology? Though the colonial state was supposedly secular, did it encourage missionary activities? From 1813 onwards all pervasive influences of evangelicalism had brought church and state together. As suggested by Buchanan that "there can never be confidence, freedom and affection between the people and their sovereign where there exist a difference of religion.' Missionaries like Claudius Buchanan and Alexander Duff supported the cause of colonialism and its progress in India.<sup>69</sup> Buchanan wrote his tour of Puri Jagannath and the self immolation under the wheels of the car during the festival, in his book '*Christian Researches in Asia*' (New York, 1812) to motivate young English educated class to come to India as missionary administrators. Therefore in the missionary thinking, colonialism was for the sake of mission, and mission in turn would strengthen

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<sup>68</sup> Ranjith Guha, *Subaltern Studies*, Vol I, OUP, Delhi, 1982, p. 8.

<sup>69</sup> *Indian Church History Review*, op-cit., p.21.

the stability of empire.<sup>70</sup> For example, the bill adopted by the government in 1850 on inheritance was meant to help the Christian converts from Hinduism and Islam. Even thousands of the English army recruits and many administrators were Evangelicals and were equally interested in the Christianizing and Westernizing mission. Among them were Capt. Sherwood, Capt. Charles Auckland, Brigadier General Nicholson, and Gen. Havelock. There were many Evangelical administrators in the East India Company as well as in its Directors such as James Thomson, Lieutenant Governor of North West Province, Henry and John Lawrence and the company Directors like Charles Grant.<sup>71</sup> Throughout the history of imperial expansion, missionary activism offered the British public a model of civilized expansionism and colonial community management, transforming imperial projects into moral allegories. Though the declared policy was neutrality in matters of religion<sup>72</sup>, a number of government officials supported the missionary work. One of the causes for the revolt of 1857 was the suspicion and fear among the sepoys that the British government was trying to convert them to Christianity.<sup>73</sup> During Mutiny one Shahzada Feroz shah called the bitterest enmity between the natives and the English 'was the perceived intention of these wicked Christian Fakirs to spread Christianity by violence and to do away with the religion of

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<sup>70</sup> Hugh Pearson, *Memories of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan*, D.D. (University Press, Oxford, 1817, Vol. I, p.p. 199-293. Fort William College was established in Calcutta by Wellesley to train secular administrators coming from England. Rev. Dr. Claudius Buchanan was the Vice Provost of the Fort William College. He Wanted to train the minds of young administrators in solid foundations of industry, prudence, integrity and religion and to equip them to govern India decently, campaigning against the evils like widow burning, self immolations at Puri Jagannath etc., Claudius Buchanan, *Memoir of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India*, London, 1805, p.p. 59-62.

<sup>71</sup> Ian Bradley, *The Call To Seriousness*, p.p. 92-93. *Social Scientist*, Vol. 32, No's. 5-6, May-June, 2004, p.41.

<sup>72</sup> H.Sharp, *Selections from Educational Records*, Part I, 1789-1839, Bureau of Education, Calcutta, 1922, pp5-6

<sup>73</sup> Nancy Gardner Cassels, *Religion and Pilgrims tax under the Company Rule*, River Dale, 1988, p. 150. Company withdrew the patronage of temples. The company's change in attitude towards Hinduism resulted in people's welcome to Col. Olcott and Madam Blavatsky as saviours of Hinduism. Olcott wrote that the Theosophists openly declared as friends of Hinduism and as enemies to Christian religion. Geoffrey Oddie, *Hindu and Christian in South-East India*, Curzon Press, Riverdale, London, 1991, p. 78, 191-210.

Hindus and Mussalmans'. India was brought under the rule of the Crown in 1858, and Queen Victoria promised non – interference in religious matters.

## II

After assessing various dimensions of missions and colonial state, it is evident that the imperial politics was essentially about power and material interest, that the evidence of Christian faith on the part of the British imperialists is almost treated as mere ideological or rhetorical justification. This is surely in the sense that the history of British rule in India was not directly determined by the religious beliefs of British imperialists. It will be argued here that a language of belief, which can only be described in terms of the category of religion, had a pervasive and neglected importance. Imperialism is a global phenomenon but there is difference between the other imperialism and the Raj, which had a different claim with a vision of providential order<sup>74</sup>. Discussion of religion and politics often treats these two categories as one, which might compound or mix with others. For some, Christianity was a group response and for some who were politically important, it provided a justification for the imperial mission. The respectably anthropological religions of the east have been given a very different kind of attention.

At this point the religious indifference and religious doubt that swept 19<sup>th</sup> century England was also important. Rationalism, and the Age of Reason were characterized, at any rate by neglect of things belonging to the next, and a devotion to the things of this world: the Industrial, Social, Scientific and Romantic revolutions were all, in one-way or another, the outcome of this concentration. Brisk trade and commerce, mining and

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<sup>74</sup> Gerald Studdert-Kennedy, *British Christians*, p.4-5.

manufacture, illumination of science, the political thought and the philosophies of Oxbridge, all totted up 19<sup>th</sup> century Britain with repercussions of a grim future for British Protestantism which was toppled by a crisis of faith. Although the myth of the conflict of science and religion was by now well established, it should also be noted that plenty of individuals continued to have Christian faith and to participate in the sciences. A good example was two diverse characters of ICS men who were contrasted in the Clive Dewey's book<sup>75</sup>, '*Anglo-Indian Attitudes*' within the institutional machinery of the Raj. There is, in fact, an ideological and institutional parallel between these two ICS men, one is F.L. Brayne, an evangelical spiritualist and another is Malcolm Darling, an atheistic humanist. Brayne's famous uplift scheme in Gurgaon was run by him on evangelical model and Darling's particular pre-occupation was with co-operative societies, which represented Victorian morality and intellectual humanism. Both were devoted servants showing the Indian people the commitment of British government and its blessings of civilization. Each saw the Raj as the instrument of a kind of liberation or salvation and were coerced imperialists.

This is the true picture of India that we even witness in one great colossal writing of the colonial era. Sydney Owenson's early-nineteenth-century historical novel '*The Missionary: An Indian Tale*'<sup>76</sup> is of particular interest here since it highlights the thematics of colonialism, domination, and forced modernization, which began emerge in the genre as a whole. The Missionary novel promoted the civilizing mission more wholeheartedly and called for the establishment of missions in India as part of a broad project of anglicization that promotes an imperial bond with its subjects. The

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<sup>75</sup> Clive Dewey, *The Mind of the Indian Civil Service*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1996.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid*, p.p. 130-38



distinguished *'Times'* correspondent Valentine Chirol asserts how a fabric of bond woven of chords of religion between indigenous elites and the colonial state that 'the obstacles to the raising up of loyal and honourable citizens for the welfare of the state cannot be overcome unless a moral and religious element be somehow woven into ordinary education'. The elite alumni of the Madras Christian College was a fitting example of this scheme as envisaged by the Free Church missionaries.

### III

#### Christianity in Civil Society and its Homogenous Identity among Ruling Classes:

Christian socialists like Sydney Web and Bernard Shaw of Fabian Society are seen as pro-imperialists. In particular, the members of the Fabian Society, headed by Sidney and Beatrice Webb were very much involved in writing policy documents for both Labour and Liberal Parties. Webb digested Montford dyarchy, whereas the stylish radical Bernard Shaw, while hostile to profit seeking, accepted the right of higher civilized country (England) to take over backward states (India)<sup>77</sup>. The evangelical bureaucrats of the colonial regime were archetype artifacts of colonial antiquity that represented religion in every administrative sector. Lionel Curtis, a reputed political scientist and a constitutional expert of the colonial government in India, who operated the social and ideological networks during world wars and the real brain behind the Morley's Act, was endowed in christological premises and was a pro-missionary and an imperialist policy maker. Sir Hertzell, who was secretary to the political department at the India office between 1909 and 1917, was also a leading layman for the missionary movement

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<sup>77</sup> Gerald Studdert-Kennedy, *British Christians.*, p.14

in general and was a treasurer of the Oxford mission, in spite of his contribution to Indian constitutional history, and was regarded as right hand to Morley. Andrew Hume, an ICS man was an embodiment of Tory imperialism. He, as a result of evangelical extremism, voiced against the Indian Act of 1935, which could appeal to a religious justification. Lord Lloyd, Governor of Bombay, as his biographers refer, was an intense Christian with an extreme personal conviction who served the empire in his own evangelical persuasion. He used his authority for supporting missions. Lord Meston, ICS, Coupland and some British officials in one form or other were all Christian imperialists<sup>78</sup>. Francis G. Hutchins observes 'In the process a subtle and effective blend of utilitarian political theory and evangelical religion emerged, increasingly preoccupied with the problem of order and authority, and now interested in Indian principles of government and the Indian religions only in terms of their compatibility with British purposes and as a benign supplement to the exercise of force.'<sup>79</sup> Thus, behind the utilitarian preoccupation of the Raj with its public operating systems of law and administration, there were hid private evangelical perceptions for the well being of empire.

The dominance of religion in the state system seems to have been quite apparent throughout the history of England. India became a testing ground to the missionary enterprise since 1813. But the six decades following the 1870s, which were marked by high imperialism on the one hand and rise of nationalism on the other, had witnessed development of a complex type of the politics of religion. Nationalist scholars think that to fight Congress nationalist agitation, the colonial government tried to set up the Muslim community as a counterweight against the Congress demands. The creation of

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<sup>78</sup> *Ibid*, p.p.27-57

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid*, p. 61

‘representation’ for the Muslims in public offices and services, encouraging the Muslims to raise Muslim communal problems, creation of separate electorate under the Reforms Act of 1909 and, finally, Communal Award in 1933 were all salutary measures for the separatist Muslim community and other depressed classes, but for the nationalist Congress these were clear indications of 'divide and rule'. Religion became a top subject of politics in the three decades following the India Act of 1919, and no wonder that the country was divided on communal lines when independence was achieved from Britain in 1947 through an unprecedented blood bath.

### **iii. INTELLECTUAL ROOTS OF STATE ACTION:**

Humanism of the Renaissance promoted artistic styles and metaphysical speculations on antiquity and the classical Greco-Roman heritage-metaphysical, cultural, aesthetic, socio-political and legal aspects. Accordingly, Plato was the representing philosopher of the great metaphysical questions, and of the religious spirit. Aristotle was representing what has come to be called the ‘scientific method and modernity’, the careful study of observed data, and the commonsensical drawing of conclusions<sup>80</sup>. This interest in cultural revival, interest in the occult, magic, astrology and science and mathematics underscored religious faith. ‘The new man of the Renaissance, liberated

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<sup>80</sup>James Webb, *The Occult Underground: The Dawn of the New Age*, Open Court Press, La Salle, Illinois, 1974, p. 210. The influence of Aristotle and Plato prevailed during the later Middle Ages not only in cosmology but also in natural philosophy and natural theology. Arabs were initially responsible for this in which the pagan thinkers (Plato, Aristotle) had come to dominate the theology of Christendom in Middle Ages. The new Aristotelian and Platonic logic, applied by the Arabian philosophers as the instrument of their atheistic doctrines, were intruding into the universities of Christendom and among the intelligentsia. Alan Richardson, *The Bible in the Age of Science*, SCM Press Ltd., London, 1961, p.p. 10-11.

from his prison of the Middle Ages, flexed his muscles, and tried them on the Traditions...<sup>81</sup> Through these theories Renaissance posed a threat to Christian faith.

What Christians generally call evangelical pietism is an identified form of Platonism or Neo-Platonism. The Evangelical Platonic view is that there are certain things all believers can observe as so called spiritual, as going to church, speaking in tongues, reading the Bible etc. There are also certain things in the material realm for the believers to completely give up. The 19<sup>th</sup> century Evangelicalism as hyper spirituality was evolved out of this Platonic view of Christianity. As a parallel development, the triumph of Aristotle i.e. scientific and rational methodology developed a new spirit of criticism in theology as well as in secular knowledge systems e.g. medicine, philosophy and the sciences, which culminated during the Age of Reason or Enlightenment.

The scientific revolution started by Descartes, Sir Francis Bacon, Galileo and Kepler or the burgeoning secular political outlook of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke were carried forward by Sir Isaac Newton who established the autonomy of reason, which dominated all philosophy in the 18th century. Sir Isaac Newton, and his followers, had propounded natural philosophy concerning the work of God. The belief in a comprehensible world, under an orderly Christian God, provided much of the impetus for philosophical inquiry. On the one hand, religious philosophy focused on the importance of piety, and the majesty and mystery of God's ultimate nature; on the other hand, ideas such as Deism (natural religion) stressed that the world was accessible to the faculty of human reason, and that the "laws" which governed its behavior were understandable. The notion of a mechanical god and a mechanical universe governed by physical laws, or

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<sup>81</sup> *Ibid*, p. 222. Therefore, Metaphysical religious beliefs have more in common with Plato than with Aristotle. During the crisis of the Renaissance and Reformation, Aristotle or the scientific method had won.

natural laws became prevalent<sup>82</sup>. These were parallel to divine laws and was understood as Deism. Natural laws and natural rights gained momentum out of these principles of natural philosophy<sup>83</sup>.

In the secular realm of political thought Thomas Hobbes (*Leviathan*) and John Locke (*Two Treatises on Government*) gave a secular twist to their interpretation of natural laws, by adding natural rights to it. Both Hobbes and Locke set aside the divine right of kings and all other questions of divine attributions to state-hood: instead they understood that the requirement of governance and beings came from human intervention<sup>84</sup>. The conception of law as a relationship between individuals, rather than families, came to the fore, and with it the increasing focus on individual liberty as a fundamental right of man, given by 'Nature and Nature's God,' which was to be protected by the state<sup>85</sup>.

Based on these new ideas of the fundamental rights of man, other revolutions followed. Following the English civil war and the Glorious Revolution, both the Roman Catholic Church and Protestantism suffered profoundly.<sup>86</sup> Deism held that although God had created the world, man was in control of the material world, and therefore he was central to his universe. Rationalism set aside Revelation and energised itself on Reason<sup>87</sup>.

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<sup>82</sup> Sir Isaac Newton (1687), *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*; *Social Scientist*, Vol.34, No.5-6, May-June 2006, p.19.

<sup>83</sup> K.S. Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, Eyre Sopolliswood Ltd, London, 1955, p.1004. Deism held to what was called natural religion. This was said to be universal, discernible by all men everywhere through their reason, quite apart from special revelation. It left no room for miracle, the incarnation and trinity; it is said that men were being enlightened by the use of their reason and were moving away from superstition.

<sup>84</sup> Keith Thomas, *Great Political Thinkers*, OUP, 1992, p.p.154-227

<sup>85</sup> Lloyd Thomas.D.A, *Locke on Government*, London, 1995, p.p.15-24

<sup>86</sup> F. Hrangkhuma, *An Introduction to History*, Theological Book Trust, Bangalore, 2002, p.p. 282-301.

<sup>87</sup> K.S. Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, Eyre Sopolliswood Ltd, London, 1955, p.1004. Deism held to what was called natural religion. This was said to be universal, discernible by all men everywhere through

Many Roman Catholics and Protestants were convinced that Reason-Religion thus marked a stage in human reason: the human universe thus clearly bifurcated in two - the secular world that was material reality and determined the human condition, and the spiritual world, that shrank back into individualized private lives. The new knowledge had made Christianity intellectually untenable. The Romantic, Industrial, Social, and Scientific revolutions were all, in one-way or another, the outcome of this concentration<sup>88</sup>.

The moral philosophy of Kant places religion within a rational context. According to him, the rational individual is instinctively accepting absolute morality. Starting with the rational individual, he ultimately pointed to a rational society observing absolute moral laws with full commitment, making the society virtuous. In Kantian view, such society serves the basis for moral laws, which are not enforced by secular institutions and where the actions of institutional religions are also unnecessary. Kant envisaged Religion within the boundaries of mere Reason. Thus, Kant rationalized the quality of virtue from a secular world view.<sup>89</sup> Immanuel Kant fragmented rationalist science and morality as different schools and knowledge was separated from faith, and science, arts from ethics<sup>90</sup>.

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their reason, quite apart from special revelation. It left no room for miracle, the incarnation and trinity; it is said that men were being enlightened by the use of their reason and were moving away from superstition.

<sup>88</sup> James Webb, *The Occult Underground: The Dawn of the New Age*, Open Court Press, La Salle, Illinois, 1974, p. 7. The crisis Webb refers to is one he calls 'the crisis of consciousness'. He refers to the way the democratic, scientific and industrial revolutions combined to increase the power of individuals and nations while simultaneously destroying the social, religious and political structures that provided orientation in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Those centuries have been called the Age of Reason; Webb calls the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries the Age of Irrational.

<sup>89</sup> K.S. Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, Harper & Row, London, 1953, p. 1051-53. Kant characterizes Enlightenment is a process that releases man from the status of immaturity. By immaturity Kant means, 'a certain status of our will that makes us accept someone else's authority to lead us in areas where the use of Reason is called for'. Kant's well-known dictum is 'it is necessary to deny knowledge in order to make room for faith'. Paul Guyer ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Kant*, CUP, 1992, p.228.

<sup>90</sup> Vinoth Ramachandra, *God's That Fail: Modern Idolatry And Christian Mission*, Paternoster Press, London, 1996, p. 14. Max Weber influenced by Kant, infused life to this separatism as autonomous spheres.

Kantian method of reasoning was popular by his 'antinomies', formed basis for Hegel's dialectical method or abstract theology, where Hegel figures God as Absolute Spirit, Reason, or Universal Idea. The dialectical method of Hegel served as the basis for Marx's dialectical materialism for which religion was "the cry of the appeased creature, the opium of the people"<sup>91</sup>. Against this march of Reason certain genres of writing Romantic poetry and novels, raised the issues of vanishing faith-based morality and a simple life. The Romantics criticized increasing dehumanization progress and industrialization<sup>92</sup>.

But as the rule of the East India Company expanded, and battles became more hard fought and the resistance to British occupation in India grew, the ideology of European racial superiority became almost essential in justifying British presence in India - not only to assuage British conscience, but also to convince the Indian people that the British were not mere colonial conquerors but a superior race on a noble civilizational mission. It was of course, generally true that imperialism rested on racist assumptions, the basis for which was Darwin's '*Origin of the Species*'. With his theory of evolution through natural selection and the survival of the fittest, Darwin provided a rationale for those who believed that the existence of the Empire proved that the British were selected by Nature to rule<sup>93</sup>. Agnosticism, another philosophical position invented by T.H.

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<sup>91</sup> *Ibid*, p.p. 32-33.

<sup>92</sup> Sir Walter Scott's works had awakened in thousands of minds a sympathetic interest in what was medieval and antiquarian. Coleridge and other Lake poets were exercising an influence on thoughtful minds. These Romantic writers tended to expose the ideological narrowness of Enlightenment period and to say that society could not progress devoid of religious morality. Eugene Stock, *Utilitarians.*, p.p. 284-286. Robert Southey of the Lake poets writes 'there is no other means whereby nations can be reformed, than by that (religion) which alone individuals can be regenerated'. David Roberts, *Paternalism in Early Victorian England*, Croom Helm, London, 1979, p.60. The other two Lake Poets and close friends, Wordsworth and Coleridge left indelible imprint on the contemporary English minds. Romanticism was rising up against utilitarianism. Himmelfarb, *Victorian Minds*, Harper & Row, New York, 1968, p.118.

<sup>93</sup> There was a direct link between evolutionary theory and militarism; the notion that only the strong should survive had laid the foundations for the colonial wars in history, preaching that man has a brutal ancestry on one hand and claiming that those deeds were means to civilization on the other. Social

Huxley,<sup>94</sup> was prevalent during 19<sup>th</sup> century, mainly because the scientific methods contradicted the biblical position over the use of historical criticism in the interpretation of the Bible. Many of the philosophers such as Auguste Comte, William James, Herbert Spencer, Francis Galton etc., were famous agnostics. Therefore, Thomas Henry Huxley repudiated the validity of the Christian faith in the scriptures in reference to Darwin's '*The Origin of Species*'<sup>95</sup>.

The European Enlightenment, the cumulative intellectual origin of the modern west, placed the Europeans at the highest and most developed stage of humankind. It pictured a just and universal postcolonial world of free and independent states under international law, bound together by free trade, and governed informally by a league of the advanced states, that is nonetheless the particular historical product of European colonial imperialism. Europe as a 'single civilization' - Christian, 'white' and 'civilized' - was projected onto the non-Europeans; the world (except North Asia) was incorporated into European networks of transnational capitalism and ideology. A winning of the

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Darwinists tended to spread racism, which led to the justification of aggressive, violent imperialism. Darwin's cousin Francis Galton popularized his ideas on racial qualities through his Eugenics that eventually influenced euthanasia practiced by the Nazis. Europeans were beginning to form the new science of Anthropology to prove racial stratification.

<sup>94</sup> Thomas H Huxley, *the Darwinian Scientist*, invented a new category of doubters when he coined the word in 1869 from the Greek 'agnostos' referring his own conviction that knowledge is impossible on many matters covered by religious dogmas. Huxley popularized the term 'agnosticism' at a meeting of the Metaphysical Society in 1876. This is a skeptical position of not professing to know sure if any God definitely do or do not exist. Contrary to common assumptions agnosticism is compatible with both atheism and theism and a belief in disbelief clashed with Christian Faith. Herbert F. Tucker, ed., *A companion to Victorian Literature and Culture*, Blackwell, Malden, 1999, p.p.27-28.

<sup>95</sup> *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol XLI, No 37, Sept. 2006, p.p.3949-50. The racial discrimination was in the forefront at the wake of 1857 revolt. The Victorians categorized Indians similar to Negroes. Ignorance and brutality appear where the Blacks with receding forehead and projecting jaws are present. In contrast, the fullness of intelligence and morality appear, where the Anglo-Saxons with broad forehead and upright jaws are present. This is one possible meaning implied intentionally in the usage of the word 'niggers' by the foreigners, emphasizing their racial superiority. This vocabulary was constantly used by the state administrators, white civilians and even by the missionaries to address Indians.



scientific and the romantic, this was true with British imperialistic drive and also impacted the hegemonic process in India<sup>96</sup>.

Along with this emergence of a superior western identity of scientific Reason and rationality, a parallel key theme that the Romantics took forward was in the arts and political philosophy. At the same time, linguistic and cultural nationality, colored with pre-genetic concepts of race, were employed for two rhetorical claims consistently associated with romantic nationalism to this day: claims of primacy and claims of superiority. The polemics of racial superiority became inexorably intertwined with romantic nationalism and was embodied in British colonial project. Thus, the ideology of European racial superiority became almost essential in justifying British presence in India - not only to assuage British conscience, but also to convince the Indian people that the British were not mere colonial conquerors but a superior race on a noble civilizational mission<sup>97</sup>. Mark Twain sarcastically commented that 'Hanuman is stronger than Samson'<sup>98</sup>.

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<sup>96</sup> Arnold Toyanbee, *A Study of History: Introduction*, vol. viii, OUP, London, I ed., 1934, II ed.1962, p.211. Where Toyanbee writes that it was eventually the attitude of English colonial government, instituted by English Protestants and informed with their ideas should become paramount over the whole of the continental India. Thus the race feeling engendered by the English Protestant version of our western culture become the determining factor in the development of race feeling in our western society as a whole.

<sup>97</sup> Graham Wallas was a political theorist and psychologist said in 1892, 'the real fact is, that these men...(Indians) are a different species of animals to ourselves-their physical and mental constitution are extraordinarily different...their general level of character does not show as much reason as ordinary European children and is much more full of spite and meanness'. His Fabian connections as a Christian socialist could not remove his imperial impression rather provoked to characterize Indians as savages. Therefore, Kingsley and Wallas, the Christian socialists were under opinion that India proved, as always had been colonized and a subject nation and the civilizing and christianizing schemes of foreign invaders was a historical necessity. Paul B. Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics*, CUP, 1986, p.27.

<sup>98</sup> Mark Twain, *Following the Equator*, Vol. 1, New York, 1897 p. 16. (Reprint, Dover, 1989). Following the Equator is not the typical Mark Twain's story. He chose to circle the Globe to pay off his debts by lecturing and writing novels. Hence, this book is a travelogue written as he was traveling by boat through Hawaii, Fiji, New Zealand, Australia, India and South Africa. In each place he recorded his observations and interpretations of those countries' customs, traditions and history.

# I

## Educational Institutions, Christianity And Imperialism

Socialized reformed institutions such as the public schools in England were all together racist centers. The public school system during Victorian period was pioneered by the famous Rugby school Headmaster Thomas Arnold in a way to contribute to British middle class Christianity for the foundation and development of world civilization<sup>99</sup>. Particularly Arnold's contribution was his social emphasis on Christian faith in active and practical terms, where the young boys would cultivate habits of industry and get disciplined to rigorous responsibilities and enduring public vacations to be entrusted in their adolescence. The East India Company College at Haileybury was a blueprint of this Arnoldian revolution of muscular Christianity and was familiar with the teaching of this kind. This institutional link with its traditions enriched Indian education and its photo types in Indian service accounted for imperial nurseries with rhetoric of Christian service. 'Tom Brown's School Days', a mid Victorian novel written by Thomas Hughes personified this tradition<sup>100</sup>. Tom Brown became a symbol of the muscular Christian and the argument about empire to be civilized and Christianized by such English youth, assumed an increasingly popular dimension. Boys' books and magazines, for example, focused on the adventure of empire and the courage and sense of duty of empire builders,

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<sup>99</sup> Gerald Studdert-Kennedy, *Providence and the Raj*, p.p.26-28

<sup>100</sup> *Tom Brown's School Days*, a mid Victorian novel written by Thomas Hughes personified this tradition. Tom Brown became a symbol of the muscular Christian, physically strong, able to protect the weak, ready to fight for a good cause and accountable to God. Missionary vocation was considered as an integral part of this masculine culture. This kind of 19<sup>th</sup> century literature was an appeal for male missionaries to take up overseas missions. Myra Rutherdale, *Women and the White man's God: Gender and Race in the Canadian Mission Field*, University of British Columbia Press, Canada, 2003, p.p.8-10.

and textbooks often taught the same lessons. So, also, did the popular press. In consequence the language of imperialism changed.

Education had become religion's primary instrument for christianization and expansion, and its growing importance in the nineteenth century only enhanced its status while the evangelicals reached out to the lower classes in Sunday Schools and missionary schools<sup>101</sup>. Several of Arnold's former pupils became in turn headmasters and moulded other public schools in the Arnold image. They now conformed with the evangelicals moral character of 19th century Britain. Victorian ideal of manliness, the steadfast pursuit of high ideals remained a central feature at home and among administrators of the Empire. The public schools with their emphasis on Character, Manliness, and Sports, embodied the essence of the imperial ethic. Most of them boys, the future guardian administrators of the Empire were taught the ideals of dedication in imperial service<sup>102</sup>.

## II

### Press-Campaign of Church Fundamentalists

The Church press in Britain was also busy in publishing the imperial destiny of the empire. Particularly *'the Church times'*, *'the Guardian'* etc., were editing colonial trajectories with questions like, 'why had God made a present of India to the British nation? Any other country might possibly have exploited it, drawn up on its raw material, and returned their manufactured goods. But 'God whisper came to us'. What was God's purpose? The large vision of empire, they emphasized that the divine providence destined

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<sup>101</sup> As a consequence, the scripture stories were necessarily taught in missionary schools and colleges in India. Gradually public protest mounted up for the prohibition of religious teaching. C.R. Williams, *Letters written during a trip to South India and Ceylon 1876-77*, London, 1877, p.115; A Telugu Journal, *Purushartha Pradayani*, Vol. V, No.7, July 1876.

<sup>102</sup> *Tom Brown's School Days*.

Britain to rule India to Christianize it. An increasing tendency to boastfulness about the empire among the British community was prevalent with providential significance. Nevertheless they instructed the East in western methods. The Methodist church press went further by instituting Empire Day as 24<sup>th</sup> May with the spiritual birthday of John Wesley on 24<sup>th</sup> May 1738<sup>103</sup>. The literature on the Raj, which shared this providential vision of imperialism, was quite substantial. Most featured discourse on this providentialism was British-Israelite movement under thought with an impulse of imperial religiosity among Britons from 1871 onwards and was in front headings around 1880. The theory was that the descent of the English was harnessed to the lost ten tribes of Israel and employed eccentric proofs as support from the scriptures. Accordingly it was assumed that the British were chosen people and that the empire was the instrument of God's purpose.' British-Israelite Great Britain is a great nation and divinely protected; it has inherited the land from the river of Egypt unto the great river...the empire fulfilling a mission of blessing to all the nations of the earth'. Andrew Hume, ICS, a Sub-Divisional officer at Roorke had an organic link of British-Israelite decent<sup>104</sup>. Therefore it was universalized to include the entire British community with an imperial network. It is said it was with this sense of providentialism that Hume's evangelical ICS colleague; F.L. Brayne worked for rural uplift. They zealously identified themselves as agents of imperial providence and real men of church and state<sup>105</sup>.

Michael Mann observed that the world salvation religions viz., Christianity, Islam, Buddhism and Hinduism spread over the globe more widely than any other

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<sup>103</sup> Gerald Studdert-Kennedy, *British Christians.*, p.154-155

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, p.p.190-202.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.* p.p. 135-142. Implied that reforming India by Indians with or without empire was impossibility. Reports on Native News Papers, 1908

spheres of power. Along with it the secular ideologies like socialism and liberalism spread extensively. Out of the way that the religious institutions play the material roles: an economic role of production distribution, trade, a political and military role, sometimes a long distance economic and political regulation. This religiously centered culture or movement conquers other regions and even vast territories of the world and always is assisted by sacred authority that cuts across the secularities of economic, military and political power organizations through its imperial devices<sup>106</sup>. Like wise, the British idea of themselves as imperial people charged with the governance of other vast lands by the notion of divine ordinance, justified that God had ordained English with responsibility to inhabit and reform the uncivilized nations. British patriotism, a shared Protestantism, expanded power across the oceans from Ireland to India and America to Africa under the influence of Enlightenment<sup>107</sup>, described the orient ‘other’ as savage ‘backward’ civilizations. This theory had as its outcome the creation of an array of polarities that shaped much of the ideology of the Raj.

#### **iv. IDEOLOGICAL COMPLEXITIES:**

This chapter has analyzed each ideological complexity, as it attempted to transcend the totalizing dimensions of the Empire. Power, building the Empire concurrently at two clearly distinguishable levels, creates a realm of affairs where, Gramsci observes, ‘the supremacy of a social group manifests itself in two ways, as ‘domination’ and as ‘intellectual and moral leadership’<sup>108</sup>. The general approach to this kind of hegemonic activity on way to imperial power counts not only the material force

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<sup>106</sup> Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power, vol. I: A History of Power from the Beginning to A.D. 1760*, CUP, 1986, p.p.363-364

<sup>107</sup> Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* (The New Cambridge History of India), CUP, 2001, p.p.2-3.

<sup>108</sup> Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest*, OUP, New Delhi, 1989, p.1

but delves always in tactical maneuver or an ideology of masking the true source of domination. The imperial hegemony in India demonstrated to posterity the efficacy of the power/knowledge nexus in furthering the interests of cultural imperialism. The early ideologists or experts on oriental philosophy, language and culture presented this face of colonial state. It apparently contradicted the Utilitarian and Evangelical positions. Thus, Warren Hastings, who was Governor General from 1773 to 1784, did not share the Evangelical and Utilitarian viewpoint that promoted a 'glorious vision of English education as the grand medium of transmitting the civilization and culture of Europe to a decadent Asiatic Society like India.'<sup>109</sup> Hastings helped establishing the Calcutta Madrassah in 1781. In 1792, an Orientalist scholar, Jonathan Duncan, founded the Sanskrit College of Benares<sup>110</sup>.

However, the Anglicist phase was started by Governor General Charles Cornwallis (1786-93), an aggressive Anglicist, who professionalized, bureaucratized, and Europeanized the company's administration and most famously introduced the Permanent Settlement. The beginning of the Civil Service and the 'civil servants' to distinguish them from soldiers in the company's military service and from the commercial sector took place during his regime<sup>111</sup>. Anglicism, in due course came into conflict with the trends of orientalists promoting the oriental languages and literature. Orientalists were often

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<sup>109</sup> Kalyan Chatterjee, *English Education in India: Issues and Opinions*, Macmillan, New Delhi, 1976, p.2

<sup>110</sup> . P. L. Rawat, *History of Indian Education*, (Agra: Ram Prasad) p.128; Gerald Studdert-Kennedy, op-cit., p. 58

<sup>111</sup> L.P. Sharma, *History of Modern India*, Delhi, II Ed. 1996, p.p. 183-184

criticized by their contemporaries like James Mill, in his '*History of British India*', for holding a romanticized view of non-European societies.<sup>112</sup>

James Mill found little good in Orientalism. He represented the radical English intellectuals who believed in the secular, political realm, while Macaulay's Anglicist stance in the parliament came from a private bias towards Evangelicals<sup>113</sup>. His contemporaries like the missionary, Alexander Duff, came over India in 1829, and overemphasized the role of the English language in education to bring the elite into the knowledge of the Gospel of Christ. The traditional people of India were expected in a short time, to be remoulded as God-fearing Christians, who could speak English, and adopt English manners through Western Christian Philosophies. Thus they would actively support the colonial Government in its expansionist and commercial enterprise.

The 19<sup>th</sup> century evangelicalism rationalized and justified worldly success, and evangelicals made commerce and banking their major careers<sup>114</sup>. Therefore, the connection between overseas missions and commerce began in early 19<sup>th</sup> century massively. The missionaries' meager salaries and growing expenses made them dependent on commercial activities. They involved in trade taking the local commodities in exchange for medicines and Biblical literature to meet their expenses. Some of them even felt a need for missionary vessels for all purposes. William Carey, the father of Modern Protestant missions in India, touched a superficial connection between evangelism and commercial activity. The mercantile ships of the Europeans enroute the

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<sup>112</sup> A group of orientalist responding to James Mill's 1824 dispatch arguing that their approach was to direct the learners to truth and to the acceptance of their rulers culture against the errors in their own religion. Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest*, p.p. 27-38 & 102-03.

<sup>113</sup> Percival Spear, *The Oxford History of Modern India 1740-1947*, OUP, New Delhi, 1976, p.p. 136, 202.

<sup>114</sup> E.P. Thompson, 'Time, Work-discipline and Industrial Capitalism', in the '*Past And Present*', Vol.38, No.1, 1967, p.p.56-97.

cape of Good Hope, which linked by Carey to those trading ships of Tarshish of the prophecy of Prophet Isaiah of the Biblical times<sup>115</sup>, had impressed Carey with the dictum that commerce might lend to missionary enterprise and the prophecy of Isaiah, Carey believed to have made real with the British Empire, commerce and Christianity. In the same tune, Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, the son of Wilberforce argued, drawing examples from the early history of the Christian church, 'the Providence of God...has ordained that when Christianity is placed in any great centre, it should be borne by the natural power of commerce itself...commerce...is intended to carry, even to all the world, the blessed message of salvation'<sup>116</sup>. These sentiments on providential theology influenced both the commercial and consumer societies and interpreted for the success of Britain's missionary enterprise. Missionaries encouraged the converts in Christian colonies by the Protestant work ethic as morally uplifting, character building and for their own sustenance. They often took indigenous children into schools, not so much because they wanted them educated, but to allow them to acquire the discipline necessary to become part of the modern capitalistic world.

The Charter act of 1813 furthered the missionary commercial enterprise for free trade. Harbingers of the enterprise, the Evangelicals were called to seriousness under the strongest ideological influence 'the Evangelicalism'. The term had been applied to the Low Church wing of Anglicanism, which stressed biblical preaching and adopted to hold the deity of Lord Jesus Christ, as opposed to sacramentalism and belief in the authority of

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<sup>115</sup> William Carey, *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians, to use means for the Conversion of the Heathens*, Leicester, 1792, p.68

<sup>116</sup> Andrew Porter, *Religion Versus Empire*, p.96. Very distinctive to this, the Brethren missionaries taught that - for missionaries of the Gospel, to receive a salary or even to derive an income from specific sources were abomination to them. W.B. Neatby, *A History of the Plymouth Brethren*, 2nd edn, London, 1902, p.272.



church tradition.<sup>117</sup> Several evangelical administrators, and several laymen evangelicals as armed recruits came out to India to reap the harvest for God and government. What in fact happened was rather different as the Indians resisted in the form of 1857 revolt<sup>118</sup> to reverse the Evangelical approach of cultural imperialism to mould the country to an alien way of life. First, the introduction of certain reforms within the Hindu folds through widespread socio-religious movements of 19<sup>th</sup> century and second the rise of nationalism, arrested the onslaught of missionary activity. The radical views of a forward looking school's ideologues claimed that reason played a key role in the European progress and laid the intellectual foundation for European superiority. Religion took a back seat. To the Indians, science and education had no religious frontiers: These were 'secular' and could be safely adopted.

However, while experiencing limited success in India, the Evangelicals did not confine their religious fervour to India alone, but their zeal extended to the entire world through overseas missions. The profound conviction that Jesus Christ alone could save the world was one potent reason leading the missionaries to dedicate their lives to those countries, which still dwelt in 'spiritual darkness'. Therefore, Evangelicalism in its Utilitarian colour was the intense ideology of the missionaries of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The late 19<sup>th</sup> century missionaries opposed any evacuation of the English from India, and strongly advocated colonization and annexation of native land, with a view that any withdrawal of the English from India would result in its degeneration<sup>119</sup>. In India Evangelicals and the Utilitarians worked hand in hand for the promotion of 'progress',

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<sup>117</sup> David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1780s to the 1980s*, Baker Book House, 1992, p.4.

<sup>118</sup> Ian Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness.*, p.p.83-84.

<sup>119</sup> Ian Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness.*, p.87.

which gave a useful pretext for schemes of territorial ambitions and aggrandizement. A good example was the Aborigines protection society founded in 1837 with a seemingly altruist interest but turned into a major pressure group campaigning for the extension and colonization of the native lands in Australia. Therefore, as Washbrook observes, that the role of Britain represented two faces of colonialism<sup>120</sup> of the role of trustee and tutor to native people's moral and social uplift and to the development of British imperial idea of annexation and colonization. Of course, Christianity, it seemed, went along with territorial expansion, if not always publicly and openly, but always through subterranean routes of private lines.

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<sup>120</sup> Washbrook, D.A. Andrew Porter (ed), 'India, 1818-1860: The Two Faces of Colonialism,' in *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, Volume III.

## **Chapter II: EVANGELICAL IDEOLOGY OF THE MISSIONARIES**

The previous chapter has dealt with the ideological forces that shaped the various faces of the British presence in India: secular imperialism, racial imperialism and missionary or missions with an imperialistic logic. The history of India during this period, in one sense, is the history of cultural encounter i.e. the encounter between the East and West and also between Christianity and indigenous religions<sup>1</sup>. Hence, the analysis of the nature of relationship between Colonialism and Christian missions and the impact of Christianity and Indian response and how it was a matter of conflict or cultural adaptation or rejection, is taken up in this chapter.<sup>2</sup>

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

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<sup>1</sup> Europeans and the forced conversions by them became unpopular. The Portuguese inflicted much severity on the families of Marathas within their districts who refused to become Christians.

<sup>2</sup> Firth.C.B, *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, ISPCK, New Delhi, 2000.

was a political motive, which persuaded him to learn Sanskrit. The decision not to admit the pundits of Bengal into Asiatic Society was a proof of his racism<sup>3</sup>, and therefore Jones had an ambiguous attitude towards India and Indians. William Carey's oriental approach is also a context of diffusion of Christianity<sup>4</sup>. Another famous Indologist, Max Muller specialized in Sanskrit and made a thorough study of the Vedas. In spite of Muller's memorable works on Hinduism, he was judgemental from an Euro-centric worldview. Muller saw his scholarly work as part of a mission to convert India to Christianity. Thus, Orientalism, to study Indian culture and learning took the role as a mask on imperial direction. Therefore, the ideas built upon a theory tries to influence on every aspect of human society and culture. Mainly the ideology of mission with its links to power was driven by a wish to convert, and transform India.

The origin of Evangelicalism was deep rooted in the Religious Revival of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. John Wesley and Whitefield of Methodist Movement became popular with the English public. It was Whitefield who first enjoyed great popularity among the common people. John Wesley followed the same path. Many of those converted<sup>5</sup> through Whitefield's preaching, and these preachers, later became known as Methodists. The fundamental doctrines of Christianity – sin, atonement, salvation, repentance, faith and holiness were central to these groups. Methodism in England was linked to the Protestant movement. Some of the Anglican clergyman like Howell Harris in Wales, Rev. George

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<sup>3</sup> S.N. Mukherjee, *Sir William Jones: A Study in Eighteenth Century British Attitudes To India*, Orient Longman Ltd. Bombay, 1987, p.p. 118-120.

<sup>4</sup> George Smith, *The Life Of William Carey*, John Murray, London, 1887, p.p. 94-95. Brian Stanley, a Baptist historian remarks that Carey's joining in the faculty of Fort William College was his vocation to train the native priesthood, which would be a boon for the progression of mission in India and his translation of the Scripture into Sanskrit and other vernaculars were ethics for reform and conversion.

<sup>5</sup> Andrew Walls meant conversion that a conversion from past offences. Andrew Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: studies in the Transmission of Faith*, Mary Knoll, 1996, p.53; Here conversion does not mean a change of faith rather a change of mind results in a transformed life.

Thomson in Cornwall, Rev. Henry Venn in west Yorkshire and other itinerants like Grimshaw, Romain Rolland etc., spread the Revival to all parts of England.<sup>6</sup> Later in the century, this Religious Revival left a deep impression on the Victorians, of the doctrine of conversion and the doctrine of second coming of Christ i.e. the millenarian belief. These doctrines formed the fundamental ideology of the Evangelicalism of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and therefore also of the missions.

The doctrine of conversion on one hand and the doctrine of Christ's second coming or millennial rule on earth (the later doctrine was a contribution of Brethren missionaries) together with a perpetual sense of accountability on the Day of Judgement for every lapse in life on the other, stood at the heart of Evangelical ideology of the overseas missionary endeavour. The enthusiasm and the emotional conversion experience of many Evangelicals or the missionaries did not limit the task of evangelization to the British Isles alone but was extended to the entire population of the world.<sup>7</sup> Mr. Edmund, a missionary in India, published his letters to the cause of Christianity, and in one of his letters he envisaged: 'As all India obeyed one government, as in all parts of the country one kept up constant communication with the other by means of electric telegraph- and as the railway system united the extremes of this peninsula, it was necessary that there

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

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

should be one religion also, and therefore, that every one should embrace Christianity'.<sup>8</sup> To achieve such goals they used every means of publicity among the public as well as the British officials. The missionaries as messengers of Gospel of Christ, and the Utilitarians as advocates of progress and civilization were busy promoting their respective ideologies in India. The Evangelical missionaries and the Modernist Utilitarians formed the two faces of the western civil society, which grew out of western intellectual traditions. The secular and public was the official face, while its private face had a homogenous Christian identity. However, in the colonies, the public face remained predominant, especially after 1858 in India. Therefore, Evangelicalism in its Utilitarian colour was the intense ideology of the missionaries of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>9</sup>

## I

### The Background to Missionaries in India:

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

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<sup>8</sup> L.P. Sharma, *History of Modern India*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Konark Publishers, Delhi, 1996, p.196.

<sup>9</sup> Eric strokes, *Utilitarians*, p.p. 54-58.

<sup>11</sup> K.S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, Vol. iv-vii, Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, 1945; C.B. Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, ISPCK, Delhi, Reprint, 2000, p.p.145-46.

followed the founding of the London Missionary Society (LMS) in 1795, and among the Anglicans, The Church Missionary Society (CMS) for Africa and the East in 1799. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign missions was set up in 1810. In 1813 The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS) was added. The technology of print was essential for these missions, and the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SPCK) of the Church of England was founded long back in 1698. It carried on works of supplying the Bible in more than seventy-five languages. It helped in the maintenance of Bishops and the clergy by contributing endowment funds and assistance to medical missions. It maintained colleges, schools; printing presses etc., The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) grew out of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SPCK). The Society for the Propagation of Gospel, from its inception, was closely linked to the Church of England. The key dates in the early nineteenth century India were 1818, the founding of The Society for the Propagation of Gospel Mission and 1820, the Bishop's College in Calcutta. The relationships between those missions were not always cordial.<sup>11</sup>

There was an inevitable clash everywhere in the world between foreign missions and the ancient religions of the colonies. India was no exception to it. The cultural response of the missionaries was confrontational, as they were ignorant of these religions. Sometimes they responded in a positive fashion and tried to understand a different world-view from a more sympathetic stance.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> *Handbook of Foreign Missions* (The missionary Year Book), Paternoster, London, 1889, p.p.23-96.

<sup>12</sup> *Indian Church History Review* (ICHR), Vol. XXI, No.1, June,1987, p.16.

The Indian Christian converts were the result of this cross-cultural encounter and there were group conversions. This meant a shift from one faith to another, and possibly, but not necessarily, a shift from one culture to another. The Gazetteer of India, however, puts that 'conversion at that time implied an undesirable break from the cultural and social traditions of India and adoption of European names and ways of living which detached the Christian from their social ambit'<sup>13</sup>. This view is borne out by the fact that the initial converts adopted western model of life and felt themselves superior from their pagan brethren and condemned the traditional heritage of the latter. Some converts did not leave behind their heritage but used those sources of their early traditions in the expression of their new faith. It is also important to note that the official document (Gazetteer) understood the cultural shift as 'undesirable'.

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

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<sup>13</sup> K. Gopala chari, ed., *The Gazetteer of India*, Vol. I, Country and People, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Nasik, 1965, p.489.



orientation i.e. contextualizing their religion to Indian culture<sup>14</sup>. Particular mention of this was made in the book of Jonathan Rice<sup>15</sup>, which spoke of only very few missionaries who had university degrees or excellence in oriental languages.<sup>16</sup> Scholars like William Carey who took passionate interest in this culture is of special mention here. However, mission and conversion should be placed in the wider context of a cultural encounter between India and the West.<sup>17</sup>

The half-century between 1830 and 1880 was a crucial period in the history of Protestant Mission in India.<sup>18</sup> There was a bitter confrontation between Christianity and the Indian religions. The British Protestant missionaries in this period had a due share in this confrontation with Indian society. The attitude and feelings of the Indians towards missions is referred to in the statement of Raja Ram Mohan Roy thus: “It is true that the apostle of Jesus Christ used to preach the superiority of Christian religion to natives of different countries. But we must recollect they were not of the rulers of those countries where they preached. Were the missionaries likewise to preach the Gospel and distribute books in countries not conquered by the English, such as Turkey, Persia etc., which are

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<sup>14</sup> J.N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, Macmillan, New York, 1915, p.p.101-129. Farquhar, a Scottish missionary worked in India during 1891-1923. He tried to project some good points in Hinduism. In his writings, one can see very constantly a sympathetic approach towards non-Christian religions.

<sup>15</sup> Ralph D. Winter, (Ed), *International Journal Of Frontier Missions*, USA, Vol. 21:1, Jan-march, 2004, p.p.25-26. An article ‘The Two Awesome Problems-The Tragic Failure of Britain’s Evangelical Awakening’ by Jonathan Rice was published in the Journal, where the author was furious about the Evangelicals’ serious weakness: ‘anti-intellectualism’. They forbade everything, which was ‘secular’ (reading secular novels, engaged in intellectual debates etc.) for their children. This tendency worked upon their children or those would be missionaries to produce anti-intellectualism. This influenced their theology, which lacked intellectual orientation. This inflexibility or proto fundamentalism brought atheistic tendency also in some of their children.

<sup>16</sup> Only two out of the forty-four English missionaries enrolled prior to 1824 were university graduates. D.T. Barry, (ed.), *Church Missionary Society Register of Missionaries and Native Clergy*, London 1896, pp. 1-11.

<sup>17</sup> K.S.Inglis, *Churches and Working Classes in Victorian England*, London, 1963, p.p. 96-97.

<sup>18</sup> There were several instances of conflicts between Hindu-Muslims and Syrian Christians instigated by the Portuguese, for conversion to Catholic Faith. Press List of Ancient Records from 1657-1825 (State Archives, Hyderabad), p.2. A.K. Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition*, University Press, Bombay, 1961, p.p.23-24.

much nearer England, they would be esteemed as a body of men truly zealous in propagating religion and in following the example of founders of Christianity. In Bengal, where the English are rulers, and where the mere name of English man is sufficient to frighten people and encroach upon the rights of her poor, timid and humble inhabitants and upon their religion, cannot be viewed in the eyes of God or the public as a justifiable act.”<sup>19</sup>

The accounts of the western writers, the foreign travellers and of the Christian missionaries are of great value. But the preconceived notions, religious or other biases, limited experiences, ignorance about traditions and the environment led some of these people to aggressive and intolerant attitudes. Thus criticisms of Hinduism were virulent. Some prominent members of Clapham sect like Charles Grant and Wilberforce or the Scottish missionary Alexander Duff used provocative words against Indian religion and morals<sup>20</sup>. These preconceived notions led the missionaries to draw a wrong picture of India to the English public.<sup>21</sup> K.M. Panikkar, however, attributed the reason for missions’ failure to Christianize India, to the virulent attack of the missionaries on everything that pertained to Hinduism and their insistence on a clear breakaway from the family relationships and surroundings of Hindus. The missionaries had made little or no headway in India because they clung to European customs and ignored ancient culture of the East<sup>22</sup>. This exclusivist and sectarian attitude of the missionaries brought no good but

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<sup>19</sup> Jogendra Chunder Ghosh (ed), *The English works of Raja Ram Mohan Roy*, Calcutta, 1885, Vol.I & II p. 145.

<sup>20</sup> K.K.Datta, *Social History of Modern India*, New Delhi, 1975, p.p.4-5. Gandhi referred to his early days of life said that Christian missionaries used to pour abuses on Hindus and their gods. He reported a convert, who on conversion began abusing the religion of his ancestors, their customs and the country. Keshari N. Sahay, *Christianity and Culture Change in India*, New Delhi, 1986,p.24.

<sup>21</sup> *Report of the S.P.G Mission*, High Street, Croyden, 1939, p.30.

<sup>22</sup> ‘*Historical Fragments*’ by Robert Orme Printed for Wingram Strand, London, p.450;

contributed to the rise of nationalist feeling among Indians. However, though the majority of ignorant missionaries displayed intolerance, from the early years of 19<sup>th</sup> century there were also growths of a sympathetic attitude for non-Christian religions. Even a few Evangelicals showed this sympathy in missionary conferences.<sup>23</sup>

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

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

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Keshari N. Sahay, *Christianity and Culture Change in India*, p.24.

<sup>23</sup> Eric Sharpe’s work on *J.N. Farquhar* (Uppsala, 1965) would give some idea of these factors.

<sup>24</sup> Brian Stanley, Director, Henry Martin Centre – gives a welcoming lecture on “Christian Mission and the unity of humanity” mentions this to mark his inauguration as director of HMC, West Minister College, Cambridge, on 8<sup>th</sup> Oct. 2001. He insisted on the vision of the universality of Christianity and brotherhood of human beings in this paper, p.p. 1-2.

Henry Lunn. They dealt with the real problem of Wesleyan Mission in India: the social gap between the missionaries and the Indian people. Lunn, a Wesleyan missionary in India, complained that the high standard of living of the missionaries kept them apart from the masses. This identification with the ruling class further widened the social and cultural gap. He further accused that the missionary life style produced a feudal spirit and negated the Christian principle of the brotherhood of all men. He wished that the missionaries would adopt a Eurasian life style, something between the asceticism of India and the extravagance of Anglo-Indian.<sup>25</sup> The article of Hugh Price commented that “we carry our social pride and our pride of race where ever we go... and we constantly wound the natives by our assumption of superiority. This is done so habitually that we have become almost unconscious of it”.<sup>26</sup>

## II

### Role of Colonial State

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

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<sup>25</sup> Henry Lunn, *A monograph on “The Missionary Controversy: Discussion, Evidence and Report”* 1890, p.2-7

<sup>26</sup> A Journal, ‘*Methodist Times*’, October 13, 1887, p.669

<sup>27</sup> J.N. Ogilvie, *The Apostles of India*, Hodder & Stoughton Ltd. London, 1915, Appendix II, p.p 437-440

to send an envoy to intercede with Hyder Ali of Mysore. This way Swartz, a missionary of Tanjore, who commanded once both the politics and the missionary work.<sup>28</sup>

This raises the question of a notion that the overwhelmingly secular preoccupation of the missionaries depicted western missions as forceful and effective agents of empire. Though the colonial state was secular, did it encourage the missionary activities? Brian Stanley's book, *'The Bible and the Flag'* reflects the belief that the Bible and the flag went hand in hand in the imperial agenda of expansion. The colonial administrators had a potential interest in the phenomenon of Christian missionary expansion<sup>29</sup>. On the one hand Missionaries were under many strong compulsions, especially millenarian, to distrust government and to go their own way and on the other hand they looked to government to provide them with a means of self-defense. There were still occasional feelings of their original missionary sense of self-sufficiency, and likes and dislikes of imperial politics and government remained peripheral to their activities. In general, it was understood that the colonialists aimed at the reformation of Indian society through knowledge of the West as was dreamt of by the Utilitarians. However, the missionaries desired the transformation of individuals, families and communities not only through knowledge but also through conversion to the Christian Faith.<sup>30</sup> Their unilateral agenda 'to become Christian' meant 'to become civil'.

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<sup>28</sup> Hugh Pearson, *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of the Reverend Christian Frederick Swartz*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Vol. I, London, 1835, p.p. 341-368. What St. Xavier was to the Raja of Travancore, Swartz was to the Raja of Tanjore.

<sup>29</sup> Andrew Porter, *Religion Versus Empire*, Manchester, 2004, p.6

<sup>30</sup> *Indian Church History Review*, p. 21

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

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

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<sup>31</sup> *Madras District Manuals-North Arcot District*, Arthur Cox, Vol I, Appendix III, Superintendent Government Press, Madras, 1895, p.289.

<sup>32</sup> Eugene Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, Vol. I, CMS, London, 1899, p.p. 98-100.

<sup>33</sup> *Indian Church History Review*., p.21.

<sup>34</sup> Ian Bradley, *The Call To Seriousness*, London, 1976, p.p. 92-93.

<sup>35</sup> Dr. Akbar Haq, an international Evangelist of present day, draws a distinction between proselytization and Conversion thus ' the process of conversion was the result of a change of heart, which proselytization was the result of pressure and inducement'. Any conversion based on considerations other than spiritual was ' attempts to cheat God and fellowmen'. Christians are those who live a true Christian life as envisaged by Christ. Mere enlistment of people on a mass scale is wrong. *Christianity in India*, Vivekananda Kendra Prakashan, Vol. 8, No. 2, Madras, 1979, p. 15.

Some missionaries were also more involved and receptive to Indian society and culture than were the civilians imbued with an imperial ideology that stressed superiority.<sup>36</sup> Therefore, Missionaries were often a cultural bridge between the east and west and between the Company and the people. Barbara Metcalf argues that this was a very important period for Hindu faith formation.<sup>37</sup> The writings and translations of the English and German scholars, Max Muller and Deutsch, helped enormously to revive the interest of educated Hindus in their ancient literature and earlier forms of religion. Therefore, Elizabeth Alexander writes that the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century socio-cultural renaissance in India was thus the result of the attitude of the government as well as the western scholars.<sup>38</sup> A good example was Lord William Bentinck, who was an ardent disciple of Charles Grant and who had strong influences of both Evangelicalism and Benthamism had abolished Thuggee, Sati, and female infanticide. The missionaries had demanded these state interventions a long time. This way, the imperial government in India played a new role as a humane government, which sought to inculcate the spirit of

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

<sup>37</sup> This statement comes from her article 'Polemical debates in Colonial India' in the volume edited by Kenneth W. Jones, under the title '*Religious Controversy in British India: Dialogue in South Asian Languages*', Sunny Press, 1992, p. 230.

<sup>38</sup> Smt Elizabeth Susan Alexander points that the initial efforts of missionaries to convert the higher castes did not happen were a historical fact. The educated higher castes, she says, had the strong reformist and nationalist trend in them. Henceforth, the missionaries shunned the urban orientation and concentrated on the lower castes of the rural areas. Elizabeth Susan Alexander, *The Attitudes of British Protestant Missionaries Towards Nationalism In India*, Konark Publishers, Delhi, 1994, p.p.67-78.

western civilization in the Indians.<sup>39</sup> In essence, through the extension of the gospel, missionaries believed that ‘pagan’ culture would become both Christian and modern<sup>40</sup>

### III

The theological perspectives of the missions:

Theology did influence ideology. The Christian Church has been, since early times, constantly bringing into bear sermons to its actions. Proselytization, as a holy duty commissioned missionaries: ‘go ye therefore and teach all nations’. In England there arose the Oxford movement (1830) to bring evangelical revival among Missions. The doctrines of regeneration of the sinner and the sanctification and the assertion of the autonomy of the Church from the State, of Episcopal authority, and also of the universality of the Church were the underlining theology of early 19<sup>th</sup> century Evangelicalism.<sup>41</sup> Charles Simeon (1783-1836), Vicar of Trinity Church, Cambridge, and the ‘Old Apostle of Evangelicalism’ constantly gave scriptural readings-‘ He is no Christian who does not see the hand of God constantly’, and ‘Be Bible Christians not system Christians’; to encourage devotion for the dogmas, further activated the Mission. Later in the century many Evangelicals took up the millenarian view of the doctrine of the Second Coming of Christ, followed by the accountability view of end time judgment of Christ. This so-called nineteenth-century evangelical revivalist theology as a way of life was reinforced within a framework of rationalism and was dialogue oriented.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> *Indian Church History Review*, p.p. 18-22.

<sup>40</sup> Paul Hiebert, *Anthropological Reflections on Missiological Issues*, Grand Rapids, 1994, p.p.76-77

<sup>41</sup> Eugene Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society: It's Environment, Its Men and Its Work*, Vol. I, CMS, London, 1899, p.p.283-286, ACTC Archive, Hyderabad.

<sup>42</sup> Eugene Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, p. 59, p.p. 270-284.



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

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

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

<sup>45</sup> Gordon, A. J., 'Pre -Millennialism and Missions', in the Journal, '*Watchword*' Issue 8, 1886, p.p. 30-32. A considerable number of CMS missionaries in India were drawn to Brethrenism, as enlisted in the appendices.

<sup>46</sup> The Brethren Movement was called the 'Back to the Bible Movement'; Donald S. Fox, *White Fox Of Andhra*, compiled based on Fox's Dairy, Dorrance & Co, Ardmore, 1977.

moved away from the Mission affiliation and got accustomed to the Faith policy. Here was a highly romantic perspective ideology addressed to the missionary, a soldier of Christ battling it out on his own.

#### IV

##### Actual Impact

This Romantic novelty in theological sphere unveiled a fresh vocation on the subject of hell and heaven. The missionaries felt that there would be no reason for their stay in India, had there not been souls being won from hell. James Long a missionary pricked in his conscious at ‘the thought of 800 millions passing into eternal fire every 30 years without a ray of hope often overwhelms me, then I ask myself the question, am I doing my part to avert these dire consequences’.<sup>47</sup> Justus Richter gives the numerical picture of Indian Christian converts between 1851 and 1900. The number of converts in 1851 was 91,092 and was increased to 1, 38,737 in 1861. In 1881 the total number increased to 4, 17,372 which exceeded the Sikhs. This was a fruit of the work of 976 ordained clergy by the year 1900. Added to this, the women missionaries in India were 1174 by 1900. In the Madras presidency the Christian population in 1851 was 74,516; in 1861 the number was 110,078; in 1871 the number increased to 160, 955; in 1881 the number was around 299, 742. Among them the Telugu converts in 1871 were 15, 393 and

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<sup>47</sup> *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, Special Supplement, July 1888, p.9; *Journal of Ecclesiastical history* Vol. XXV No.1 Jan 1974. James Long came to Calcutta in 1840. He acquired proficiency in Bangla, Sanskrit and Persian and was recognized as an Orientalist. His paper on comparative philology was published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, in 1843. His resentment against European Indigo planters was expressed in the Drama ‘Nil Darpan’, which roused a sensation and led to legal proceedings in 1860. James Long was imprisoned for one month in 1861 for his comments against Indigo planters. Amaresh Datta, ed., *Encyclopedia of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, Sahitya Academy, New Delhi, 1988, p.1647.

in 1881 the number was 71,759 and thus the increase was nearly five fold.<sup>48</sup> George Smith observed that by 1890, there was one missionary per 1, 67,000 of the Indian population. Smith's study reveals that the Mission was getting on in its progression only as the Crown took over reigns from the company. There was fabulous growth in the total number of Protestant Christians in Andhra between 1857 and 1878 with a notable number of native ordained agents as the following table shows<sup>49</sup>:

Year	Native ordained agents	Baptized Christians	Adherents unbaptized	Total
1857	Nil	2,318	1,505	3,823
1878	24	29,574	83,396	1,12,994

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

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<sup>48</sup> Julius Richter, *A History of Missions in India*, Morrison & Gibb Ltd. Edinburgh, 1908, p.p 219-220

<sup>49</sup> Proceedings of The Missionary Conference of South India and Ceylon, 1879, Vol. I, 1880, Madras, p.442; Henry Waterfield, Memorandum on the Census of British India 1871-72, Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, 1875, p.19.

<sup>50</sup> George Smith p.204-207.

<sup>51</sup> A survey of a missionary tour in 1837 along the Coastal Andhra, was taken up for discussion in the 24<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the American Baptist Convention, held in New York on April 25, 1838, reveals this. Thomas S. Shenstone, *Teloogoo Mission Scrap Book*, 1888, p.13, UTC Archives, Bangalore.

### Missionaries And Class

Social background of the missionaries also influenced the mission ideology. The missionaries of the early phase of the modern missions had comparatively come from different social backgrounds. William Carey, most of his colleagues and contemporaries were skilled mechanics, artisans and tradesmen. They were generally averse to hereditary hierarchies in their country and therefore had same concern towards the rigidity of caste and the condition of lower classes in our country. As they were lower class in their society, most of the missionaries felt themselves equivalent to Pariahs in our country. Hence they were antagonistic to both the class superiority in their society and caste stigma in our country.<sup>52</sup> Sydney Smith, an English clergyman, opposed Christian missions to India particularly infested by missionaries of lower class. Sydney Smith used no ordinary terms while writing about this in '*Edinburgh Review*' (1811). He poured out the vials of his venomous scorn and satire upon the devoted missionaries those 'consecrated cobblers' and 'renegades from the anvil and the loom', who dared to attempt so quixotic an enterprise as the evangelization of India. He wondered 'why do such religious embassies...devolve upon the lowest of the people? If a tinker is a devout man, he infallibly sets off for the East.' In Smith's opinion, the lowest social class of the English society from which most of the missionaries came, would generally have radical views based on egalitarian orientation, in protest to English hierarchies, and would

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<sup>52</sup> Duncan B. Forrester, *Caste and Christianity: Attitudes and Policies on Caste of Anglo-Saxon Protestant Mission in India*, Curzon Press, London, 1980, p.23.

question the social order in India. This exhibited the fears of moderate and aristocratic English opinion.<sup>53</sup> The missionary vocation was considered as an improvement of social status for them from artisan to more intellectual sphere. For many missionaries colonial service provided a substantially higher position than they ever could have aspired to in Britain because they were invested with the cultural authority of the predominantly middle class in prosperous mission societies. Therefore the evangelical industry had an emancipatory value, and missionaries were working for greater recognition, as was the case in the industrializing society, which was in itself in the process of social change. Education was thought as a means among the missionary circles to this social change<sup>54</sup>. After the year 1824 this notion fetched results i.e. in Oxford and Cambridge a collective outcome of 27% of missionaries had university degrees and thus rose to middle class in the social ladder. Social status may clearly have been one possible motive for becoming a missionary. This class-consciousness and social tensions of their own background did not bother the missionaries, but it was the caste in Indian society that kindled their wrath<sup>55</sup>. On numerous occasions the missionaries made caste an excuse for their failure despite their own social ambitions and egalitarian beliefs. Both the European missionary and Indian heathen were the guardians of 'class' and 'caste' stigma respectively. Caste was attacked as a hindrance to conversion, and therefore observance of caste was blamed as a sin, neglecting their class stigma. They were so hostile to caste and were almost

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

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

<sup>55</sup> SPG in foreign Parts: Report of the Society for the year 1833, p.55, London, 1834.

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

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

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<sup>56</sup> Duncan B. Forrester, *Caste and Christianity*, p.p. 5-16.

<sup>57</sup> Anthony Copley, *Religions in Conflict*, New Delhi, 1997.

<sup>58</sup> Brian Stanley, lecture on “Christian Mission and the unity of humanity” p.1

<sup>59</sup> T.C.F Stunt, ‘Irvingite Pentecostalism and the Early Brethren’, *Journal of the Christian Brethren Research Fellowship*, Christian Brethren Archives, John Rylands University Library, Manchester, 10 (1965), pp.40-48

friars, have carried a bowl for alms.’ Edward Irving admonished the missionaries to be humble and be a model before any evangelization and no pride of race or a high standard of living should part them from masses.<sup>60</sup> The Brethren movement had its roots in the fertile soil of this Romantic mood. The efforts in this direction and the personal lives of the missionaries did bring change in the people’s consciousness.

In the context of cultural romanticism, the life and labour of Benjamin Robinson, a Methodist missionary of Mysore is all worth mention here. He spent whole of his missionary vocation in adaptation to the mannerisms of the Kanarese people. Henry Haigh in his foreword to the book *‘In the Brahmans’ Holy Land’* which was written by Robinson<sup>61</sup> himself, makes a mention of the mode of life of Robinson in the following terms ‘especially did the brooding mysticism of the East make congenial appeal to him. He gave it free but discriminating access to his deepest nature, and until he became saturated with it. Recognizing deep differences between himself and the people of his adoption and his love, he nevertheless discovered real and fundamental kinship. Thus it was easy for him to move about them in kindly, sympathetic fashion. He put on no airs; he claimed no privilege to help, the patient, modest teacher whose method it was to suggest and educe rather than dogmatically to affirm. So it became a passion with him to break down barriers, to reconcile differences, and to embody in his life the spirit of a true fraternity’. A Hindu priest came to him and had a long talk on religion. Finally, the priest asked ‘would you please let me see your sacred book? The missionary handed a leather

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

<sup>61</sup> CMS Archives, University of Birmingham DA30/3/7: photographs of Past, Present Mysore Missionaries at Methodist Conference in 1911 when Henry [Halgh] was President, among whom was missionary, Benjamin Robinson.

bound Bible to him. The priest shrank back in horror and amazingly said, ‘Charma’ (leather). Touching the leather was a defiling abomination to the priest. The Missionary felt ashamed and besought his pardon. The missionary was compelled to question himself as to ‘how far does my life defile Christ’s message? But as I learnt and felt how abominable leather was, and how sacrilegious flesh eating was?’ He decided to give up eating flesh entirely, and to wear the cotton waistcloth and sandals and to live on the food of commoners and thus identified himself in the mannerisms of the local people.<sup>62</sup>

A Church Missionary Society turned independent Missionary, Rhenius and his native adherent Arulappan who was greatly influenced by the early Brethren missionary A.N. Groves<sup>63</sup>, were the pioneers in founding Christian villages (Christian Pettahs) in South India during 1820 and 1840, so that the converts who could not continue in their own places could live and worship together here<sup>64</sup>. As a consequence, the Society for the Propagation of Gospel (SPG), the Church Missionary Society (CMS), and others followed the method of creating Christian villages and communities, where missionaries also resided among the converts side by side for collective identity. Such Christian villages were mostly created in the Bishop or missionary headquarter towns of entire colonial Andhra. Some Diocesan towns like Nandyal, Cuddapah etc., consists of such villages still going by the names ‘Viswas puram’, ‘Gnana puram’, ‘Daniel puram’, ‘Zion

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

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

<sup>64</sup>G.H. Lang, *The History and Dairies of Indian Christian J.C. Arulappan*, Great Britain, 1939, pp.90-92.



puram’ etc<sup>65</sup>. They were akin to Brahmin Agraharams. Later, these villages served as the means of awakening the consciousness of the poor and the depressed and provided them with an identity. Some times the facilities, with attached modern hospitals, reading rooms, recreation clubs, and burial grounds for converts even exceeded that of the Agraharams. As the converts in these villages accepted the missionaries as their new leaders, they were willing to modify the administration of their villages according to new principles. Without any caste discrimination few upper castes converts also took shelter in these villages.<sup>66</sup> The autobiographical novel of late 19<sup>th</sup> century ‘*Saguna*’ gives a picture of a Christian village ‘Vishrampur’ (Peace Village); where the converts from depressed classes and the Brahmin convert family of Krupabai, lived together.<sup>67</sup> The missionaries and their families lived amidst the converts of all walks of life.

Lila Krishnan, a sociologist observes that while negative religious beliefs are a hindrance to social change, positive beliefs nurture the idea of working in order to improve the quality of worldly life.<sup>68</sup> Therefore, the positive side of the professed faith was nurtured and worked upon for the good of the society bringing a social change. One such potent source of cultural and social change that brought enlightenment and

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<sup>65</sup> Church Missionary Society Archive, University of Birmingham, CMS/B/OMS/G2 I1 L15, Letter-book: Vol. I, 5 June 1896 to 9 December 1898, p.337-giving reports on Christian villages.

<sup>66</sup> CMS Letter Book (5<sup>th</sup> June 1896-9<sup>th</sup> Dec.1898) Vol.I, p.337 gives types of information to be included in reports on Christian Villages. CMS went on founding several Christian villages such as Grace villages, Gospel villages etc., throughout the country, was a new ideological trait followed among several CMS missionaries, where philanthropic societies like Dharma Sangham were set up to provide poor fund, widow fund etc to converts and to carry other translation and literary work. H.L. Puxley, ‘*Christian Land Settlements*’, De Sales Press, Nagpur, 1941, gives the clear picture of Christian colonies and says that the colonies developed for the economic, social, psychological and moral betterment of the converts. p.p.13-42.

<sup>67</sup> Krupa Bhai Sathianathan, Chandani Lokuge (ed), *Saguna: The First Autobiographical Novel in English by An Indian Woman*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, Reprint in 1999, p.98.

<sup>68</sup> Lila Krishnan, “*Has Rural India Changed?*” An Article in the ‘International Journal of Indian Studies’, Vol. 3, no: 2 (July – Dec, 1993), p. 92

enhancement of women in the society was the Zanana<sup>69</sup> mission. M.N. Srinivas, a reputed sociologist of India assessed 'while educated Indians dislike deeply the evangelizing aspect of missionary work, they readily acknowledge the good work done by the missionaries in providing education and medical relief to all sections of the population, and especially to untouchables and women'.<sup>70</sup> All new social experiences worked together to the elevation of Indian women, led them to the extent of fighting the British in the national movement. Rabindranath Tagore's novel is a good testimony to this.<sup>71</sup> Practically imprisoned inmates of the Zenana led a miserable life, where enlightenment through education or access to medical aid, were nearly out of sight. It was said that, by the year 1929, there were some forty million women in India to be living more or less behind purdah.<sup>72</sup> Mrs. Wakefield of the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East did succeed in gaining access into a native house in Calcutta in 1835 and became thus the first Zenana missionary who reached India.<sup>73</sup> The government efforts under Dalhousie extended support to the education of women in general<sup>74</sup>.

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

<sup>70</sup> M.N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, Reprint 2002, p. 80.

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

<sup>72</sup> A post colonial doctor, M.L. Sircar, M.D observed '25% of Hindu women die prematurely through early marriages, 25% more were invalidated by the same cause and the vast majority of the reminder suffered ill health from it'. J.A. Graham, *Missionary Expansion of Reformed Churches*, R.R. Clark, Ltd. London, 1898, p.p.118-119 Rev. John Mc Kenzie, *The Christian Task in India*, Macmillan, London, 1929, p.177.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.* p.10., *The Hand Book of Foreign Missions* (The Missionary Year Book), op.cit. p. 179.

<sup>74</sup> Dalhousie in his orders dated 11<sup>th</sup> April 1850 as cited in Sayed Nurullah and J.P. Naik, *History of Education in India*, Bombay, 1943, p.95.

## VI

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

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

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

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<sup>75</sup> *The Hand Book of Foreign Missions* (The Missionary Year Book), op.cit. p.p. 199-200.

<sup>76</sup> Proceedings of The Missionary Conference of South India and Ceylon, Bangalore, 1879, p.164.

<sup>77</sup> Proceedings of Education Department, Govt. of Madras: G.O. No.215, 216 Educational April 6,1904, p.28; G.O.No.394 Educational, 1 May 1913,p.7.

'*From India's Coral Strand*'. She and her associates, connected with the education of Zanana, were well received in many houses.<sup>78</sup>

Cornelia Sorabji,<sup>79</sup> a Parsi convert always stood for the rights of Zanana women as a first woman barrister. She was one of the seven distinguished daughters of Rev. Sorabji Kharsedji and was born in 1866. She spent most of her childhood in Deccan. While she was studying at Deccan College, Poona, she was the only girl student at the college among 300 men students. They used to behave rudely and used to shut classroom doors on her. At such instances she thought that she would be a pioneer in the cause of her country women's advancement. She took her Honours degree in 1887. She was appointed as Acting Professor of English in Ahmedabad. Later she went to England and pursued law degree in Oxford with an intention to uplift the condition of women in India. She was the first woman Barrister of India and had served under the Government of India in the Court of Wards, Calcutta, where she was the guardian and friend of widowed Ranis. She was a powerful advocate on behalf of their issues<sup>80</sup>. While she was in England she was frequently asked to speak at missionary meetings, especially at those in support of Zanana missions. Her mother Francina Sorabji too was involved in the Zanana mission. Francina made a gift of the property of her Victoria high school to Zenana Bible and Medical mission. As the first woman lawyer of the English-speaking world, Cornelia helped in establishing the legal rights and promoting the social uplift of Purdah

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<sup>78</sup> M.D. David, *Missions: Cross-Cultural Encounter and Change in Western India*, ISPCK, Delhi, 2001, p. 358., Benoy Bhushan Roy, pranati Ray, *Zenana mission*, ISPCK, Delhi, 1998, p.32.

<sup>79</sup> Antoinette Burton in her book, *Dwelling in the Archive: Women Writing House, Home and History in Late Colonial India*, Oxford University Press, 2003 has analysed the life and writings of Cornelia Sorabji as the archive of Zanana life in India. Her beautiful works, *India Calling* (1934) and *India Recalled* (1936) tell Zanana as a quintessential symbol of authentic India and also the mouthpiece of anxieties and aspirations of modern professional women under British rule.

<sup>80</sup> A Journal, 'Telugu Zanana', August 1904, p.30.

Nasheems. She took up cases of women in the courts of Baroda, Indore, Kathiawar, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Nearly six hundred wives, widows, orphans and minor heirs benefited from her. For her services to Indian women, the government chose her for the award of Kaiser-I-hind Gold Medal.<sup>81</sup> She was a brilliant writer very much focusing on the contemporary problems of Indian women and girls, as is testified by her illuminating books interpreting the women and children of India – ‘*Between the Twilights*’, ‘*Life Behind the Purdah*’ and ‘*Sun Babies*’.

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

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<sup>81</sup> M.D. David, *Missions*, p.p. 362-366.

<sup>82</sup> ‘*Friend of India*’ 18 Nov 1841, focused the severities relating to native widows

<sup>83</sup> *History of Workshop*, A Journal of Socialist and feminist Historians, Issue 47, spring 1999, p.p.285- 87;

<sup>84</sup> *Economic and Political Weekly*, April-May 2006, Vol XLI No 17, p.p.1643-44.

Thereby the movement for general uplift of women grew steadily. The Dailies like ‘The Hindu’ gave propaganda to these ideas in their columns<sup>85</sup>. Very soon Women’s associations sprang in several places in Andhra and the need for more women’s organizations was stressed<sup>86</sup>. The leading woman writer and a reformer in Andhra, in this connection was Bhandaru Atchamamba (1874-1905) who undertook a tour of entire Andhra in 1903, giving lectures and organizing women’s associations. Like Ramabai in Maharashtra, she too provided asylum to many destitute women<sup>87</sup>.

## VII

### Missionary Conferences –The Review of Ideology: -

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

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<sup>85</sup> *The Hindu*, September 28, 1888

<sup>86</sup> *Krishna Patrika*, December 1905.

<sup>87</sup> Telugu *Zanana*, February 1905.

the Christian Bible”.<sup>88</sup> Itineration of the Gospel in the villages, markets and streets was also propagated through printed tracts and four Gospel books of the Bible were in vogue. Bible study was one of the special features of missionary vocation<sup>89</sup>. Mr. Bennett, a close associate with the Serampore Print establishment, no sooner he reached India than he printed from march 1832 till December of the same year 3,840,000 tracts.<sup>90</sup> Missionaries like Alexander Duff set their mind over the conversion of the elite and the upper class through western education. An outcome of this brisk missionary activity was the dawn of the Indian Protestant church.<sup>91</sup> In the beginning missionaries were indifferent towards the emerging Indian church and its own priesthood, on the pretext that it would divert their attention from the itinerary. In the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century much debate had taken place over the issues of Indian church, the training of Indian priesthood, itinerary and education in the series of missionary conferences held from 1850 onwards. Thus the missionaries were always in the assured belief that the British were in India for just this missionary purpose- it was for this that Providence had spared England from defeat in the hands of Napoleon.

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

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<sup>88</sup> J.A. Graham, *Missionary Expansion of Reformed Churches*, R.R. Clark, Ltd. London, 1898, p. 111.

<sup>89</sup> *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, Vol. LXXXIV, 1904.

<sup>90</sup> *The Missionary Jubilee*, Account of the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the American Baptist Missionary Union, New York, 1869, p.279.

<sup>91</sup> *Church Missionary Society Archive*, ACC.91 O13, University of Birmingham Library : Miscellaneous printed papers mainly relating to education in India 1832-1853, Appendices to report on education by Alexander Duff 1852.

the Brahmin priesthood were also raised; The Brahmo samajists saw the Christians as rivals to their reform movement. These were a special challenge to Missionaries. Poor mastery of the vernaculars often led to misunderstandings. All these practical difficulties put missionaries under review against any expectation of immediate success.

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

Revd J. Stubbins of Orissa stressed upon features of his itineration on horseback. A tent would be pitched among the villages, for some six weeks to two months, making visits to surrounding villages on an average travel of four to ten miles a day: 'we sometimes travel as much as a thousand miles during a cold season'. To attract attention one sang a song from hymns, followed by a passage from the Holy Scripture <sup>92</sup>

Another missionary conference was held at Ooty in 1858 in the following year of the great rebellion of 1857.<sup>93</sup> Ragland, a missionary preacher of north Tinnevely read a paper on his exemplary itinerating tours and overruled the necessity of learning the vernaculars and understanding the Indian religions. One paper in the conference condemned the unfair vocabulary such as calling Indians 'niggers' used by

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<sup>92</sup> Proceedings of a general Conference of Bengal protestant Missionaries, the Baptist press, Calcutta, 1855, p. 43, Andhra Christian Theological College Archives (ACTC), Hyderabad.

<sup>93</sup> Proceedings of South India Missionary Conference, Madras, ISPCCK, 1858, p.p 140-153



missionaries.<sup>94</sup> The next conference was held at Lahore in 1862. Rev. Herron opened his debate on the poor relationship existing between the missionaries and the Indian converts. One complaint was that the missionaries had often prejudiced their converts in all aspects of race, class, culture, manners and customs. The missionaries, it was alleged, was friendlier to the heathen than they were towards the converts.<sup>95</sup> ‘*Saguna*’ the first Autobiographical novel in English by an Indian woman was an exemplary book of late 19<sup>th</sup> century, portraying the racial prejudices of the missionaries towards their Indian converts. *Saguna* explains herself how a missionary family in a south Indian village of Vishrampur, though they were drawn from upper stratum of society, mistreated her and her mother. The missionaries treated them on par with their counterpart converts from depressed sections, which were economically dependents on missionary charity, and without realizing *Saguna* and her mother belong to another category of Christians whose conversion was a genuine and spiritual and nothing to link with material benefits.<sup>96</sup> Missionaries, generally, were unawares of such flaws in their methods of evangelization.

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

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

<sup>95</sup> Report of the Punjab Missionary Conference, held at Lahore, Ludiana, American Presbyterian Mission press, 1863, p.p 160-185, ACTC Archives, Hyderabad.

<sup>96</sup> Chandani Lokuge (ed), *Saguna*, p.99. She argues that the missionaries were socially a middle class in their country and they were no more superior to *Saguna*’s family, which belonged to upper class in the Indian society. Here *Saguna* responded emotionally when exposed to racism and she rose in revolt against white superiority. *Economic and Political Weekly*, April-May 2006 Op-cit. p.p.1642-1643.

Ongole, making the church membership to a total of 12,804. Mass movements were one agenda of this conference.<sup>97</sup> One Indian Christian the Rev. Rajgopal F.C.S.M. Madras, made some interesting comments. The Christians were said to have been observing good and bad days. A sneeze, a Brahmin widow, a cat etc., were considered as bad omen. He also raised the issue of caste for discussion. The Rev. W. Burgess of Madras, presented a paper 'The dangers of a Christian community emerging from Heathenism' condemned the Christian converts of the observance of lucky days, placing the lights during the day in sick room and about the dead, hiring temple girls to dance at weddings.<sup>98</sup> All this suggests that the ideology that the missions upheld was a failure. To eradicate these practices, the education of the masses, that too female education was emphasized in the conference<sup>99</sup>. In the Calcutta conference of 1882 the Rev. T. Smith criticized the confrontational attitude towards Indian religions. This missionary was a great lover of Indian music and lyrics. He identified himself as one among the Hindus and suggested that a missionary of India must be a Hindu to the Hindus.<sup>100</sup>

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

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

<sup>98</sup> Minutes and Report of the Missionary Conference, South India and Ceylon, Bangalore, 1879, p.p. 293-301, UBS Archives, Bangalore.

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

<sup>100</sup> Minutes and Report of the second Decennial Conference held at Calcutta, Calcutta, 1883, p.p.10-27.

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

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

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<sup>101</sup> Report of SPG 1932, Westminster, London, p.128.

<sup>102</sup> LMS (London Missionary Society) Minutes from 1839 to 1874, UTC Archives, Bangalore: At a meeting of Bangalore District Committee held in Bellary, Jan. 3, 1870, pp.283-311 and the same met in Bangalore on Jan. 1, 1871, pp.313-329 resolved on the minutes and accordingly wrote letters for all pastors giving instructions to raise native agency and rear their children for continuation of the agency for future gospel work.

<sup>103</sup> *'The Madras Crescent'* 1846, attacked the deputation of missionaries led by J. Tucker and the proselytizing missionary methods. CMS: Proceedings of Madras Corresponding Committee 1816-87, Monthly meetings 1846-47.

<sup>104</sup> A Journal, *'Mission Today'* Published from Shillong, Vol. VIII, No.4, Oct-Dec. 2006, pp.358-69.

<sup>105</sup> C.B.Firth, *An Introduction To Indian Church History*, ISPCK, New Delhi, 2000, p. 248.

The culture of Christianity as brought into Hindu land by foreign missions was altogether strange. A cultural gap prevailed between the missionaries and the natives. Into this cross cultural enigma entered the Native Agency. Some of their early converts were these native agents. The native workers in translating the Scriptures and communicating with the native population helped the missionaries.<sup>106</sup> They were trained and ordained by missionaries as evangelists, pastors and even native missionaries, such as Purushotham Choudhary, Pulipaka Jagannadham, Nehemiah Goreh, N.V.Tilak, Lal Behari Day, Krishnamohan Benerji, J.C. Arulappan, Gollapalli Nathaniel, Agrippa etc.

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

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

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<sup>106</sup> K. Israel Mark, *Christian Missions Vis-à-vis The Native Agency in the Making of Indigenous Church in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Telugu Land*, An Archives Journal, '*Ithihas*', Vol. II, 1983, p.p.836. The South Indian Missionary Conference, Bangalore, 1879, while convinced of great importance of native church under native priesthood, resolved to dispense them with European guidance and support to avoid any injury raising out of premature steps. Report of the South Indian Missionary Conference, Bangalore, 1879,p.402.

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

In the next stage, the native workers thoroughly worked out to lead a self-supporting and independent missionary vocation evading the foreign support. Their new faith expressed a strong consciousness of nationality and attachment to the Indian heritage. Many Indian Christians were instrumental in the formation of several Indian missionary societies, ashrams, seva sanghs etc., in Andhra and elsewhere from 1905 onwards.<sup>108</sup> The Indian converts, V.S.Azariah, K.T. Paul and V.Santiago to the amazement of foreign missionaries, defined more independently their stand in the native missionary conferences held from time to time<sup>109</sup>. As an Indian nation they liked the national church should be liberated from foreign rule and as a native priesthood, they liked to fulfil all the indigenisation requirements. This national consciousness among the native Christian community developed since the early phase of the Indian National Congress<sup>110</sup>. For example in the third annual session in 1887, out of 607 participants, 15 were Indian Christians. In the Congress session of 1889, among the ten women delegates, 3 were Christians: Pandita Ramabai, Mrs. Triumbuck and Mrs. Nikambe<sup>111</sup>. They gave full support to the nationalist cause to the embarrassment of the British colonial government.

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<sup>107</sup> C.B.Firth., *An Introduction To Indian Church History*, p.p. 249-251.

<sup>108</sup> The National Missionary Society (Bharat Christava Sevak Samaj) was founded at a meeting of Indian Christians held in Serampore from the 24<sup>th</sup> to 28<sup>th</sup> of December 1905.

<sup>109</sup> The National Movement and the Indian Church: Resolutions of the All India Conference of Indian Christians (1921). Report of the VIII All India Conference of Indian Christians Held in Lahore from 28<sup>th</sup> to 30<sup>th</sup> December 1921, p.p. 40-41.

<sup>110</sup> A Journal, '*Mission Today*' Vol. VIII, No.4, Oct-Dec.2006, pp.355-69.

<sup>111</sup> *Indian Christian Directory for the New Millennium*, Kottayam, 2000, p.63.

‘The evangelization of the World in this generation’ was a movement, which took impetus in the world scenario of Protestant missions by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>112</sup>. While the movement was taking shape, the motto of the missions in India underwent radical change. There had been a mission’s magazine, the ‘*Missionary Review*’ started by Royal G. Wilder in 1878 intended to promote the idea of evangelizing the world in the present generation by the end of 1900. Most of the widely circulated missions periodicals of the day joined to voice the same. The *Baptist Missionary Magazine* (1881) admonished its missionaries and members around the world to bring the gospel into contact with three souls each year for twenty years<sup>113</sup>. Eventually, the Gospel message, was diffused far more extensively among the nations, tongues and people<sup>114</sup>. The Evangelisation of the World was highly recommended to its clergymen as well as its missionaries by the Church Missionary Society through its periodicals<sup>115</sup>. Under this scheme, a great missionary force of students and other evangelicals in sufficient numbers to furnish the means of propagation particularly to India, China and Japan, expedited the missions’ movement of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century with single but speedy ideology of evangelisation. This enthusiasm was continuously kindled among the missionaries of India through hundreds of periodicals. The imperial British Empire fueled the belief in the possibility of India and the world being evangelized quickly.

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<sup>112</sup> *Missionary Review*, January. 1878, p.10

<sup>113</sup> *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, November 1881, p.381. Oct. 1883, p.348, February 1885,p.50.

<sup>114</sup> *Missionary Review*, July 1882, p. 251, January 1887, p.19

<sup>115</sup> *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, February 1888, p.120

**Chapter III: COMPELLING FORCE BEHIND COMMITMENT, PASSION AND  
VISION OF THE MISSIONARIES:  
PROTESTANT THEOLOGY**

The name 'Protestantism',<sup>1</sup> in the strict sense of the word, first appeared at the Diet of Speyer in 1529, when Charles the V, The Holy Roman Emperor rescinded the provision of the Diet of Speyer in 1526 that had allowed each ruler to choose whether to administer the Edict of Worms. On April 19, 1529, a protest against this decision was read on behalf of fourteen free cities of Germany and a group of Lutheran Princes declared their freedom to choose Protestantism or Lutheranism as their national Church. Thus the Protestant Movement began in Northern Europe in the 16<sup>th</sup> century as a reaction to Medieval Roman Catholic doctrines and practices under the influence of Martin Luther, founder of Lutheran Churches, and John Calvin<sup>2</sup>, founder of the Calvinist Movement. A third major branch of the Reformation which encountered conflict with both the Catholics and other Protestants was also called the Radical Reformation or Anabaptists, who followed Zwingli. Thus, Protestantism spread eventually throughout

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<sup>1</sup> Formulating a definition of Protestantism that would include all its forms has long been a puzzle before the Protestant historians and theologians, for there is a greater diversity within Protestantism. For example, a high-church Anglicans and Lutherans has some forms in common with Catholicism. Only the Zwinglianists and the Calvinists took radical positions in Protestantism. The Encyclopedia Of Protestantism defines the term in a wider sense, as all non-catholic is Protestantism. The Authority of Scripture is all making sense in Protestantism. The Scripture and Tradition are in effective harmony in Catholicism. On this contrast the definition is formulated. Hans J. Hillerbrand, (ed), *Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, (4.Vol) Routledge, New York, 2003, p.xxviii. Protestant Theologian H. Niebuhr called Protestantism, the Radical Monotheism and Christ Centered Protestantism mainly based on its quintessential beliefs. Mircea Eliade, (ed), *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, Vol. 12, Macmillan, London, 1987, p.27.

<sup>2</sup> John Calvin (1509-64) was the most influential leader of Reformation. He instituted the system of Christian theology called Calvinism or Reformed Theology. He interpreted Christianity more strictly than Martin Luther.

Europe. The Anglican Church regarded itself as derived not from Reformation influences, but from the renunciation by King Henry VIII in 1534.<sup>3</sup>

Before delving upon different Protestant movements one should probe into the signs that betrayed the religious crisis. These were: 1) Exaltation of Church dignitaries was a visible sign of apostasy. 2) Huge Church buildings with an outward show of exquisite architecture and ecclesiastical vestments, betrayed the inward emptiness. 3) In the name of celibacy, the practice of concubinary was prevalent in the Clergy. One Bishop of St. Asaph of his day was earning 400 Marks from the licenses from concubinage that he sold to his priests. 4) The Clergy and the Laity were together shut in blind faiths and superstitious traditions that were quite contrary to the Holy Scriptures. This was due to the fact that very few could read Scriptures and books were scarce. 5) Another common apostasy was praying to the dead and worshipping images. Invoking the martyred saints, visitation to their graves and idolizing their images 6) Doctrine of Indulgences for forgiveness of sins and penance gained general acceptance. From 13<sup>th</sup> century onwards sins were ransomed by money. Pope Sixtus IV extended notional effect of indulgences to the remission of pains in Purgatory. 7) During 1348-1350 Europe was under the grip of Black Death and Plague and one third of the population perished. In view of these deaths, the observance of Mass for the dead in Purgatory became widespread. The Rich summoned the Clerics to offer mass everyday to them and to the dead for fear of death and judgement. 8) Decline in the moralities of Pope, the clergy and the Monasticism.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> *The New Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. 15, London, 1981, p.p. 99-111.

<sup>4</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Encyclopedia Britannica Ltd., Vol. 19, Chicago, 1959, P.P. 32-35., and T.M. Lindsay, *History of the Reformation*, Vol. I, T.T. Clark, Edinburgh, II ed., 1907, p.p.127-138.



Against this background of apostasy in the church order, a revival of old Greek and Roman art and literature, translations of the Arabic, rendition of the Greco-Roman knowledge systems into Greek and Latin, a spirit of adventure through Geographical Discoveries, Scientific Discoveries, all characterized the beginning of the new era of Renaissance. Classicism and Humanism were driving forces behind this new learning. The devotees of new learning in most cases were Humanists, who were Christian in outlook and stressed the importance of religious instruction and education. Some great Christian Humanists and Proto-Reformers were John Wycliffe (1324-1384) of England, John Huss (1369-1415) of Bohemia, Jerome Savonarola (1452 – 1498) of Italy, John Colet (1466-1519) of England, Erasmus (1467-1536) of Rotterdam and these were the forerunners of the reformation. Erasmus best exemplified Christian humanism, and Luther was deeply influenced by it, reading Erasmus Greek Edition of the New Testament when he discovered justification by faith. Hence, the contemporary theologians attributed to Erasmus the egg that Luther hatched. Erasmus answered that what he laid was a Hen, whereas Luther hatched a Gamecock.<sup>5</sup>

Protestants generally trace their separation from the Roman Catholic Church to 1517, which is some times called Magisterial Reformation because it initially proposed numerous radical revisions of the doctrinal standards of the Roman Catholic Church (called the Magisterium).<sup>6</sup> The Protest suddenly erupted in many places at once with distinctive national characteristics in the various regions in which it arose. It was Calvin

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<sup>5</sup> Will Durant, *The Reformation: A History of European Civilization From Wyclif to Calvin:1300-1564*, Simon and Schuster, New York,1957, p.429.

<sup>6</sup> The heritage of the Classical Reformers and Conservative Reformers was sometimes called the Magisterial i.e. established or who were often reluctant to push ahead. They engaged in prolonged efforts to make their early efforts known to Rome and seemed genuinely reluctant to spawn separate movements in their own names. They were (Luther, Zwingli and Calvin) Magisterial Reformers. The emphasis on 'Magisterial' reflects the political or civil interrelation of theologians and secular state, with the later protecting and enabling the theological ideas. *The New Encyclopedia Britannica*, London, 1981, p.99.

who opened the way for more radical forms of Protestantism. It became the great fighting creed of the Reformation theology. The Puritans, the Methodists and the most of the Dissenters of various established Churches were keen followers of the Calvinist theology.<sup>7</sup> In England Anglicanism differed from all its continental analogues, as it was more political than it was religious. The attitude of Henry VIII was to keep the Catholic orthodoxy, except the authority of the Pope. However he attempted a compromise by publishing the X Articles and thus not closing the door to Protestant doctrines. In 1559, Queen Elizabeth I established a moderate form of Protestantism that became known as Anglicanism. Later the Puritans brought the 'purifications' to the Church doctrines of England on Calvinistic lines.

The basic theological Tenets were four Latin nuggets of Christian faith of the Protestant Reformation, which express the common principle theological concerns of the most of the Protestant Churches. They are:

- 1) Solus Christus (Jesus Christ alone): Jesus is the only reference for adoration and worship. This theology is against the Catholic reverence of the Saints and their worship of Virgin Mary.
- 2) Sola Scriptura (The Scripture alone): Against the Catholic view which decided orthodoxy by interpretation of writings of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, through the decisions of councils and the declarations of the Bishops of Rome, the Protestants

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<sup>7</sup> Calvin's thought, most completely expressed in his *Institutions of Christian Religion* (1536) and other significant documents like the *Canons of Dort* (1619), the *Westminster Confession* (1646) etc., were Calvinist Theology. Calvinist Theology is the doctrine of the Presbyterian and the Reformed Churches and is part of the heritage of Baptists, the Congregationalists and certain other Christian Groups. Calvinism ranks as the most influential theology in Non-Lutheran Protestantism. *New Standard Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV, London, 1987, p.42.

argued that the Bible alone is the word of God, self interpreting, and the foundation and the test of authority for the Church.

3) Sola Fide (The Faith alone): This is the famous doctrine of Justification by Faith. In contrast to the Roman Catholic system of meritorious works of penance and indulgences, masses for the dead, the treasury of the merits of Saints and Martyrs, a ministering Priesthood, and Purgatory, the Protestants argued that every believer is a priest, called to be Saint and obtained reconciliation with God, through faith in Jesus Christ, alone.<sup>8</sup>

4) Sola Gratia (The Grace alone): Against the Roman Catholic view that faith and works are necessary to preserve the state of grace freely given by God, the Reformers pointed that salvation is a gift from God dispensed through Jesus Christ, regardless of merit, for no one deserves salvation.<sup>9</sup>

Apart from these four basic tenets, another contentious debate around the Eucharist (The Lord's Supper) arose. From the beginning, the Protestants were in agreement against the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, which teaches that the substance of the bread and wine used in the sacrificial rite of the Mass, is exchanged for the substance of Christ's body and blood. Though all the Reformers repudiated the sacrifice of the Mass, they were deeply divided about the nature of the divine presence. The Lutherans held to a theory called consubstantiation. (Affirming the substantial presence of Christ in or under the bread). The reformed, according to Zwingli, see the Lord's Supper as a memorial ceremony, denying the substantial presence of Christ, but affirming that Christ is limited to the believer through faith. The Calvinists affirm the real presence of Christ in a manner different from Lutheran, saying that the Church has a new

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<sup>8</sup> Mircea Eliade, ed., *Encyclopedia of Religion*, Vol. 12, Macmillan, London, 1987, p.p. 27-34.

<sup>9</sup> Hans J. Hillerbrand, (ed), *Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, Preface, (4.Vol) Routledge, New York, 2003.

identity from him in a manner analogous to naming the bread 'my body', effecting a spiritual union with the Church, symbolized and given by means of the bread, by the Holy Spirit, through faith, but without changing the bread into himself. In Scotland the Reformation was associated with the name of John Knox, who declared that one celebration of the Mass is worse than a cup of poison. Therefore, Knox defied the Pope and Mary, Queen of Scots, on matters of existing religion and widely spread Calvinist theology in Scotland.<sup>10</sup> In England, the Anglicans were close to the Catholics in practice. Therefore the Puritans fought on the reformed Calvinist lines for the purification of the Church of England. As they could not reform the church from within, so they separated from it and were called Separatists or Congregationalists because of their belief in the rights of local congregations.<sup>11</sup>

In an overall assessment of the unity among the Protestants the drawn and underlining principles were: 1) The worship of Christ 2) The primacy, supremacy and all sufficiency of the Bible 3) Justification by faith 4) The priesthood of all believers. The Reformers did not always agree among themselves on each and every issue. The Reformed Church did not all at once abandon every error of Dark Ages. The distinctiveness of these denominations relates mainly to the following theological areas; the doctrines of grace, church government, the administration of sacraments, the charismatic gifts and eschatology (Prophecy). We cannot minimize the importance of

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<sup>10</sup> Will Durant, *The Reformation: A History of European Civilization From Wyclif To Calvin: 1300-1564*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1957, p.p.607-620.

<sup>11</sup> Calvinism opened the way for more radical forms of Protestantism and became popular as worldwide churches. The Puritans of England were the staunch followers of Calvinist theology. They were called Congregationalists, as they believed each local congregation is an independent Church in itself. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the English Puritans and the Dutch Theologians added one tenet called Covenant Theology to Calvinism. This covenant was a contractual relationship between the Christian and God. This tenet, which became central to Puritanism, softened the doctrine of predestination by giving recognition to human cooperation in attaining salvation. These theological tenets were imbibed in the Brethren Movement of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. *New Standard Encyclopedia*, op-cit., p. 42.

these doctrines, for there are significant practical and spiritual implications. These implications were not properly interpreted or observed by the so-called Reformed Churches. Even though there was unity in 'essentials' there were all the mutual anathemas among 'Reformers' too, such as Luther calling Zwingli 'damned' and Calvin called Luther 'half-papist' and an 'idolater'. The Calvinists pride themselves as the true reformation Protestants, while the rest of them are second class Protestants.<sup>12</sup> As a consequence of it, many dissenting church groups rose up upon these doctrinal issues and lapses on the part of Reformed churches. The chief dissenters were the Moravians, the Puritans or Congregationalists, the Quakers, the Shakers, the Baptists, the Methodists and the Brethren (from which the Brethren Movement sprang). But however the final result was that the Calvinistic type of doctrine alone prevailed in these Dissent groups, including the Swiss variant.

On the unsolved subject of church government, upon the lines of doctrines, the sectarian or denominationalism appeared in its worst form. Denominationalism, as understood by Richard Neibuhr (Lutheran), represented the accommodation of Christianity to the hierarchical structure of human society.<sup>13</sup> Sometimes the cultural, geographical, political, and religious differences caused them to develop independently in varying degrees. Christian theologians ascribed the failure of Christianity to spread to every individual in the world due to this sectarian fragmentation. 'By failing to transcend their isolation and independency, evangelical Christians have virtually forfeited a golden

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<sup>12</sup> Norman Geisler, Ralph Mackenzie, *Roman Catholics And Evangelicals: Agreements and Differences*, Baker House, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1995, p.193.

<sup>13</sup> H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, Meridian Books, New York, 1929, p.p. 6 and 21.

opportunity to shape the religious outlook of the 20<sup>th</sup> century'.<sup>14</sup> Still, Protestant churches of almost all denominations had missionary activities in India. Each church remained independent and autonomous. Most of the early missionaries, i.e., Baptists, Anglicans, Scottish-American Presbyterians, Lutherans and Methodists, failed to identify themselves with the local people and their culture. Many of them were individualists. And they considered themselves to be superior to the natives upon their superior Christian beliefs and racial differences. Therefore the majority of Protestant Christians in India were the product of Christian Mass movements. Orthodox Protestants differ largely over secondary issues, not primary doctrines. Protestants seem to do about as well as Catholics on unanimity of essential doctrines. The Brethren missionaries, the subject of the present thesis, left behind them such legacies as 'one of the fundamental principles of their ministry was the recognition of unity of all believers. They were very often pleased to demonstrate their fellowship with all who belonged to Christ and paid no regard to denominationalism'.<sup>15</sup> Anthony Norris Groves, the early Brethren missionary clearly stated that one of his purposes in going to India was "to become united more truly in heart with the entire missionary band there, and to show that, notwithstanding all differences, we are one in Christ".<sup>16</sup>

Despite many differences, Protestantism has ongoing positive significance for the history and theology of Christianity. It had strongly influenced the cultural, political, and social history of several countries. The Protestants brought into force the practices of

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<sup>14</sup> Carl Henry, *At His Best*, Multnomah Press, Portland, 1989, p. 66.

<sup>14</sup> A Church Historian, Winthrop S. Hudson argues that denominationalism is the opposite of Sectarianism. Denominationalists have in their minds the common roots. All denominations recognize their responsibility for the whole of society and they expect to cooperate in freedom and mutual respect with other denominations in discharging that responsibility. Ironically, Plymouth Brethren or the Brethren Movement began as movement intended to end denominationalism. Winthrop S. Hudson, "*Denominationalism as a Basis for Ecumenicity: A Seventeenth Century Conception*," *Church History*, 24 (1955) p.p. 32-48.

<sup>16</sup> Dr. Fredk. A. Tatford, *That the World May Know*, Vol.3, Echoes of Service, London, 1983, p.84.

early Christians of the 1<sup>st</sup> century. Reformation was seen as the recovery, within a Trinitarian framework of Christocentric focus for faith and piety.<sup>17</sup> One of the first changes that this revival brought about was the translation of the Bible from Latin into the vernacular or the language of the people. The first translation of the Bible into English vernacular was by John Wycliffe. This and other translations made Christian teaching more easily available to large communities and led to a desire to return to the simplicity and doctrinal values of the early church. The very principles of Reformation stood on the separation of Church and state and it did speak on social issues, as it was a public and political attempt to apply Christianity more effectively to social institutions. The Protestant Reformers advocated important changes that are still in vogue: the sacramental apparatus was reduced to its minimal, the miracles of the mass disappeared altogether, and Protestantism ceased praying for the dead, and diverted itself so far from the three powerful concomitants – mystery, miracle, and magic. Protestantism also advocated the right of private judgement, the necessity of public consent and ceremony, the rejection of compulsory clerical celibacy and facilitated the allowance of divorce under certain conditions. The Reformation is often evaluated as having advanced modern themes like ecumenism, social and gender equality, rationalism, individualism and representative government.<sup>18</sup>

Thus the roots of modernity itself were nourished by the Reformation theology. Various sociologists, political philosophers etc., conceded this influence in their writings. Max Weber, one of the founders of modern Sociology, famously argued that the spirit of capitalist accumulation was the outcome of Europe's rationalization of the understanding

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<sup>17</sup> *The Encyclopedia of Religion, op-cit*, p.27.

<sup>18</sup> Peter Berger, *The Sacred Canopy*, Garden City, Double Day, New York, 1967, p.p. 111-113 and 124-125

of the Calvinist doctrine of Predestination. The Puritan rationality and piety formed the necessary ground for the rise of capitalist economy; this further led to iron cage modernity of bureaucratic rationality.<sup>19</sup> The question, why modern capitalism emerged in Western Europe rather than in other civilizations, was thereby answered. His subsequent findings of the value systems of India and China verified capitalism's uniqueness in the European cultural context. Chares Taylor, an influential political theorist, characterized the modernity produced by Reformation as the 'affirmation of ordinary life'. With the Reformation, he says, we find a modern, Christian-inspired sense of good and god-fearing life. Eventually, the new modernity, which included Christian principles of goodness and morality, ceased, and modernity and religious values occupied different spheres after the post religious wars of Reformation.<sup>20</sup>

Immanuel Kant fragmented the modernity and morality as different schools and knowledge was separated from faith, and science, arts from ethics. This separation was given a theoretical shape by Hegel. Hegel and Max Weber influenced by Kant, furthered this separation between the secular and the sacred<sup>21</sup>.

Some historians maintained that Protestantism also served as a historically decisive prelude to secularization. The emancipating glory of the great religious awakenings had conceived Christian liberty; Christian equality and Christian fraternity,<sup>22</sup> drove the nations to secular liberty, equality and fraternity. Particularly the century of religious strife that followed the Reformation further prepared ground for the

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<sup>19</sup> Vinoth Ramachandra, *God's That Fail: Modern Idolatry And Christian Mission*, Paternoster Press, London, 1996,p.p. 9-10.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* p.10.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* p.p. 29-30.

<sup>22</sup> These Christian values are the foundations to the Brethren Assemblies of their church democracy. None of the church denominations in the entire church history so far fulfilled these values in their system except for the Brethren Movement.



secularization of European culture. Thereafter, religion was regarded as a private matter, which concerned the conscience of the individual only.<sup>23</sup> Scholars say that the chief cause of the secularization of western culture was the result of lack of Christian unity. The secular cultural values that resulted in the divisive forces engineered by religious differences thus substituted the religious values. There was much Christian moralizing over this secularization. . Luke Tyreman, in the Vol.I. of his '*Life of Wesley*' wrote that 'England had become a hive of drunkards and criminals' and 'for little money a man could drink himself into a stupor and then sleep it off on a bed of hay before going home' Protestantism became a cultural force that engaged with this new worldliness and corruption of every day behaviour. This can be seen especially in the Methodist movement of Wesley and Whitefield in 17<sup>th</sup> century England, which had vast positive religious and social consequences especially in North America and on the 19th century Evangelicalism in England.<sup>24</sup>

No writer of ecclesiastical history would dare ignore the Methodist surge in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. There were undoubtedly many forces at work to effect the transformation of society, but all are agreed that one of the most potent factors in the revival of the churches, and in the reformation of manners, was the church movements, initiated and controlled by Wesley, Whitefield and their co-workers.<sup>25</sup> Eighteenth century was not complete without setting forth the powerful influence of Methodism on the customs,

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<sup>23</sup> Christopher Dawson, *The Dividing Christendom*, Sheed & Ward, New York, 1965, p.p. 9-11 and 253-255.

<sup>24</sup> F. Hrangkhuma, *An Introduction to Church History*, Theological Book Trust, Bangalore, III ed., 2002p.318. The Great Revival and the Great Awakening in England and America respectively were responsible for slowing down the sliding of both the societies into quasi-humanist secularism, as these societies came under the fresh influence of Whitefield and Edwardian (Jonathan Edwards of USA) Calvinist Theology. William G. Mc Loughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1978.

<sup>25</sup> K.S. Macdonald, ed., *The Indian Evangelical Review*, Vol. LXVIII, Traill & Co, Calcutta, Jan, 1891,p.p. 425-427.

habits and morals of the English people. Historians such as Macaulay and Lecky, Froude and Green, have written in eloquent language of the marvelous change that was effected in the social and religious conditions of England between the reign of Queen Anne and the later days of George III.

The Methodism of John Wesley has literally knitted the world with its agencies and activities from Japan in the east to Mexico and California in the west. It numbers more adherents than any other Protestant church in Christendom. In the British Isles, with its three or four million adherents, its stated services, its home mission activities, and its philanthropic enterprises, it wields an influence on all classes, second only to the established church of England. And such far-reaching results have been secured in the face of bitter opposition, and on occasion, even persecution and hatred.<sup>26</sup>

## I

### The Early Methodists:

Going back about 275 years in the history of England, we are introduced to a little band of young men, students of Oxford University, some of them tutors, others undergraduates, all of them loyal to the Church of England. The most prominent of that band was John Wesley, the practical organizer and the director, George Whitefield was the eloquent preacher, Charles Wesley was the sweet singer, and William Morgan was the fervent worker. The central figure, of course was John Wesley, who in turn, was deeply impressed by the European variant of Calvinism.<sup>27</sup> This efficient and productive mission was organized into bands, meeting together to discuss their spiritual growth, and

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<sup>26</sup> K.S. Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, Harper & Row, London, 1953, p.p. 1023-1031.

<sup>27</sup> K.S. Macdonald, ed., *The Indian Evangelical Review*, Vol. LXVIII, op-cit., p.p. 428-432.

to reprove and encourage each other. This religious sect practiced 'Piety' or effective spirituality, which came to be known as 'Pietism' during the late 1600's. In Germany Pietism arose, as a reaction against the hypocrisy of professedly orthodox Lutheran church, just like Methodism was a reaction to the Anglican Church. Methodism developed largely from this Pietism, and Pietism stressed the importance of personal devotion and morality as the most profound expressions of faith. The great Pietists like Zisenbalg, Swartz and Benjamin Shultz were successively laboured in the Tranquebar mission in South India.<sup>28</sup> These were also known as the Moravians, and though small in number, their influence was enormous on Wesley. Wesley pursued his travels and preaching and attacked the formalism of the Church of England. Moreover there was a growing working class untouched by the indifferent Church. Wesley's effect on the whole national life of England, especially on the working class was strong: he stabilized their revolutionary propensities, and played an important role in keeping them subservient to authority. In the Pre-Industrial period, the relations between aristocracy and working class were to some extent based on a certain degree of reciprocal support. But consequent to the Industrial Revolution, social relations and values changed in the English society. Crowded cities, the dismal conditions of the life and work of the labour classes, the dominance of money, market and profit, all combined to create much cultural, psychological and moral depression among the working class. It was among the depressed classes that the Methodist Movement found its great adherents.<sup>29</sup> The movement was in a way the by-product of advancing industrialism and of the emergence of a new ethic for a new society. Wesley supported fair prices, a living wage, and honest

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<sup>28</sup> William A. Clebsch, *Christianity In European History*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1979, p.p. 210-217.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* p.p. 230-239.

and healthy employment for all. Methodism was especially strong among workers in extractive vocation such as mining and fishing, where success depended a great deal on their labour. The basic concept of Revivalism was to generate the spread of new enthusiasm and intense moral earnestness coupled with a deep concern for the unsaved, and a large number of charitable activities like establishing schools and hospitals. In social terms the movement was chiefly middle class in character and it spread widely among the trading and professional class. Wesley stressed upon the doctrine of ‘Sanctification’ known also as the ‘Second blessing’ or ‘the Methodist Perfection’ which followed after the first blessing of Luther’s Justification by Faith. He itinerated until his 88<sup>th</sup> year and then “the weary wheels of life stood still at last”.<sup>30</sup> In his 53 years of radical itinerancy he had preached 42,400 sermons or at the rate of 15 a week. The stories of these early Methodist preachers were the chief inspiration for Evangelicalism and the modern missions. It is worthy of record that his last letter was written to Wilberforce, the father of Evangelicalism in the 19<sup>th</sup> century to encourage him in his work against slavery in the West Indies and for other philanthropic works.<sup>31</sup>

The origins of Evangelicalism lay in this religious revival of Wesley and Whitefield, which occurred in Great Britain in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Two men dominated the world of Evangelicalism during the period from 1800-1860. From 1800 until around 1830 the acknowledged leader of the Evangelicals in England was William Wilberforce, the Yorkshire M.P., who was the central figure in that celebrated group of

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<sup>30</sup> *The Indian Evangelical Quarterly*, p.p. 435-436.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* p.435

Evangelicals, known as ‘the Clapham Sect’.<sup>32</sup> After Wilberforce’s death in 1833, the mantle of Evangelicalism fell on the lot of Anthony Ashley Cooper, Seventh Earl of Shaftsbury, a champion for the cause of factory workers and a great philanthropist of his times in England. Historians unanimously agreed that Evangelicalism as one of the chief forces at work in moulding the character of the Victorians in general and evangelical missionaries in particular. G.M.Young featured the men of the age, in his book ‘*Victorian England – Portrait of An Age*’ as ‘ whichever way his temperament led him, he found himself at every turn controlled and animated by the imponderable pressure of the Evangelical discipline’. Next to it is the influence of the English Utilitarianism.

The Reformation and the Religious Revival of the mid-eighteenth century were two landmark events that had a huge impact on the organization and the advent of the Christian missions to India and the world. The Evangelicals did not confine their religious fervour to themselves or to their country but their zeal extended to the entire world through overseas missions. The profound conviction that Jesus Christ alone could save the world was one potent reason leading the missionaries to dedicate their valuable lives to those countries, which still dwelt in supposedly spiritual darkness. Many Evangelical homes of the Victorian era had fervently prayed for their sons to grow up to be missionaries in some heathen land. Likewise the strongest single feature of the Evangelicals in this early part of the era was their earnest missionary zeal. Most men and women of this era identified with the Gospel of Christ and forsook all comfort and secure

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<sup>32</sup> William Wilberforce wrote a book, ‘*A practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes in this Country Contrasted with Real Christianity*’, T. Caldwell, Jun.& W. Davis, 1797, London, where he condemned the nominal Christianity and stressed the real Christianity leading with a consciousness of forgiveness in Christ and with a life long devotion and practical duty. p.91.

home environments to reach the people of distant lands.<sup>33</sup> Arising out of the religious traditions of Pietism, Puritanism and Methodism, Evangelicalism was a cross-denominational movement that united Christians who share common characteristics. This mysterious phenomenon of Europe was known in America as the Great Awakening, as if presented a curious uniformity, as though each person had been searching for the same thing, and suddenly, in the hey day of the Enlightenment, found it.<sup>34</sup>

St. John Rivers in '*Jane Eyre*' of Charlotte Bronte was a good example of such highest ambition of missionary to India. His passion was an archetype of every Evangelical's passion in Victorian England.

'A missionary I resolved to be ...

And I leave Europe for the East'.<sup>35</sup>

The heroic resolution for the highest place, which embodied in St. John Rivers, echoes the Evangelical propaganda carried on in England during the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Orientalist representations of a debauched and superstitious East played no small part in this Christian vision of heathens converting to Christianity. The countless missionary sermons were preached, printed and circulated from the dawn of 19<sup>th</sup> century, in which Christian self-immolation appears predominantly the ultimate fulfillment of that passion.

'Relinquish! What! My vocation? My great work? My foundation laid on earth  
for a mansion in heaven? My hopes of being numbered in the band who have

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<sup>33</sup> *Heroes And Martyrs: Modern Missionary Enterprise-A Record Of Their Lives And Labours*, Hartford P. Brockett & Co. 1852, p.p.19-20.

<sup>34</sup> Perry Miller, Jonathan Edwards, *The American Men Of Letters Series*, William Sloane Associates, Inc, 1949, p.133.

<sup>35</sup> Charlotte Bronte, *Jane Eyre*, Collins, London, 1853, p.p.363-398.

merged all ambitions in the glorious one of bettering their race- of carrying knowledge in to the realms of ignorance- of substituting peace for war- freedom for bondage- religion for superstition- the hope of heaven for the fear of hell? must I relinquish that? It is dearer to me than the blood in my veins. It is what I have to look forward to and to live for'.<sup>36</sup>

Charlotte Brontë's depiction of the missionary in the novel, Rivers died a Christian soldier's death, an example of heroic masculinity, admired in early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Many aspiring missionaries saw themselves as conquering warrior-heroes asking, indeed, sometimes, to be sent to places of intense danger. The Scottish Missionary Society taught its missionary candidates: 'let a holy ambition animate your breasts, be not content with a low seat in heaven, aim after one of the highest... this is the path to one of the brightest crowns'.<sup>37</sup> Likewise, most missionaries of the overseas, hopeful of such promises of rich dividends or returns in the world to come in mind, have sacrificed their talents and their time on the alter of Missions. Some scholars identified St. John Rivers with the life and labours of Henry Martyn, the missionary chaplain in the East India Company serving at Dinapore and Cawnpore. He was well known to Charlotte Brontë's father in St. John's College, Cambridge and had written in his diary: 'let me burn out for God' and who died a martyr death at the age of 31 in a distant land. He too wished for marriage with Lydia Grenfell, who would not in the end come out to India with him as a missionary's wife, as

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<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> Stuart Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries 1789-1850: The Social Background, Motives and Training Of British Protestant Missionaries To India*, Suttan Courtenary Press, Abingdon, 1984, p.132.

was the case with Jane Eyre, who was unwilling to come over India as a missionary wife with St. John Rivers.<sup>38</sup>

It must be acknowledged that a spirit of self-righteousness, or of a sense of false heroism, may work itself up to an astonishing pitch of self-denial to the extremities of martyr's sacrifices. But it still remains true that he who spends his life and makes his grave, as a missionary among the heathen gives the highest evidence of an exalted Christian character.<sup>39</sup> There were a large number of women connected with the various missions. These women who in their earlier days had known the comforts of a quiet and respectable home, and had been brought up in affluence, voluntarily faced physical hardships with missionary zeal. These men and women had made up their minds to a life of difficulty and peril and served among people who had scarcely any sympathies in common with themselves. Even then, they rarely gave way to a spirit of complaint or despondency. They remained true to their vocation till they made it to their graves, as missionaries among those people. The missionary was sometimes pictured as gentleman in a frock coat under a palm tree, preaching the Gospel to eastern savages, who declined to assimilate it. Charlotte Bronte solemnly depicted that solitary figure under the palm tree, still endeavoring in a distant land in the mid-Victorian novel '*Villette*'. This novel features the particular interest of the then Church Missionary Society, printing picture

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<sup>38</sup> This information gathered from a Forum paper delivered on 22<sup>nd</sup> Jan, 1996 by Graham Kings, the then Director of the Henry Martin's Library, to celebrate the relocation of the said library to Westminster College, Cambridge. Valentine Cunningham was a Professor of English at Oxford and his book '*Victorian Poetry*' (Blackwell, 2002) supporting this theory. K.S. Latourette, *A History of Expansion of Christianity*, Harper & Brothers, London, 1944, Vol. iv, p.101.

<sup>39</sup> *Heroes And Martyrs: Modern Missionary Enterprise-A Record Of Their Lives And Labours*, Hartford P. Brockett & Co. 1852, p. 15.



painting books on missionary subjects to instill missionary spirit in the young.<sup>40</sup> The figure has been so caricaturized that many failed to realize that there was an immense change in world consciousness, world politics and world commerce because of that presence.<sup>41</sup> Biographies of such quiet zeal are necessary to preserve for posterity the memory of these missionaries who were moved by the ideology of faith. This was especially true in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries at the height of British imperialism in Victorian England.

The clergy of the Church Missionary Society in England often stirred the congregations of their Parishes with the missionary stories and picture books. Particularly they admonished the Christian mothers to bring up the children in the knowledge of missionary themes, until their young hearts became fired with religious fervour: ‘shall not we also be missionaries of Jesus Christ’. A circuit Evangelical clergy went round the country ushering the adults to opt for a missionary career. Year by year the number of applicants to Church Missionary Society for such a higher duty was doubled.<sup>42</sup> To quench their missionary fervor, such people constantly were supporters of the cause of foreign missions. One such example of typical philanthropist, who had busy schemes of relief for Africa, is seen in the character of Mrs. Jellyby, satirically sketched by Charles Dickens in his novel *‘Bleak House’* thus:

“You find me, my dears”, as usual, very busy; but that you will excuse. The African

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<sup>40</sup> Charlotte Bronte, *Villette*, Collins, London, 1853, p.40. A Palm tree is grown in tropical countries like India, Ceylon and Africa for its durable wood and its leaves for thatching houses. The solitary figure, a missionary, preaching to people under Palm tree was really associated with the South Indian people. The Nadars and the Telugu people of Coastal Andhra are interested to know for their familiarity with the Palm trees.

<sup>41</sup> William Herbert Perry Faunce, *The Social Aspects of Foreign Missions*, American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1914, p.p.185-186.

<sup>42</sup> Geoffery Moorhouse, *The Missionaries*, Eyre Methuen, London, 1973, p.50.

project at present employs my whole time. It involves me in correspondence with public bodies, and with private individuals anxious for the welfare of their species all over the country. I am happy to say it is advancing. We hope by this time next year to have from one hundred and fifty to two hundred healthy families cultivating coffee and educating the natives of Borriboola-Gha, on the left bank of the Niger”<sup>43</sup>

The Victorian Evangelicals, if assessed from a secular retrospective, could be viewed in an illiberal and intolerant light. Pluralism and the wonderful variety in human cultures, across the world, seemed ‘devilish’. ‘Homogeneity’, especially religious homogeneity, killing all cultural variations, was celebrated. However, the resilience of other cultures turned Christianity into another richly textured realm within the Indian sub-continent, and this is the theme that my thesis explores.

## II

### Germany And England: Passion, Vision and Commitment of Missionaries

One of the most distinguished representatives of Pietism was August Hermann Francke (1663-1727), a university professor in Halle, Germany. He was also a professor of Oriental languages. In this capacity he was one of the founders of the ‘Collegium Orientale’ in (1702). Francke thought the study of the Bible in different languages was a prerequisite for effective Evangelism. Such an open mind towards language study and the translation of the Bible was a special feature of most missionaries

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<sup>43</sup> Charles Dickens, *Bleak House*, Collins, London (1 ed., 1853), 1953, p.47. Charles Dickens uses humour. Jellyby is more interested and philanthropic to reform the far away Africa while total defiant to the development of her own family and children.

from Halle. One such missionary was Rev. Christian Frederick Swartz, a product from University of Halle who arrived at Tranquebar, India in 1750. The way he was infuriated by missionary zeal was interesting. While in the University of Halle, he aided in the examination of the proofs of a version of the scriptures in Tamil. As he was occasionally checking proofs, he gained some knowledge of Tamil. This suggested to him the possibility of a missionary life among Tamils.<sup>44</sup>

From England, the stimulus for the English missionary enterprise is usually identified with the founding of the Baptist missionary society in 1792 and with Carey's missionary journey to India.<sup>45</sup> With Carey, Missions became a crusade that stirred tremendous enthusiasm and zeal among the men and women of the west. John Chamberlain was another missionary, born in Northampton shire in England. It was during the formation of the London Missionary Society in 1796 that John Chamberlain heard discourses on the subject of missions. The sermons particularly kindled an ardent flame in his breast, 'I then felt' he says, 'a burning zeal for the welfare of the heathen. Some times I thought I could die in the cause, and triumph in the tortures of a fire. My hopes were directed to India, though I saw no way how they could be fulfilled.' Finding in the 'Baptist Register', a Bengali hymn, set to familiar tune, he spent three hours singing in Bengali, further rousing, his heart towards the mission in India.

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<sup>44</sup> *Heroes And Martyrs: Modern Missionary Enterprise-A Record Of Their Lives And Labours*, Hartford P. Brockett & Co. Boston, 1852, p.30-31.

<sup>45</sup> *Heroes And Martyrs: Modern Missionary Enterprise-A Record Of Their Lives And Labours*, op-cit., p.p. 61-81. Carey and his colleagues formed Calvinist (Reformed) Baptist Society for the propagation of the Gospel to the heathen, which marked the entrance of Great Britain into world missions. All the founders and missionaries of the 19<sup>th</sup> century missions were Reformed (Calvinists). The great Revival (Methodist) out of which the 19<sup>th</sup> century missionary movement was launched was Calvinist. What inspired the pervasive determination in the 19<sup>th</sup> century protestant churches to firmly plant the Gospel everywhere was Calvinism. K.S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, London (1945).

He arrived at Calcutta in 1802 along with his wife. The voyage was not a very pleasant one. The couple met with severe trials, as a child was born to them in mid ocean, only to lose the infant. However, their love for India survived. In 1804 his second son aged 6 months also died. Later in 1804, he lost his wife as well, and John Chamberlain was left with a surviving, motherless child. He continued his labour for the people of Cutwa. Some times he was designated to new stations at Agra, Monghyr and Berhampore. While he was leaving for England, he died near the island of Ceylon in a ship. His remains were committed to the deep sea. He rode hundreds of miles in India while alive, preached every day and often several times a day.<sup>46</sup>

The Rev. Claudius Buchanan left a legacy of tremendous influence upon those who opted for missionary vocation. He was a Vice-Provost of the Fort William College. During his twelve years of stay in India his spirit was stirred in him when he beheld the sad spectacle of humans flinging themselves under the chariot wheels of Puri Jagannath. Buchanan felt that the then British were not governing India, as they should.<sup>47</sup> Buchanan saw among the European rulers and Indians gross immorality. Most of the individuals employed by the East India Company indulged in duels, deism, debauchery, drunkenness and debts.<sup>48</sup> Therefore, in his book '*Christian Researches in Asia*' (New York, 1812) he appealed to a new creed of young Englishmen to come to India as missionary administrators and to live and to give their lives in her service. This appeal had a receptive audience in the graduates of Cambridge, who also shared the vision of civilizing India. The Punjab school of officers came from this variety of muscular

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<sup>46</sup> *Heroes And Martyrs: Modern Missionary Enterprise-A Record Of Their Lives And Labours*, op-cit., p.p. 85-101.

<sup>47</sup> Vishal Mangalwadi, *Missionary Conspiracy*, Good Books, 1996, New Delhi, p.p.202-08.

<sup>48</sup> A.C. Chute, *John Thomas First Baptist Missionary To Bengal 1757-1801*, Baptist book & Tract Society, Halifax, N.S, 1893, p.9; and Thomas Williamson, *The European in India*, London, 1813, p.4.

Christianity who believed in combining good governance and high personal morality. Henry and John Lawrence, Herbert Edwardes, Robert Montgomery and Frank Brayne and others were good examples of the new breed of administrators, thanks to their religious and evangelical convictions.<sup>49</sup> Clive Dewey writes, ‘ their faith gave them the courage to cow warlike tribes and suppress the predators – landlords, officials, moneylenders, traders, lawyers – who preyed on hapless peasants. They were the *ma-baps*, the mothers and fathers of their people. They spent all day and nearly all night riding round their districts: punishing crimes, remitting revenue, resolving disputes, relieving scarcity, digging canals. They had no families to distract them, no belongings to slow them down, and no weaknesses of any kind: heat, sun, and rain were matters of indifference to them.’<sup>50</sup> It is said that the evangelical spirit Claudius Buchanan imparted to the young Englishmen was bigger than the missionary movement itself.

The missionary spirit was shared by the young men and women of the American universities. The formation of mission prayer band in the Williams College campus in Massachusetts, America in 1812 also started the missionary movement in America. This was followed by the founding of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions under the banner of the Congregationalist Denominations.<sup>51</sup> Gordon Hall was one of these pioneers to reach to India in 1812. His zeal to proclaim the Gospel in India was such that he defied the order of deportation given by the East India Company as soon as he disembarked in India, as missionaries were not allowed in India before 1813. He decided ‘I must not settle in any parish in Christendom. Others will be left

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<sup>49</sup> Ian Bradley, *The Call To Seriousness*, Jonathan Cape Ltd., London, p.p. 92-93.

<sup>50</sup> Clive Dewey, *The Mind of the Indian Civil Service*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1996.

<sup>51</sup> Cindy Mc Clain, *A Backward Glance: History of Woman's Missionary Union*, WMU, Southern Baptist Convention, Birmingham, 1987, p.9.

whose health or pre-engagements require them to stay at home; but I can sleep on the ground, can endure hunger and hardships; God calls me to the heathen; woe to me, if I preach not the Gospel to heathen.' He protested to the Governor of Bombay- 'your Excellency finally disregarded the considerations we have presented, should we be compelled to leave this land. We can only say, Adieu, till we meet you once face to face, at God's tribunal.' However charter bill of 1813 was passed permitting the missionaries into India. The Governor of Bombay was forced to relent. Gordon Hall travelled extensively to the remotest and ruined corners of India to liberate people physically and spiritually at the cost of himself and his family. Mr. Hall toured Nasik where Cholera was raging. He laboured among them till his medicines were exhausted. Soon he was affected by Cholera and died with the afflicted Indians. He was buried uncoffined with great difficulty. His missionary zeal was immortalized in his book 'The Conversion of the World or The Claims of Six hundred Millions'.<sup>52</sup>

Influenced by the writings of Claudius Buchanan, the missionaries of America, Mr.& Mrs. Adoniram Judson and the youthful pair of Mr.& Mrs. Samuel Newell, with overwhelming zeal, set forth on their uncertain way to India in 1812.<sup>53</sup> On their arrival to Serampore, the Judsons secured a passage to Burma. But the Newells were compelled to take a ship to Mauritius. Their voyage from Serampore to Mauritius was a tedious and dangerous one as they were tossed about for a month in the Bay of Bengal. Mrs. Newell became a mother on the shipboard itself. The young mother, still in her teens lost her

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<sup>52</sup> *Heroes And Martyrs: Modern Missionary Enterprise-A Record Of Their Lives And Labours*, op-cit., p.p. 121-144.

<sup>53</sup> J.A. Graham, *Missionary Expansion of Reformed Churches*, R & R Clark Ltd., London, 1898, p.p.93-94.

infant daughter and then her own life two weeks later and had to be buried on an Isle.<sup>54</sup> Mrs. Judson wrote a letter to her family in America, 'Harriet is dead...Her body lies solitary and alone in yonder marshy ground. No monument is erected to speak her worth, no grave stone to tell the passing stranger, here lies the remains of one, who, for the love of Christ and immortal souls, left home and friends and found an early grave in a strange land'. And closed her letter with a plea, 'O will not someone of you come to take up dear Harriet's work?'<sup>55</sup>

The painful event was announced by Mr. Newell to her mother in a letter 'I Would tell you how God has disappointed our favourite schemes and blasted our hopes of preaching Christ in India, and has sent us all away from that extensive field of usefulness with an intimation that he has nothing for us to do there. I would tell you how he has visited us all with sickness, by taking away the dear babe, which he gave us, the child of our prayers, of our hopes, of our tears... Come, then let us mingle our grief, and weep together, for she was dear to us both. Yes, Harriet, your lovely daughter is gone and you will see her face no more! My own dear Harriet, the wife of my youth and the desire of my eyes has left me to moan and weep... I wiped the cold sweat of death from her pale emaciated face, while we traveled together, down to the entrance of the dark valley. There she took her upward flight and ascended to the mansions of the blessed!'<sup>56</sup> Mr. Newell had alone came to India from the Isle, when conditions favoured missionaries after 1813 charter. He too fell a victim to Cholera and died.

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<sup>54</sup> *Heroes And Martyrs: Modern Missionary Enterprise-A Record Of Their Lives And Labours*, p.149.

<sup>55</sup> Cindy Mc Clain, *A Backward Glance: History of Woman's Missionary Union*, WMU, Southern Baptist Convention, Birmingham, 1987, p.13.

<sup>56</sup> *Heroes And Martyrs: Modern Missionary Enterprise-A Record Of Their Lives And Labours*, op-cit., p.150.

By the mid eighteenth century Scotland had become a noted nation for its achievements in the varied fields of learning and culture. The Scots built an effective system of public instruction. Scottish Christianity has for long been intellectually grounded. This cultural background helps understand the Scottish educational missionaries of 19<sup>th</sup> century India like Alexander Duff, who came over India in 1829 after being shipwrecked twice on his way to Calcutta. He emphasized the role of the English language in educating the Indian elite. He thought this would make the Indian elite accept Christianity more readily.<sup>57</sup> Duff was deeply convinced about his missionary purpose and spared no pains to introduce a schooling system.

Dr. Armauer Hansen discovered the Bacillus, which caused Leprosy in 1873. Wellesley Bailey, a missionary, first encountered people affected by Leprosy in the same year. Also in 1873 Joseph de Veuster sailed to Molokai, and became known as Father Damien. The founding of the Leprosy Mission (TLM) started in 1874 in America. Mary Reed, The Leprosy Mission's first missionary was sent to India in 1884, and became the superintendent of Chandag Leprosy Hospital. Her enormous `zeal made Mary dedicate her entire time to the lepers. In 1891, after a brief illness, the young woman suddenly realized she had contracted leprosy. She was sent to the Himalayas to recover at a leper colony. In the same year she returned to America on furlough as her leprosy was confirmed. This did not make her despair, but instead imbued her with the desire to continue with her mission.<sup>58</sup> Her faith sustained her in work until she died in 1943 after she had completed 52 years of ministry among the lepers of India.

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<sup>57</sup> J.A. Graham, *Missionary Expansion of Reformed Churches*, R & R Clark Ltd., London, 1898, p.114.

<sup>58</sup> Daniel Johnson Fleming, *Building With India, Missionary Education Movement Publication*, New York, 1922, p.120.



John E. Davis was a missionary among the Telugus of Ramachandrapuram of W. Godavary Dt. in Andhra Pradesh about 1905, where there was a Leper Asylum. He himself was shocked to learn that he had contracted tropical Leprosy. Initially he contemplated suicide out of despair, but the love of God sustained him and he spent the last 5 years of his life in a hospital in England and continued to support the Leprosy Asylum in India.<sup>59</sup>

Very distinct in nature and unique in their principles and practices the Brethren missionaries were zealous representatives of the ecclesiastical order of Protestantism. They inaugurated an era of 'Faith Missions' in the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>60</sup>. Mr. Beer and Mr. Bowden, two young men aged 23 years, were the early Brethren missionaries to the Telugu country (Coastal Andhra). They were accompanied by Anthony Norris Groves, a pioneer Brethren missionary at Chittoor (South Andhra) in 1836. Mr. Beer and Bowden were members of Bornstaple chapel in England. Mr. Beer was an intelligent shoemaker and Mr. Bowden was a stonemason. Though they were of humble origin, the laity movement of Brethrenism in Great Britain, inspired ordinary people to empower themselves. This was known as the laymen's revival. The young men read missionary annals and were inspired by the accounts of the life and labours of Adoniram Judson, a missionary to the east, with an added propaganda of Mr. Clulow a British retired Judge from Machilipatnam about the spiritual plight of Telugu people.<sup>61</sup> Their missionary task

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<sup>59</sup> John E. Davis, *The Life Story of a Leper: An Autobiography of John E. Davis*, Canadian Baptist Missionary Among the Telugus, Canadian Baptist Foreign Mission Board, Toronto, Canada, 1918, p.p.213-228.

<sup>60</sup> Andrew Porter, *Religion Versus Empire*, Manchester University Press, 2004, p.193

<sup>61</sup> E.B. Bromley, *op-cit.*, p.p.13-14.

was completely a self-supporting service among the Telugu people, carried uninterrupted.<sup>62</sup>

The hardships- of climate and living conditions-were great. Most of the missionaries of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, particularly the wives, died young. Generally the graveyards of the missionaries were outside the churches that they had established. In Africa, a church had been built literally upon the bones of countless missionaries and martyrs. The passion to take the Gospel further, inspired by the love for Jesus, motivated the missionaries on these missions. When Melville Cox, Methodist first foreign missionary, was about to leave for Liberia in early 1830, a friend challenged him ‘ if you go to Africa you will die there’. Cox replied ‘ if I die you write my epitaph’. But what would I write? Friend questioned. The answer was ‘Though a thousand (missionaries) fall, let not Africa be lost.’ The same is inscribed on his monument in Monrovia, Liberia.<sup>63</sup> The scriptures provided the inspiring words to these men and women, ‘Christ’s love compels us’ (II Cor. 5:14). Jesus commanded his children ‘to go into all world and make men his disciples.’

Thus to conclude this section, the Christian theology played a unique role in shaping and mobilizing the Christian missions of 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, but most particularly, the ‘Faith missions’. The Calvinism of the Reformed churches provided much of what was written for the missionary whose motto was ‘service.’<sup>64</sup> During the

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<sup>62</sup> Y.Vittal Rao, *Education And Learning in Andhra Under the East India Company*, Bhimavaram, p.239.

<sup>63</sup> *Good News Magazine*, An Article by Dick Mc Clain, July-August Issue, 1993, published by the United Church of God, an International Association, USA.

<sup>64</sup> Charles Beard, *The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century: In Its Relation To Modern Thought and Knowledge*, The University of Michigan Press, 1962, USA, p.260.

great 18<sup>th</sup> century Revivals, many Puritan books of Calvinist theology were reprinted<sup>65</sup>. Thus, revitalized Protestantism refreshed with Calvinistic writings and preaching, rose to the challenge of world evangelization with a zeal and boldness never before seen in history. Calvinism was further strengthened by the millenarian view. Thus the theological impetus of Calvinism (and of the Puritan writings) and the optimistic millenarian<sup>66</sup> view of the future were two sources from which the Brethren Movement of early 19<sup>th</sup> century had its genesis and progress and launched its own Faith missions to India. D.M. Panton claimed that, ‘the movement of the Brethren and its significance is far greater than the movement of the Reformation, both in quality and quantity. The Reformation was brought about with sword and spear, while the Brethren movement brought about preaching of the word of God. For the cause of the Reformation, which was political in nature many lost their lives in the religious wars in Europe<sup>67</sup>. Brethrenism, on the other hand, was not related to the organized world or psychological world nor to the actual world of colonialist Christianity, which represented imperial power.

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<sup>65</sup> The writings of John Owen, John Banyan, John Milton, Hooker, Shepherd, Donald Guthrie, Mathew Henry etc., Of all the books, Pilgrims Progress was the most distinguished spiritual autobiography of a Christian believer. Moreover, no book in English has more determined the character of personal religion. It has still a profound influence on the Christian world.

<sup>66</sup> Millenarianism was a belief wide spread in Christianity until the 4<sup>th</sup> century, that Christ’s second coming will bring a thousand years of peace on earth. The Anabaptists and the Moravians revived it during the later years of Reformation. The founders of the Brethren Movement such as John Nelson Darby and Anthony Norris Groves were gifted exposures and prophets of Millenarian view in the entire church history after the Reformation. Steve Luck, ed., Philip’s *Millennium Encyclopedia*, Octopus, London, 1999, p.447.

<sup>67</sup> Watchman Nee, *The Orthodoxy of the Church*, California, 1970

## **Chapter IV: THE CULTURAL ENCOUNTER – RESPONSE AND RESISTANCE TO MISSIONS**

The cultural encounter between European missionaries and the Indian religions on one hand and the Indians response to the colonialism and missions on the other hand is a subject of debate through the years. There have been endless discussions also on the nature of conversions and the cultural barriers that had confronted the Indians, and on the Indian converts in particular in their encounter with western Christianity. One has to contextualize these debates on the proselytizing Christian presence. This is primarily a study of a Christian elite and this encourages an intellectual rather than a sociological account. But a study of Indian religion and culture is also essential for this project. Before any exploration of missionary attitudes and those of converts, some preliminary appraisal from both the quarters of Christian elite as well as missionaries may be observed as part of their research and scholarly pursuit to better understand the India's literature and cultural past<sup>1</sup>. It implied a more inclusive approach to Hinduism for positive responses from Indians without loosing any ground of such steadfastness in their religion.

Here William Carey's scholarly approach is thus a context for discussion. Carey, in general, was a reflection of some of 19<sup>th</sup> century missionaries towards Indian religion and culture. Some historians appreciated Carey's intellectual approach.<sup>2</sup> Brian Stanley, the latest historian of the Baptist Mission observed that 'the Serampore pioneers were more prepared than many later missionaries to see good qualities in Hindu culture, their

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<sup>1</sup> In 1878 Edward W. Said (1935-2003) published his masterful and a highly controversial book *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. In it Said followed the skeptic approach towards the English Orientalists. He called the western scholarship of orientalism as historically constructed, dreaming and self-serving representation of the Orient. He doubted the English orientalist knowledge of Asia was false and helped for the European and American domination of Asia. *Orientalism*, London, 1978, p.p.32-40.

<sup>2</sup> Eustace Carey, *Memoir Of William Carey*, Jackson & walford, London, 1836, p.p. 255-258.

essential conviction remained that Hinduism was a religion of darkness waiting for the light of the Christian gospel to dawn.’ Carey also fell heavily upon the evil social practices of Hindu society. Therefore, he took uncompromising and confrontational stand towards Hindu practices such as ‘sati’ and positive outlook on affirmation of Christianity.<sup>3</sup> Stanley passed certain remarks that Carey’s joining in the faculty of Fort William College was as part of his vocation to train the native priesthood, which would be a boon for the progression of mission in India<sup>4</sup> and Lord Wellesley, subsidized his translation of the Scripture into Sanskrit and other vernaculars like Bengali, Urdu, Oriya, Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese and Marathi.<sup>5</sup> Carey seems a symbol of inclusiveness, but this was a means to the propagation of Christianity. Therefore his literary pursuit entwined in imperialism, and bred cultural conflict with the Indian religions.

Another English scholar classically proficient in Sanskrit was William Hodge Mill (1820 – 1837) from Cambridge.<sup>6</sup> Having come to India in 1820 he received priestly ordination of Rector or High Churchman of Bishop’s College, as was sponsored by famous Bishop Middleton, in Calcutta. As a High Churchman, Mill, introduced church Sanskrit in the literature of Indian church. In 1823 the Bishop’s college Press printed Mill’s Sanskrit copy of Ten Commandments. The Sanskrit text of Ten Commandments was in the form of an exposition of *Mahadharma* (The Great Law). Mill declared that the Greek and Latin were mere hills compared to the Himalayas of Sanskrit after having read Upanishads, Shankara etc. He also composed *Pratiti Vakya* and *Shrikrishta Samgitha* in

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<sup>3</sup> Rev. J.S. Macnicol of Cuddapah in an Article ‘*Our People are especially poor*’, Manchester Guardian, March 1, 1905; National Christian Council Review 1933, p.129; NCC Review, July 1932.

<sup>4</sup> Brian Stanley, *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1792-1992*, Edinburgh, 1992, p.47.

<sup>5</sup> S.C. Raychoudhary, *Social, Cultural and Economic History of India: Modern Times*, Delhi, 1983, p.126.

<sup>6</sup> A.W. Ward, A.R. Waller, ed., *The Cambridge History of English And American Literature* (18 vol ), vol.xii, chapter xv, 4<sup>th</sup> column, includes his name at the very first line under Oriental Scholars. He was also better known as Theologian.

Sanskrit.<sup>7</sup> The *Shrikrishhta Samgitha* was a text of 5000 stanzas. In this memorable work Christ was converted to Sanskrit and Sanskrit to Christ. Christ was portrayed as Oriental Christ. This book reflected India's cultural and religious realities with the beauty of the classical heritage of Indian antiquity. At a farewell on the eve of his return to Cambridge, his friend and Hindu Pundit Kamalakanta Vidyalankara called Mill a Kalidasa reborn to the world. William Hodge Mill, though an obscure figure in the colonial history, his encounter with East was a point of tangency, transformed his sense of Christianity's relevance to Hinduism.<sup>8</sup> Carey and Hodge Mill's intellectual approach can rightly be called a theology in philology and both were pioneers in Church Sanskrit.<sup>9</sup> Alike Carey's, Mill's literary orientation was aimed to supply Christian workers through Bishop's college, Calcutta as it was explicit when he writes, 'there is still no permanent supply of Christian labourer for the growing wants of this vast country, but that which this college promises',<sup>10</sup>.

An English government civil servant of Madras who, immortal in the memory of Andhra people and the most determined, industrious and learned Telugu scholar of all times, was that of Charles Philip Brown (1798-1884). He was a well-known Orientalist till his end, who lived for the progress of Telugu literature. When he began this task first,

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<sup>7</sup> Hodge Mill Proposed a Version of Theological terms (Pratiti Vakya), with a view to uniformity in translations of the Holy Scriptures etc., into various languages of India. Part the first – sanscrit. With remarks upon the rendering proposed by Dr. Mill by Horace Hayman Wilson, Esq. Bishops College press, Calcutta, 1828.

<sup>8</sup> Willam Hodge Mill, *Shri Krishta Samgita: Christa-sangita* or the sacred history of our Lord Jesus Christ in Sanscri verse, Bishops College press, Calcutta, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition 1842. Dr. Mills Reply To The Asiatic Society, Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1837, 6: p.p. 801-802

<sup>15</sup> Stephen Neill in his book '*Christian Missions*' (Pelican Books, London, 1964) introduces Hodge Mill as remarkable for himself and also in his descendents, as Professor C.C.J. Webb was a grand son of Dr. Mill. p.267.

<sup>16</sup> Charles Grant, *Observations on the state of Society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain*, London 1797, p.p.17-23.

<sup>10</sup> Letter, Principal Dr. W.H. Mill to Rev. Hamilton, Sept. 11, 1824 (U SPG. Calcutta, India. 1. 9 (i). 13)

Telugu literature was moribund.<sup>11</sup> He, a foreigner, revived the language single handed, and accomplished arduous task of compiling English-Telugu dictionary and the Grammar in a printed form.

Born in 1798 to Rev. David Brown, the Provost of Fort William College at Calcutta, C.P. Brown later was educated in Haileybury to take up service in the company. He joined in Madras civil service in 1817. Till then he was a stranger to Telugu language. During this time he scrupulously followed the advice of Sir Thomas Munro, the then Governor of Madras that the Junior Civil Servants learn the language of the people to enable them to carryout better administration<sup>12</sup>. He was taught Telugu by a Brahmin, Velagapudi Kodandarama Pantulu in Madras. Having been appointed as Junior Civil Servant at Cuddapah in 1820, very soon he achieved mastery over Telugu language. He made innumerable collections of ancient manuscripts of Telugu and commenced printing them. He used to preside over the meetings of Telugu pundits to find the merits of great works and about innovative print skills to be introduced in grammar. He spent money lavishly to bring out the printed copies of the books to the Telugu readers and students. In 1824 Brown started reading the poems of Vemana in the vernacular and began collecting palm leaf manuscripts from different parts of Andhra. He was greatly influenced by the moral and religious views of Vemana as they were very similar in style and standard with Christian rhetoric and ethical practices. In 1829, the first edition was published entitled '*The Verses of Vemana: Moral, Religious and Satirical*'. His translation of Vemana's poems received enormous popularity among the Europeans and the Telugus and he used them as means in bridging the gulf between the Christian West and the religions of the

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<sup>11</sup> K. Veerabhadra Rao, *C.P. Brown*, Hyderabad, 1988, p.135

<sup>12</sup> Rev. G.R. Gleig, *The Life of Thomas Munroe*, London, 1830, p.12

east<sup>13</sup>. Brown's translations of the Bible, *The pilgrims' Progress* etc., into the vernacular and the Hindu Sastras into English speaks a syncretization of cultures without losing ground in his forefathers' faith.

Eventually the missionaries, the administrators and the government tended to see little merit in the indigenous texts and indigenous knowledge systems, though they would concede the utility of learning native tongues as a means by which to rule the colony. William Carey had been and continued to be a champion of the Bengali language, not just for the language but also for its utility as a proselytizing vehicle. But, as David Kopf notes in his documented history of this period, even Serampore College, feeling the pressure from the Bentinck government, anglicized its curriculum and thereby lost its attractiveness to Indians<sup>14</sup>. Throughout the 19th century Christianity was represented by the Christian elite, not just as a religion but also as an intellectual, even civilizational tradition. They argued that Christianity stood for the European Enlightenment and Western Civilization. Diverse responses from the Indian side were witnessed about the possible vitalizing contribution of missionaries and evangelical administrators.

## I

### The Indian Traditionalist And Modernist Responses to Colonialism and Missions:-

The traditionalist Indians, on one hand, were content in the greatness of their civilization. They were convinced that the state of their civilization was good and the

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<sup>13</sup> Essay on the Language and Literature of the Telugus, *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1840, Reprint 1991.

<sup>14</sup> David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: The Dynamics of Indian Modernization, 1773-1835*, University of California Press, 1969, 241-42.



offensive practices, as sati, female infanticide and child marriages were inevitable in an old civilization. Therefore the civilization of Europe, which was materialistic, selfish, violent need not be imposed on India. They believed that Britain's conquest of India did not signify the moral superiority of its culture. This view was shared by many in opposing the west and its religion.<sup>15</sup> However, in view of a cultural encounter with the west, some of these groups used resources from within Hindu myths and traditions to reconfigure Hinduism to modern postulates. This coincided with the founding of various socio-religious movements in India, and in the Andhra region led to various organizations like Veda Samaj, Deva Samaj, Hindu Sreyobhivardini Sabha etc. The founders of these organizations (most of them were from western educated middle class, who were also founders of socio-religious organizations) attempted to spread the modern and reformist ideas within Hinduism as a resistance to foreign missions<sup>16</sup>. Some of the radical thinkers like B.R. Ambedkar and his untouchable followers who abandoned Hinduism used the religious and cultural resources of Buddhism. Few others did respond to Christianity.

The modernists, on the other hand, like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, had thanked providence for sending the British to India and believed that India had much to learn from them in the fields of governance, science, literature and political thoughts and institutions. Therefore the colonial state was engaged in establishing new structures and social order. The Hindu morality was based on varna dharma and closely bound up with the caste system. Hindu society faced not just a socio economic but a deep moral and religious crisis. The Raja saw the new rulers not as a body of conquerors but as deliverers

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<sup>15</sup> Roy Chowdhary, *Europe reconsidered*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1988, p.p 70-92.

<sup>16</sup> The organizations encouraged higher English education, Anglicised habits, lessening of Hindu evil practices, spread of female education, lessening of caste influence. Church Missionary Intelligencer, Sep. 1865 pp.273-283 ; The Hindu, May 24, 1911.

from socio-religious crises.<sup>17</sup> K.C.Sen said that the contact of England with India was Providential and not a mere accident. The other great leaders like Dwarkanath Tagore, Ranade, Tilak, Dadabhai Nauroji, Surendranath Banerji, Ravindranath Tagore, Aurobindo, Pandit Nehru and Gandhi all hailed the British rule as the outcome of India's degenerate state, and thus presented to India and Indians an opportunity to turn the tide. Dr. Muthu Lakshmi Reddy of Madras freedom fighters and former Deputy Chairman of Madras legislative council observed in her presidential address at All India Women's Conference, Lahore (1931) said 'I honestly believe that the missionaries have done more for women's education in this country...even at this day, in every province, we find missionary women teachers working hard in a spirit of love and faith, in out-of-the-way villages, where the Hindu and Muslim women dare not penetrate'. B.N.Dhar in his presidential address at the Congress session enumerated the blessings of the British Raj: 'I thank God that I am a British subject, and feel no hesitation in saying that the Government of India by England – faulty as it is in many respects, and greatly it needs to be reformed and renovated from top to bottom – is still the greatest gift of Providence to my race. For England is the only country, which knows how to govern those who cannot govern themselves'.<sup>18</sup> These Indians developed a deep awareness that they were living in a changing world where their socio-religious traditions were being challenged by secular and religious forces emanating from the western world. The colonial encounter of the west was widely understood to include the spiritual, social and material- diverse aspects

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<sup>17</sup> K.D.Nag & D.Burman (ed), *The English Works of Ram Mohan Roy*, Calcutta, 1958, Part IV, p.83.

<sup>18</sup> Majundar J.K *Indian Speeches and Documents on British Rule 1821-1918*, Longman, Green & Co. London, 1937, p.174.

of a changing situation that enabled people to make new meaning of their inner lives and of their lives as a group, and to situate themselves in new locations in the wider society<sup>19</sup>.

Early nationalists, though, took pride in their loyalty towards the British Empire, and were anxious to represent the needs of the loyal subjects of that empire. Even though the British colonialism was despotic, racist, and repressive, the early nationalists constantly dwelt on its less inhuman face<sup>20</sup>. Many Indians were benefited by the services of engineers, missionary doctors, educational missionaries etc., and had their studies from schools and colleges run by missionaries and sometimes the poor were financed from the pockets of these men and women of 'service'.<sup>21</sup> For example, the all time memorable contribution of a missionary administrator (An Engineer), Sir Arthur Cotton in the Godavari-Krishna Delta was in the field of irrigation by constructing barrages across the two rivers. With civil engineering skills and with missionary zeal he converted the Godavari district into a garden with natural water and the spiritual water of Christian Gospel, by associating himself with the Brethren missionaries in this part of Andhra. He was an instrument to introduce the Brethren missionaries and the Brethren movement in Andhra. Very recently, the people of the Godavari districts paid fitting homage to this father of irrigation out of gratitude for his unremitting service<sup>22</sup>. He spent his own money to do good, a fact remembered by local popular culture. There are cases of missionary benevolence espoused within the area in which this thesis delves. At Narsapur, West

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<sup>19</sup> Judith M. Brown, Robert Eric Frykenberg ed., *Christians, Cultural Interactions, and India's Religious Traditions*, Routledge, London, 2002, p.7

<sup>20</sup> Sanjay Joshi, *Colonial notion of South Asia*, *South Asian Journal*, Issue No 1, August- September, 2003

<sup>21</sup> *The United Church Herald*, Vol 11, No.1, April 1919, p.p.9-11.

<sup>22</sup> *The Hindu*, Tuesday, May 16, 2006, p.4; E.B. Bromley, *They Were Men Sent From God*, Bangalore, 1937, p.80. His connections with Brethren Movement are widely discussed in the following chapter. Sir Cotton constructed Godavari anicut at a cost of 736,000 Pounds to irrigate 530,000 acres and Krishna anicut at a cost of 463,000 Pounds to irrigate 235,000 acres. Report of the Indian Famine Commission, Part I, London, 1880, p. 83.

Godavari Dt. of Andhra, the Brethren Female missionary, Dr. Pring, who was physically challenged, had started a women's hospital in 1915. Like her counterpart Eda Scudder of Vellore, she wanted to remedy the scarcity in female doctors. Women's shyness of male doctors led to deaths during pregnancy and parturition. The indigenous perceptions at the instance of the medical equipment aided by missionary of better technological innovation and useful knowledge produced encouraging results in the field of medicine till very recently<sup>23</sup>. The vast majority of Hindu leaders had acknowledged that, in absence of any intercourse with the west, they had, as a people, become inert, degenerate, lifeless, and were in deep slumber. 'Indians needed to improve themselves, sit at the feet of their rulers and learn all the skills and virtues for their regeneration'.<sup>24</sup> In the autobiographical novel '*Saguna*', the writer Krupabhai narrates the convictions of her brother Bhasker, who was her life model and moulded her future. He used to share the legacies of western Christianity in his usual discussions with his sister which: "Shadowy, dark, mystic, weird, with superstition and bigotry lurking in every corner, before the light of Christianity comes in to a land. When the sun rises, he said, all the glories of the trees and the rocks comes in to view, each thing assumes its proper proportions and is drawn out in greater

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<sup>23</sup> The Brethren Missionary Journal, *Rayabari* (Messenger), Vol. 25, No. 12, published by G.D.M., Narsapur, Dec. 1975, p.8. During 1974, under trained Indian doctors 10,000 lab tests performed and 79, 477 in and outpatient women were treated in this hospital (Dr.Pring's hospital) through the year without any discrimination of caste, colour creed etc. This hospital occupied II place in India as record maternity cases were attended

<sup>24</sup> Jawaharlal Nehru, *An Autobiography*, Bodley Head, London, 1936, p.5.

29 Krupabai Sathianadhan, op-cit,p.23. Krupabai Sathianadhan was originally born in Ahemadabad to Haripant and Radhabai Khisty, the first Brahmin converts to Christianity in the Bombay Presidency. Krupabai and her elder brother Bhasker were brought up in a Christian atmosphere by their father, who felt Christianity his mission, and the mother was a conservative and traditional woman. The early death of the father led Krupabai attached to her elder brother Bhasker, who was in fond of western language and culture taught her the admiration for the same.

beauty and perfection. So it is when the sunbeams of Christianity dispel the darkness of superstition in a land”.<sup>25</sup>

## II

### Western Christianity And Contextualisation

Dubois had portrayed Hinduism of the Brahmins and indeed they dominate his account. Each caste and each sect had their own gurus<sup>26</sup>. Dubois described Hinduism as a mere formulaic faith. He further states that in its theology sin was pollution and could be absolved by penance, reading the puranas, going on pilgrimage, and even looking at high mountains. He observed that Hinduism possessed no theory of sin, atonement, grace and salvation.

So far the trend of this account has been towards a view of Hinduism as decadent at this time, and that which had occasioned the missionaries to conclude that ‘there never was a nation more ripe for Christianity than India’. Stephen Neill, while stating the condition of Hinduism, remarked that ‘when Duff started his work in Calcutta, many educated young Hindus were deeply discontented with their own religion as they knew it, evinced much admiration for western ideas, and showed readiness at least to listen to the precepts of the western religion. Some times this openness took bizarre forms, as when a group of young Hindus in Calcutta deliberately ate beef, thus breaking one of the cardinal taboos of Hinduism, in order to show that they were ‘modern’, ‘progressive’ and

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<sup>26</sup> Abbe J.A. Dubois, *Hindu manners, Customs and ceremonies* 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, London, 1924, p.296.

‘rational’.<sup>27</sup> Satyavrata Mukherjee wrote that ‘there was a rush for everything English and English ideals dominated our lives and thoughts’. Hinduism could not continue in its present state, but for its renewal and purification it needed an injection from Christian principles. This was the conviction of Ram Mohan Roy. In one of the English works of Roy published in Calcutta in 1887, he affirmed that ‘the consequences of my long and uninterrupted researches into religious truth has been that I have found the doctrines of Christ more conducive to moral principles, and better adopted for the use of rational beings, than any other which have come to my knowledge’.<sup>28</sup> When Duff started his new school, Roy encouraged the Hindu boys to learn Christian Sastras, from which he himself reaped rich harvest. He already organized the Brahma Samaj to reform Hinduism on vedantic ideals. In 1880 Keshub Chandra Sen addressed the people saying that ‘Gentlemen, you cannot deny that your hearts have been touched, conquered and subjugated by a supreme power. That power, need I tell you? Is Christ. It is Christ who rules British India, and not the British Government ...None but Jesus, none but Jesus, ever deserved this bright, this precious diadem, India, and Jesus shall have it’. Baboo Keshub Chunder Sen admits that ‘the spirit of Christianity has already pervaded the whole atmosphere of Indian society, and we breath, think, move, and feel in a Christian atmosphere. Native society is being roused, enlightened, and reformed under the influences of Christian education’.<sup>29</sup> However, He died a Die-Hard Hindu. He gave up Brahmoism. The Andhra Brahmo and the social reformer, Veeresalingam Pantulu of

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<sup>27</sup> Stephen Neill, *Christian Missions*, p.131.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* p.133; Mary Carpenter, *Last Days in England of the Raja Rammohan Roy*, Rammohun Library and Free Reading Room, Calcutta, I ed., 1866, p.p.16-17. Once Rammohan Roy paid a visit at Serampore. Later at an interview with the missionaries he stated an anecdote of a Hindu deity very scornfully. The author of the present book states ‘a simple theist admires Jesus Christ, but knows not his need of the atonement’.

<sup>29</sup> J.N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, Macmillan, New York, 1915, p.67.

Godavari Dt. alike the Brahmos- Rammohan Roy and K.C. Sen, nurtured under the impact of western religion and education extolled the virtues of British rule and believed in the Providence instrumentality of British rule for the regeneration of Indian society. He wrote in 1875 'It is admitted by one and all that western lore has worked wonders among the natives of India...'<sup>30</sup>

J.N. Farquahar, a missionary and a historian, strongly opined that Christianity influenced the 19th century religious movements in India. Among several examples, he elucidated one that Dr. Atmaram Panduranga was a personal friend of Dr. Wilson, a Scotland missionary in Bombay, and under the influence of Dr. Wilson he founded Prarthana Samaj.<sup>31</sup> It was the general opinion of most writers of the west that the reform movements of 19<sup>th</sup> century were the direct consequence of an encounter between the triumphal Christianity and the decadent Hinduism. Thus Christianity was both a challenge and an inspiration.<sup>32</sup> The missionary criticism of the state of Hinduism and social evils led the intellectuals of India to start social and religious reform movements to redefine Indian religion and society. The inspiration from Christianity cannot be denied for its influence in the development of social and religious consciousness among the Indians even before the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>33</sup>. Prof. Monier Williams observes, "It ushered in the dawn of the greatest change that has ever passed over the Hindu mind. A new phase of

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<sup>30</sup> A Telugu Journal, 'Vivekavardhini', October 1875; V. Ramakrishna, Social Reform in Andhra, New Delhi, 1983. p.67

<sup>31</sup> J.N. Farquhar, *Ibid* p. 76.

<sup>32</sup> Stephen Neill *Christian Missions*; p.p. 133-137.

<sup>33</sup> There is much in the teaching of Madhva (13<sup>th</sup> century), which is very similar to Christian teaching, so that a western historian of Indian culture, A.L. Basham observes, "The resemblance of Madhva's system to Christianity is so striking that influence, perhaps, through the Syrian churches of Malabar, is almost certain." (A. L. Basham, *The Wonder That was India*, p. 333). A similar encounter took place between Christianity and Hinduism in the 19th century, which partly resulted in new religious and social movements within Hinduism itself.

the Hindu religion then took definite shape, which differed essentially from every other that had preceded it. No other reformation has resulted in the same way from the influence of European education and Christian ideas”.<sup>34</sup> Socio-religious reformers of 19<sup>th</sup> century, despite their confrontation of western form of Christianity, revered Jesus Christ and followed his ethics. Such intellectuals Ram Mohan Roy, K.C.Sen and Sisir Kumar Gosh, apart from their attachment to ancient Indian traditions, had admiration and reverence for Jesus Christ<sup>35</sup>. Even though, there was an admiration for Christianity and its principles, why is it that English education did not produce the effect the early evangelicals had envisaged? The introduction of western learning and William Bentinck’s Anglicism had led to a Hindu renaissance. The writings of Max Muller and Deutsch helped enormously to revive the interest of educated Hindus in their ancient literature and earlier forms of religion.<sup>36</sup> This led to the Indian intellectual transformation who, increasingly took to the defense of indigenous institutions traditional culture. Resurrection of the past, identity and development of externally stimulated thought, an inquiry to establish the superiority of traditional knowledge and achievements, contextualising and highlighting the religious truths in Hinduism were the chief characteristics of this intellectual response. The resistance was particularly sharp against the areas, such as religion, language and education, where the evangelizing endeavours of missionaries functioned.<sup>37</sup> Various reformers like Dayananda Saraswathi and Vivekananda purged Hinduism of its flaws and rejuvenated it. The Christian

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<sup>34</sup>E.F.Chapman *Sketches of Some Distinguished Indian Women*, W.H.Allen & Co. Ltd, London, 1891, p.p.73-74.

<sup>35</sup> *The United Church Herald*, Vol 1 No.8, November 1909, p.92.

<sup>36</sup> Valentine Chirol, *Indian Unrest*, Light & Life Publishers, New Delhi, Indian Edition, 1979, p.28.

<sup>37</sup> *New Frontiers in History*, Reading Material, p.p.101-02, 7<sup>th</sup> Refresher Course In History, University of Hyderabad, 2000.



missionaries, on the other hand, were unsuccessful to contextualize Christianity to Indian thought and culture.<sup>38</sup>

One of the issues, very often missionaries failed to realize was the way they reached the traditional religious people of other cultures. They forgot that they were preaching something of sacred and eternal significance. They seldom gave sanctity to the holy book they carried with them. They kept the Bible on the bare floor, violating its sacrality and thus ended the interests of the traditional people in their religion. This is one small example often committed by the westerners. More often missionaries failed to draw the attention of the traditional people; for example the Hindus didn't perceive Christian churches as places of worship because they appeared more as houses where membership was likely to be restricted. The traditional and the primitive religious societies recognized conventional symbols of sacredness rather than modern and secular of a 'modern' religion. The changes were considered by them as an abomination and a change of religion was as more of a treason. This invulnerable and unchanging attitude was a major reason for the resistance of traditional people. Unless the missionary was a relativist, with readiness to respect their invulnerability, it would not possible for him to evangelize.

These so called religious taboos and traditions were in fact constructed by human interpretations, what A.N. Whitehead featured as a system of general truths<sup>39</sup> and Geertz as a general order of existence in their respective definitions of religion.<sup>40</sup> There would not have been a Christian Gospel if Jesus had not challenged the taboos, traditions and assumptions of his own Jewish people. No Buddhism would have existed if Buddha had

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<sup>38</sup> C.B. Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, p.248.

<sup>39</sup> Whitehead. A.N, *Religion in the Making*, Macmillan, New York, 1926, p.49.

<sup>40</sup> Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Culture*, Basic Books, New York, 1973, p.p. 90-91.

not criticized the Vedic traditions and rituals. The traditional religious societies, constructed by human interpretations, were constantly challenged. However, the marginalized strategies of the missionaries did not yield the desired response but evoked resistance.

Missionaries, despite the contextualisation of above doctrines to traditional religions, were generally committed to a certain claim in a hierarchy of religions as such. Christianity and the Christian West were at the top and all other religions were under it. This was largely the serious contention between the oriental and western cultures. The works of J.N. Farquhar explains an increasing openness and sympathy for non-Christian religions even among the Evangelicals, a trend visible in their literature and speeches.<sup>41</sup> Unless the contextualisation of the gospel in forms that were rooted in the religious worlds of the traditional religious people was not expressed, the Gospel would be a foreign implant and not an indigenous innovation and transformation. Pramod Aghamkar, an oriental missiologist popularized the term spontaneous contextualisation i.e. understanding Christianity in a traditional Hindu way.<sup>42</sup> What is essential in the cross-cultural meeting of religions was to avoid westernization and secularization, why because; the traditional or ancient religious people resist these as much or more than they respond to Christianity.

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<sup>41</sup> Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Oxford University Press, Vol.32, Part 2, 1999, p.p.374-375.

<sup>42</sup> Pramod Y. Aghamkar, *Building Church on Holy Ground: Proposals to Contextualize Worship Places in India*, Asbury Theological Seminary, 2002, Chapter.7.

## CONVERSIONS IN THE CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

The association of Christian missionaries with Telugu speaking people dates back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century. For instance, St. Francis Xavier who arrived in Goa in 1542 proselytized along the Coromandal coast of the Telugu country. Later Robert De Nobili of Madurai mission (1606) had acquaintance with the Telugus and the Telugu language, and at least 4 of his Telugu works are a living proof of this<sup>43</sup>. In 1700 King Louis XIV of France sent 6 French Jesuits to India. They founded the Carnatic mission at Pondicherry. The Jesuit missionaries spread Christianity to several villages and towns of Andhra beginning at Punganur (Chittore Dt.) and reached as far as Vizag<sup>44</sup>. Several thousands of converts chiefly from the Reddis, the Kammas, the Brahmins etc., of the upper castes and a few lower Sudras were formed as Christian Communities and were associated to newly built churches at various places. Therefore, the 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries were significant in the History of Christianity in Andhra, as the initial conversions were mostly from upper castes of the society. The Protestant missions of the 19th century until 1860 believed that the conversional experiences of the Brahmins would filter downwards and result in the conversion of lower castes and would be the way to evangelize Andhra. The Church Missionary Society (CMS), the London Missionary Society (LMS) Telugu missions etc., as such, from the beginning were involved in upper caste conversions. The Church Missionary Society (CMS) won high caste converts through Anglo-Vernacular High Schools at Masulipatnam (1843), Eluru (1855), and Vijayawada (1857) and by 1880, there had been 23 high caste converts and one Muslim convert. The high caste

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<sup>43</sup> J. Mangamma, *Book Printing in India: With Special Reference to the Contribution of the European Scholars to Telugu (1746-1857)*, Bangore Books, Nellore, 1975, p.p.21, 294. The books of Nobili were noted already.

<sup>44</sup> J. Mangamma, A Monograph (Telugu) on '*The Service of the Christian Missionaries in Andhra Desam, Telugu Academy, Hyderabad, 1992, p.p. 3,11.*

conversions took place at fairly regular intervals and continued even after 1880. Therefore, it is suggestive that the study of cultural perspectives upon the conversions begins from the high castes as initial conversions in Andhra were from the upper castes. The mid 19<sup>th</sup> century was a remarkable period in two aspects. Firstly, there was a religious and cultural confrontation of missions with traditional religions, which resulted in few high caste conversions and secondly, the significantly large mass conversions among the depressed and lower castes.<sup>45</sup> However, this doesn't mean the missionary movement was successful. Infact, two factors hindered the ongoing conversions: Firstly, the all-powerful element of caste and secondly, the slackness of missionaries in Indianising Christianity. The case study of some Indian converts on these lines, were also headway under this heading

Accepting a new religion or beliefs were entirely a new experience to Indians till an encounter with Christianity, even though there were times when conversions took place during the rise of Buddhism and Islam in the sub continent. Professing Christianity had uniquely raised fresh problems to Indian converts since it was a religion of the west. Amidst so many cultural barriers, the convert had to make a hard choice between breaking away from his traditional faith and adopting Christianity.<sup>46</sup> A person who embraced Christianity became a proscribed and outlawed man; he lost at once all that can attach him to life. A husband, a father was forthwith forsaken and deserted by his own

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<sup>45</sup> J.W. Pickett, *Christian Mass Movements in India*, The Abingdon Press, New York, 1933, Lucknow Publishing House, Lucknow, 1934. This book is an outcome of the experience of a missionary author for nearly twenty years in South India. It deals primarily with Mass conversions to Christianity from within the socially backward classes, but it seldom makes study of upper and middle class conversions in parts of the Telugu country of South India. This onward movement of conversions and the live interviews with thousands of new converts from all sections of the Telugu country was also entered by the same author in his book, *Christ's Way To India's Heart*, Lucknow Publishing House, Lucknow, 1937.

<sup>46</sup> G.A. Oddie, *Christian conversions in Telugu Country*, IESHR, vol. xii, 1, Jan-March, 1975, p.p.69-72.

wife and children, who refused to have any further intercourse with their degraded relative. A son was abandoned and disinherited by his paternal family.<sup>47</sup> It was also generally assumed by the missionaries, that converts must separate themselves from their kin to enter a new and exclusive community. The 19th century high caste converts of Andhra such as Purushotham Choudhay, Pulipaka Jagannadham and later Yedguri Sandinti Venkat Reddy (the grand father of former chief minister Y.S. Rajasekhar Reddy) created no ordinary tumult and agitation in their respective castes and in the society in general. They were isolated from the rest of the society and put to shame and suffering and spurned by friends and relatives<sup>48</sup>. Becoming a Christian was entirely a kind of cultural migration from one faith to the other. The Hindu society sealed itself against them from possibility of further contamination. The book '*I Follow After*' written by Lakshmibai Tilak (Trans.Text 1998) was a good example and it showed how a late 19th century Indian convert, N.V.Tilak, was deserted by his close relatives and wife and suffered excommunication from his caste and religion.<sup>49</sup>

The high caste convert had to sacrifice the best of privileges, offered by his home, by his caste people and erstwhile religion. Rev. Sorabji Kharsedji, an Indian convert and the father of Cornelia Sorabji, when he became Christian, physically and emotionally was tortured by his parents and relatives. His daughter testifies that 'imprisonment, desertion, stoning were the least he had to suffer. They cast him out of the community...his father

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<sup>47</sup> L.Stanislaus, *The Liberative Mission of the Church Among Dalit Christians*, ISPCK, -Delhi, 1999, p.p. 143-147.

<sup>48</sup> The Testimony of Yedguri Sandinti Venkat Reddy, A Booklet compiled by the 'Y.S. Families'.

<sup>49</sup> Lakshmibai Tilak, *I Follow After, An Autobiography*, Trans. E. Josephine Inkster, Delhi, 1998, p.p. 136-140

and his uncle disinherited him, and his mother died of a broken heart'.<sup>50</sup> Almost all the Brahmin and other high caste converts were generally forced to break with their families and former caste connections. '*Saguna*' the first autobiographical Indian novel in English by Krupa Bhai, was a factual picture of a high caste Brahmin converts who were, on one side, disowned and discarded by kith and kin once for all, and the indifferent treatment of missionaries towards such genuine converts on the other side, which resulted in their revolt against the racial superiority of the missionaries. The missionaries' power identified with the British ruling race, and they reckoned that the native converts, even Brahmin converts, to be socially inferior to white/western missionaries<sup>51</sup>. This partisan attitude of missionaries mingled in an implication of cultural and social superiority and was more abominable and evil than the Indian caste hierarchy. It was also a mark of regression in the method of contextualization of Christianity to Indian conditions.

A Hindu was a admirer of the others faith, but it was almost impossible for him to break caste. How deeply the caste phobia was rooted in the minds of people was well depicted in the novel '*I Follow After*' written by Lakshmibai Tilak. When Tilak was baptized and became a Christian his whole community treated him as an Out caste and his wife was maintained by her own kith and kin and separated from her husband. When his wife joined him, she was also branded as an out caste. One day there was some food leftover in Tilak's house. His wife Lakshmibai offered it to a low caste Mang woman. The woman too refused to eat the food on the ground that a Christian cooked the food. To add further misery, a Maratha woman who cleaned the dishes and a Gujarathi man who

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<sup>50</sup> E.F. Chapman, *Notable Indian Women of The 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, Inter-India Publications, New Delhi, (I ed., 1891), 1984, p.122.

<sup>51</sup> Krupa Bhai Sathianathan, Chandani Lokuge (ed), *Saguna: The First Autobiographical Novel in English by An Indian Woman*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, Reprint in 1999, p.p.15-16.

drew water from the well discontinued work in Tilak's home on the pretext that they would lose their caste, as their employers were Christians. In another instance, their landlady, disallowed them from using lavatory and girded herself to protect its holiness. Faced by insults from all quarters, Lakshmi in tears said 'If these people would not even take anything touched by me, how could my relations permit even my shadow to fall upon them.' Dr. Abbot and Dr. Hume, the Europeans, took pains to create a Brahminical atmosphere to Lakshmi to save her Christian faith from disaster.<sup>52</sup> The caste obstruction made the converts' lives miserable on one hand, and hampered the missionary prospects of conversions on the other and therefore very few elite responded to conversions. It took time for the missions to adjust their thinking and strategy to this cultural resistance, which quickly transformed the whole mission scene, and forced missionaries to reassess their attitude to caste<sup>53</sup>.

Louise Dumont may be right in saying that: 'a sect can not survive on Indian soil if it denies caste, and it has long been recognized that Buddha himself, even if he transcended caste, did not attack or reform it'.<sup>54</sup> Missionaries and their allies were involved in much debate on the causes of the 1857 revolt and the flaws in the policies of the government. Their arguments were heard both in Britain and in India. As they belonged to the ruling class, they urged the government to adopt a firmly interventionist policy on caste and caste codes, for they saw the caste system against the values of humane and progressive society and as antagonistic to a stable and effective government. The missionaries were without success and the policy of non- intervention was

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<sup>52</sup> Lakshmibai Tilak, *I Follow After*., p.p.176-180.

<sup>53</sup> It was the Protestant movement, when compared to Catholicism, was new and which seemed to challenge to a much greater extent the values of established traditions such as caste, forms of worship and even dress.

<sup>54</sup> Duncan Forester , *Caste and Christianity : Attitudes and policies On Caste Of Anglo- Saxon Protestant Mission In India*, Curzon Press, London, 1980,p.11

reaffirmed.<sup>55</sup> It made it clear to the depressed castes that if they were looking for patrons to uphold their cause they could only expect limited help from the government but unparalleled support from missionaries. Thus there was an upsurge of discontent among the depressed classes from the middle of the 19th century against the oppressions and they desired for improvement in their lot and status. As a result of it, heavy inflow of converts to Christianity from depressed classes was witnessed in this period. There was hardly a region of India that was left unaffected by this mass movement. The nature and the scale of these mass movements even took the missionaries by surprise. A case of mass conversion, accompanied by some general features common to all such mass conversion, can be mentioned here.

Increasingly throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century the missionary presence was able to thrive under the protective structures of British imperial rule. Therefore, the missionaries were widely known as agents of power to the subalterns in particular. John Clough, a missionary, during the famine of 1877- 78 in the Telugu country,<sup>56</sup> took the contract for digging a part of Buckingham canal for the assistance of his converts, which was sponsored by the government. The lower caste Madigas were reluctant to join in the work, as they believed that they would be oppressed and maltreated on account of their caste. To their surprise the missionary treated them as equals.<sup>57</sup> Therefore the Madigas came over him and asked for Baptism. Clough suspected them as they were after material gains. In Clough's own words: 'then the cry arose from every portion of the crowd: 'we

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<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.* p.69

<sup>56</sup> Emma Rauschenburch Clough, *While Sewing Sandals: Tales of a Telugu Pariah Tribe*, Asian Educational Services, Madras, 2000, p.p. 271-284. The Famine of 1876-78 was the worst of all famines that had visited the Telugu country. The missionary wife Emma Clough recorded the then widespread doubt that men ate men and their children especially among the downtrodden classes. The missionaries fed the multitudes with grain irrespective of their caste and religion.

<sup>57</sup> John E. Clough, *Social Christianity in the Orient*, Macmillan, New York, 1914, Chapter. Xv.



do not want help. By the blisters on our hands we can prove to you that we have worked and will continue to work. If the next crop fails, we shall die. We want to die as Christians. Baptize us therefore.’<sup>58</sup> Converts who were baptized, received an added prestige by association with Christianity, an indelible mark of ruling class. New educational opportunities were available to converts. They gave up alcohol, carrion eating and other evils and observed greater cleanliness<sup>59</sup>. It was against great protest that the missionary in India raised their voices against the inequalities of the caste system, and was the reason why Christianity in India has proved so attractive to many of the oppressed dalit population.

In the conversion enterprise there may well be the presence of push and pull factors in motion.<sup>60</sup> The push factors with regard to conversions of depressed and lower castes were the indifferent attitudes of the upper castes towards lower castes. Here the push factor of conversion was an escape of lower caste converts from oppression and was an improvement of their lot and status in the society. One observation by non-Christians was that Christianity serves as a means to the lower castes for their social up gradation and a symbol of self-respect. The social generousities and charities of the mission, the reforming ideology of missionaries, the educational prospects and the employment facilities in the mission fields and organizations corresponds to push conversions. The pull factors of the attractions of western Christian culture were even less impressive before the thrusting push factors. The economic and materialistic aspects have played major role in mass conversions in the 19th century. The employment portals in the

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<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* p.279. The motive behind this was identity crisis, a negative rejection of their lowly place in Hindu society to a positive affirmation of a new social and religious identity.

<sup>59</sup> *Report of the American Baptist Mission*, 1931, p.6.

<sup>60</sup> Anthony Copley, *Religions In Conflict*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1997, p. 54

mission parishes were always a bone of contention among the Indian converts<sup>61</sup> and the new European arrivals. Lower caste Indians were a better choice, as they could be lured by material benefits offered by Christian groups.

Group conversions often led to fresh problems in the village community and even the converts faced strong reactions from the upper castes.<sup>62</sup> Karl Marx was right in anticipating the effect of in India as essentially destructive of traditional village structures. Having been converted into Christianity, and with promising help from missionary circles, the converts refused to continue in their traditional occupations in the villages. They disassociated themselves from village rituals. This change of their social behaviour was often met with repression from the upper castes. When severe persecution took place normally the convert left his native village and sought shelter in the mission compound. Eventually there emerged the Christian villages in various parts of India for mass movement converts. Thus the missionaries seldom bore the blame of having disturbed the community life in India. Certainly some customary sources of income for untouchables lost importance.<sup>63</sup> The Malas of the Krishna- Godavari districts of the Telugu country, whose traditional occupation was weaving, had suffered loss in view of competition from Lancashire. G.A.Oddie says that the mass movements in the Krishna- Godavari districts started among more economically independent castes.<sup>64</sup> The cases of Nadar conversions in Tamilnadu were the most interesting of all mass movements. The

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<sup>61</sup> Here conversion meant, not an 'atmaparivartan' or a change of heart within the same religious tradition, but a 'dharmaantar', a change of one's religious allegiance across such traditions. This is a conversion with vested interests drawing towards center of power. An Article by Rudolf C.Herald 'No Entry, No Exit: Savarna Aversion Towards Dalit Conversion' in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Oct. 2004, Vol XXXIX, No 41, p.p.4543-45.

<sup>62</sup> G.A. Oddie , *Christian Conversions in the Telugu Country*, IESHR, Vol. xii, 1, Jan-March- 1975, p.p. 64-65.

<sup>63</sup> Duncan Forester, *Caste and Christianity: Attitudes and policies On Caste Of Anglo- Saxon.*, p.74.

<sup>64</sup> G.A. Oddie, *Hindu and Christian in South-East India*, p. 65

Travancore and Tinnevely churches are known as Nadar churches. The first Bishop of India and Andhra Pradesh, V.S. Azariah, was an offspring of the Nadar mass movements.<sup>65</sup> The Madigas of the cult of Pothuluri Veera brahmam (a sage from Cuddapah) were also in a latter stage drawn to Christianity, as it was more assertive in their claims. Very soon, after their conversion, they received equal treatment in the new faith.<sup>66</sup> Generally, the missionaries had neither desired nor welcomed the conversion of whole social groups. Neither did the caste markers disappear with conversion. Uma Ramaswamy observes that 'missionaries in the Telugu country did nothing to whittle down caste distinctions within the church itself. Rather they exploited caste cleavages in their efforts at conversions'.<sup>67</sup>

Missionaries did not remain blind or mute to the attractions of the Indian culture. The missionaries responded to the pressures of cultural encounter by developing liberal attitudes to Indian culture. Therefore, the missionaries of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in most places maintained caste distinctions, as it would retain some continuity with the traditional structure. Ideologically caste was denounced. In the missionary conference of 1858 they viewed caste as the monster evil of India and resolved to denounce the wickedness of caste in all levels. No man should be regarded as worthy of the name of Christian who refuses to renounce caste. The missionary conference of 1879(Bangalore) was an

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<sup>65</sup> Dornakal in Andhra Pradesh had him the first Bishop. Under him the Anglican Christian population in Dornakal area increased from 56,681 in 1912 to 225,080 in 1941. He sponsored a powerfully challenging mass social movement in Andhra. Judith M. Brown, R.E. Frykenberg, *Christians, Cultural Interactions, and India's Religious Traditions*, Routledge, 2002, p.185.

<sup>66</sup> G. Aloysius, *Nationalism without a Nation in India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1997, p.59

<sup>67</sup> *Economic And Political Weekly*, vol ix, No.47 (Nov, 1974) p.p. 1950- 64 (Uma Ramaswamy – Self Identity Among Scheduled castes: A Case Study of Andhra). This statement by Uma Ramaswamy is controversial. G. Aloysius remarks that the Protestant missionaries uniformly resolved not to give room to caste distinctions in the churches. They believed that the masses would be converted into Christianity only the egalitarianism was main in the mission agenda. G. Aloysius, *Religion As Emancipatory Identity*, New Age International Publishers, New Delhi, 1998, p.p.18-19.

invitation to mass conversions, but reaffirmed the terms opposing caste of the previous conferences. To counter the caste issue, a Caste Suppression Society was formed in 1893. It arranged inter dining and inter caste marriages. But it was no good. After mass conversions, attitudes, tensions and policies on caste changed to a great extent. Gradually many protestant Churches adopted a tolerant attitude and asserted that the caste feelings helped rather than hindered the conversion.<sup>68</sup> In 1889 J. W. Pickett interviewed almost a thousand adult converts from forty-two castes, mainly of sudra rank, but including Brahmans and Vaishyas in Andhra Pradesh. In a high proportion of such interviews, convincing testimonies were heard. Converts from higher castes without exception affirmed that their attitudes towards the depressed castes had changed since they and the depressed castes come under the graces of Christianity. He interviewed about 90% of all higher caste converts in Andhra Pradesh. They attributed their conversion wholly, or in part, to the influence upon them of changes they had observed in converts from the depressed castes. Therefore, the egalitarian conviction of brotherhood improved between the upper and lower castes in the new faith, bridging the gulf initially laid by the notions of caste prejudice and communal enmity. The converts from depressed castes too testified that they (upper caste) recognized now that we too are men and some of those who formerly oppressed us now treat us as blood brothers.<sup>69</sup> However, the lower and upper communities did not merge to form into one social group.

'Saguna', an outstanding literary work, written in 1894, and the first book of its kind, was well received and widely read at that time, even finding its way into the hands of Queen Victoria. Krupabhai had entered in the book an interaction that had taken place

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<sup>68</sup> Stanislaus, *The Liberative Mission of the Church among Dalit Christians*, ISPCK, Delhi, 1999, p. 133.

<sup>69</sup> J.W. Pickett, *Christ Way To India's Heart*, Lucknow, 1937, p.p. 3-61.

between her and an England-Returned young man Barrister of Indian origin. His appearance and speech was similar to that of a typical English gentleman of the 19<sup>th</sup> century .He styled himself as though he was a stranger in his own motherland, and smacked of western artificiality. He claimed England as his home. Krupabhai reminded him of his country, and his old parents.<sup>70</sup> Some Indians like this young man went under the influence of a borrowed culture. Saguna records such instances as she celebrated her own deep-rooted traditions while she also simultaneously resisted mindless borrowing from the west.

The western confrontationalism towards Hinduism does not arise from the Bible and sensitive study of Hinduism but rather from the western cultural and intellectual heritage. Only when this bondage to foreign ways of thought and life is broken, Christianity is Indianised.<sup>71</sup> This version is more acceptable to Hindus listening and responding to Christianity. One missionary, Benjamin Robinson who spent his whole time in India, had flung himself with greater zeal and determination in to the life, language and thought of the people among whom he was appointed to labour<sup>72</sup>. He adopted native food and manners as it would help to make one's work more effective and was the only means of saving missionary work from failure. However, it was felt by few missionaries as the need of the hour and urgent necessity to relate Christ to the background of ancient Indian culture and spiritual heritage but majority of missionaries failed to do so. The missionary confronted but subdued.

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<sup>70</sup> Krupa Bhai Sathianathan, Chandani Lokuge (ed), *Saguna*, p.p.146-147.

<sup>71</sup> Roger E. Hedlund, *Christianity Is Indian: The Emergence of An Indigenous Community*, Revised edition, ISPCK, Delhi, 2004, p.p.20-21.

<sup>72</sup> Benjamin Robinson, *In The Brahmans Holy Land*, Epworth press, London, (n.d), p.p. 57-58.

The clash between East and west is primarily one of culture and civilization. These cultural problems bred tensions in the minds of the converts. Social migration from old allegiance to the new created insecurities and anxieties even became aggressive and violent<sup>73</sup>. Therefore, most converts sought a synthesis of the two cultures, while following the spirituality of their own cultural traditions besides yielding in religious sense to progressive demands of westernization. In this process of cultural synthesis, to relate to the life of Christ, it is necessary to make a serious study of and to be well versed both in Sanskrit or the respective vernaculars and also in Christian theology. The biggest difficulty of the western missionary was in learning to proclaim the Gospel confidently in the language and style of the Indian people.<sup>74</sup> One missionary wrote "some day one will be born who shall rouse India from North to South, and bring it to the feet of Christ. He will not be an English man, but a native of the country, that he might be Indian John Wesley".<sup>75</sup> William Goudie writes 'India will never to any large extent be converted by foreign Missionaries, but by her own sons'. The program of our duty is not the conversion of India, but the raising up of such an Indian church as will send forth her own messengers.<sup>76</sup> Few case studies of such Indians, like Narayan Vaman Tilak, Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya, Nilakantha Nehemiah Goreh, Panditha Ramabhai, Purushottham Choudhary, Pulipaka Jagannadam, Sadhu Sunder Singh etc., who related to the life of Christ and Christian theology shows a movement in that direction.

**Narayan Vaman Tilak (1862-1919):** - Tilak firmly believed that India's spiritual heritage is of great importance for a richer expression of Indian Christianity. Indian

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<sup>73</sup> Gauri Viswanathan, *Out side the Fold: Conversion, Modernity and Belief*, OUP, Delhi, 2001, p.176.

<sup>74</sup> William Goudie, *The Place of The Missionary in the Indian Church*, Excerpts From a Paper, Work And Workers -7(March, 1898), p.121.

<sup>75</sup> Henry Guiliford, *Some Missionary Problems In India*, Work And Workers- 9(MARCH, 1900), p.105.

<sup>76</sup> William Goudie, *The Place of The Missionary in the Indian Church*, Excerpts From a Paper. p.120.

Christianity would become more compatible and favourable to the Indian spirit if Christian ideas were expressed in Indian spiritual forms. Tilak, a poet in Marathi, was born to Chitpavan Brahmin in a family of Ratnagiri in Maharashtra. The other well-known brilliant people from Chitpavan group were Ranade, Ghokale, Lokamanya Tilak, Pandita Rama bhai, Nehemiah Goreh etc;<sup>77</sup> Probably Rev. J.J.Johnson gave a Sanskrit Bible to Tilak. The Sermon on the Mount and Bushnell's book 'The character of Jesus' truly tore his heart, he himself said. He felt that Christ was the Living Guru whom India and the World needed.<sup>78</sup> He was baptised in 1895; He drew inspiration for his own poetic genius from the great poet saints of Maharashtra,<sup>79</sup> especially the most popular of them all-Tukaram. While keeping the original Christian ideas, he took the Hindu cultural expressions to meet the Indian mind.<sup>80</sup> He presented it poetically in his Bhakti Niranjana as 'Christ is life of all that is; Dharma and Artha both is in Indian religious traditions', the male and female aspects of divinity is expressed in the idea of god with a consort goddess. Tilak finds it useful to conceive of the idea of God as Father and Mother in this stanza 'Father and Mother both thou art; whence may I fonder title seeks?'<sup>81</sup> He referred to himself as the elected Tukaram of Maharashtra, a Tukaram and St.Paul blended together. He was intellectually convinced that Christianity was the true religion.

He wrote great Marathi bhajans and enriched the Christian church with Hymns. His great work '*Christayana*' was unfortunately never completed. He realized that a

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<sup>77</sup> Sir Valentine Chirole,

<sup>78</sup> Rebecca J. Parker, *How They Found Christ: Stories of Indian Christians*, ISPCK, London, 1940, p.p.63. The profound conviction that Jesus Christ alone could save his country and all the world was one potent reason leading N.V. Tilak to dedicate his great powers of literary excellency to Christ.

<sup>79</sup> J.C. Winslow, *Narayan Vaman Tilak* (The Christian Poet of Maharashtra), Association Press, YMCA, Calcutta, 1923, p.p.14-28.

<sup>80</sup> Lakshmibai Tilak, '*I Follow After*', p.70.

<sup>81</sup> J.C.Winslow, *Narayan Vaman Tilak*, p.5.

Hindu -Christian synthesis was simply not possible unless the Christian religion had deep roots in Indian culture.<sup>82</sup> At 19, Tilak married Lakshmi bai. At 33 years of age in 1890 he became Christian. For a while his wife remained a Brahmin Hindu and was separated from him. She overcame Brahminical prejudices and reasoned about caste differences when she had made up her mind to join her husband and reasoned like 'did God create different castes, or did man?' Her life was also changed; she chose her husband's faith and was baptized. She adopted two untouchable children also.<sup>83</sup> Tilak passed away on 9th May 1919. He was intellectually convinced that Christianity was true religion. Looking back, the way Tilak's conversion was handled by both missionaries and Tilak himself must be criticized. Tilak left his home telling no one where he was going; the next they heard was the news of his baptism in Bombay. He became a meat-eater and often dressed in western clothes. As his wife did not join him in professing Christ, some Christians urged him to remarry a Christian and even went so far as arranging marriages for him. Thankfully he did not remarry, and eventually (after four and a half years) his wife Lakshmibai joined him. Hindu society, and especially Tilak's own family, reacted with anguish and outrage on learning of his baptism. Lakshmibai especially suffered immensely and attempted suicide a few times. Is it not time for evangelicals to seriously listen to and empathize with the honest expressions of pain from Hindu society at the conversion of one of their friends? Are the true roots and reasons for such distress properly understood and accounted for? Does not the love of Christ demand that strong steps be taken to mitigate anguish that is inevitably felt when a Hindu confesses faith in

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<sup>82</sup> Lakshmibai Tilak, *I Follow After*, p.313.

<sup>83</sup> *Indian Express Front Page*, Friday Oct 23, 1998.



Christ?<sup>84</sup> The answer generally lies in the way Christianity presented to the cross-cultural people. Christianity must be Indianised and de-westernized in the cultural, social, economic and political spheres -all treated evangelically. Christ must be presented as Asiatic and must be distinguished from western culture. Tilak followed Indian road and started a news paper called *"Christi"* and *'Dyanodaya'* where he provided articles on Christian faith for non-Christians and on Indian culture for the Christians. Tilak in his later years adopted Indian asceticism and became a sanyasi. Tilak is a typical extraction convert, pulled from his culture and family to start a whole new life. Tilak initially could only have understood this as part and parcel of following Christ. He would no longer be a Brahmin, but a Christian; like Ruth in the Old Testament. His baptism (at least implicitly) involved the profession to missionaries and Indian Christians that 'your people are now my people', and the Brahmins are no longer "my people". Some will say that such extraction is necessary, but Tilak's testimony indicates otherwise. He was able to rebuild many of his relationships in Hindu society, largely due to his poetic gifts and continued ardent patriotism.<sup>85</sup>

**Nilakanth Nehemiah Goreh** (1825-1885): - Benares, the Ganges city sacred to the Hindus and more commonly called Kashi or Varanasi was a centre of Hindu-Christian interactions during the mid-19th century. The Brahminical custodians of India's great traditions of Hinduism had thickly populated this city, spending time in preserving and learning the ancient Sanskrit literature, the London Missionary Society, Church Missionary Society, Baptist Missionary Society

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<sup>84</sup> Lakshmibai Tilak, *I Follow After*, p.p.122-129.

<sup>85</sup> C.B. Firth, *An Introduction To Indian Church History*, ISPCK, New Delhi, 2000,p.250

Missionaries were active in the city propagating Christianity. Even though missionary presence was there in Benares the pundits of Sanskrit Hinduism made no attempt to respond to the missionary challenge by entering into a dialogue.<sup>86</sup> There was a Benares Sanskrit College, which was established under the British patronage in the late 18th century. One Vitthal Sastry, a Maratha Pundit, who was a lecturer in Benares Sanskrit College, commented on the missionaries as "Krishta Dharma Pracharopagivin", meaning -people who depend for their livelihood on the propagation of Christianity. This led to the constant dialogue-taking place between the missionaries and the Sanskrit pundits.<sup>87</sup> The missionaries used to preach in the Bazars, Ghats, and chowks of the city: seldom there was resistance to missionaries in the mid 1840's. Perhaps for the first time, a 19 years old Maratha youth, a Chitpavan Brahman from Bundhelkhund by the name of Nilakanth Goreh, who confronted the missionary William Smith in the Bazar on religious issues<sup>88</sup>. William Smith, in sarcastic Sanskrit, involved Goreh in the religious discourse. Goreh responded positively to the teaching of Smith.<sup>89</sup> Nilakanth was actually a seeker of the truth. Eventually he was converted to Christianity and received at Baptism the name Nehemiah.

Halbfass says the conversion of Nilakanth was a first attempt of a dialogue between Hinduism and Christianity.<sup>90</sup> There are literary works of Nilakanth's own

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<sup>86</sup> Antony Copley, *Religions in Conflict*, p. 107.

<sup>87</sup> Ballantyne, *Christianity Contrasted with Hindu Philosophy*, Medical Hall Press, Benares, 1860, xli.

<sup>88</sup> Church Missionary Record, Vol. V, No. 6, June 1834, pp.104-106.

<sup>89</sup> M.A. Sherring, *The Missionary Life and Labours: the Rev. William Smith, Missionary of the Church Missionary Society*, Medical Hall Press, Benares, 1879, p. 5. The present author Sherring was also a missionary in Banares, often confronted by people and by the editors of the Dailies. He faced polemic or fierce attacks from all quarters. But no sooner heard of his death than the Dailies published a eulogium on that missionary scholar of his goodness. In spite of reproaches the missionaries won the respect of the people. The Indian Evangelical Review, Vol. LVIII, Oct. 1888, p.189.

<sup>90</sup> Wilhelm Halbfass, *India and Europe-An Essay in Understanding*, State University of New York Press, Albany, 1988, p. 437.

writings which exposes about what Christianity looked like to him as Hindu and what Hinduism looked like to him as a Christian. He wrote three texts series: The first 'Shastratattvavinirnaya' (A verdict on the truth of the scriptures) in Sanskrit (1844-45) explains his pre-conversion. The second 'Vedant mat ka bicar aur Krishtiya mat ka sar:' (An enquiry into vedantism and essence of Christianity) in Hindi (1853) explains his early conversion days. The third 'Shaddarshandarpan' (A mirror of the six Hindu philosophical systems) in Hindi dated in 1860.<sup>91</sup>

Nilakanth served the church missionary society as catechist; William Smith, in his biography of Goreh 'Dwiji' (1850) wrote that a Brahmin twice born had experienced a spiritual rebirth to Christianity. He used to describe his conversion from Hinduism to Christianity, which for him was not from sin but from 'ajnana' (ignorance) to 'jnana' (wisdom), and culturally an important step towards acceptance of a different doctrine. His enlightenment experience, he said in his book 'An Enquiry into Vedantism and the Essence of Christianity' (1853), was not Hindu asceticism (vairagya) or world renunciation (sanyasa), because he exercised his new faith through the material world, while simultaneously loving god. In the last years of his life Goreh became a Christian Sanyasi of theological orientation. Ballantyne, an oriental philosopher from Scotland, came as a superintendent of Sanskrit college. He followed a very different programme for an interfaith dialogue among the pundits of Benares and the Christianity in the premises of the college. Nilakantha's life was tinctured with Vedanta. He contradicted the Vedanta of Ballantyne as he was defining the transforming Vedanta of Nilakanth himself in a way that was new and original. The argument of Nilakanth was that there was no middle

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<sup>91</sup> Nehemiah Goreh, *A letter to the Brahmos from a converted Brahmin of Benares*, Baptist mission press, Calcutta, 1867, p. 53.

ground between his Vedanta and Christianity and his Hindu Vedanta was encompassed by Christianity .He knew that the Vedanta was a reason and Christianity was a transforming faith. His style of functioning and writing was Indianising and dewesterning in the cultural, socio, economic and political spheres. Max Muller twice met Nilakanth in Oxford and had a dialogue.<sup>92</sup>

**Brahmabandav Upadhyaya:** (1861-1907) In Christian ecclesiological history, a leading personality was Brahmabandav Upadhyaya. He was born to Bhavani Charan Banerjee at Khanyan near Calcutta. In his youth he was influenced by Brahmo samaj of Keshub Chandra Sen and served as missionary of the Brahmo samaj. In 1888 he joined as a teacher, at this time he happened to convert to Christianity and attached himself to Roman Catholic Church. He then decided to bring India to Christ. He tried to find a synthesis between the religion he was born in and the religion he stepped in i.e. Christianity. From 1892 to 1898 he envisioned the idea of Indian or Hindu Christianity, which he believed would gather more hearers to the new faith. He wore the saffron robe of a sanyasin and communicated his ideas through his magazines 'Sophia' and 'The Twentieth Century'. He contributed a lot to the cultural harmony between Hinduism and Christianity. In 1899 he started a monastery at Jabalpur where the interfaith practices of Indian asterism and present Christian beliefs were observed. In 1902 he left for England on his mission of religious dialogue. He came back with a heavy heart of repentance for having uncritically accepted western materialism.<sup>93</sup> He played a great role while Vivekananda started the department of Hindu philosophy in both Oxford and Cambridge.

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<sup>92</sup> M.D. David, *Missions: Cross Cultural Encounter And Change In Western India* ISPCK, 2001, p.358.

<sup>93</sup> Indian Church History Review (ICHR), Vol. XXI, No.1, June 1987, p.18.

On his return he revived his journalist vocation and founded the daily '*Sandhya*'.<sup>94</sup> While Bengal was stirred up on Curzon's announcement of Partition *Sandhya* played a significant role in the political history of the country insisting the people upon working for Swaraj. Upadhyaya, the editor, and his associates were arrested. He observed during his trial 'I do not believe that in carrying out my humble share of the God –appointed mission of swaraj, I am in any way accountable to the alien people who happen to rule over us'. He was released and was affected by serious health problems and died on October 27th in 1907. Bipin Chandra Pal entered Bengal politics late in the year 1905, whereas till then it was Upadhyaya who stood alone from the beginning of the movement. Pal himself told that 'of all men, it was he who imparted a militant character to our Swadeshi movement'. Apart from his Christian idealism, he was also one of the pioneers in sowing the seeds of nationalism in the hearts of Indians. He also published a monthly, '*The Harmony*' where he best expressed his views on the synthesis of Hinduism and Christianity, and making Hindu philosophy the handmaid of Christianity.<sup>95</sup>

**Pandita Ramabai** (1858-1922): - Pandita Ramabai Saraswati was one of the pioneering Indian women to propagate education for women in India. Her father, Anant Shastri Dongre, was a liberal and progressive man who encouraged his daughter's education in Sanskrit despite contemporary belief that such an education was improper for young girls. Her mother taught her and her brother at home. The family was touring the places of religious importance chanting the sacred verses of Hindu scriptures in temples and public places.<sup>96</sup> Ramabai had inherited from her parents the courage to defy

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<sup>94</sup> *Indian Express Front Page*, Friday Oct 23, 1998.

<sup>95</sup> *Indian Church History Review*, , p.p.24-25.

<sup>96</sup> C.B. Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, p.193.

orthodox social customs, when she married Bipin Behare Medhavi, a lower caste man and a friend of her brother. During this period sir Isaac Allen, a Christian missionary in Sylhet often visited their house. She got a copy of Luca's Subha Varthaman of the New Testament. She explains that 'I had lost faith in the religion of my fore fathers. I was in search for something better. I wanted to read and understand more about Christianity'. She was very much convinced of Christianity and was led to Christ by Nilakanth Nehemiah Goreh, another chitpavan Brahman convert like her. She was also critical of the domination of the Christian clergy and said 'to a member of the church of Christ. ...I am not bound to accept every word. ...from the lips of the priests or Bishops. Obedience to the word of God is quite different from perfect obedience to priests' only. I have just with great effort freed myself from the yoke of the Indian priestly tribe, So I am not at present willing to place myself under another similar yoke'. Unfortunately, within two years of her marriage, her husband died and in 1882, Ramabai Saraswati returned to Pune.<sup>97</sup>

Ramabai Saraswati laid the foundation of the movement of women's liberation in India and was also the first woman to establish a women's association in western India, the Arya Mahila Samaj in 1882. The aims of the Samaj were: "(1) to work for the deliverance of women from the evil practices such as child marriage, Sati etc., and (2) to work for the betterment of the condition of women. In 1882 she expressed her plans on women's education before Hunter commission and proposed women teachers and Inspectors for Girls schools. She also suggested that 'women feel shy of male doctors and that leads to deaths in pregnancy and maternity'. As a result of it, Lady Duffrin responded

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<sup>97</sup> Sushila Nayar, Kamala Mankekar ( ed ), *Women Pioneers in India's Renaissance: As I remember Her*, National Book Trust, New Delhi, 2002, p. 43.

positively and had medical dispensaries started for women and Ramabai herself opened Sharda Sadan, which was a school for girls, a Home for widows and a vocational training centre.

Pandita Ramabai Saraswati wrote many books during her life, in both the Marathi and English languages. '*The High Caste Hindu Widow*', was a book that Ramabai Saraswati wrote as an appeal to American women, in order to expose to her readers the plight of Indian women and to give assistance to the widows and destitute women of India.<sup>98</sup> She wrote many instances from her own experiences in this book and she was very critical over the Laws of Manu. She criticized Manu as one who treated women as hateful beings in the world. Women were forbidden of chanting the sacred scriptures and thus:

'She, the loving mother of the nation, the devoted wife, the tender sister and affectionate daughter is never fit for independence'.

She also attacked men for their exploitation of the ignorance and backwardness of the women.<sup>99</sup> She also made men responsible for their misconduct, as was the case with the women for their misconduct. She reviled the terms of the patriarchal discourse, both in scriptures and in the current time as advantageous only to men.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> C.B.Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, p.194.

<sup>99</sup> E.F. Chapman, *Sketches of Some Distinguished Indian Women*, W.H. Allen & Co. Ltd, London, 1891, p.p.44-45.

<sup>100</sup> The fifth session of the Indian national Congress was held in Bombay in 1889. Ramabai rose to address the gathering. The people at the back rows were not able to listen to her. "Brothers excuse me for centuries did you ever try to listen to the voice of a woman? Did you give her the strength to make her voice audible to you?" The participants had no reply. No woman delegate represented the Congress till that time. But for the efforts of Ramabai nine woman delegates were present in the session. Sushila Nayar, Kamala Mankekar, ed., *Women Pioneers in India's Renaissance*, p.37.

In her book, Ramabai also dealt with poverty and misfortunes of widowhood. She argued that 'Suttee' the self-immolation of widows on their deceased husband's pyre was "a custom invented by the priesthood." She again says "Now that the Suttee-rite, partly by the will of the people and partly by the law of the empire, is prohibited, many good people feel easy in their minds, thinking that the Hindu widow has been delivered from the hand of her terrible fate; but little do they realize the true state of affairs." She blamed the authorities that the abolition of Suttee was not the liberation of Indian women, but actually a form of further control and repression for women: "the poor helpless high-caste widow with the one chance of ending her miseries in the Suttee rite taken away from her, remains as in past ages with no one to help her."<sup>101</sup> The reform movement to protect Hindu widows, she argues, was insignificant and meaningless in comparison to the suffering that living widows confront in their day-to-day life. "The momentary agony of suffocation in the flames is nothing compared to her lot as a widow."<sup>102</sup>

During the Plague epidemic in Pune, and famine relief works in Madhya Pradesh and Gujarath, men sold women and children to fetch their food to sustain themselves. She received such discarded destitutes in to her Home. Ramabai inherited this vigour of protest and struggle from her father and a spirit of love for others from her practising Christian faith.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> The Hindu, Millennium: Jan 23, 2000; *Front Line, The Hindu*: Vol. 19-issue 23, Nov 9 – 22, 2002.

<sup>102</sup> In her book '*Between the Twilights*' (1908), p.p.144-46, Cornelia Sorabji says that 'nothing can minimize the evils of her lot. For some sin committed in a previous birth, the gods have deprived her of a husband. What is left to her now but to work out his 'salvation' and by her prayers and penances to win him a better place in his next genesis...For the mother-in-law what is left but the obligation to curse...But for this luckless one, her son might still be in the land of the living...There is no determined animosity in the attitude. The person cursing is as much an instrument of Fate as the person cursed'.

<sup>103</sup> Geraldine Forbes, *Women in Modern India*, Foundation Books, New Delhi, 2002, p.p.46-49.



**Purushotham Choudhary** (1803 -1890): - William Carey has provided the Andhra people with the Telugu Bible, translated from the old and original tongues of Hebrew and the Greek. Nevertheless, Purushotham Choudhary enriched the Telugu Church music and hymns with an amalgam of Hindu lyrical tradition and Christian faith. In his hymns he had made use of all the music and the rhythm that the Telugu language could produce.<sup>104</sup>

He was born in 1803 in a family of Bengali Brahmins Kurmanath Choudhary and Subhadra Devi, who settled in Parlakamidi Zamindari. His ancestors served as Mirasidars (Tax Collectors) in the native kingdoms and in the service of East India Company, and therefore, they were honored with the title of Choudhary. In his early childhood, Purushotham involved himself in all observances of Hindu rituals and practiced bhakti, jnana, karma, and yoga of Hindu Vedanta. He adopted a teaching profession and took interest in writing insightful Prose and Poetry in Telugu. He led an ascetic life during the days of his spiritual unrest in the company of Digambara Sanyasis.<sup>105</sup>

One Gospel Tract of William Carey of Serampore mission fell in his hands and he was curious to learn more Christian Scriptures. Finally it led him to accept Christianity. In 1833 he denounced links with his caste and claims to property and was baptized by Rev. Charles Lacy.<sup>106</sup> Very soon he was alienated from his family and friends and endured persecutions from his kith and kin. Even his wife disassociated herself for a time being and later in 1835, she took the religion of her husband. He later joined as a catechist in the Baptist mission. He led five Gospel campaigns covering a distance of

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<sup>104</sup> C.B.Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, p. 250.

<sup>105</sup> James Jayasheel Choudhary (Composer-) *Andhra Kraistava Sarvabhooma: Purushotham Choudhary*, Rajahmundry.

<sup>106</sup> Job Sudarsanam, *Great Cloud of Witnesses*, Jeevan Jyothi Press, Narsapur, 1986, p.7.

4000 miles through the length and breadth of the Telugu country alluring Telugu people with his Sanskrit-Telugu hymns. Choudhary grew up familiarizing himself with the great traditions of poetry in Andhra. He drew his inspiration in producing poetry from his own poetic genius and combined it with a rich Hindu inheritance of religious poetry .He introduced theme songs of contextual meaning to everyday life of humans. He tried to blend the old religious poetry with contextual meaning in Christian life and the independent and indigenous Christian ideas mostly preoccupied the poetic style and literary works imbibed in the Hindu vocabulary of Choudhary. He wrote hymns: Trahimam Kristunatha', Mangalam Yesunaku', Deva divyananthaprabhava mampahi Ghana Yehova. His religious poetry consists of 180 hymns and religious songs, such as kirtans, bhajans, dvipada songs etc., He felt that he should make full use of the glorious lyrical heritage of Andhra set by Annamachary, Kshetrappa and Thyagaraja in his kirtans, bhajans and dvipada songs.<sup>107</sup> Muktimaya pradarshanam (1833), Yesunayaka satakam (1845), Jagannadha pariksha (1846), Nistara ratnakaram (1847), Vighrahanirmanam, Panchachamara pannamulu, Pancharatnamulu (1851), Kraistavaneethi prakasam, Brahma gnanam(1853), Satyaveda sara sagraham(1871), Satya bhajana(1874) were some of his works. He added an Indian spiritual flavour of poetic, philosophic, spiritual and cultural insights while providing a more referred language of worship among the Andhra Christians. Almost all the Telugu Hindu tunes that were in vogue among the Telugus were applied in his compositions.<sup>108</sup> Today there is no Telugu Christian in the entire world, who does not know the name of Purushotham Choudhary, as he is immortal in

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<sup>107</sup> Ravela Joseph, *Bhakti Theology of Purushotham Choudhary*, CLS, Chennai, 2004, p.p.126-130.

<sup>108</sup> John Choudhari, *Biography of The Rev. Purushotham Choudhari*, CLS, madras, 1906, p.28.

every soul through his songs. The Brethren missionaries in association with other missions composed the Andhra Christian Hymnal where his hymns were placed in bulk.

**Pulipaka Jagannadham:** - (1826-1896) Mr. Thomas was a District Judge stationed at Rajamundry about 1838. He and Mrs. Thomas<sup>109</sup> spent a few days in Samuldevi village in the Godavari district in their temporary hot season retreat in that year, where the Brethren missionaries Mr. Beer and Bowden used to visit them from Narsapur and distribute tracts in and around Samuldevi village. A Brahmin brought the tract back to Beer and asked him to explain it. He further requested Beer to start an English oriented school at Samuldevi. Therefore Mr. Thomas and Beer made their mind to setup a school there. In the meantime Mr. Thomas was shifted on transfer to Chittoor. Hence the plan did not materialize. This event prejudiced many young boys, among who was a Brahmin boy, Pulipaka Jagannadham. Mr. Beer visited him many times and gave tracts in English these induced him with a desire to learn English.<sup>110</sup>

Jagannadham was born and brought up in Samuldevi and had family connections with Narsapur where Mr. Beer was residing. Jagannadham was discouraged when the school in Samuldevi remained a distant dream and was admitted to an English school in Visakhapatnam under Mr. Hay, the missionary custodian of the school.

Jagannadham grew up as a most zealous Hindu, very orthodox in observing the rituals and rites directed by shastras. He was a Vishnavite and thoroughly pursued Bhagavatha, and was staunchly devoted to the worship of Vishnu. He was the most

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<sup>109</sup> She was Julia Thomas, identified with '*Letters From Madras During 1836-1839 By A Lady* (London, 1846). She and her husband were friendly with Brethren missionaries and made special mention of A. N. Groves at Chittoor, op.cit p.72.

<sup>110</sup> E.B. Bromley, *They Were Men Sent From God*, The Scripture Literature Press, Bangalore, 1937, p.p.54-56.

superstitious caste Hindu boy in Mr. Hays school. He was already in touch with the Christian literature through Mr. Beer at his native village Samuldevi. His great ambition to learn English led him to read the Bible as it was one of the subjects of instruction in Hay's school. In spite of his increased opposition he was convinced that he was a most sinful man, and in need of salvation through Christ. He turned in his misery to Hindu Vedanta. After a while when the death of his older brother occurred, he was convinced of the uncertainty of life. He was converted to Christianity in 1847. His family, relatives and a hoard of people, enraged by his conversion, stormed into the school. Soon his family members had him arrested and he was brought before the Magistrate. He declared he was a Christian and nobody compelled him to change his religion. Nearly ten thousand people awaited on the roads to kidnap Jagannadham and Mr. Hay's party. The sepoys took care of the situation and escorted the party to safety. Thus, his family and relatives deserted Jagannadham.<sup>111</sup> He became a prominent church member and was a faithful pastor for thirty-eight years working in and around Vizag. He wrote excellent Telugu hymns in the Andhra Christian Hymnal following the Hindu traditional tunes and composed Andhra Christian Poetry.<sup>112</sup> He also took up the task of translating the Bible into Telugu along with the son of the Brethren missionary, Mr. Beer

**Sadhu Sunder Singh** (1889-1929): - Sundar Singh was one of the earliest pioneers practicing Christian faith in an indigenous way. The religious and cultural environment of his day turned him as an Indian Christian sadhu. Many missionaries and even Indian leaders of Christianity recognized him as a highly radical convert, who went beyond the bounds of contemporary Christianity as he wandered the roads in his yellow

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<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.* p.56.

<sup>112</sup> C.B. Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History.*, p.250.

robe and turban of a sadhu. He had ventured to establish indigenization of Christianity and to him Jesus looked more like an Indian.

He was born in a traditional Sikh family and was raised a devout Sikh and was brought up by his mother to become a Hindu sadhu. His mother led him very often to sit at the feet of a sadhu, who lived in a jungle, besides sending him to a mission school. Her death in his fourteenth year turned him desperate and violent.<sup>113</sup> He blasphemed against the missionaries and their converts for his misfortune. He bought a new Bible and set to fire, page after page, while his friends were watching. As he was contemplating suicide Christ appeared to him and his spiritual quest was satisfied.<sup>114</sup> On his 16th birthday he was publicly baptized in the church at Simla. He was expelled from his family in view of the severity of his caste regulations. He became a bridge between Indian religious culture and the Christian faith and travelled to different places as a wandering sanyasi, as was done by innumerable sadhus over centuries in India.<sup>115</sup> He made it clear that Christianity was not an imported, alien, foreign religion but is indigenous to Indian needs.<sup>116</sup>

His books have remained as a lasting contribution to indigenous Christianity in India. The sadhu's writings have an irresistible appeal to the Indian mind. *'At the master's feet'*, a book, was first published in 1922. He emphasized on renunciation and

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<sup>113</sup> Roger E. Hedlund, *Christianity Is Indian: The Emergence of An Indigenous Community*, Revised edition, ISPCK, Delhi, 2004, p.p.113-114.

<sup>114</sup> Mrs. Arthur Parker, *Sadhu Sunder Singh*, New York, 1920, p.120.

<sup>115</sup> Daniel Johnson Fleming, *Building With India, Missionary Education Movement Publication*, New York, 1922, p.p.190-191.

<sup>116</sup> Sadhu Sunder Singh envisaged the Indian Christianity upon one incident took place in a train compartment. A Brahmin had collapsed in the hot summer for want of water. The Anglo-Indian stationmaster brought a cup of water in the next station. The Brahmin, a high caste Hindu was unwilling to drink the water. He needed water but he could only accept it in his own drinking vessel and when that was brought he drank and revived. In the same way Sunder Singh was convinced India would not accept Gospel of Christ offered in western guise. That, he recognized, was why many listeners responded to him in his Hindu Sadhu's robe. Ibid.p.191.

dedication and preached the Biblical Gospel to Indians in the Indian form. He used to spend much of his time spreading Gospel to the villages at the very foot of Himalayan Mountains and sharing the same with the sadhus of jungles. In the year 1912 he found a 300-year-old Christian hermit in a mountain cave of the maharishi of Kailash with whom he spent some weeks in deep fellowship.<sup>117</sup> In 1918-20 he traveled in South India, Ceylon, China, Japan, U.K, U.S.A and Australia where he was appalled by the materialism, emptiness and irreligion, contrary to Asia's awareness of God. He lived till 1929 to introduce his own people to "the Christ of Indian road".

The above sketch of the lives of Indian converts made head way deep in to confrontational issues between Indian and western cultures and adopted more favourable measures of inculturation.

Indian Christianity was believed to have been brought by St. Thomas in the 1<sup>st</sup> century of Christian era. When Portuguese first arrived in India, it was said that they observed that the churches much-resembled Hindu temples and the early Christians practiced oriental Christianity.<sup>118</sup> When Indian Christianity came into contact with the West, it lost its earlier form. However the Catholic Christians had made progress in Indianisation. The Protestants too were heading towards indianisation, rather cautiously. V. Chakkarai, P. Chenchaiyah, Sadhu Sunder Singh, Sadhu Yoseph and Bishop Appaswamy, who were of the Bhakti strand of Indian thought, accepted Jesus as the avatar and manifestation of God. Indian Christian workers conferences were held till

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<sup>117</sup> C.B.Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, p.252.

<sup>118</sup> *Ithihas*, XI, I, 1983, p.109; E. M. Philip, *The Indian Church of St. Thomas*, Nagercoil, L.M.S. Press, 1950. Nathan Katz and Ellen Goldberg, *The last Jews of Cochin*, Columbia, University of South Carolina, 1993, p. 53.

1914 in connection to the contextualisation of Christianity to Indian culture and form. Bhajans, Kirtans, Burrakathas etc. were composed and practiced with the advent of Ashram system i.e. Christukula Ashram, Seva sangh and Dhyan sangh systems from about 1921 onwards.<sup>119</sup> Rt. Rev. P. Solomon, Rtd. Bishop of CSI, started Dhyan ashram in Paloncha and similar ashrams were established in Nandyal diocese of Andhra Pradesh. Even the titles of Church personnel was recommended to be revised, Bishop as sabha sevak, Moderator as Prarthana sevak and presbyter as sangha sevak, the congregation as sangham and the diocese as mandala sabha. The fact here emphasized was that the Indian student (trained under a foreign missionary) who returns as a missionary to his own people is likely to be a far better missionary than any foreigner and he and his indigenous approach is more favoured by people of his own culture.<sup>120</sup>

As I discussed in the first Chapter, British imperial power, westernization etc, had made Christianity in India quite central to many cultural debates and encounters. To say in other words, conversion and Christianity became far more problematic and challenging than it had been in the previous centuries. Likewise the presence of English missionaries became ambiguous, and at times, even threatening to those Indians who were seeking to understand and reformulate their traditions and identities in Christian pattern. In these complex processes Christian practice and belief were themselves modified by the encounter with South Asian religions, simultaneously contributing to the processes of religious and cultural revaluation and reform in the subcontinent. In the long imperial history, the Church of England or the Anglican missions firmly represented imperial

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<sup>119</sup> C.B.Firth, *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, p.254-258.

<sup>120</sup> *Echoes Quarterly Review*, A Journal of Brethren, Published by Echoes of Service, Bath, England, Vol. 20 No. 4, Oct – Dec, 1968, p. 23.

ecclesiology in India where as one large sect, the Brethren missionaries or the Brethren movement, was the first of its kind, anti-imperialist and anti-racist in attitude and manners, which represented Asiatic Christianity of 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. and contributed to the shaping of indigenous Christianity and Indian leadership. Brethren movement was wide enough to absorb in its fold all that is good in the indigenous culture. In this connection, a survey of the conditions in Andhra are dealt in detail under the succeeding heading to follow, at the instance of ever first footing laid by the Brethren missionaries in Andhra.



## POLITICAL, SOCIO, ECONOMIC AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS OF 18<sup>th</sup> AND 19<sup>th</sup> CENTURY ANDHRA

The area of the present study 'Andhra', consists of the Coastal districts and Rayalaseema districts of Andhra Pradesh<sup>121</sup>. The area is located between Northern latitudes 12°14' and 19°15' and the eastern latitudes 84°50' and 85°12' and is bounded by the Bay of Bengal on the east, Tamil Nadu on the south, Karnataka on the west, Telangana of Andhra Pradesh and Orissa on the north. This study area has a coast of 950 kms along the Bay of Bengal. The population of the area was 2,02,16,637 in 1951. 1953 marked the formation of the separate state of Andhra, until then the Telugu country formed part of the Madras presidency<sup>122</sup>. The Telengana of present Andhra Pradesh was an integral part of a large section of the dominion of the Nizam of Hyderabad on the northwest side. Andhradesa was over a hundred thousand sq.miles or nearly twice the area of England (see Map of Andhra at the end page of this volume). Really, the Andhras were 'the pride of the orient'.

The term Andhra is an archaic phrase appearing from hoary past. If one understands the term: 'An' meaning 'not' and 'dra' from the root 'dru' in Sanskrit meaning to run, therefore the word 'Andra' would mean, not driven, could not be driven or withstood and consequently resisted<sup>123</sup>. Later on Andhras formed a race of mixed

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<sup>121</sup> The Eleven Districts of Andhra have an area of 67,212,98 sq.miles and spread about 52.7% of the Madras Presidency. The Districts comprised of the Ceded or Rayalaseema Districts of Cuddapah, Anantapur and Kurnool (Bellary), the Chittoor and Nellore and the Northern Circars comprising Srikakulam (Ganjam), Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna and Guntur. Dr.A.G.Menon, *An Inquiry on the Socio-Economic Policy of the British Rule in Madras Presidency and its impact on Freedom movement in Andhra and Kerala 1905-1942*, Hyderabad, 1992, p.90.

<sup>122</sup> *Andhra Pradesh Darsini* (Telugu), Hyderabad, 1976, p.81.

<sup>123</sup> It is said that the Andhras drove the Aryans. Therefore, the Aryans addressed the Andhras as 'Paisachas' or demons (terrible Andhras) and their language 'Paisachi'. J.M. Anthos, *The Origin and the Glorious Past of the Andhras: A Historical Sketch*, A.E.S, Reprint ed., New Delhi, 1989, p.p.40-44.

origin- Aryo-Andhras. As the time went on the Andhras were scattered over a large tract of land known as 'Trilinga' or 'Andhradesa'. 1500 years before the advent of Christ, the merchants of Andhra brought muslins, silks, spices and pearls to the known world. The ships of Assyria and Babylonia sailed forth in all their glory to buy from Andhra and other parts of India, the teak wood, where with the people of Ur built their palaces and the gold of the east, with which they adorned their maidens and gilded their temples<sup>124</sup>. Solomon, the king of Israel summoned skilled men from Tyre to bring gold, ivory, sandalwood and silver from the east. Thus the early greatness and glory of Andhras were washed away by the tides of time<sup>125</sup>.

#### **Political Conditions: -**

In the heyday of Vijayanagar Empire in the Deccan, its rulers extended their sway to the uttermost borders of South India. Nevertheless, during an infamous rule of the Saluvas, the Portuguese made inroads into South India in 1498<sup>126</sup>. In quick succession, the Dutch, the English and the French East India companies entered the arena of commercial contest for spice trade. Concerning the rule of Great Mughals, a period of disintegration set in after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 and continued to be ineffectual over South India<sup>127</sup>. The Deccan subha, which was under the Mughals, was divided into twenty-two paraganas<sup>128</sup> and the state of Golconda, which was one of them, stretched afar into Ganjam in the east coast and comprised entire Andhradesa. The period between 1707 and 1761 witnessed the rise of the provinces or princely states against Delhi. One

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid, p.p.1-2.

<sup>125</sup> K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, Oxford, 1955.

<sup>126</sup> P.Raghunadha Rao, *History and Culture of Andhra Pradesh: From the Earliest Times to Present Day*, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, Reprint, 1995,p.112.

<sup>127</sup> K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, G. Srinivasachari, *Advanced History of India*, New Delhi, 1989, p.p. 551-583

<sup>128</sup> F.R. Hemmingway, *Madras District Gazatteers-Godavary*, Vol. I, Madras, 1907, p.29.

such attempt was made by Mir Kamaruddin (who assumed the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk), a noble and a courtier of the Mughal emperor, Muhammad Shah, in 1724, carving out for him an independent kingdom in erstwhile Deccan subha with their capital (initial) at Aurangabad<sup>129</sup>.

Besides the Marathas, the Nizam of Hyderabad in Deccan, who became an almost independent warlord recognized the Mughal emperor in name only. The Nizam used to rely on the support of the lesser nobility, the Nawabs of Carnatic, Kurnool and Cuddapah in Rayalaseema and the Rajahas and the Zamindars in the Coastal Andhra. Wars of succession followed in both the provinces of Deccan and Carnatic about 1748<sup>130</sup>. This breakdown of authority gave an opportunity as well as an excuse for East India trading companies to enter the political scenario of Andhra and Deccan and to stabilize themselves in power.

It was said of the Portuguese of their connections with the Telugus as 'except for missions, the range of Portuguese influences was limited by the extent of their territorial possessions'.<sup>131</sup> The Dutch and the French disputed the rising influence of the English<sup>132</sup>. The Dutch met its doom at last. In their flourishing days the Dutch had chaplains in India, who were called 'predikants', and they seem to have devoted themselves more to the subversion of Roman Catholics than to the evangelization of the people<sup>133</sup>. The early

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<sup>129</sup> *Ibid*, p.569

<sup>130</sup> R.C. Majumdar, V.G. Dighe (ed) *The Maratha Supremacy (History and Culture of Indian People, Vol. viii)*, New Delhi, 1977, p.p. 119-123, 323, 325-29

<sup>131</sup> L.S.S. O'Malley, *Modern India and the West*, OUP, 1941, p.47.

<sup>132</sup> Om Prakash, *European Commercial Enterprise in Pre-Colonial India*, The New Cambridge History of India, Cambridge, 1998, Vol.II, chapter 5.

<sup>133</sup> Stephen Neill, *The Story of the Christian Church in India and Pakistan*, CLS, Madras, 1972, p.58.

settlements of the Dutch in coastal Andhra<sup>134</sup> were also the earliest attempts at the introduction of Protestant influences in Andhra.

With the establishment of the authority of the English East India Company, there started an important, fascinating and culminating chapter in the history of India in general and the Deccan in particular<sup>135</sup>. The English traders<sup>136</sup> founded colonies at Machilipatnam and afterwards at Madras, Hoogli and Calcutta<sup>137</sup> on the East coast, and a chaplain was settled at each station. The first Anglican Church<sup>138</sup> was built in Fort St. George in 1680.

Arriving at the situation in Andhra, earlier the English had concentrated their energies on Masulipatnam, the principal port of the kingdom of Golconda on the East coast<sup>139</sup>. They used to purchase the locally woven piece goods, which they exported to Persia and Bantam in Java. In 1632 they obtained from the Sultan of Golconda a Golden Firman<sup>140</sup>, which permitted them to trade freely in the ports of Golconda on payment of 500 pagodas as duty. After completion of the construction of Fort St. George, which was

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<sup>134</sup> M. Venkatarangaiya, ed., *The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh (Andhra)*, Vol. I, APSA & RI, Hyderabad, 1997, p.p.7-9. The Dutch had their factories in Palkol, Narsapur, Jagannayaka puram, Masulipatnam and Bhimunipatnam. One English Company agent writes 'the Dutch have there (Pulicat) a factory of a large compound where they do dye much blew cloth, having above three hundred jars set in the ground for that work; also they make many their best paintings there, the town being first rented by them at 2000 old pagodas, and is now given them free by the king'. Notes on and Extracts from the Govt. Records of Fort St. George. Second series, 1871, p.32.

<sup>135</sup> Dennis Kincaid, *British Social Life in India*, London, 1939, Prologue, p.1.

<sup>136</sup> Foster, W. ed., *Early Travels in India, 1538-1619*, Reprint in India, New Delhi, 1968.

<sup>137</sup> E.W. Thompson, *History of India*, CLS, London, 1908, p.245.

<sup>138</sup> Mughal emperors from Akbar to Aurangzeb were not indifferent to Christianity. Jahangir used to visit the church on Christmas days (Austin or Bordeaux's Letter dated April 7, 1632) and Aurangzeb had regard for Christianity and he treated the Bible with respect and kissed it. *Indian Antiquities*, XXXV, 1906, p.p.205-206.

<sup>139</sup> J. Churchill, ed., *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, Vol.I, London, 1704, p.443; W. Foster, *The English Factories in India*, Oxford, 1908, p.p. 28 and 51.

<sup>140</sup> The Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, Vol. III, 1918, p. xi.

started by Francis Day<sup>141</sup> at Madras by 1641, Madras soon superseded Masulipatnam as the headquarters of the English Settlements on the Coramandal Coast. The English warehouses at new trade centers, Injaram and Bendamurlanka of the Godavari were also prospering till the armies of the French at Rajahmundry took possession of the coastal trade centers in 1757<sup>142</sup>. During the phase from 1750 (or 1760) to 1800, the English had prevailed over the French and emerged as a super power over the major parts of South India, in all practicability by the close of eighteenth century.

As mentioned earlier, the Nizams of Hyderabad established their hereditary rule in Coastal Andhra as part of the Deccan subha since 1724. For the purpose of administration, it was divided into various circars ranging from Ganjam to Guntur. They were Chicacole, Rajahmundry, Ellore, Kondapalli and Guntur, each under a Fauzdar. The Rayalaseema districts of Cuddapah, Kurnool and Anantapur were under the control of the Nawabs of Cuddapah, Kurnool and Adoni, who were again the vassals under Nizam<sup>143</sup>. In the political hierarchy existing in Andhra, the lower stratum of leaders were petty chiefs like the Polygars in Rayalaseema and the Rajahs and Zamindars in Coastal districts, who exercised extensive hereditary rights in collecting revenue and maintaining

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<sup>141</sup> Ibid, p. xii; Mr. Day was one of the council at Masulipatnam and the head of the factory at Armagaon, who negotiated with the Rajah of Chandragiri, a descendent of Vijayanagar kings and acquired a land of 5 miles in length and one mile in breadth by the local governor Damerla Venkatadri, where the said fort was built and the place known by the name Chenna patnam after the name of Chennappa, the father of Damerla Venkatadri. C.D. Maclean, ed., *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. II, Reprint, New Delhi, 1989, p.p.279-281.

<sup>142</sup> *The Fifth Report*, p. xv; Report of Fort St. George, Letters to Fort St. George, April 28, 1703, p.59; RFSG, letters to Fort St. George, Dec. 28, 1710, p.p.4-5; RFSG, Diary, 1711, p.66.

<sup>143</sup> The Fifth Report, op-cit., p.p.11-18.

law and order. They had their own band of army to meet these goals. Their collection of tax was kind of barbaric and people suffered a great deal<sup>144</sup>.

### **Annexation of Coastal Andhra (Northren Circars) :-**

Generally, the annexation of Andhra by the English began from 1764 onwards till 1800 or 1802, featured in terms of constant negotiations and pitched battles carried out by the English exclusively with the local chiefs of both the zamindars of Coastal Andhra and the Polygars of Rayalaseema and Nellore (South Andhra). A treaty was signed in 1766 to cede entire Coastal Andhra (Northern Circars) to the English<sup>145</sup>. The English were patiently overcoming the hurdles one after the other. About 1767 the relations between Nizam and the English were strained as the Nizam entered into an alliance with Hyder Ali of Mysore against the British. The English armies advanced towards Hyderabad and this brought the two opposite camps to another treaty in 1768. The treaty once more confirmed the sovereignty of the English over Coastal Andhra from Ganjam to Guntur. The Guntur (Murtaza nagar) circar, at that time, was under the rule of Basalat Jung, a brother of Nizam. It took another twenty years for the English to own it in 1788 after the death of Basalat Jung<sup>146</sup>.

During the period from 1768 to 1794 the English resorted to subversive methods against the Zamindars of Coastal Andhra<sup>147</sup>. They understood that the Zamindars were

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<sup>144</sup> H.H. Dodwell, *The Cambridge History of India Vol.V, British India (1497-1858)*, Chand & Co., New Delhi, p. 474.

<sup>145</sup> C.D. Maclean, ed., *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. II, Reprint, New Delhi, 1989, p.p.272-278.

<sup>146</sup> *The Fifth Report*, p.p.15-18.

<sup>147</sup> In 1784 the circuit committee, in reporting on the district brought it to the notice of the Madras government. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series*, Madras, I, 1908, p.255.

neither lords nor proprietors<sup>148</sup>, therefore, made up their mind to reduce the power of Zamindars in Northern Circars. In 1803 the introduction of Permanent settlement in the Northern Circars was a last glow of the diminishing powers of the Zamindars. However, two thirds of the gross produce received by the Zamindars from ryots was fixed as Peshcush or the share of the Circar<sup>149</sup>. Defaulted Zamindars and their lands came to be owned by the government. Vast majority of villages in Godavari, Krishna and Guntur districts became the government property<sup>150</sup>. Sir Thomas Munroe, the governor of Madras visited coastal Andhra in 1822 and was moved by the deplorable condition of the cultivator at all times, and saw some lands under the Zamindari estates come under the ryotwari system of assessment<sup>151</sup>. The constructions of Godavary anicut in 1847 and of the Krishna anicut in 1853 by Sir. Arthur Cotton were an added strength to the ryotwari system. The real ryotwari system worked out in Andhra only during the administration of the Crown<sup>152</sup>. The Estates Land Act of 1908 evoked the right of ownership of the cultivator over the land and zamindars were forbidden from revising the rents where the land revenue was fixed permanently<sup>153</sup>. The ryots of Coastal Andhra trod the path of filing suits in the court to end the zamindari system<sup>154</sup>. Over the years the people of Andhra gradually succumbed to the socialist ideas and socialist leaders like Prof. N.G

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<sup>148</sup> The Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, Vol. II, 1912, p.7

<sup>149</sup> H.H. Dodwell, *The Cambridge History of India Vol.V.,* p.p.474-475.

<sup>150</sup> The default zamindars were dealt severely by the Madras government. Letters between the zamindars and the revenue department of the company during the year 1812 testifies this. The estates of Veeravasaram, Gautavaram, Goosaula, Polavaram, Raghavapuram etc., were reported attachments to Rajamundry Collectorate for arrears of revenue. District Collectorate Records (Pre-Mutiny), Godavary Collectorate Headquarters at Rajamundry: Letters From Revenue Department of Fort St.George, dated 4<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup> May 1812; General Report of Board of Revenue, dated 1<sup>st</sup> August 1805, p.47.

<sup>151</sup> Index to the Proceedings of the Governor for the purpose of making laws and regulations for the year 1865, p.p. 22-26.

<sup>152</sup> The Company government created a new department under the Director of Revenue Settlement in 1858 for a systematic survey and settlement in the entire Madras Presidency.

<sup>153</sup> Legislative Department G.O. NO. 10, 9<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1908.

<sup>154</sup> Revenue Department G.O.612 dated 19<sup>th</sup> March 1919, p.p. 1-2.

Ranga and intensified the movement of peasants for the total abolition of zamindari system<sup>155</sup>. Simultaneously the Kisan conferences were held in national level and during 1935 and 1940 conferences, the ryots' proprietorship over the lands was upheld. The Madras presidency government appointed a committee under the chairmanship of T. Prakasam, which confirmed the cultivators' proprietorship. At last the government of Independent India abolished the rights of zamindars through a law in 1949.

#### **Annexation of South Andhra (Ceded Districts, Chittore & Nellore):-**

A part of Andhra country that was under the direct rule of the illustrious Vijayanagar empire, and later under the English, was called 'Rayalaseema' (Ceded Districts), which comprised in the beginning the districts of Cuddapah, Kurnool and Bellary<sup>156</sup> and consequently Anantapur was formed out of Bellary. The rulers of Vijayanagar appointed chieftains in Rayalaseema for better administrative control of the region. These chieftains came to be known as 'polygars'<sup>157</sup> and were responsible for law and order and revenue collection in their respective areas. After the downfall of Vijayanagar and during the ineffectual rule of the Qutb Shahis, the poligars of Rayalaseema became independent<sup>158</sup>. Later the Mughal Viceroy of Hyderabad, Nizam-ul-Mulk established the Asaf Jahi dynasty of Nizams in 1724. The state of affairs was still worse after the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk in 1748. This anarchy contributed much in

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<sup>155</sup> Fortnightly Reports: History of Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh (HFSAP) Vol IV, 1933, p.p.4774-4776 Fort St. George dated 20<sup>th</sup> Nov. & 4<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1933.

<sup>156</sup> Nilmani Mukherjee, *The Ryotwari System in Madras (1792-1827)*, Calcutta, Reprint 2001, p.20.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.* p.p.20-22. The military chieftains that ruled inherently the 'pollams' or 'palayams' or territories of their jurisdiction were called Poligars. Besides military savages, their revenue extraction was a kind of plunder. Delay in payment of revenue on the part of farmers and peasants followed by burning away villages to ashes or driving away of many inhabitants.

<sup>158</sup> J.D.B. Gribble, *History of the Deccan*, Rupa & Co., Reprint 2002, p.p.299-311.



giving a new turn to Deccan history<sup>159</sup>. In the early stage of his rule Nizam Ali Khan crossed swords with the British and later, pressed by problems he maintained friendly relations with the English and entered into a subsidiary alliance with the British in 1798<sup>160</sup> and ceded the districts of Rayalaseema in 1800.

The local chiefs of Rayalaseema, the Polegars, occupied a position more or less similar to that of the Rajahs and zamindars of Northern Circars. The Polegars continued to oppose the existing authority and discontinued payment of tributes. Thomas Munroe, the principal collector of Ceded Districts suppressed the Polygars<sup>161</sup>. The rest of the territory of the districts of Nellore and Chittoor, in 18<sup>th</sup> century, formed part of the Carnatic. These districts were also in the hands of the Polegars. Wellesley annexed the Carnatic in 1802 and as a consequence of it Nellore and Chittore came under the British rule<sup>162</sup>. Interestingly, some of these erstwhile local chieftains (Rajahs and Polygars) were very receptive of the Christian missionaries of their respective areas in the propagation of Christianity. Some Polygars were even admired in the contemporary Jesuit records<sup>163</sup>. Thus, by 1802 entire Andhra (Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema) formed part of the Madras Presidency.

The later half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Madras Presidency, as a result of growing nationalism, witnessed the birth of native associations such as Madras Chamber of Commerce, Madras Native Association etc<sup>164</sup>. Some sections of merchants and

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<sup>159</sup> Raza Alikhan, *Hyderabad 400 Years (1591-1991)*, Hyderabad, 1990, p.p.88-89.

<sup>160</sup> Dr. Sheela Raj, Trans. Text, *The Legacy of the Nizams*, New Delhi, 2002, p.31.

<sup>161</sup> J.D.B. Gribble, *A Manual of the District of Cuddapah in the Presidency of Madras*, 1875, p.p.104-105.

<sup>162</sup> M. Venkatarangaiya, ed., *The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh* p.p.19-21.

<sup>163</sup> R. Hambye, *History of Christianity in India.*, p.307.

<sup>164</sup> Y.Vaikuntham, *Studies in Socio-Cultural and Political History: Modern Andhra*, Hyderabad, 2004, p.p.54-55; M. Venkatarangaiya, ed., *The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh.*, Document No.14.

intelligentsia brought into existence the Mahajana Sabha of Madras in 1884 and its first conference was held in Pachayappa's Hall from 29 December to 2 January 1884. It was a representative gathering of hundred delegates from all parts of the Madras presidency. The secretary P.Ananda Charyulu, a lawyer, and a future president of the Indian National Congress, stated that the sabha has affiliated to itself a number of associations in the presidency. He said that the conference was convened to create 'mutual understanding between the ruler and the ruled on the one hand and to tackle the problems of land tenure on the other hand, for there were already 'clear and visible signs of misunderstanding on the land.' He wanted similar conferences to be held in different towns to develop national feeling. Papers were read at the conference on the constitution of the legislative council, separation of justice from the revenue functions, the conditions of the ryots etc<sup>165</sup>. Similarly, the missionary initiatives, the modern education and the printing technology, witnessed the birth of a number of District associations and specialized associations in Andhra as well as the circulation of Telugu journals like Bhasha Sanjivini, Vivekavardhini, Andhra Prakasika etc., in the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which expounded the political, economic and social disgrace of the people and educated them on the need for like reforms<sup>166</sup>. Specialized associations like the Local Reform Association at Vijayawada, Balasamajam at Endagandi, Veeresalingam Kavi Club at Kumudavalli<sup>167</sup>, Stri Santana Dharmamandali in Guntur<sup>168</sup> etc., although worked for social reform and gender identities, did create the necessary ground for political

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<sup>165</sup> Public Department - Details of the Proceedings, 10<sup>th</sup> July 1886, No.1433.

<sup>166</sup> The Krishna District Association was the first of its kind in the entire country started in 1892. Consecutively the other District Associations, the Godavary (1895), Visakhapatnam (1898), Anantapur (1907), Nellore (1908), Guntur (1913), Kurnool (1914), chittoor (1915) and Cuddapah (1916) were started.

<sup>167</sup> *Krishna Patrika*, November 15, 1905

<sup>168</sup> *The Hindu*, June 7, 1910.

consciousness, which highlighted the failures of British institutions of modern civilization in the interest of imperialism. Eventually this led to the achievement of self-government after a long nationalist struggle for independence.

### **Social Life: -**

During 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries drastic changes occurred in the Andhra society upon its absorption of, or adjustment with, varied forces. There was a generation of new forces, though the Andhra society retained its own fundamental or eternal values. In Andhra new cultural traits manifested themselves by assimilating the new qualities western civilization with which it had come into contact<sup>169</sup>. As early as 1712, Christian missionaries introduced the printing press, education on modern lines and things like coffee and tobacco. It was a period of transition where adherence to tradition was being overtaken by an urge to change.

The feudal political structure of society was prevailing in view of the disruption of Mughal Empire and the rise of territorial chiefs. In the absence of an impartial and honest administration of justice, people of the area were condemned to a debased existence. The autocratic chiefs executed power in the most oppressive manner. The rich and the influential classes purchased justice through bribery. The lower classes that specialized in different professions, in general, were very poor and ignorant. The village headman carried the normal day-to-day administration. The civil and judicial powers were generally united, and exercised in each village by the receiver of imposts. They were generally Brahmins. In the villages and towns Panchayets were popular courts of

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<sup>169</sup> Kali Kinkar Datta, *A Social History of Modern India*, Macmillan, New Delhi, 1975, p.p.1-2.

judicial administration, in most cases headed by the Brahmins. Some of the judges were also drawn from other castes<sup>170</sup>. The lower classes, neglected under the feudal governments, were comparatively benefited from these courts. In his report on the ceded districts dated 15, 1807, Col. Munro states about the excellency of Panchayet system<sup>171</sup>. These village Panchayets thus played a vital role in the society. As else where Brahmins, despite being a minority, dominated social life all the more because they were administrators and also financiers.

Caste had been for a long time presented as a religious phenomenon, supported by a unique system of religious beliefs, attitudes and practices relating to purity and pollution. The French missionary, Dubois stated the traditional four-fold caste system and which had divided the society in Andhra<sup>172</sup>. At the top were the priests, or Brahmins, and the servants or Shudras were who made up the bulk of society. These were the economic classes legitimated by an elaborate religious system and would be eventually subdivided into a huge number of craftspeople of sub-classes, which we call 'castes.' Inherently, highly developed stratified community life under the dictatorship of caste was witnessed in the society of Andhra during 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. A number of sub-castes evolved in course of history due to new innovative crafts that were encouraged by the society<sup>173</sup>. There were constant movements on the tribe-caste continuance. Kosambi argues that many castes were known to have tribal origins, as evidenced from various totemic features that manifest themselves in these caste groups<sup>174</sup>. Thus the destiny of a person

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<sup>170</sup> V.P.S. Raghuvanshi, *Indian Society in the Eighteenth Century*, New Delhi, 1969, p.p.5-12

<sup>171</sup> Ibid, p.15.

<sup>172</sup> J.A. Abbe Dubois, *Letters on the State of Christianity in India*, London, 1823, p.p.24,163 and 8-16.

<sup>173</sup> Prof. V. Ramakrishna, *Social Reform in Andhra*, New Delhi, 1983, p.p.2-7.

<sup>174</sup> D.D. Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilization of India in Historical Outline*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, Reprint in 1991.

was pre-determined by the caste such as his industrial productions, marriage, family life etc. In the light of this fact, Prof. Ramakrishna identified three main groups viz., 1. The privileged 2. The under privileged and 3. the untouchables in Andhra. Eventhough the Varnas were traditionally defined, the use of 'upper', 'middle', and 'lower' was common in the Deccan society<sup>175</sup>.

The rigidity of caste regarding occupation was loosening. The Brahmins figured prominently in public administration under colonial government<sup>176</sup>. The Brahmins were even taking to the profession of arms. Likewise, the Kshatriya and Vaisya castes belonged to the privileged group shifted to other occupations. The members of the unprivileged group, the Sudras belonged to the professional groups not only of coppersmiths, blacksmiths, weavers, barbers, potter but also took professions such as teachers, medical practitioners, astrologers, government servants, soldiers, tailors, jugglers etc<sup>177</sup>. The profession of arms was in great favour with polegars of Rayalaseema and Zamindars of coastal Andhra<sup>178</sup>.

As we see, the Brahmins despite their domination, particularly in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, were challenged not only by the Nayudus as polegars, but also by the land owners and farmers who were the Reddis often known under the generic name of Kapus. Boyas were the traditional fighters serving in the palegars' forces. But the Reddis could also be good fighters and sometimes held the office of Polygar. From the Jesuit

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<sup>175</sup> Irawati Karve, *Hindu Society – an interpretation*, Deccan College, Poona, 1961.

<sup>176</sup> Prof. V. Ramakrishna, *Social Reform in Andhra*, p.p.4-9; J.A. Dubois, op-cit, p.293.

<sup>177</sup> S.C. Raychoudhary, *Social, Cultural and Economic History of India: Modern Times*, New Delhi, 1983, p.p.36-37.

<sup>178</sup> The Polygars of Rayalaseema were generally from the upper non-Brahmin castes like Kammas and Reddis whereas Andhra Zamindars were mostly from the upper non-Brahmin castes such as Kshatriyas, Velamas and Kammas. *Census of India*, Madras, 1891, Vol XIII, p.p.220, 235 and 237

documentation it appears that the caste system was then less rigid and embracing the other faiths (Christianity) was also tolerated among the ruling classes in Andhra than in the rest of South India. Another social fact was that in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries the women folk, particularly among the Reddis and Kammas, were less male dominated, more independent and more free to accept changes in matters of 'Sati' etc<sup>179</sup>. 'Sati' continued to prevail among middle and lower classes. Therefore, the condition of women in the society was far from satisfactory. The untouchables or the panchamas were subjected to permanent social degradation, denied elementary civil rights and were excluded from all public places. The foreigners expressed horror and bewilderment at the social degradation of a large part of society<sup>180</sup>. These social groups were regarded as the lowest, such as the Madigas (Leather workers and coolies) and the Malas (weavers of coarse cotton stuffs and agricultural workers). The Malas of the Telugu country were not so low in the scale of actual society even though they were outcastes. Many of them were evolved in the irrigated section of the country, and owned fair-sized land-holdings and were tolerably well off. However, their social seclusion drew many towards Christianity. There were tribes of wandering gypsy kind of people such as Yerukalas and Yanadis<sup>181</sup>.

The two institutions of polyandry and polygamy existed in South India. The polygamy was a true Hindu institution and was duly legislated by Manu. The marriage rites and ceremonies were based on the Brahmanical rituals, and were common to all

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<sup>179</sup> Letters of the French Jesuits are of great use here. A Letter by Jesuit M.Gargam to Jesuit Pere Etienne, Venkatagiri, 15<sup>th</sup> December 1730 renders this information about the 'Sati'. M. Gargam tells only once he came across incident of sati at Venkatagiri in 1730. R. Hambye, op-cit., p.308.

<sup>180</sup> V.P.S. Raghuvanshi, *Indian Society in the Eighteenth Century.*, p. 19.

<sup>181</sup> J.E. Padfield (a missionary at Masulipatnam), *The Hindu at Home: Being Sketches of Hindu Daily Life*, SPCK, Madras, 1908, p.128.

castes including the untouchables<sup>182</sup>. The Mohammadan rule brought about the settlement of Muslims as well. These Muslims penetrated both in the existing villages and also founded their new settlements. It was only the converted Muslims whose houses could be found in the midst of Hindus. As time went these two groups lived in harmony, what accounted here was the toleration of Hindu social system. However, the British were not that much keen to transform Indian society from a hierarchical to an egalitarian one. The only job they did was to hold the country together and prove that they were not averse to exploiting the divisions of caste and community for that purpose.

The pernicious custom in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Andhra was the Kanyashulkam (Bride's price). This custom produced evils such as infant marriage and untimely widowhood. The institution of Devadasis was a form of disguised prostitution, and later they developed into a separate caste<sup>183</sup>. Illiteracy and ignorance bred a medley of countless superstitions. Agricultural produce as well as personal safety were ensured by charms and lexes<sup>184</sup>. Normal disasters and their effects were also attempted to be evaded of with charms.

The Northern circars in 18<sup>th</sup> century and the Rayalaseema in 19<sup>th</sup> century were the most war-beaten parts of the century with the European wars. The villages were often exposed to loot and plunder<sup>185</sup>. Therefore, the rural society continued to live in the fortified villages and the village houses were built closely together with no intervening spaces for gardens. Perhaps it was the major cause which preserved the joint family

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<sup>182</sup> M.N. Srinivas calls this kind of phenomenon as 'Sanskritization' of Hindu society. M.N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1972, p.3.

<sup>183</sup> Dr. Mutthu Laxmi Reddy in 1929 introduced a bill in the Madras state's Assembly for the abolition of Devadasi system and thus put an end to the evil practice. *Itihas* (A Journal of State Archives, Hyderabad) Vol XXVI, Jan-Dec. 2000, p.132. The other evils were self torture by fire or by large needles which were abolished by British government.

<sup>184</sup> J.E. Padfield, *The Hindu at Home: Being Sketches of Hindu Daily Life.*, p.p.246-262. The Sanskrit word used for an omen is 'shakunam', which largely decided the daily activities of an individual.

<sup>185</sup> S.C. Raychoudhary, *Social, Cultural and Economic History of India: Modern Times.*, p.29.

system and community feeling within a village. It is an amusing sight, states Rev. Padfield, a missionary at Machilipatnam, 'in passing through the streets of an evening, to see the droves of cattle coming home from the pasture. As they go along here and there, one or more of the cows or buffaloes would turn aside and go up the steps of a house passing through the door way which has been left open on purpose...proceed straight into ... inner verandah'. His surprise was that in the Telugu country people and cattle reside together in a house<sup>186</sup>.

The regional accounts in vernaculars like Telugu were also giving useful information about the last century. Ayyalaraju Narayanamathyudu, the author of the book '*Hamsa Vimsathi*' gives a lot of information about occupations and amusements of the Andhras<sup>187</sup>. There were Panchagam Brahmins<sup>188</sup> in the Andhra society, who were professional mendicants. Religious mendicants often played the role of magicians also. Dubois states that magic had found a favourable abode in peninsular India. The professional storytellers were often seen in the Andhra society. The story tellers of the day used to tell the story of French Bussy and his wars with the English<sup>189</sup>. Among amusements of the people a kind of chess game, interestingly known among the Telugus as 'Puli Joodham,' was very popular and the grid of the game, was carved on stone slabs, which formed the circular platform under Palm and Neem tree groves. Puncheesee (Baracatta) was played with dice. Kite-flying was an amusing sport among children. The street shows and puppet shows were also interesting out-door amusements. The stories of

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<sup>186</sup> J.E. Padfield, *The Hindu at Home: Being Sketches of Hindu Daily Life*. p. 17.

<sup>187</sup> Suravaram Pratap Reddy, *Social History of the Andhras* (Telugu Text), Orient Longman, Hyderabad, 1992, p.321.

<sup>188</sup> These Brahmins held the calendar called Panchagam, which means the five members as it contained five leading subjects. J.A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners*, p.137.

<sup>189</sup> J.E. Padfield, *The Hindu at Home: Being Sketches of Hindu Daily Life*., p.p.170-192. There was also a mendicant group of Fakirs in a great number in Andhra society.



the plays were mostly drawn from ancient epics like Ramayana and Mahabaratha. Heyne credits Indian actors with much wit and satire and tells us that in the Northern Circars women of dancing caste took the role of actresses<sup>190</sup>.

Enugula Veeraswamaiah, a Head interpreter in the Madras Supreme Court gives in Telugu an elaborate description of his pilgrimage during 1830-31 to Benares in his book (Diary), '*Kasi yatra Charitra*'. He writes that the people of Kandamur (Kurnool) region were not raising a good breed of Oxen and they forbade using cow milk. The chief food of the people was millet and there was a scarcity of rice. He states that the men and women in Andhra were fond of coloured garments. In return journey from Benares he travelled through Northern Circars, where he observed that the female prostitutes were also the dancing girls on feast days. He also observed that certain communities such as Jogi Jangams, the Washermen and Chandalas had no entry in temples. The road robberies and village thefts were regular features in those days<sup>191</sup>.

The population of Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema in all probability was around 9 to 10 million in 18<sup>th</sup> century and was unevenly distributed. Coastal Andhra from the Delta of the Godavari down to the regions south of Krishna River was more populated than the northern parts. Nevertheless, the repeated famines were a usual catastrophe after the wars ravaged the society and took a huge toll of human life. Relief and rehabilitation measures of the foreigners drew many to Christianity irrespective of caste. The famine crisis thus resulted in division among the families and isolation in certain communities.

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<sup>190</sup> V.P.S. Raghuvanshi, *Indian Society in the Eighteenth Century*., p.p.253-269.

<sup>191</sup> Digavalli Venkata Siva Rao (ed), *Enugula Veeraswamaiah Kasi yatra Charitra*, AES, New Delhi, 1991, p.p.11-23 and 310,350

### **Economic Life:-**

Parthasarathi's micro study of the South Indian agricultural community characterizes the eighteenth-century (pre-colonial era) as a period of commercial expansion and relative prosperity for weavers and agriculturalists. In the early eighteenth century weaving and cloth production in South India was based on contracts between local cloth merchants and head weavers, and between head weavers and the artisans who used to weave cloth on receiving advances in kind. This provided them with a source of financial security. In Northern Circars of Andhra there were individual families that owned half a dozen looms, and all the members of the family were involved in weaving<sup>192</sup>. Till the close of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the handloom textiles of Andhra were in high demand in Europe and some parts of Asia. The palempores and chintzes of Masulipatnam, Vizag, Bandamurlanka and the white cloth of Tuni, the hand kerchiefs of Nellore were the rival products of Andhra to that of British cloth. The East India Company discontinued the Andhra textile for export, instead supplied a cheap mill made cloth to England. But when the British required local weavers to produce exclusively for the company and stipulated that the textiles must be of lower cost and higher quality, coupled with its need to gain a profit from the sale of Indian textiles in European markets, difficulties arose for the native weavers. The weavers were punished if they could not produce the cloth in time and were required to pay Re.1/4<sup>th</sup> per loom as loom tax<sup>193</sup>

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<sup>192</sup>Prasannan Parthasarathi, *The Transition to a Colonial Economy: Weavers, Merchants and Kings in South India 1720–1800*, CUP, 2001, p.p.12-18.

<sup>193</sup> Loom tax levied was called 'Moturpha'. P.Raghunadha Rao, *op-cit.*, p.167

besides duties imposed on woven thread and the Dhobi had to pay tax on bleaching the woven cloth.

The Ceded districts manufactured nearly 200 varieties of cloth with an average produce of 12,35,412 pieces mostly from 19,626 looms at a rate of 5,57,787 pagodas per annum. The cumby(mantles) weaving of Ceded districts and the carpet products of Northern Circars had to pay large amount of moturpha to the company. There was a variation in payment and non payment of this loom tax in different places of Andhra . In Masulipatnam weavers paid a loom tax of Rs. 56,800 annually. While in Cuddapah the weavers had to pay a loom tax of 1,52,191. The cloth made even for home use was not exempted from tax. The cloth could not be sold or bought until branded. In Madras presidency, according to Munro, utilized cloth was worth 30 fanams annually and duty on it 2 fanams. Thus by 1830 the Andhras textiles industry decayed due to heavy taxations and large inflow of British machine made goods into Indian markets. The cloth worth 7 lakhs once exported from Vizag was reduced to 1 lakh in 1844. Andhra districts turned as mere suppliers of raw materials for mill made English goods<sup>194</sup>. Ports of Andhra such as Ganjam imported English goods worth Rs. 41,000, Rajamundry imported Rs. 1,00,000, etc.

### **Foreign Trade**

In the beginning the small native vessels manned by Indian fishermen operated Bengal-Burma trade, carrying salt and coarse cloth to more places of the area and bringing in return paddy. Later on, ships of 500 tonnes and above used to be built in the

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<sup>194</sup> A.V. Ramana Rao, *Economic Development of Andhra Pradesh*, Bombay, 1957, Chapter VI. As part of her imperial designs, England utilized India to serve her colonial economic interests, which resulted in the 'export led exploitation' of the country, in order that Lancashire goods might suffer no disadvantage. A.K. Bagchi, *The political Economy Under Development*, Orient Longman, 1989, p.119.

port towns of Coringa and Narsapur<sup>195</sup>. Then onwards the trade of Northern Circars expanded on bulk cargo as far as England and other European countries on one side and simultaneously of trade with other ports of India. The exports from Northern Circars to European countries included sugar, edible oils, pulses, jaggery, grains, naval stores, cloth etc. The trade with other Indian ports consisted of grains, fruits, drugs, naval stores, timber, betel nuts, coconuts, tobacco etc<sup>196</sup>. By the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century the native ships operated from the ports of Coringa, Gnajam, Narsapur, Cocanada, Bhmilipatnam, Vishakapatnam and Masulipatnam earned out of above exports an amount worth annually of Rs. 50,000 to 1 lakh. During 1802-07 brisk trade was carried on by the Northern Circars<sup>197</sup>.

Salt manufacture was monopolised by the company government. Illicit manufacture, sale and transportation were declared offence by the provision of regulation I of 1805<sup>198</sup>. Goods from the Nellore district had a reputation of exported to Europe about 1808 by its own fleet. Ingeram and Coringa ports had a reputation of exporting fine timber. Guntur had also considerable sea trade. Cotton was the chief exportable commodity to the west from the Ceded districts<sup>199</sup>. Bellary alone made ½ million sterling exports of cotton at the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century and the same was continued in the 19<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>195</sup> River Godavary with three of its branches falls into Bay of Bengal at places called Coringa, Narsapur and Bendamurlanka. Incidentally, the three early and important factories of East India Company were built in these three ports. Generally shipbuilding and shipping was in progress here. Edward Thornton, *A Gazetteer of the Territories under the Government of the East India Company and the Native States on the Continent of India*, Vol. IV, London, 1854, p.p. 250-52.

<sup>196</sup> C.D. Maclean (Ed) *Manual of the administration of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1885, p.564

<sup>197</sup> Select Committee Report of the House of Commons on the Trade of the East India Company 1813, p.143; Revenue Consultations: Board of Revenue to Fort St. George, Jan. 1806.

<sup>198</sup> Letter to the Judge & Magistrate, Rajamundry from Fort St. George 16<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1812.

<sup>199</sup> Review of Sea-borne Trade and Navigation of Madras Presidency for the year 1876-77, p. V.

century. The Madras Presidency had linkages with world markets<sup>200</sup>. The Charter Act of 1813 was the year when the company lost its monopoly of trade and free trade was introduced. Andhra mainly remained as a mere supplier of raw materials to the industries in England and by the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the imports began to be thrice the value of exports. The heavy duties and the revenue extracting nature of the company led to the fall of Andhra trade. The colonial government in India placed further restrictive duties on exports from British India by the late 18<sup>th</sup> to early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

### **Agriculture**

Agriculture constituted the main economic industry of 80 percent of people of Andhra. During 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries the ryot or peasant was oppressed by the Zamindars and polegars and all the times the company. There were various classes in the agriculture sector, the land lords, tenants and agricultural labourers. Generally, people who connected with the cultivable land other than the agricultural labourers, were around 50 percent of the entire population of the Madras presidency. The agricultural labourers were around 20 percent of the total agriculture population<sup>201</sup>. The remainder were non-agricultural occupants.

In 1769 on the consolidation of authority over the Northern Circars, the Madras company government continued the traditional Zamindari on payment of annual rents and the Zamindars of those estate meant their positions as landlords. In reality the Company had never treated them as landlords or chief proprietors<sup>202</sup>. Actually the duty of zamindar as declared in his appointment or Sanad-I-Milkiyat-Istimrar was to supervise

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<sup>200</sup> T. Vijaya Kumar, *Agrarian Conditions in Andhra Under the British Rule 1858-1900*, Hyderabad, 1992, p.338

<sup>201</sup> 1891 Census of Madras Presidency, Vol. XIII, p.p.330-332.

<sup>202</sup> Fifth Report, Vol II, p.7.

the country kept under his charge to maintain law and justice to the Ryots, and provide them with advances of amount for cultivation and finally to collect revenue for the government<sup>203</sup>.

Land revenue or land tax continued to be the major source of government revenue. In 1841, it constituted 60% of the total British government's revenue. The British adopted one of three land revenue systems: landlord-based systems (also known as zamindari or malguzari), individual cultivator based systems (ryotwari) or village-based systems (mahalwari). In the landlord areas, Landlords were in effect given property rights on the land, though some measures for protecting the rights of tenants. These Landlord systems were established mainly in Northern Circars of Andhra in Madras Presidency<sup>204</sup>. The Board of Revenue in 1799 proposed the introduction of the Bengal 'Permanent Settlement,' 1793, in Madras presidency. The Madras government accepted the Board's proposal and in 1803 carried out its implementation, and declared landlords or Zamindars to be proprietors of their estates and cultivators their tenants. The Zamindars were required to pay fixed yearly Peshkash and if the Peshkash fell into arrears their estate could be attached and sold. The same pattern was implemented in ceded districts where Polygars were the ruling class<sup>205</sup>. Initially the polygars defied the system and opted to fight. Thomas Munro, the Principal collector of the Ceded Districts brought Polygars to order through military call. Eventually, the ryotwari system which had inroads in ceded districts, found its champion in Munro.

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<sup>203</sup> B.H. Baden Powell, *A Short Account of Land Revenue and its Administration in British India: With Sketch of Land Tenures*, Oxford, 1913, p.p.199-206

<sup>204</sup> A.V. Banerjee, Lakshmi Iyer, *History, Institutions and Economic Performance: The Legacy of Colonial Land Tenure Systems in India*, *American Economic Review*, Vol.95, Issue 4, September, 2005, p.1193.

<sup>205</sup> H.H. Dodwell (ed), *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, British India (1497-1858), New Delhi, p.p.474-475.

The views of Sir Thomas Munro had influenced the land revenue systems in whole provinces. For instance, Thomas Munro, after having convinced the Madras Board of Revenue of its superiority, converted the entire landlord areas into ryotwari areas after 1820<sup>206</sup>. The landlord areas of coastal Andhra, which were under the Permanent Settlement, were converted to the ryotwari system only if the landlord defaulted on his revenue commitments. It was to say that there were still landlord areas here and there in Andhra. Actually speaking the Permanent settlement in landlord areas was neither acceptable to the ryots nor satisfactory to the government<sup>207</sup>. Because most of the landlord areas were being left unsurveyed. The settlement was not done on classification of land. The landlords took to forceful collection of revenue. No relief was given to peasants during famines. It was reported that in Nellore district cattle was auctioned by the landlords to clear the revenue dues.

Given that their interests were probably marginalized, it was plausible that this created an environment where the political energies of the masses were directed more towards depriving the rich of their proprietary rights through land reforms, than towards trying to get more public welfare schemes (schools, tap water, electricity) from the state, and in the same tune the political energies of the rich were aimed at trying to ensure that the poor did not get their way. This was why the colonial state had more stake in the economic prosperity of non-landlord areas rather than in the landlord areas. It also meant that the state had more reason to invest in these areas in irrigation, railways, schools and other infrastructure. In this context, we should note that almost all canals constructed by

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<sup>206</sup> A.Banerjee, Lakshmi Iyer, *American Economic Review*, p.p.1195-1196.

<sup>207</sup> Nilamani Mukherjee, *The Ryotwari system in Madras 1792-1827*, Progressive Publishers, Calcutta, p.121

the British were in non-landlord areas<sup>208</sup>. If indeed these areas had better public goods when the British left, it is plausible that they could continue to have some advantage even now.

Company, on the other hand dealt severely with the default landlords of Peshkash. The jagir of Udayagiri in Nellore district was confiscated. Vassay Reddy zamindari yielding revenue of 60,000 a year was sold. Several zamindaries in Northern Circars were either sold or occupied by the company. Kurnool in Ceded districts became an immediate possession of company upon the disposition of the jagirdar in 1839. The ryotwari system in Ceded districts also proved a failure on the part of government. In 1808, village rents of triennial leases were adopted, and were exchanged for decennial leases in 1811. The settlement was made above half the gross produce. The result was arrears of revenue amounting in 1820 to Rs. 3 lakhs and a quarter while many of the renters were put in jail<sup>209</sup>. The ryotwari settlement was then again resorted to, upon rates 25%, lower than those of 1807 on wet and dry land and 33%, lower on garden land<sup>210</sup>. Since then, the principal measures of relief had been remission in payment, separate assessment in 1832, reduction of tax on well lands etc. In Nellore district revenue settlement was made at 55% of gross produce and lasted in 1807-08 when it broke down under bad season. Again in 1822 the government reverted to ryotwari settlement with revenue rates based as usual on half the net produce<sup>211</sup>. The excesses in land revenue threw Andhra cultivator into the clutches of moneylenders. The economic policy of the British thus proved disastrous to the people.

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<sup>208</sup> A.V. Banerjee, Lakshmi Iyer, *American Economic Review*, p.1210.

<sup>209</sup> C.D. Maclean (Ed) *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1885, 409-415

<sup>210</sup> Nilamani Mukherjee, *The Ryotwari system in Madras*, p.116

<sup>211</sup> C.D. Maclean (Ed) *Manual of the administration of the Madras Presidency*, p.416.



The defects and lapses in the revenue settlements and the revenue extracting nature of the company led to frequent visits of famines and bad seasons in Andhra<sup>212</sup>. Of all the population, peasants experienced the dearth of food supply. This neglect of the peasant or more widely subaltern domain explains almost the memory of civil government which seemed to be wholly lost. Colonial rule in Andhra further weakened the peasants's capacity to cope with natural disasters by enhancing taxes of cash rather than crops. Withholding of food grain by ryots and Komatis was a routine deed during the famine. When an Indian deputy collector visited famine affected villages of Cuddapah district, he was approached by the labour protestors with a plea to release grain. Yedavalli in Kurnool district was rich in grain but the ryots withheld the grain<sup>213</sup>. Madras presidency, the seat of great famines and one such, the 1833 Guntur famine affected 5 million people to an area of 38,000 sq. miles. In Guntur district alone 2 lakhs died out of the 5 lakh. Public works were taken up immediately to save people<sup>214</sup>. About 1836, inhabitants at Ongole reminded us of men eating men. The same was almost repeated during the 1876-78 famine. This time the government charged high rates of revenue on Godavari and Krishna Delta separately against the rates on Ceded and Nellore Districts<sup>215</sup>.

The conspicuous ability of Sir Arthur Cotton produced the Grand Anicut at Dowleswaram in the Godavary district of peninsular India. The Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal in the ceded districts, which took water from the Tungabhadra at Kurnool to Cuddapah

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<sup>212</sup> The 'Akasvani' of 15<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1907 writes, 'Famines were few in ancient India, but many in the British Rule'. Native Newspaper Reports (NPR), 1907, p.723.

<sup>213</sup> David Arnold, *Famine in Peasant Consciousness and Peasant Action: Madras 1876-8* in Ranjit Guha (ed), *Subaltern Studies III*, Writings on South Asian History & Society, OUP.

<sup>214</sup> Report of the Indian Famine Commission, Part I: famine Relief Commission of Inquiry of Indian Famines Appointed by the Govt. of India, 16<sup>th</sup> May, 1878, p.p.10-11.

<sup>215</sup> Report of the Administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1880-81, Madras, 1881, p.12.

on the Pennar, 300 kilometres south, was a product of Cotton's grand plan<sup>216</sup>. The land revenue of Godavari District in 1843-44 was Rs. 17'25'841 and by 1898 the same increased to Rs.60,19,224 and the district occupied 2<sup>nd</sup> place among 22 districts of Madras presidency on the basis of high returns of revenue<sup>217</sup>. These public works though effective in irrigated areas, the non-irrigated and semi-irrigated areas fell prey to famines due to inadequate rains in a series of deficient monsoons. The failure of summer rains in 1876 was followed by famine that devastated two lakh sq.miles in Deccan and affected 19,400,000 people in Madras Presidency<sup>218</sup>. Often 1876-78 famine was remarkable for poor harvests. David Arnold explores 'a blight, a flood, a drought or a war might provide the immediate cause for a famine, but the underlying reasons lay deep in the social, economic and political subordination of the peasantry'<sup>219</sup>. In 1870 about a fifth of the Madras presidency lay under zamindari estates. However, most part of famine-affected area was under the ryotwari system. The famine brought landlord areas and non-landlord areas into direct subordination to the state to the exclusion of zamindars and other intermediaries. Another tenurial system prevailing since pre-colonial period and was resumed by the colonial government had been the Inamdari system. Eric stokes guessed that the inamdari villages endowed by local zamindars and polygars to kinsmen were resultant of certain unstable political conditions<sup>220</sup>. For example, the rebellion of polygar of Uyyalawada, Narasimha Reddy in ceded districts on issue of hereditary rights of

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<sup>216</sup> W.W. Hunter, *Imperial Gazetteer of India, London, 1877*, Vol. IX, p.p.43-44; Vol. X, p.p. 214-215.

<sup>217</sup> G. Mackenzie, *A Manual of the Krishna District in the Presidency of Madras*, Madras, 1883, p.254.

<sup>218</sup> Report of the Indian Famine Commission, Part I, p.17-18.

<sup>219</sup> David Arnold, *Famine in Peasant Consciousness*, p.66

<sup>220</sup> Eric Stokes, *The Peasant and the Raj: Studies in Agrarian Society and Peasant Rebellion in Colonial India*, Cambridge, 1980,p.60

kattubandi inam, the government became more cautious in proceeding against imams<sup>221</sup>. Baden Powell rather critically observed 'a record of experiments in assessments, reductions and enhancements, changes in one direction and another following each other in some what bewildering order'<sup>222</sup>. Later the government set a separate department of revenue settlement, headed by a director to bring order upon core principles of survey and settlement, which had been done for whole of Madras presidency till the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Under the constitution of independent India, states were granted the power to enact land reforms. Several states passed legislation in the early 1950s formally abolishing landlords and other intermediaries between the government and the cultivator. Several other laws have also been passed regarding tenancy reform, ceiling on land holdings and land consolidation measures by different states at different times. The experimental attitude of the government in agriculture bred multiple untoward consequences such as unending famines. The famines and the mass conversions to Christianity as a wide subject of discussion under the heading follows.

### **Religious Life: -**

Religion was a sole inspiration of Indian society in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Abbe Dubois rather surprisingly writes about the essentially religious temperament of the Hindus in South India. Temples dedicated to various gods shrouded every village and town throughout the country. Most of them were monuments of antiquity. Robert Orme rightly said that the whole extent of India as the holy land to its inhabitants. Sectarianism

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<sup>221</sup>Dr. J.C Dua, *British In'am Policy and Palegar Resistance in Ceded Districts: Select Documents Relating to Narasimha Reddy's Resistance 1846-47*, New Delhi, 1994.

<sup>222</sup> B.H. Baden Powell, *Land Systems in British India*, Vol. III, oxford, 1892,p.26

was a prominent character of the religious life of people<sup>223</sup>. The orthodox cults of Siva and Vishnu found among the Hindus were further split into innumerable sub-castes. In South India the Brahmins mostly were Vaishnavites, while the devotees of Siva were mostly of Sudra castes. Siva has a consort in Kali, the mother-goddess and fertility diety, to whom women were a big follow-up. There were often cults of village goddesses to which the poorer sections of society offered worship besides the goddess of cholera and goddess of small pox. People of each caste had a specific goddess and methods of worship<sup>224</sup>.

Mysticism and asceticism were always the characteristic of a Hindu. Among the Hindu masses the Gurus, Yogis, sadhus and Sanyasis were esteemed as saints. If one wanted to enter into the supreme knowledge of the gods, one must follow the teachings of the Guru. Vemana cult was a popular sect spread in Andhra during 18<sup>th</sup> century. Vemana revolted against Hinduism, which was engrossed with castes, rituals and superstitions. Another Guru Pothuluri Veera Brahmam flourished in Andhra about the same period. His poems in simple Telugu are known till today as '*Kalagnana Tatvalu*' and much popular among the Telugus, which aimed at defunct of debasing caste system, idolatry and degenerating superstitions. Like Hindus, Muslims were also strict adherents to their religion and were equally orthodox in the observance of sacred fasts. Many were even prepared to go on pilgrimage to Mecca. There were several orders of Sufis and fakirs, who practiced severe penances and ecstatic modes of worship. Religious pluralism was a universal phenomenon and was an accepted pattern of life in 19<sup>th</sup> century Andhra. Both Hindus and Muslims gathered together for worship at Hindu Matts and Muslim Durghas.

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<sup>223</sup> V.P.S. Raghuvanshi, *Indian Society in the Eighteenth Century*, p.111

<sup>224</sup> J.E. Padfield (a missionary at Masulipatnam), *The Hindu at Home: Being Sketches of Hindu Daily Life*.

Vemana and Pothuluri Veerabrahmam in Rayalaseema and Nasraiah, a Muslim Guru in Coastal Andhra had several followers of both religions<sup>225</sup>. These popular movements mostly involved by people of lower castes of sudras and as well the panchamas. They were led by a feeling of social up- gradation, which was unasserted by the orthodox Hinduism. This marked the beginning of a kind of protest in religious and social aspects of Andhra people. The literature in Telugu produced by the Gurus of these sects with its poetic simplicity communicated their ideas modified by the caste rigidities and raised the Sudra classes and the panchamas almost to a state of revolt. Upon these developments, the British missionaries intruded into the religious life of the Andhras.

It is generally accepted by many that India entered into modernity in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. For the first time historians testify, an alien civilization was breathed upon every detail of Indian life, changed its patterns and created new values. Western philosophy, education and science introduced reason into daily habits and enlightened the Indians of meaningless ancient customs. Ram Mohan Roy was such an enlightened native who accelerated public opinion through journalism and religious and social reform and initiated a reform movement, the Brahmo samaj. Andhra also experienced the same phenomenon. The first Telugu journal to be published was probably the *Satya Doota* (1835)<sup>226</sup> by the Christian mission at Bellary. It was Veeresalingam Pantulu of Rajahmundry<sup>227</sup>, an ardent follower of Ram Mohan Roy and K.C. Sen, responsible for the growth of Brahmo samaj in Andhra<sup>228</sup> and he was equally devoted to Telugu

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<sup>225</sup> Emma Rauschenburch Clough, *While Sewing Sandals: Tales of a Telugu Pariah Tribe*, Asian Educational Services, Madras, 2000, p.p.155-165.

<sup>226</sup> B.S.R. Krishna, 'Telugu Journalism in Rayalaseema' in K.R. Seshagiri Rao (ed), *Studies in the History of Telugu Journalism*, Narla Shasthyabhipurthi Celebration Committee, Delhi, 1968, p.41.

<sup>227</sup> Prof. V. Ramakrishna, *Social Reform in Andhra*, p.p.153-162.

<sup>228</sup> D.V. Siva Rao, Article on 'Sri Veresalingam' in *A Telugu Daily Andhra Prabha*, Nov.17, 1968.

Journalism to fight against the meaningless and irrational social practices among the people for their social and political emancipation<sup>229</sup>.

### **Pioneering and Progression of Christian Missions in Andhra :-**

Christian missionary activity in Andhra was initiated by the French Jesuit missionaries. The first missionary of this sect, Fr. Pierre Mauduit<sup>230</sup>, dressed as Hindu sanyasi, accompanied by two Brahmin disciples, reached Punganuru of Chittoor district in 1701, where Chikkarayalu, the minor prince was ruling. This was the first mission center opened in 1704 among the Telugus with supportive historical records of information. The first converts were a widow and her three children and a young man of Velama community. In two years duration 270 caste people and nine Brahmins became Christians. The palegar of the place assured all help to them.

In consequence, Jesuit mission stations with Christian communities, also began in and around Anantapur where the Vaishnavite Velanati Reddy chiefs whose surname was Tumma of Alamur (Anantapur Dt.), and their clans, and the Sudra communities of Sale and Togata sects all embraced Christianity. Consequently, the rulers like Prasanna Naidu, the palegar of Anantapur showed much interest in Christianity. As a result, the Christian communities of his area increased at the rate of two hundred per year. About 1733 there were ten thousand Christians inland of the northern boarder of Tamilnadu and Rayalaseema. In 1735 the Gandikota (Cuddapah Dt.) Kammas were attracted to Christianity<sup>231</sup>. They were the first Kammas ever to become Christians following the

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<sup>229</sup> Indian Social Reformer, Vol XII, No. 43, Bombay, 1901-02.

<sup>230</sup> *Christianity in India*, Vivekananda Kendra Prakashan, Vol. 8, No. 2, Madras, 1979, p.144.

<sup>231</sup> Letters of the French Jesuits are of great use here. E.R. Hambye, *History of Christianity in India*, Vol. III, p.311-318

decision of their chieftain. By 1801 there were 1500 Christians in Kondavidu of Guntur Dt. Many Kamma and Reddy Christians were fairly spread in the districts of Chittoor, Anantapur, Cuddapah, Nellore, Kurnool and Guntur.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Jesuit missionaries were active in the Northern Circars. Besides the native Christians, most of the Christians of Coastal towns, Vizag, Machilipatnam, Ellore etc., were of cosmopolitan origin and they were especially the Dutch, the French and the English and those of mixed races. According to Abbe Dubois report of 1802, the Christian communities that were formed in a large number at places like Visakhapatnam, Machilipatnam, Corangi and Chicacole consisted of both Indians and Eurasians.

The early Telugu Christians mostly belonged to two great influential communities, the Kammas and the Reddis. These two communities of Andhra did not expect any economic or social advantage on their conversion. Women were particularly noted for their religious zeal. The Jesuit missionaries were acclimatized to the local customs such as accepting vegetarian diet, conversing in local language, scholarly approach in Sanskrit language, participating in debates with Brahmins and rulers like polygars<sup>232</sup>. The Jesuit missionaries maintained cordial relationship with the Nizam of Hyderabad. In Maratha army it was said that there were Christian sepoys in a large number.

Telugu Christians of the 18<sup>th</sup> century contributed much to Telugu Christian literature. A Niyogi Brahman convert Ananda, son of Thimmaiah, composed the book

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<sup>232</sup> *Ibid*, p.p.327-330

*'The Vedanta rasayanamu'*. He was a high rank poet among the Telugus. Around 1852 C.P. Brown printed a Telugu Christian book *'Nisthara Rathnakaramu'*. Jesuit missionary J. Calmette wrote *'Satyavedasara Sangrahamu'* in Sanskrit, which was later translated into Telugu. There were also historical writings such as *'Tobia charithra'* written in connection with the conversion of Reddis. This was the work of Niyogi Brahmin poet Pingala Ellanarayudu at the request of one Rayapareddy. Mallela Pullamraju composed *Gnana Chinthamani*, which narrated the conversions of Gopureddy clan of Alamuru. A noteworthy linguistic work was the Telugu-Sanskrit-French dictionary by Fr. G.L. Coeurdoux. Some of the names of missionaries who associated themselves with Sanskrit were Manduit, Le Gac, Gargam etc<sup>233</sup>. The letters of the Jesuit missionaries contained valuable information about the experiments concerning Astronomy, Geology, Mathematics, Geography etc. Fr. Le Gac amused the Polygar of Anantapur, Prassanappa Naidu, with scientific instruments such as sphere, a map of the world in two hemispheres etc<sup>234</sup>. The descriptions of Gargan who travelled in Andhra in 1730 gave information about geological findings in Andhra, the quarries of Cumbum and the diamond mines of Terramala. After 1759 the Jesuits and their activity gradually declined due to Anglo-French rivalry.

Consequent to the fall of Srirangapatnam in 1799, the Madras Presidency was formed in the early years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in which the eleven districts of Andhra were integrated. About this time, a new wave called 'Evangelicalism' within Protestantism, swept Europe and America and gave birth to various missionary societies in England and America. These societies such as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), the

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<sup>233</sup> *Ibid*, p.338-345

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid*, p.346-348.



London Missionary Society (LMS), the Church Missionary Society (CMS), American Baptist Missionary Society (ABMS), Godavari Delta Mission (GDM or the Brethren Movement) etc., set up their mission centers in all the eleven Telugu Districts<sup>235</sup>. By the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century, there were more than twenty missionary societies in Andhra involved in evangelism and devoted to philanthropy in the fields of education and health<sup>236</sup>.

### **Famines And the Christian Missions:-**

During 1876-78 famine the Rayalaseema districts of Bellary, Cuddapah and Kurnool and the coastal district of Guntur suffered heavily. The distress in Bellary and Cuddapah were terrible. The people sold their cattle, houses and clothes to buy food and flocked naked and thronged into towns, then often to die by hundreds<sup>237</sup>. London Missionary Society missionaries, Mr. Lewis in Bellary and Campbell in Cuddapah and Baptist missionaries, Clough in Ongole and Downie in Nellore ran the relief camps in their respective places. Mostly the Telugu districts, according to the 1871 census, suffered from an estimated loss of human life to 3.5 millions<sup>238</sup>. The famine marked the beginning of a mass conversion by missionaries among Madiga and Mala untouchable labourers of these Telugu districts<sup>239</sup>. There was an allegation that the material benefits

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<sup>235</sup> John Kelsall, *Manual of the Bellary District*, Madras, 1873, pp.276-99. Cuddapah District Gazetteer, Hyderabad, 1967, p.144; Y. Vittal Rao, *Education and Learning in Andhra Under the East India Company*, Secunderabad, 1979 p.p. 34-36.

<sup>236</sup> Y. Vittal Rao, *Education and Learning in Andhra Under the East India Company*, Hyderabad, 1968 p.p.152-153; Andrew Porter, *Religion Versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914*, Manchester University Press, 2004, p.194.

<sup>237</sup> A Telugu Journal, 'Deshabhimani' of 14<sup>th</sup> Dec.1907 mostly featured the gigantic nature of the tropical famines. Native Newspapers Reports (NPR), 1907, p.p.669-670.

<sup>238</sup> A Monthly Journal 'Purushartha Pradayani' Circulated by Kandukuri Veeresalingam, No. 4, April 1872; Richard Lovett, History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895, Vol. II, OUP, 1899, p.p.101-102.

<sup>239</sup> Until 1880 there had been 23 caste Hindu converts i.e. 16 Brahmins, 6 non-Brahmins and 1 Muslim in Andhra. Upon mass conversions in the wake of famine, 1876-78, the overwhelming response was witnessed from untouchables, which is still a landmark in the evangelical history of South India. F.F. Gledstone, *The C.M.S. Telugu Mission*, Mysore, Undated, p.48

offered by the missionaries drew many to conversion<sup>240</sup>. However many of the famine converts remained Christians. The growth of Indian Christian community between the years 1851-1890, with emphasis on rate of increase, is given in the following table<sup>241</sup>.

Year	No. of Native Christians(Protestants)	Rate of Increase
1851	91,092	-
1861	1,38,731	52.3%
1871	2,24,258	61.6%
1881	4,17,372	86.1%
1890	5,59,661	34.0%

Since 1851 the many Malas and Madigas of Telugu districts living in villages expressed their readiness to renounce idol worship and embrace Christianity<sup>242</sup>. During the 1876-78 famine the rate of increase in conversions was high, and this involved socio

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<sup>240</sup> Mark Laing, *The Consequences of the 'Mass Movements': An Examination of the Consequences of Mass Conversion to Protestant Christianity in India*, Indian Church History Review, XXXV/2, Dec. 2001, p.p.91-104. Mass alleged conversions to Christianity in SPG areas of S. India following distribution of famine relief funds were reported in 1878. Papers and Correspondence of Secretary, Madras Corresponding Committee of CMS 1878-1880-CMS/B/OMS/C I2 025/Acc.No.s 16-25 of the Birmingham University Library Archive, Birmingham. Conversions multiplied during famines. However, mass conversions were not always resultant of famines. Mr. Lewis, missionary at Bellary, gave relief to famine victims without distinction of caste or creed. In their gratitude many caste Hindus wished to become Christians, his invariable reply was that they should wait until the famine was over. He had a great fear of Rice Christians. His services were recognized beyond missionary circles. Sir Richard Temple, the Governor General too visited Bellary and interviewed Mr. Lewis. Richard Lovett, History of the London Missionary Society, p.p.101-02, ACTC Archives, Hyderabad.

<sup>241</sup> Richard Lovett, *History of the London Missionary Society*, p.p.264-65.

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid*, p.138

economic and religious issues. Malas and Madigas of Kurnool, Cuddapah and Nellore from village after village continued to accept Christianity in view of prolonged sufferings from years of famine. This is also evident from the death rate in comparison between famine years and normal years as given in the table below<sup>243</sup>.

Ages	1874	1875	1876	1877
1yr. Below	88,856	96,457	90,586	109,849
1 – 12 yrs.	110,690	149,449	155,554	405,484
12 – 50 yrs	172,011	231,661	262,824	635,760
Over 50 yrs	149,772	163,693	171,460	405,273

The Brahmins suffered very little from the famine in comparison to low castes and therefore many of the low castes responded to Mass conversions (movement) positively as appended in 1881-census year in the former table above. About 3/5 of the Christians in India were in Madras Presidency and the Christians' ratio in every ten thousand was 228 in the Presidency<sup>244</sup>. However in 1890, the rate of increase in the population may be seen to have come down. But the growth rate of Christian population

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<sup>243</sup> Report of the Administration of the Madras Presidency during the years 1877-78, Madras, 1879, p.p.74-75

<sup>244</sup> Henry Waterfield, *Memorandum on the Census of British India 1871-72*, Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1875, p.19; W. Chichele Plowden, *Indian Empire-Census of 1881-Statistics of Population* Vol. II, Calcutta, 1883, p.6.

in the Presidency was tremendous at the dawn of 20<sup>th</sup> century as shown in the following table<sup>245</sup>:

Year	Total Population  (All Religions)	Percentage of Increase	Christian Population (Catholic,Protestant)	Percentage of Increase
1871	31,597,872		545,120	
1901	38,623,066	22.6	1,038,854	90.6

The census years between 1901 and 1931 shows again a steady growth in the Christian population on par with other major religions. (See Appendix II).

#### **Education: -**

About South India, Dubois: ‘in large towns and in the precincts of some of the more important temples schools were common, and Brahmins imparted instruction, some gratuitously and others for payment’. In Hindu pathasalas of Madras presidency known as ‘Pyal schools’, the Vedas, Upanishads, Sanskrit language and grammar were taught where as in Muslim Madrasas Persian, Arabic Gullistan and Bostan of Sadi were taught<sup>246</sup>. However, in all respects this learning was not scientific and rational and was on the decline. At this instance, Munro, the governor of Madras issued a minute to enquire

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<sup>245</sup> G.A.Oddie, *Hindu and Christian in South East India*, Curzon Press, London, 1991, p.153; Memorandum on the Census of British India 1871-72, Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1875, p.19.

<sup>246</sup> W. Hunter, *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, Calcutta, 1883, p.p56-58

into the condition of native education and asked accordingly the reports of the district collectors<sup>247</sup>. Campbell, the collector of Bellary writes, 'I am sorry to state that this is ascribable to the gradual, but general impoverishment of the country. The means of manufacturing classes have been of late years greatly diminished by the introduction of our own European manufactures in lieu of the Indian cotton fabrics...Many of our troops... affected the demand for grain...The greater part of the middle and lower classes of the people are now unable to defray the expenses incident upon the education of their offspring especially when there was no demand of their education by the state'<sup>248</sup>.

Munro's enquiry resulted in the setting up of a Board of Public Instruction in 1826<sup>249</sup>. Consequently, a Court of Directors permitted to start 14 district schools and 18 Taluk schools and a central school at Madras with an annual grant of Rs.50000, out of which a sum little more than the half was practically spent on education. In the year 1835, the government passed a resolution declaring that all educational funds should be expended only to impart western education through the medium of English to produce petty baboos to work in the company jobs. Subsequently in the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century greater progress in English education due to the efforts of missionary agencies to open Anglo-Vernacular schools in many parts of Andhra<sup>250</sup> was witnessed. A large number of Anglo-Vernacular schools and provincial schools were opened at places like Rajamundry, Kakinada, Guntur, Bellary etc. Here, special mention of the establishment

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<sup>247</sup> *Ibid*, p.p.16-18. Cornwallis implemented imperial policies instead of limited or conservative policies and introduced British principles and institutions. Cornwallis lacked faith and trusts in the Indian governmental institutions and Anglicized the Indian administration. George D. Bearce, *British Attitudes Towards India*, 1784-1758, London, 1961, p.p.65-101

<sup>248</sup> S.C. Raychoudhary, *Social, Cultural and Economic History of India*, p.p.183-184.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid*. Ragged schools or Sunday schools were introduced to the children of the poor at industrial areas in England, which was called the Madras system in England.

<sup>250</sup> Dr.K.Veerabhadrarao, *Influence of English on Telugu Literature (Telugu Volume)*, Secunderabad, 1960, p.220.

of Rate schools at Narsapur, Palcole, Penugonda and Achanta (Godavary)<sup>251</sup> may also be made as they attracted the urban and rural landed gentry to educate their children in western learning<sup>252</sup>.

The Godavari Rate schools continued beyond 1862 with a record opening of ninety-nine such schools<sup>253</sup> with 2000 inmates in the district<sup>254</sup>. In 1877, one of the first grade government colleges was established in Rajamundry. The Protestant missionaries of the area played an important role in the spread of education on the same lines as that of the government. This progress in education and the wealthy land ownership due to Godavari anicut<sup>255</sup> worked together to foster the growth of townships and also western ideas and culture in the district. The irrigation facilities provided by the construction of anicuts on Krishna and Godavari Rivers in 1840s and 1850s by Sir Arthur Cotton made the Krishna and Godavari deltas fertile and differentiated them from other parts due to rising grain prices, improvement in transport facilities, completion of irrigation works, introduction of commercial crops, extension of cultivation, and expansion of agricultural market. The general economic prosperity of the delta region afforded the establishment of schools and colleges, resulted in the spread of education and produced a western educated middle class<sup>256</sup>. The table (Appendix-I) shows the number of scholars who were

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<sup>251</sup> J. Mangamma, *The Rate Schools of Godavari*, State Archives, Hyderabad, 1963.

<sup>252</sup> C.D. Maclean, *Standing Information Regarding the Official Administration of the Madras Presidency*, 1879, p.398.

<sup>253</sup> These schools are Rate schools because they were partly supported by the native subscriptions, but their establishment was mainly due to the personal influence and aid of English officials. Report of the Administration of the Madras Presidency During the year 1875-76, Madras, 1877, p.358.

<sup>254</sup> In 1870-71 there were only 48 Rate schools with 877 pupils in Godavari district. Report on the Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency for the year 1870-71, p.19. This speaks the disinterest among the government officials to literate the natives.

<sup>255</sup> Henry Morris, *Descriptive and Historical Account of the Godavari District in the Madras Presidency*, London, 1878, p.87.

<sup>256</sup> D.A. Washbrook, *The Emergence of Provincial Politics 1870-1920*, Vikas publishing house, New Delhi, 1977, p.p.68-92

produced by the schools of various Andhra districts in Madras presidency starting from 1867 till the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century, among which Godavari stood first<sup>257</sup> and it was needless to say that this was due to reaping the fruit of constructed anicut across the mighty Godavari River by the engineering marvel of Sir Arthur Cotton who pioneered the Brethren Movement in Andhra.

### **Birth of Journalism:-**

The new education on Western lines and Christianity in the back burn nurtured revolutionary ideas in the minds of people of Andhra in general and Godavari in particular. Every branch of English education shocked Hindu prejudices. Sensible natives declared that if English secular instruction continued Hinduism would perish<sup>258</sup>. Certainly English secular education infused a rational outlook and brought change among the Andhra students to deprecate their age-old traditions, beliefs and practices<sup>259</sup>. One section of these students came into direct contact with their Christian teachers who exposed the evils and defects in the socio-religious conditions of Hindu society which resulted in their eventual conversion to Christianity. The other category of students just like those reformers such as Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu of Rajamundry<sup>260</sup> were very much influenced by Western education and Christian ethics, renounced idol worship, caste system and were led by a zeal to reform the society and religion in Andhra, contributing to the steady growth of journalism in the delta. Rajamundry, Cocanada, Bezawada, Machilipatnam, Amalapuram, Narasapuram etc. became centers of

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<sup>257</sup> Reports of Director of Public Instructions in the Madras Presidency, for the Years 1867-68 (Madras, 1868) and 1898-99 (Madras, 1899)

<sup>258</sup> Dr.K.Veerabhadrarao, *Influence of English on Telugu Literature*, p.232. Ithihas-XI, 1, 1983, pp.92-93.

<sup>259</sup> Prof. V. Ramakrishna, *Social Reform in Andhra*, p.56; S.N. Banerjea, *A Nation in Making*, Calcutta, 1925, p.308

<sup>260</sup> Prof. V. Ramakrishna, *Social Reform in Andhra*, p.67

journalism spreading progressive and rational ideas<sup>261</sup>. One revolutionary change in this period was the spread of emancipatory traits among women and the outcastes. Separate schools for girls were started by the missionary and non-missionary agencies<sup>262</sup> particularly in Godavari area, at places like Kakinada, Dowleswaram and Rajamundry and attempt was also made to educate the lower classes of sudras and outcastes who, in a large number were converted to Christianity. The new religion promised an all round development of their spiritual, social and economic resources<sup>263</sup>. The ‘Resources’ here must be widely understood to include the very core word ‘spiritual’ besides social and material, which provided a diverse aspect of one changing situation that enabled the converts to make a new meaning of their lives and to forge new identities and roles of evincing a middle path between tradition and modernity. Here conversion must not just be seen as an outward change of religion or allegiance out of materialist interest but demanded a root change in human nature<sup>264</sup> unto ‘doing and being good’ which was vividly highlighted by the Protestant ethic, and more emphatically brought in to force the practices of early Christians of the 1<sup>st</sup> century by the Brethren missionaries who pioneered the Godavary mission. St. Paul admonished his 1<sup>st</sup> century converts saying ‘if a man will not work, he shall not eat’ and ‘to work with quietness and eat their own

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<sup>261</sup> V.Rajagopal, *Fashioning Modernity in Telugu: Viresalingam and His Interventionist Strategy in ‘Studies in History’ Journal*, Vol 21, No.1, 2005,p.p.45-77; V. Lakshmana Reddy, *Telugu Journalism, Avatarana, Vikasam (Origin and evolution of Telugu journalism)*, Gopichand publications, Vijayawada,1985, p.p.105-138.

<sup>262</sup> In 1870-71 within the Madras Presidency 1,397 Telugu girls were studying. William Hunter, Report of the Indian Education Commission, Superintendent of Government Printing, Calcutta, 1883, p. 523; Kandukuri Veeresalingam, *Sweeya Charitramu*, Part-I (Autobiography), Rajahmundry, 1954, p.168. In 1899-1900 there were 399 Girls’ schools with 17,808 pupils in Andhra. The Godavari district constituted highest in number with 89 schools and 4893 pupils whereas Kurnool was the lowest with 13 schools and 545 pupils. Report on the Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency for the year 1899-1900, p.45.

<sup>263</sup> Mrs.J.N.Macrea (1876-1926), a Brethren missionary introduced the most promising skills in handicrafts to the native women of Godavary. Today, the women in thousands survived by these skilled craft products of export quality.

<sup>264</sup> Judith M. Brown, R.E. Frykenberg ed., *Christians, Cultural Interactions, and India’s Religious Traditions*, Routledge, London, 2002, p.7.



bread'.(II Thess.3:10-12). Envisioned by scriptural texts and persuasive notions of early Christianity the Brethren missionaries carried on the task of mission work in Andhra.

Initially the Brethren movement had originated in the more enlightened Godavary district (Narsapur and Palcole 1837) of Coastal Andhra (Northern Circars) with a gross missiological intensity and with humble beginnings at Chittoor (1837) of Rayalaseema. These early mission stations of the Brethren were the first of their kind in the entire country, founded by Anthony Norris Groves, the pioneer overseas Brethren missionary and the founder of Brethren Movement in the world<sup>265</sup>. Consecutively many Brethren missionaries worked in Andhra (Appendix V). Generally the churches planted by these missionaries have been called the New Testament or 1<sup>st</sup> century (of Christian Era) Pattern Assemblies and these at present (2001) number around 2,200<sup>266</sup> in the entire country with an estimated membership of 1,50,000. So great was the influence of this movement in the world as well as in Andhra that today there are churches connected with the Brethren Movement in over 100 countries and several major and minor movements which has sprung around the world and in Andhra as well, bear testimony to this. This movement had a sweeping effect exclusively in Andhra, as there are about 900 assemblies located in almost every town and in most villages, with an estimated membership of 80,000<sup>267</sup>. These assemblies, since early 19<sup>th</sup> century, made the scriptures their guide and pattern, and have been entirely free from traditionalism, formalism and worldliness as they have always been away from Ritualism. Unlike the Anglican missionaries the Brethren sect

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<sup>265</sup> Andrew Porter, *Religion Versus Empire?* p.194

<sup>266</sup> The number of Assemblies in India are in excess the total number of assemblies in U.K, USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand put together.

<sup>267</sup> Directory of Brethren Assemblies in India (2001); Ithihas, Vol.XVIII-1, Jan-June 1992, p.56. Godavari Delta Assemblies (Coastal Andhra) constitute about 300 plus Assemblies and other parts of Andhra constitute about 600 Assemblies

concentrated on personal salvation rather than mass conversions<sup>268</sup>. As a result personal holiness was increasingly emphasized among the adherents. The movement was exemplified by the rise of a social Gospel for breaking the barriers of caste, colour, creed and regionalism among converts. The convocations, Gospel campaigns and the Bible schools held by the missionaries<sup>269</sup> brought people of all communities from various corners of India together under one roof, entombed social exclusivism and inaugurated social mobility and equality, which were exclusively marked by inter state and inter caste marriages and new relationships. The equality and the egalitarianism were clearly on the agenda of these assemblies and giving quarter to discriminations on the basis of the clergy and the laity and on caste has been a myth among the Brethren. The Brethren assemblies in Andhra, Kerala and elsewhere in India and the Hindu Church (a church in an Indianised form) in Tamilnadu did not 'accept Christianity in a cow-borne obedience, as the upper caste nationalists claimed, but indeed consciously and deliberately moved away from one set of religious symbolism, now perceived as sectarian and unjust, to another, again perceived as universal and egalitarian and hence suitable for the situation'<sup>270</sup>. What the author, Aloysius desired to communicate in the above statement was that the Brethren Church, was not merely a mission but rather a movement.

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<sup>268</sup> One Brethren missionary, J. Norman Macrea criticized the mass conversions as 'wholesale profession of Christianity'. *Echoes of Service* (Brethren Magazine): A Record of Labour of Missionaries in Many lands, Bath, London, Feb. 1883, p.24.

<sup>269</sup> Narsapur and Coimbatore conventions held once in a year. *Echoes of Service* (Brethren Magazine): A Record of Labour of Missionaries in Many lands, No.435, August-Part I, 1899, p.227; About 12000 people attended the Narsapur crusade of 1959. Tatford, *The Challenge of India*, *Echoes of Service*, 1883, p.124.

<sup>270</sup> G. Aloysius, *Religion as Emancipatory Identity*, New Age International Publishers, New Delhi, 1998, p.p.18-19.

## CHAPTER V: EVANGELICALISM OF THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY ENGLAND AND BRETHRENISM

As observed in Chapter Three, the Evangelical movement was a product of the Church of England, mainly powered by the middleclass bourgeoisie<sup>1</sup>. The leadership of this movement was highly influenced by politics. As high-ranking members of the Whig party, they played a crucial role in both, policies making in the government and establishing the party's power base.<sup>2</sup>

Anglican Evangelical understood service to the world- not just to the people of England. The agenda for action included varied aspects of philanthropy, public campaigns against slavery, long hours of labour, factory conditions, and for education, public health, Chartism and trade unions<sup>3</sup>. All qualities, influences and manifestations of this dynamic Evangelicalism are critically examined, and as a conclusion, I state how the

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<sup>1</sup> David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1780s to the 1980s*, Baker Book House, 1992, p.4. Evangelicalism was the strongest ideological influence very much present in the Victorian age. The term had been applied to the Low Church wing of Anglicanism, which stressed biblical preaching and adopted to hold the deity of Lord Jesus Christ, as opposed to sacramentalism and belief in the authority of church tradition. It shaped public opinion, dictated morals and values and created social divisions.

<sup>2</sup> J.H. Nichols, *History of Christianity 1650-1950: Secularization of the West*, The Ronald Press Co, New York, 1956, p.p. 65-66. Anglican Evangelicals mostly were middle class people. Whig Party constituted the most important part of middle class opinion.

<sup>3</sup> Historians incorrectly identify Evangelicals with particular denominations; some historians identify Evangelicals with liberals and other historians identify them with Methodists. F.K. Brown argues that Evangelicals were 'not Dissenters and not Methodists but deeply conservative members of the Church of England. F.K. Brown, *Fathers of The Victorians: The Age of Wilberforce*, CUP, Cambridge, 1961, p.5. Gradually 'Evangelicals' were to refer to all those Non-conformists, who observed the evangelical form of Christianity intently and its diffusion in the world. Ian Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness: The Evangelical Impact on the Victorians*, Jonathan Cape Ltd, London, 1976, p. 16.

Brethren movement as an early faith mission was unique and influential in its historical path to progress<sup>4</sup>.

Although Evangelicalism was customarily a 19<sup>th</sup> century phenomenon, the evangelical spirit had manifested itself throughout church history. The Evangelical faith, therefore, was not a 19<sup>th</sup> century phenomenon as John Stott observed, Evangelical Christianity was Apostolic and pushed New Testament Christianity. The Evangelical revivalist John Wesley also affirmed 'It is the plain old Christianity, which I teach.' The commitment, discipline and missionary zeal that distinguish Evangelicalism were features of the early apostolic church, the Fathers, the early Monasticism, the Medieval Reform movements (Franciscan and Dominicans), the Waldensians and the Reformation precursors Wycliffe, Hus, and William Tyndale. George Marsden, a prominent Evangelical, interpreted Evangelicalism in its minimal character, as a dynamic movement, with common heritages, common tendencies, an identity, and an organic character.<sup>5</sup> Thus evangelicalism denotes a style as much as a set of beliefs and established discernible common themes. However Philip Schaff, a 19<sup>th</sup> century church historian, in his book *'The Creeds of Christendom'* (1977) affirmed that the Evangelicals were not a single group with an agreed creed or unifying structure. Any attempt to understand the nature of Evangelicalism has to recognize both the coherence that enables Evangelicalism to accommodate these very diverse groups. Second, defining Evangelicalism is no easy task, as the multiplicity of attempts to do so indicate. Attempts

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<sup>4</sup> Roger Steer, *Church on Fire: The Story of Anglican Evangelicals*, Grand Rapids, Baker House, 1999, p.9. It is out of this zealous spiritualism that modern missionary movements were born in England by the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century. M.D. David, *Missions: Cross Cultural Encounter And Change In Western India* ISPCK, 2001, p.35.

<sup>5</sup> George Marsden, ed., *Evangelicalism and Modern America*, Grand Rapids, 1984.

to define the core that holds these varieties of Evangelicalism together vary greatly. Perhaps the most fitting and concise attempt to define the core of Evangelicalism is that of John Stott: evangelicals are 'Bible people and Gospel people.'<sup>6</sup> In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century Brethrenism stood for this ecclesiastical fulfillment and represented by distinguished personalities as Lord Shaftsbury, William E. Gladstone and John Henry Newman (after the demise of Wilberforce) of Anglican Church, the Non-Conformist groups like the Baptists with their aggressive preacher Charles Hudson Spurgeon and the Plymouth Brethren (of the Brethren Movement) with their fundamentalist and dispensationalist voices like John Nelson Darby, George Muller and Anthony Norris Groves<sup>7</sup>. Other individuals of British Evangelical vitality were Catherine and William Booth of Salvation Army. They all laid strong emphasis on Biblical authority, divine sovereignty, human responsibility, personal conversion, sanctification, missionary endeavour, prophecy and social action.<sup>8</sup> It had waged war on all manner of vice, profaneness and immorality.<sup>9</sup> Frances Trollope's book '*The Vicar of Wrexhill*', which was written during Victoria's accession, was a true portrayal of Evangelical convictions and emotions, as a young clergyman in the novel possessed those highly valued qualities. Every individual of the Victorian era, at every turn, was controlled by an obligation to the Evangelical discipline. Evangelicalism imposed on society, even classes which were

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<sup>6</sup> Alwyn Thomson, An Article 'Saints & Scriptures: The Bible and The Church' in *Lion & Lamb Journal*., p.5. Issue 19, Winter 1998/99, published by ECONI, Belfast, p.9.

<sup>7</sup> Poole-Connor, *Evangelicalism in England*, London, 1951, pp.222-23.

<sup>8</sup> Paul Henebury, An Article on 'Evangelicalism in England-Part I of III' published in CTS (The Conservative Theological Society- An Extension of Tyndale Theological Seminary & Bible Institute, Ft. Worth, Texas) *News Letter*, Feb.2002.

<sup>9</sup> Prof. Harold Perkin testifies the effect of Evangelicalism as he writes on the period in his book, 'between 1780 and 1850 the English ceased to be one of the most aggressive, brutal, rowdy, outspoken, riotous, cruel and bloodthirsty nations in the world and became one of the most inhibited, polite, orderly, tender-minded, prudish and hypocritical'. Harold Perkin, *The origins of Modern English Society*, 1780-1880, London, 1969, p.280.

indifferent to its religious basis and unaffected by its economic appeal, its code of Sabbath observance, responsibility, and philanthropy; of discipline in the home, regularity in affairs, became basis for Victorian morality and Victorian private and public values.<sup>10</sup>

David Bebbington in his book '*Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*' (1992) earmarked four noble qualities of Evangelical religion<sup>11</sup> as the first being 'Biblicism'. The Evangelicals placed great emphasis on the authority and study of the Bible wherein 'the rule of faith' provided the framework for reading the Bible.<sup>12</sup> The 16<sup>th</sup> century Reformation put the people in touch with the Bible in a new and powerful way, and the Bible then exerted and continues to exert an immensely powerful influence in the English speaking culture.<sup>13</sup>

The Protestant and Wesleyan traditions following Wesley, made the Methodist view of the Bible as an infallible moral guide.<sup>14</sup> Wesleyan congregation was mostly drawn from occupational groups and the Bible was central to most of the creeds.<sup>15</sup> All the major Protestant denominations devoted a great deal of time and effort to teaching the individual believer how to read the scriptures. Hurrell Froude, one of the leaders of the Oxford movement commented that 'the Bible and the Bible only is the religion of

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<sup>10</sup> Pat Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, OUP, Oxford, 1999, p.19

<sup>11</sup> David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain.*, p.p.2-3.and p.p. 5-17.

<sup>12</sup> Alwyn Thomson, in *Lion & Lamb Journal*, p.9.

<sup>13</sup> Jeffery Cox, *The English Churches In a Secular Society: Lambeth, 1870-1930*, OUP, Oxford, 1982, p.276.

<sup>14</sup> H. McLeod, *Religion and the Working Class in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, Macmillan, London, 1984, p.26.

<sup>15</sup> J.F.C. Harrison, *The Second Coming: Popular Millenarianism, 1780-1850*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1979, p.117.

Protestants'.<sup>16</sup> Evangelical parents taught their children to read the scriptures, memorize their catechism and summarize the sermons they heard.<sup>17</sup> Fundamentalists took the Bible literally and prided themselves on the ignorance of every book except the Bible. This type of fundamentalism labeled as hard-line Biblicism was the order, typically found among the sects like Primitive Methodists and the Plymouth Brethren of the later day. Even though a kind of faith crisis swept the 19<sup>th</sup> century England, the influence of the Plymouth Brethrenism or the Brethren movement had been wide spread.<sup>18</sup> Almost everyone was a biblicist in early 19th century England despite a few who were troubled by the situation. The biblicism of the Evangelical age has also influenced many lands and many cultures traveling beyond the shores of the British isles. All missionaries coming to India adopted widespread preaching of the Bible and translated and distributed the Bible in the various languages of the Indian people.<sup>19</sup>

The second major Christian orthodoxy that Bebbington suggested was 'Crucicentrism' or the central role of the cross. Bible prophetic references to the atoning blood by Christ, the Messiah, had prominent place in the devotions even from the old testament days. The Evangelical theology that relates to this impulse is insightful. Crucicentrism or Christ crucified on cross- has been a dominant and most emphasized

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<sup>16</sup> John Henry Newman, (Maisie Ward. Ed), *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, Sheed & Ward, London, 1945, p.16.

<sup>17</sup> Clive Dewey, *The Mind of the Indian Civil Service*, OUP, Delhi, 1996, p.22.

<sup>18</sup> E.H. Broadbent, *The Pilgrim Church*, Pickering & Inglis, London, 1931, p.p.372-379.

<sup>19</sup> Dr. Fredk. A. Tatford, *That The World May Know: The Challenge Of India*, Vol. 3, Echoes of Service, Bath, London, 1983, p.75. William Carey and his colleagues had been responsible for the translation or publication of the scriptures into 40 languages or dialects in India.

Christian tradition since the early days of Christian era.<sup>20</sup> Dozens of Hymns and Gospel songs as well as evangelical sermons bear witness to this.<sup>21</sup>

The Crucicentrism of Protestant tradition was strongly advocated by Wesley and Whitefield of Methodism in the 18th century. Before Wesley this theological content of sermons as rare and people seldom knew of salvation by remission of sins through the Blood of Christ. Even during the Wesleyan revival the working class groups were altogether deaf to the doctrine of atonement. Therefore this characteristic crucicentrism was not fully exposed to the working class as was maintained by historians. This is not to affirm that working class Evangelicals altogether did not believe in atonement.<sup>22</sup>

However the hearers from the general populace of the Methodists believed in atoning and saving power of Jesus Christ. Therefore it was said that Methodism was a religion of the heart. They concentrated more on the subjective effects of the cross than the objective work of it. They preached passionately about the Christian following Christ to the cross daily, which means the true church of Christ always bears the mark of the cross - not of the Popish (Pope's religion) sign of a material cross in stone or marble. Therefore, the early Methodists were understood to have reverence for Good Friday or the Crucifixion Day of Christ rather than for festive Easter.<sup>23</sup>

The third mark of Christian orthodoxy denotes the complexities of sin and conversion. Conversionism is a belief in Jesus, which makes the believer aware of sin. An immediate conversion lifts the burden of sin; this is a supernatural event, as there is

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<sup>20</sup> David Bebbington. , *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.p.14-17.

<sup>21</sup> H. Mc Leod, *Religion and Irreligion in Victorian England: How Secular Was the Working Class* (Headstart History, Banger, 1993), p. 38.

<sup>22</sup> Ian Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness*, p.16 and p.41.

<sup>23</sup> Jay. E, *Religion of the Heart*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1979.



no human route out of evil. The meaning and definition of conversionism was beautifully narrated by a late Victorian journalist G.W.E Russell out of his evangelical childhood experience - 'that all mankind were utterly sinful, and therefore in danger of Hell; that God had provided deliverance in the atoning death of Christ; and that, if only we would accept the offer of salvation so made, we were forgiven, reconciled and safe. That acceptance was conversion'.<sup>24</sup> So, this was the view and conviction of the Evangelicals of the total depravity of man and his immediate need for salvation in view of the fear of death and Hell.<sup>25</sup> The Novelist, Charles Kingsley recalled his childhood days saying 'I was a child of Hell, and a lost and miserable sinner, I used to have access of terror, and fancy that I should surely wake next morning in everlasting flames'.<sup>26</sup> Preachers urgently called the sinners to escape the wrath of God. Methodist preacher Wesley urged his hearers to escape damnation by accepting the redeeming work of Christ on the cross. Fear of death was not an evangelical creation but the Evangelicals envisaged a hope of Heaven through death. Early Methodist songs mostly composed with promised heavenly crowns, robes, rewards and heavenly abode of gold and precious stones.<sup>27</sup>

Death was a primary concern of Evangelical theology. Pious Evangelicals were curious to achieve a good death. For those who professed to have been saved through conversion, the manner of their dying could provide the final proof of salvation. For the devout Evangelical who feared that he had missed the experience of conversion, the hour

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<sup>24</sup> G.W.E. Russel, *A Short History of Evangelical Movement*, London, 1918,p.140.

<sup>25</sup> F.W. Bourne, *The Bible Christians : their Origin and History (1815-1900)* p.4.

<sup>26</sup> Ian Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness*, p. 188.

<sup>27</sup> J.S. Werner, *The Primitive Methodist Connexion*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1984, p.p. 150-155.

of death was the last opportunity that allowed the dying a death into a triumph.<sup>28</sup> Diseases like Cholera and disasters in the industrial circles often led the working classes to conversions. Evangelical conversions were intense and dramatic. Conversions often followed serious illness or the sudden death of a loved one in Victorian families. These experiences were not only limited to fresh converts and the backsliders also could be brought back to the Evangelical fold.<sup>29</sup> Methodism had a big following among the workers. Thus, Evangelicalism worked out an individual improvement and gave an egalitarian and collective twist to the middle and working classes.<sup>30</sup>

The working class had different kinds of organizations related to work and its own definitions of leisure, particularly on Sundays. Churches formed outreaches into the working class, which largely failed due to their leisure activities such as drinking, fighting, smoking, engaging in lowly entertainment like cock-fighting, wrestling, cards, swearing and Sabbath breaking.<sup>31</sup> Bready narrated how 18<sup>th</sup> century England sunk in deep savagery, which was characterized by ‘the wanton torture of animals for sport, the bestial drunkenness of the populace, the inhuman traffic in African Negroes, the kidnapping of fellow country men for exportation and sale as slaves, the mortality of parish children, the universal obsession with gambling, the savagery of the prison system and the penal code, the welter of immorality, the prostitution of the theatre, the growing prevalence of lawlessness, superstition and lewdness; the political bribery and corruption, the ecclesiastical arrogance and truculence, the shallow pretensions of Deism, the

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<sup>28</sup> Pat Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, OUP, Oxford, 1999, p.p. 36-37. ‘Smile of death’ in the face of Little Nell was ecstatically described by Charles Dickens in his novel ‘Old Curiosity Shop’

<sup>29</sup> J.S. Werner, *The Primitive Methodist Connexion*, p.p. 153-155.

<sup>30</sup> H.B. Kendall, *The Origin and History of the Primitive Methodist Church*, (Edwin Dalton, London, n.d.), vol.I, p.p. 231-232.

<sup>31</sup> J. Moore (ed.), *Religion in Victorian Britain*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1992, vol.3, p. 251.

insincerity and debasement rampant in church and state – such manifestations suggest that the British people then perhaps were as deeply degraded and debauched, as any people in Christendom’.<sup>32</sup> Groups like Salvation Army took on the popular music of the time - brass bands – and populist militarism by wearing uniforms, but only produced a tiny working class sub culture, rather than mass conversion. In such circumstances, the only successful point of contact, devised by the Evangelicals to convert, with the working class was the Sunday school movement. The most striking and visible sign of Evangelical Godliness was the ‘Sabbatarianism’ i.e. the observance of Sabbath on Sundays.<sup>33</sup> One of the Ten Commandments was ‘Six days thou shalt labour, the seventh day is the day of rest’. Therefore, no form of work or entertainment should be taken up. The only leisure day for working class was Sunday and saw industrial towns filled with playing children and the working classes spilling into the streets. To engage them in religious devotion and secular education, the Sunday schools were established.<sup>34</sup>

There were camp meetings, revival meetings, prayer meetings, tea meetings, love feasts, large conventions and conferences, processions, hymns, banners etc., to woo the public and admonish them on religious lines. Evangelical conversionism dismissed the ‘profane’ recreations as sinful and replaced them with the above alternative evangelical

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<sup>32</sup> J. Wesley Bready, *England: Before and After Wesley*, Hodder & Stoughton, 1939, p.p. 11, 14.

<sup>33</sup> Ian Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness*, p.p. 102-110.

<sup>34</sup> M.J.D. Roberts, *Making English Morals: Voluntary Association and Moral Reform in England, 1787-1886*, OUP, Oxford, 2004, p.p.223-226; Charles Dickens in Chapter.3 of his ‘*Little Dorrit*’ describes the dullness of the Victorian Sunday as follows:

‘Everything was bolted and barred that could by possibility furnish relief to an Overworked people. No pictures, no natural or artificial wonders of the ancient World-all taboo...Nothing to see but streets, streets, streets. Nothing to breathe But streets, streets, streets...Nothing for the spent toiler to do but to compare the Monotony of his last six days with the monotony of his seventh’.

The pressures towards discipline and order, extended from the factory on one hand, the Sunday school on the other into every aspect of life: leisure, personal relationships, speech, manners etc., was thoroughly explained in E.P. Thompson, *The Making of English Working Class*, Harmondsworth, 1968, p.p.442-3.

vocations. The conversion zeal of Evangelicalism hatched a notion that Britain had a christianizing and colonizing mission to the heathens of the world, and India was no exception. This ideology powerfully operated in the hearts of most English men and women of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and many of them became missionaries. Throughout the history of imperial expansion in India missionary conversionism offered the British public a model of civilized expansionism and colonial community management. Thus theology of conversionism left extensive influence and far reaching consequences on the entire world through the missions and had England exalted among nations.<sup>35</sup>

Finally, the most influential Christian orthodoxy of Evangelicalism with a wide range of scope was activism.<sup>36</sup>

Evangelical preaching or evangelism was one facet of activism: it stressed the way of salvation through Jesus. The main aim was to convert the people to a new way of life; to strengthen the converts so that they might shun old bad habits and old bad friends and whatever evil was there to distinguish them from the unsaved. This separatedness should be exhibited not only through evangelism but also in adaptation of a puritanical code of behaviour. Methodists felt the reformation of manners as important to the working class, so was it to middle class evangelicals. Methodism was hostile to open immorality and enforced strict discipline to the followers. Wesley developed a doctrine of entire sanctification. The reformation doctrine of the justification was subordinated by

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<sup>35</sup> Ian Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness*., p. 85.

<sup>36</sup> David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*., p.p. 10-12.

Wesleyan sanctification. Therefore this Evangelical activism or the Methodist perfection was one of the underlining theologies of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>37</sup>

Evangelical activism possessed a transformation device: it stressed the importance of lay helpers and did not focus only on the pastor and of the shifting from the parish churches to cottage prayer meetings. According to Bourne, these meetings made an amazing change, hymns were sung at almost every house. These prayer meetings helped to strengthen the sense of community and social solidarity, as people met and prayed in each other's homes; it also allowed humble people to participate in a relaxed atmosphere. Women, who were in seclusion at home, were the beneficiaries from this. The preachers even went to the extent of preaching and holding offices in churches. The participation of the youth in the evangelism was also encouraged. Shouting, singing and loud prayers were also witnessed commonly in the Methodist itinerancy and prayer meetings, believed to have held under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.<sup>38</sup>

There was also the belief, common to working class evangelicals and seculars alike, that through intellectual and moral development and regeneration, the poor could improve their lives. A method to enlightenment adopted by secularists was education. Since education was the privilege of the rich, the poor had mixed feelings about it. Working class evangelicals dismissed reading the books other than the Bible, much against the persuasion of the middle classes.<sup>39</sup> As this was an age of evangelical activism there were a lot of societies and missions and thus men were needed for active

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<sup>37</sup> John Wesley, *The Methodist – A Plain Account of His Life and Work*, Eaton & Mains, New York, 1903, Written by an Unnamed Methodist Preacher, p.p.182-266.

<sup>38</sup> J.T. Wilkinson, *Hugh Bourne 1772-1852*, Epworth Press, London, 1952, p.33.

<sup>39</sup> Clive Dewey, *The Mind of the Indian Civil Service*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1996. p.41.

conversions.<sup>40</sup> Tholfson observes that early 19<sup>th</sup> century radicalism embodied a militant activism, derived from enlightenment liberalism imbibed with plebeian energy and egalitarianism.<sup>41</sup> In consequence early Methodists were prone to political movements and trade unions from the beginning. Even Evangelicalism among the working classes itself was a declaration of liberty and equality, and can be seen as part of the growing egalitarian movement of the time. Kent has compared Methodist chapels of the time to citadels from which attacks on the social and economic evils were spearheaded.<sup>42</sup>

By the 1820s, a shift had occurred in evangelical activism: laymen preachers and activists were replaced by the enlightened itinerants of social status and academic qualifications. Itinerancy meant respectable preachers traveling from town chapel to town chapel. Membership became increasingly middle class when compared to the growth rate of working classes. David Bebbington affirms that it was activism, stemming from enlightenment optimism and the doctrine of assurance, which created evangelicalism out of the old dissenting traditions.<sup>43</sup>

This is an ever-asked question whether the Evangelical activism only limited to evangelism by its heterogeneous ways or are there any social responsibilities to fulfill by its widest scope. The example shown by Jesus in his earthly days was ‘went about...teaching...and preaching (Matt.4: 23) and went about doing good and healing’ (Acts10: 38). Accordingly, throughout history, the church trod in the footsteps of its Saviour and has been accomplishing evangelism and philanthropy respectively. Therefore, philanthropy or social concern is another facet of Evangelical activism.

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<sup>40</sup> *Ibid*, p.65.

<sup>41</sup> T.R. Tholfson, *Working Class Radicalism in Mid Victorian England*, Croom Helm, London, 1976, p.50.

<sup>42</sup> J. Kent, *Holding the Fort*, Epworth Press, London, 1978, p. 40.

<sup>43</sup> David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain.*, p.p. 74-75.

The Evangelicals of the century were instrumental in founding worldwide missions to spread the Gospel. Wilberforce, the high priest of Evangelicalism,<sup>44</sup> Hannah More, the ‘high priestess’ were politically and socially highly active. Here was a member of the Society for effecting the Abolition of the African Slave Trade, composed important Slavery Poems of the abolition period.<sup>45</sup> Her poem ‘The Sorrows of Yamba’ or ‘The Negro Woman’s Lamentation’, which appeared in 1795, advocated missionary activity as a benign replacement for the incursions of slave traders, moved the hearts of the people, and thus paved the way for passing of Anti-Slavery bill in 1807.<sup>46</sup> During the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century, Theodore Weld, a disciple of American evangelist Charles Finney and an American equivalent and archetype of Wilberforce, gave his whole life to the anti-slavery struggle.<sup>47</sup> Another evangelical M.P Shaftsbury worked vigorously to bring legislation against the plight of lunatics, employment of children as climbing boys, chimney sweeps, women and children in the coalmines. Charles Kingsley, an evangelical clergyman and a novelist narrated the plight of children in his work ‘The Water Babies’.<sup>48</sup> Shaftsbury was a professional philanthropist and had an asylum of 30,000 homeless children and more than a million children without schooling.

Missionaries of 19<sup>th</sup> century led practical programmes of relief and development. They founded schools, hospitals and refuges to outcastes and they cared for the blind and the deaf, the orphaned and the widowed, the sick and the dying. This voluntary work was

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<sup>44</sup> John Holzmann, *William Wilberforce: God’s Politician, Sunlight Curriculum*, Colorado, 1997.

<sup>45</sup> Ian Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness*, p.19.

<sup>46</sup> Thomas, Helen. *Romanticism and Slave Narratives: Transatlantic Testimonies*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000, p. 170.

<sup>47</sup> Donald W. Dayton, *Discovering an Evangelical Heritage*, Harper & Row, 1976, p.25.

<sup>48</sup> Charles Kingsley, *The Water Babies*, Penguin Popular Classics, England, 1995, p.p. 1-26.

felt to be obligatory and a matter of obedience to the Divine call to serve the poor, the needy and the suffering<sup>49</sup>

In the early decades of 20<sup>th</sup> century the social programmes of activism shifted to a more theoretical plane. This shift was termed by an American historian Timothy L. Smith as the ‘great reversal’. This change from a social agenda to a theological debate was due to their fighting the growing influences of theological liberalism within the church circles. In consequence, a series of books on fundamentalism (1910-15) appeared for the first time, ignoring the utility of social activism and emphasizing theological activism. The theological liberals made use of this opportunity in popularizing the social gospel in place of authentic gospel. Walter Rauschenbusch, a popular spokesman of the theological liberals published books titled ‘*Christianity and the Social Crisis*’ (1907), the ‘*Theology for the Social Gospel*’ (1917). Here he formulated a kind of communism or Christian socialism, envisaging the kingdom of god on earth with a reconstruction of society on Christian lines. His liberalist and misconceived theology was itself a betrayal of the authentic gospel. His social gospel was ahead of the saving grace of Christ. This great reversal was a phenomenon of the contemporary pressures and world wars. During 1960’s the evangelicals rebelled against the materialism and reversed the great reversal by safeguarding the evangelical consistency to its social responsibility. In 1974 an international congress on world evangelization was held at Lausanne to discuss about the issues of evangelism and social responsibilities. The Lausanne declaration identified evangelism and social, political involvements as part of Christian duty and of the two, evangelism was primary. In 1982, consultation on the relationship between evangelism

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<sup>49</sup> The Bible- Gospel According to Matthews 25: 31-46.



and social responsibility (CRESR) was the subject discussed in Grand Rapids. Members reiterated that the social action was an aid to evangelism. Evangelical activism changes the people and the changed people can change society.<sup>50</sup>

Evangelical activism of the 19<sup>th</sup> century also did encounter various cultures of the world. The gospel, which changed the people, also brought change in their cultural contacts within non-western societies. A country's laws, institutions and customs take centuries to develop; the ancient traditional societies like the one in India, resisted Christianity of the West. One missionary points that it is an uphill task to evangelize a culture endowed with written sacred books. For example Indian culture possesses vast treasury of ancient religious books like *Bhagavat Gita* etc. Such cultures have built-in resistance to Christianity. Hence, the European indologists and the British orientalists took the translation work of the sacred books of the east to make known the supremacy of the Christian religion.<sup>51</sup>

It is often supposed among the Christian theologians that gospel is a good thing and culture is bad. Evangelicals believe that culture is that force, which debases the gospel when the two come into contact. However, theologians have argued that there is no need to see gospel and culture as antagonistic to each other.<sup>52</sup> Richard Niebuhr in his book 'Christ and Culture' identifies five approaches to the relationship between Christianity and culture.

1. Christ against culture: - where it is denoted that the convert requires a retreat from his culture. This is the Christianity of monastery.

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<sup>50</sup> John Stott, *Issues Facing Christians Today*, GLS, Bombay, 1987, p.p. 5-10.

<sup>51</sup> Anthony Copley, *Religions in Conflict*, New Delhi, 1997.

<sup>52</sup> Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture*, Hagerstown, New York, Harper & Row, London, 1975.

2. The Christ of culture: - where it is expounded that Christ is reduced to a merely cultural head of one's own culture with an embodiment of all its values.
3. Christ above culture: - where it is affirmed that Christ is above culture, because the cultural institutions are seen to be founded in limited natural law, while Christ's supernatural law operates in a seeker to attain salvation.
4. Christ as the transformer of culture: - where it is viewed that the world and culture are in a fallen perverted condition and Christ converts people within their culture and societies so as people turning from self and the other gods with an understanding of Christian obedience to include cultural action.
5. Christ and culture in paradox: - where it is said that a paradoxical relationship exists between Christ and culture; and the seeker uses culture as a positive force toward true life, within the preserving grace of Christ.<sup>53</sup>

Therefore contextuality is the ability to respond in a meaningful way to the gospel within a set of cultural circumstances of a seeker or convert, without falling into a cultural syncretism, where non Christian beliefs and practices overshadow the authentic Christian faith. Still cultures resistant to Christianity, needed the Christian doctrines in an indigenous mould, something the Evangelicals were not good at.

## I

The Charter Act of 1833 provided for the establishment of Bishoprics in metropolitan cities of India. The company took over financial liability of the Anglican Church in India, drawn from the profits of Indian trade.<sup>54</sup> As historians observed, it was a

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<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*, p.p. 39-44.

<sup>54</sup> Warren Max, *Social History and Christian Missions*, London, 1967, p.p. 21-22.

period of unbounded Evangelical optimism about the likely effects of English Christianizing, civilizing and colonizing mission. The Evangelicals advocated measures for uplifting the downtrodden and the depraved in India and which necessitated the consolidation and extension of British rule in India.<sup>55</sup> Many cultured Hindus, facing a religio-cultural crisis, found a solution in religious reform, not in conversion.<sup>56</sup> This was also probably due to the development of nationalism<sup>57</sup>. Thus, various reformers like Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Viresalingam, Dayananda Saraswathi, and Vivekananda purged Hinduism of its flaws. Thus they organized the counter attack on the Evangelical ideology of Christian missionaries, who could not change their ideology to appeal to educated Indians. Secondly, most of the Socio- Religious reformers assimilated or synchronized many Christian principles into Hindu philosophy and practice and curtailed the onslaught of English Evangelicalism.<sup>58</sup>

Despite the avowed continued adherence to the Evangelical formula, there was a great change in missionary mentality in the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Almost immediately, the mission executives and field missionaries took the view that the native converts were of inferior quality and could not provide ministerial leadership, which, therefore would be consequently furnished by Europeans. They despised native Christian intellectuals, but not native economic support. They aimed at the creation of national churches, but until their full development had been reached the churches were kept in

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<sup>55</sup> Ian Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness*, p.p.87-93.

<sup>56</sup> Rajkumar Pruthvi, Rameshwari Devi, *History, Society and Culture in Modern India*, vol. I, Pointer publishers, Jaipur, 1998, p.p.241-243.

<sup>57</sup> Educated Indians thought they were ruled by God-fearing ruling class. They thought the language of faith and god akin to their own culture. They had no intention of turning Christians. The sceptical Hindus had the Brahmo samaj. Sen was exulting in the symbolic meaning of Jesus.

<sup>58</sup> Echoes Of Service (ed.), *Echoes' Quarterly Review*, vol.18 No.4 Oct-Nov, 1966 p.p.20-22, a Brethren magazine circulated by Echoes Of Service, Bath, London.

bondage to the missionaries. This imperialist viewpoint was an ecclesiastical variant of the growing devotion to the theory of the white man's burden and it reduced the native church to a colony of the 'imperial' church.<sup>59</sup> Mission paternalism hindered the self-development of the national church. Thus all missions were paternalistic, colonialist, and racist at the turn of the century. The rejection of colonialism by Asian Christians included rejecting western missionary paternalism, with its Eurocentrism and moral superiority.<sup>60</sup> However, by the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the role of traditional missionary and his legacies of Evangelicalism were brought to alteration by the Indian Christians following a growing sense of nationalism. They had unbounded Christianity of its western form and made it clear that Christianity was not an imported, alien, foreign religion but indigenous to Indian needs. The Brethren missionaries were representative voices of this development in India.

Evangelical activism, therefore, needs to be understood not only in terms of evangelism but also as a movement with cultural identity and contextualization. In the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, liberation theology, a new way of doing theology, has come up as a solution to the socio-political and economic miseries of mankind. About 1960 the Latin American theologians first advanced this as a redress to the centuries' upheavals of the people since the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492. Very soon this movement spread all over the world as oppression of mankind prevails everywhere and in every continent in one form or other. So the aim of the liberationists was to liberate the oppressed both spiritually and physically. Gustav Gutierrez in his book 'A Theology of

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<sup>59</sup> R. Pierce Beaver, *The History of Mission Strategy*, in *South Western Journal Of Theology*, vol.12, no. 2, spring 1970.

<sup>60</sup> Dana L. Robert, *Shifting Southward: Global Christianity since 1945*, in *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 24:2 (April 2000) p.52.

Liberation' speaks about salvation in terms of building the new society. He combined the socio-political sense of liberation with a biblical-theological meaning. Therefore, the liberation concept of salvation is not individual but a salvation of many or the church community.<sup>61</sup>

The liberation theologians do not overlook the personal sin, but they believe that the sins of individuals are the result of oppressive political and social systems. The prevailing poverty, widespread illiteracy, and increasing malnutrition and other constraints of injustice, inequity, insecurity etc., are the realities to be challenged and the overthrow of the oppressive structures and building the new society are the primary goals of the liberation theology. The corporate strength of the church community and their liberation from various kinds of oppression are often described in terms of political mission of the church.<sup>62</sup> The 20<sup>th</sup> century theology of liberation is a real shadow and culmination of evangelical activism of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and very much affected the trends in Dalit liberation theology of India. The church in her liberative mission among Dalits becomes more relevant and efficacious.<sup>63</sup>

Bebbington ignored to include one more character of Evangelicalism or the fifth mark i.e. inclusivism. Inclusivism is as often neglected Christian impulse of Evangelicalism. Though Evangelicals, the Dissenters, Methodists or Anglicans may disagree on many doctrinal issues, yet they were united on common characters.

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<sup>61</sup> Gustav Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation*, Trans. Caridad Inda and John Eagleson (Mary Knoll, New York: Orbis, 1973), p.88. Dr. Earnest W. Lefever, a church of the Brethren minister, is critical of the term 'theology of liberation' as though it is not a Biblical term, but he believes the term is Marxist in concept and practice.

<sup>62</sup> Ken Gible, *Becoming God's People*, The Brethren Press, Elgin, Illenois, 1979, p.p. 99-100.

<sup>63</sup> L.Stanislaus, *The Liberative Mission of the Church Among Dalit Christians*, ISPCK, -Delhi, 1999, p.p.181-191.

Historians often mistook Evangelicals with varied sense. F.K. Brown contends the historians' identification of Evangelicals with liberals or with Methodists and drew his conclusion that they were the conservative members of the Church of England.<sup>64</sup> In fact Evangelicalism embraced individuals from all denominations despite their doctrinal differences and called them together as Evangelicals. Of course, Evangelicalism as often said tended largely towards Calvinist teaching.

## II

### The Rational And the Voice of Reason

19<sup>th</sup> century British Protestantism was marked by several achievements; its trade and commerce, industrial revolution, its universities like Oxford and Cambridge, scientific discoveries, political and philosophical thought<sup>65</sup> However, the significant challenges such as Higher criticism and Darwinism promised grim future for British Protestantism. The failure of Anglican Church hierarchy to repudiate Scientific and Enlightenment thought and the radical free thinkers, thus the higher criticism on Christianity scandalized the Evangelicals. Higher criticism took the form of biblical criticism in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Further and more rapid arguments took place on these lines. Eduard Reuss (1834) invented a theory that the books of the Law (The Old Testament) were written after those of the Prophets, and the Psalms later still. This supposition gave rise to much speculation and confusion. New methods of applying historical study to the Bible were a new intellectual German approach spread to England caused embarrassing scandals within the church. In 1861 Benjamin Jowett and other liberal churchmen

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<sup>64</sup> F.K. Brown, *Fathers of the Victorians: The Age of Wilberforce*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1961, p.5.

<sup>65</sup> K.S. Latourette, *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age: A History of Christianity in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, vol. II, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1959, p.252.

published a volume entitled '*Essays and Reviews*', in which they expressed alarming notions. Jowett alone remarked, 'scripture must be interpreted like any other book'.<sup>66</sup> The tone of heresy was rampant among the clerics of the Church of England. Bishop John William Colenso expressed that only a small portion of Pentateuch was written in the time of Moses, and rejected the universal deluge during Noah and held that Joshua was a purely mythical character. These type of scandals resulted in denouncements, demands to recant, deposed officials and even led to judicial hearings. Many High Church officials clung to the infallibility of the Bible, but the catastrophe did not easily cease. Henry Sedgwick, a fellow of Trinity College at Cambridge publicly defended these clerical free thinkers and he and his associates tended towards agnosticism or hesitant Deism. Skepticism based on science crept into among younger Oxbridge men. By 1870 intellectual skepticism reached a stage 'if any scholarly under graduate at oxford was a Christian or proposed going into the ministry, he was regarded as a freak'.<sup>67</sup> Geological findings were also an added misery to some Evangelicals. As with so many Victorians, Geology did much to weaken the faith of an English prose writer John Ruskin, who was brought up in the strict evangelical discipline. Ruskin's rejected belief continued to exercise domination over his life, influencing his thoughts and actions.<sup>68</sup> It seemed to conservative Christians quite appalling that at a time when the impregnable rock of Holy Scripture was being undermined by Darwin and his allies, a group of those whose sacred duty should have been to shore it up again had conspired to hammer their wedges not under it but into it.

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<sup>66</sup> Alan Gauld, *The Founders of Psychical Research*, Schocken Books, New York, 1968, p.p. 49-51.

<sup>67</sup> K.S. Latourette, *The Nineteenth Century in Europe-The Protestant and Eastern Churches-Christianity in a Revolutionary Age: A History of Christianity*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1959, p.p.294-296.

<sup>68</sup> Joan Evans, *John Ruskin*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1954, p. 88 and p. 173.

The novel '*North and South*' written by Elizabeth Gaskell, was a primary witness to the so-called religious doubt that had swept the English society from clergy to laity. Chapter IV of the novel depicts Mr. Hale's desertion of vocation as clergy in the Church of England. Mr. Hale informs his daughter of his decision as follows 'I must no longer be a minister in the Church of England...I can meet the consequences of my painful, miserable doubts; but it is an effort beyond me to speak of what has caused me so much suffering'. His daughter exclaimed 'doubts, pap! doubts as to religion'. Father said, 'I suffer for conscience' sake my child...I must do what my conscience bids...' In this way clerics in both Catholicism and Protestantism engulfed in doubts, gave up their inherited faith and yielded to new knowledge. Many evangelical homes turned cold in religious faith.<sup>69</sup>

The theories of Darwin influenced the centers of learning in a big way. The church at first did not have any answers to Darwin and, as a result, retreated into a false spiritualism and Darwinism was thought a proposed scientific fact. The creation theory had no effect. It was not until the early 1950s that a movement called creationism actually emerged, with scientists who said that evolution is mere theory and there is evidence of design (which is also an irrational belief with a pseudo-scientific basis). Many so belligerently criticized the Christian theory of creation as superstition, speculated about the non-existence of God. Conversely, there was always a strong religious element, which vehemently reacted against Pro-Darwinists. Cardinal Manning of the Catholic Church denounced Darwin's theory of evolution as a brutal philosophy and said 'there is no God, and the ape is our Adam'. Bishop Wilberforce ridiculed T.H. Huxley 'whether it

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<sup>69</sup> K.S. Latourette, *The Nineteenth Century in Europe*, p.p.1-2.



was through his grand father or his grand mother that he claimed descent from a venerable ape'.<sup>70</sup> The controversy mounted up between Anti and Pro-Darwinists and David Strauss, a biblical critic commented as follows:

‘Vainly did we philosophers...decree the extermination of miracles...

Darwin has demonstrated this force, this process of nature; he has opened

The door by which a happier coming race will cast out miracles, never to return.<sup>71</sup>

The English novelist George Elliot, who was an Evangelical in her early age, was carried away by the writings of David Strauss from Christian faith to atheism. She found substitutes for religion in serving the society.<sup>72</sup> Many Victorians maintained balance between science and religion into harmonious entente. Although the myth of the conflict of science and religion was by now well established, it should also be noted that plenty of individuals continued to have a Christian faith and to participate in the sciences. An Evangelical Christian poet William Cowper suffered from periods of severe depression, which caused him frequently to doubt his fervent evangelical Christianity, the source of his much-loved hymns.<sup>73</sup> The sudden death of Hallam, his friend, was a shock to poet Tennyson. He began to question death as the final end. He was unconvinced that this stage of life was indeed all but there would be life to exist in a Christian context and later wrote the poem ‘In Memoriam’. He observed the moral sublimity of the doctrines of Christ, besides scientific truths. Thus the poet’s testimony to a faith that was strong

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<sup>70</sup> Amy Cruse, *The Victorians and Their Reading*, The Riverside Press, Boston, 1935, p.p. 94-95.

<sup>71</sup> Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Darwin and the Darwinian Revolution*, W.W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1962, p.p.388-390.

<sup>72</sup> Timothy Larsen, *The Power of Books: For The Victorians, Reading Could be the Door Way to Doubt or to Faith*, *Christian History & Biography Magazine*, Issue 86, Spring 2005, Vol. xxiv, No.2, p.14.

<sup>73</sup> Stephen Prickett, *Reading the Text: Biblical Criticism and Literary Theory*, Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1991, p.220.

enough to wither the onslaughts of religious doubt and death itself. There are nearly three hundred references to the Bible in the poems of Tennyson giving scriptural instructions. He recited a poem ‘Timbuctoo’ in Cambridge in 1829. The page has this footnote ‘be ye perfect, even as your father in heaven is perfect’. His favourite theme was the story of Adam and Eve, and occurs again and again in ‘The Day Dream’, ‘Maud’, and ‘In Memoriam’. The century Magazine observed, as quoted in Indian Evangelical Review (1890) that ‘Malaria is no less fatal than pestilence. The chief peril, which threatens the permanence of Christian faith and morals, is none other than the malaria of modern letters – an atmosphere of dull, heavy, faithless materialism. Into this narcotic air, the poetry of Tennyson blows like a pure wind from a loftier and serener height’.<sup>74</sup> Tennyson’s own statement was that the wonders of science should draw some men to God.

The new knowledge of science and religion were not always at conflict but could co-exist. Mathew Arnold, another Victorian poet and son of Thomas Arnold, a distinguished Head Master of Rugby school, wandered between two realms of science and religion, and expressed his dilemma as follows:

Wandering between two worlds, one dead,  
The other powerless to be born  
With no where yet to rest my head  
Like these, on earth I wait forlorn.

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<sup>74</sup> K.S. Macdonald, ed., *The Indian Evangelical Review*, (A Quarterly Journal of Missionary Thought and Report, vol. LXII, Jan 1890, p.p.308-324.

He regretted the waning of the beliefs he had held in his boyhood.<sup>75</sup> To him, however, religion was all that mattered. His short poem 'Dover Beach' testifies the crisis of faith in the mid-Victorian world, and ended on a note of prophetic imagery. Even though he could not hold to orthodoxy, he wished England to remain religious and hoped that Christianity would be rethought in terms of the new knowledge of science.<sup>76</sup> Darwinism's impact made even Pietism gain a strong hold and deep root in Evangelicalism.

In the year 1882 a group of young dons from Trinity College, Cambridge, Henry Sedgwick, Frederick Myers, and Gerald Balfour were also turning to psychic research as a substitute for their lost Evangelical faith and founded the society for the Psychical Research. Committees were organized to examine telepathy, hypnotism, mesmeric trance etc.<sup>77</sup> With the founding of this society in England, the publications of its investigators relating to the unconscious mind emerged. Sigmund Freud concluded that behaviour can be caused by unconscious ideas, and that these ideas can be brought into consciousness under the right circumstances. This led to Jung's later conception of a collective unconscious. Freudianism also had an impact, especially after World War I. Freud asserted that God is merely a figment of our human imagination. Freud's ideas were very influential and his and Jung's psychoanalytic interpretations of religion remained popular in many circles. The Church was again taken by surprise and retreated even further.<sup>78</sup>

Frank Podmore established a research and debating group named Fabian Society, which was joined by young fallen away Evangelicals. Fabian executive committee was

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<sup>75</sup> Chadwick Owen, *The Victorian Church: An Ecclesiastical History of England Part II*, Adam & Charles Black, London, 1970, p.125.

<sup>76</sup> K.S. Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, Harper & Row, London, 1953, p.1073.

<sup>77</sup> W.H. Salter, *The Society for Psychical Research: An Outline of its History*, London, 1948, p.p. 8-14.

<sup>78</sup> Vinoth Ramachandra, *Gods that Fail: Modern Idolatry and Christian Mission*, London, 1996 p.p. 48-52.

comprised of Pease, Podmore, Annie Besant, George Bernard Shaw, Sidney Webb etc. The Fabians soon attracted the intellectuals of different walks of life. Bernard Shaw and Sydney Webb proposed a kind of socialism without giving up moral credit. Thus the Christian Socialist union was created in 1889 as a vehicle by which socialist doctrine would permeate the Anglican Church. It was said that the first Fabians were the drop out Anglicans from Evangelical homes and the union soon attracted about two thousand clergymen. Socialism was their new Evangelicalism.<sup>79</sup> The Fabian Society's London School of Economics and Political Science had in its fold philosophers like Bertrand Russell and H.G. Wells. Annie Besant, who too was brought up in an evangelical home, married the young clergyman, Frank Besant of Clapham, a suburb of London. Dissatisfied by the simplicity and nonritualist Evangelicalism, she fell away from the fold of Church of England, became an unbeliever and antagonist to Christianity and consequently was an active advocate of atheism in the National Secular Society in London. When she joined the Fabian Society, she was easily the most renowned member of the society.<sup>80</sup> Her enthusiasm and energies were diverted to the cult of Theosophy of Madame Blavatsky, whom she succeeded as president of Theosophical Society in 1891 with headquarters at Adayar, India. Very soon she became an ardent follower of Hinduism.<sup>81</sup>

Another Fabian who lapsed from the Evangelical fold was George Bernard Shaw, even though there was some sort of Christian fringe in his socialist ideas. Socialism was his Evangelicalism. Once the American economist Henry George delivered a lecture in

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<sup>79</sup> Norman Mackenzie and Jeanne Mackenzie, *The Fabians*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1977, p. 110-184.

<sup>80</sup> St. John Ervine, *Bernard Shaw: His Life, work and Friends*, Constable & Co., Ltd., London, 1956, p. 134.

<sup>81</sup> *Annie Besant, An Autobiography*, Penguin Books, New Delhi, p.p.225-332.

London in 1884, which converted Shaw to socialism and at once Shaw joined newly founded Fabian Society. Shaw generally would not call himself a Christian and was very critical of Christianity. As a theater critic, he used all his wit in his writings to dispel the artificialities and hypocrisies of the Victorians, in particular the evangelicals. Most of his plays postulate a charming satire and sarcasm of Christianity.<sup>82</sup> One of his plays '*Major Barbara*' is a good example for this.<sup>83</sup> Shaw dealt with true and false side of religious life in '*Androcles and the Lion*' in a philosophical sense about early Christianity. The summary of the play is that one must have something worth dying for in order to make life worth living, suggested in the light of martyrdom of early Christians in the arena.<sup>84</sup>

The fundamental theme of Christianity lay in the supernatural mission of Jesus as written in the Gospels. Shaw maintained in the preface to '*Methuselah*' (1921) that 'all the sweetness of religion is conveyed to the world by the hands of story tellers and image makers'. Thus his rationalized mind disabled him accepting supernatural element in a religion. Shaw disbelieved the atonement of sins by Jesus, which he defined as crossianity. Shaw interpreted the very central doctrines of Christianity as beyond the hope of reason and as myths produced by human imagination. Thus a kind of pluralist trend and biblical disagreement was spread among the skeptical critics with the introduction of new scientific and rational advancements and they directed assaults on

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<sup>82</sup> George Bernard Shaw, A.C. Ward, ed., *Androcles And the Lion*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1972, p.p.58-59.

<sup>83</sup> George Bernard Shaw, *Major Barbara*, Preface (1906). Shaw has his heroine a major in the Salvation Army, a mission founded by William Booth as an Evangelical body of Christian commanders and soldiers to advocate evangelism and social action. A character Undershaft, an armaments manufacturer, argues with his daughter Major Barbara about the effects of their differing views upon the poor. Undershaft, although a dealer of ammunitions, his views look like religious in the highest sense, when compared to those hypocrisies of salvationist Evangelicals. Shaw condemns them as bureaucrats, who will be no better than the bishops of the Church of England.

<sup>84</sup> George Bernard Shaw, A.C. Ward, ed., *Androcles And the Lion*, op-cit., p.p.67-75.

established religion.<sup>85</sup> Evangelicalism struggled to keep up with the wave of such criticisms that questioned the authority of scriptures. It became increasingly difficult among religious circles to present a consistent and unified position on controversial issues in religion.

The circle of leading anti-Victorian intellectuals and creators in London's Bloomsbury group included people like Lytton Strachy, Virginia Woolf and her husband Leonard Woolf who were highly critical of their predecessors, the Clapham Evangelicals. These young intellectuals, both male and female, revolted against the evangelical and missionary culturism of their ancestors. Lytton Strachy in his book, which was ironically titled '*The Eminent Victorians*' (1918), mounted a sustained assault on his Evangelical predecessors by firing shots in the opening pages of the book. Virginia Woolf's essays on Victorian writers in '*The Common Reader*' series of 1920s and 30s were written in a dismissive tone. Atheism became rampant among intellectual circles.<sup>86</sup>

#### IV

Thus, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw an intellectual and rational new cast of mind. Contrary to this, the evangelicals appealed to faith and emotions. There was, indeed, a strong measure of anti-intellectualism about it. Their motto appeared to have been 'God cares little for man's intellect'.<sup>87</sup> Mark Noll, the author of the book '*The Scandal of Evangelical Mind*' was highly skeptical towards the way the Evangelicals dealt with the national apostasy raised during the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the form of Biblical criticism, Darwinism, Freudianism, Marxism, Modernism etc and the Evangelical failure

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<sup>85</sup> George Bernard Shaw, A.C. Ward, ed., Preface to *Androcles And the Lion*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1972.

<sup>86</sup> Joyce, Simon, On or About 1901: The Bloomsbury Group Looks Back at the Victorians, in a Journal '*Victorian Studies*', Vol. 46, No 4, Summer, 2004, p.p. 631-654.

<sup>87</sup> Ian Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness: The Evangelical Impact on the Victorians.*, p.p. 19-20.

to tackle it. He discovered their addiction to anti-intellectualism<sup>88</sup> and their hyper spirituality, which had no answers to keep up with the wave. Noll held that the fundamentalist mentality of the Evangelicals and the meager Evangelical intellectual life led to the religious crisis. The entire Evangelical community of modern generations, since the advent of German Pietism had neglected any serious attention to intellectual mind, social environments, the arts and all spheres of life created by modern societies in the West. There has been no public philosophy followed by the Evangelicals on par with the spirituality they attained. This, too, was limited as true spirituality covers the totality of life and totality of reality.<sup>89</sup>

Timothy Larsen, an associate professor of Theology, Wheaton College wrote ‘*The Power of Books*’ differing from Mark Noll’s position. He held that the intellectualism and heavy reading of the Victorians was the doorway to crisis of faith. Thus even devout Christians were forced to abandon their faith, intellectual maturity and intellectual honesty. A typical example of such retreat was the case of James Stephen, a prominent member in Clapham sect, but whose son Leslie Stephen, an ordained clergyman eventually lost his faith. It further led to the atheism of his daughter Virginia Wolf.<sup>90</sup>

Francis Newman, the younger brother of John Henry Newman of Oxford movement, also was converted from Evangelicalism to agnosticism. There was high

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<sup>88</sup> Hofstadter says ‘anti-intellectualism’ does not necessarily mean ‘unintelligent’, but it is ‘a resentment and suspicion of the life of the mind and of those who are considered to represent it; and a disposition constantly to minimize the value of that life. At the same time he meant ‘intellectualism’ as wisdom of intuition, which is deemed to be natural or God given but over rationality is a cultivated and artificial one. Therefore in these senses Mark Noll referred these terms to Evangelicals. Richard Hofstadter, *Anti-intellectualism in American Life*, Alfred A. Knoff, New York, 1970, p.p. 7, 48.

<sup>89</sup> Mark Noll, *The Scandal of Evangelical Mind*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994, p.p.1-27 and p. 49. Noll observes ‘That is to say, in contradiction to the secular mind, no vital Christian mind plays fruitfully, as a coherent and recognizable influence, upon our social, political or cultural life’. Association of Christian Economists Bulletin, No.28 Fall 1996, p. 8.

<sup>90</sup> Timothy Larsen, *The Power of Book.*, p.14.

number of Victorians who were good readers of books. Victorians often came to faith by reading and retreated from faith through reading. The cause for distracting them from dogma of Evangelicalism was often their accumulated knowledge either to become atheists or agnostics. Although they rejected Evangelicalism of Christianity, they clung eventually to its morality and its ethical assumptions.<sup>91</sup> A general change in the moral climate was Victorian churchgoers believed that the churches were important for societal morality, morality was impossible without religion and religion would disappear without churches. Religion is requisite for moral obligation. Chadwick Owen regretted the attitudes of Victorians caused by this process as it affected the country in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Evangelicalism of second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century was different from the first half, the belief and faith in Christianity was more in 1830s but that was declining after 1860. Lord Lawrence, Governor of Punjab, once said, 'but for 20 years the old Clapham Evangelicalism has been discredited and latterly almost a different tradition'.<sup>92</sup> The new code of good conduct was a new religion of humanism, derived from Christian ethics, and relevant for grounding morality within a primarily religious universe. God remained as a ethical deity.<sup>93</sup> According to Scholar Edward Bailey, people do not primarily believe in God, Jesus or the church but in Christianity. This national cultural religion has a theology of its own, based around the self and more like that of Hinduism where Christ is the cultural figure similar to Krishna. Hinduism, pure and popular, is far more integrated

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<sup>91</sup> Chadwick Owen, *Victorian Church*, p. 120-150. Chadwick observes that by 1900 most people believed that miracles do not happen, and they began to know that Jesus was a man. People were honoured for sincerity rather than chided for lack of faith. In this sense Evangelicalism by this time became less a vital religion.

<sup>92</sup> Rev. K.S. Macdonald, ed., *Indian Evangelical Review*, Vol. LVIII, Oct. 1888, p. 190.

<sup>93</sup> Gerald Studdert-Kennedy, *British Christians, Indian Nationalists and the Raj*, OUP, New Delhi, 1991. p.62. Sir Malcolm Darling, the future civil servant of the Government of British India, a son of English clergyman lost his faith in the all questioning atmosphere of King's college, Cambridge, but was sustained in faith through the efforts of Bishop Creighton. After the 1860s a decline in the missionary enterprise in the overseas was also a fact.



and socially spread where as official Christianity is not some healthy functioning central tradition of which the populace has a variant in constant dialogue. Indeed, a dominant intellectual trend of thought is pluralistic and humanistic, and against this background of the popular situation, a kind of dispersed superstition, some science, some humanism, and a sort of nationalism all are being absorbed into an image based culture.<sup>94</sup> As Bacon said of the last period of ancient civilization that moral philosophy took the place of religion, is to some extent true with the Victorian age.<sup>95</sup>

According to Jeffrey Cox, such shrinkage in spiritual matters was in common with all denominations in England till 1910 and many people believed that Christianity was irrelevant even if the churches had been thriving. In England, Cox further says that a strange argument enticed the people that religion is something, which belong to another age.<sup>96</sup> Cox again observes ‘I am not disputing the fact that our view of the world, our cosmology, has been transformed by scientific advances since the Reformation, a fact, which poses new and unique problems for Christian thinkers. Nor am I asserting the advent of heavy industry, the polarization of society along class lines, the growth of cities, and geographical and social mobility do not, other things being equal, cause new problems for the churches, which can, and often do, contribute to a decline of religious practice. What I object to is the air of inevitability, which results from wrapping up all of this changes into a package called the: process of secularization; and using the package as an explanation of social change in the modern world’.<sup>97</sup> Thus, Evangelicalism suffered

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<sup>94</sup> Edward Bailey, *The Sacred Faith of the People*, in T. Moss, ed., *In Search of Christianity*, Firethorn, London, 1986, p. 187.

<sup>95</sup> Philip Davis, *The Oxford English Literary History -Vol. 8:1830-1880: The Victorians*, OUP, London, 2002, p.160.

<sup>96</sup> Jeffery Cox, *The English Churches in a Secular Society*, OUP, London, 1982, p.276.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid*, p.226.

reversals very constantly in the process of secularization of religion. The most serious Christians of 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries were all plagued by radical secularization, which was a result of their tending to natural religion. Religion was gradually regarded as a private matter, which concerned with the conscience of the individual, where as public life was essentially business life and a man's moral and religious duties were best fulfilled by the punctual and industrious performance of his professional activities.<sup>98</sup>

The church's answer to this intellectual awakening was to curb reading! Joel Hawes in his lecture to young men, on the '*Formation of Character*' (1829) warned them that 'books contain a deadly and secret poison. Many a young man has been destroyed by reading a single volume'<sup>99</sup>. This answer seems even today, the answer of unthinking fundamentalist position of all religions under threat. The late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, as we saw, were a time of vigorous scientific, philosophical and theological debate. It was a time of enormous intellectual vitality and even reorientation of thought. It was the age of Reason, when Reason began to prevail over Revelation, naturalism over supernaturalism and the scientist over the theologian. Mankind began to put itself over God and to go center stage. Humans declared an ever-increasing autonomy from traditional authorities, and from previous faith convictions grew out of notions from the past. God, the Bible, Jesus, the resurrection, miracles and faith all began to be profoundly questioned in the name of newly omni-competent reason and newly enthroned scientific enterprise. Against this background, the Protestant Dissent has to be located, religious groups, which had

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<sup>98</sup> Christopher Dawson, *The Dividing Christendom*, Sheed & Ward, New York, 1965, p.p. 9-11 and 253-255.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*

long rejected the authority of the Church of England for its spiritual emptiness<sup>100</sup>. They had been joined in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century by a number of fast growing denominations, including the Baptists. Methodism arose at a time when the leading 'Church of England' had already succumbed to Rationalism and Deism.<sup>101</sup> The 'New Dissent', had become so prevalent a reaction against rationalism and ritualism of the Church of England by the early 19<sup>th</sup> century that according to an 1811 House of Lords' report, the Church of England was on its way to becoming a minority religious establishment. A number of Anglicans became concerned, both about the spread of Dissenting churches and their effect on the official church. Evangelicals within the Church of England were beginning to adopt some dissenting views. Free will was an almost universal dogma of this Enlightenment Religion.<sup>102</sup> So unpopular did spiritual Lords became, that it was proposed in the House of Commons that they should be relieved of 'their legislative and judicial duties'. The sitting of the Bishops in Parliament tended to alienate the affections of the people from the established church. The clergy committed themselves to a thoroughly false political position. They neglected spiritual duties. Some English clergymen were good at secular skills. Sydney Smith, the editor of Edinburgh Review sarcastically wrote 'Hunt not, fish not, shoot not, fiddle not, flute not...' tells the vocations of the clergy. Evangelical clergy, he evidently felt, were compromised. Nor did Nonconformity as represented by Congregationalism fare any better, being embarrassed by the monarchical form of its ministerial office. The exaltation of one man could become an excuse for inactivity among the members. The laity were marginalized, not emancipated.

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<sup>100</sup> E.H. Broadbent, *The Pilgrim Church*, Pickering & Inglis, London, 1931, p.p.376-377.

<sup>101</sup> J.H. Nichols, *History of Christianity 1650-1950: Secularization of the West*, The Ronald Press Co. New York, 1956, p.p.65-66.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid*, p.p. 86-102.

Perhaps just as alarming to church officials was the fact that over five million people who were not too old, not too young, not too sick, and physically capable of attending church did not participate in any church services at all. There was also a kind of discrimination adopted by the church itself. The donors and the high churchmen were provided with reserved pews for their families in the cathedrals and those pews became their property for generations. The church reduced the lower classes to standing or floor sitting. Savage inequalities destroyed all activities of church life.<sup>103</sup> Thus the Church of England fell into a state of lethargic stupor. Many high church clerics clung to the infallibility of the scripture. Rationalism pushed it into erroneous theories. Therefore, Rationalism, which laid hold of the ministerial and theological mind, also conquered the theological colleges and clerical training institutions.<sup>104</sup> A large proportion of the clergy of the Church of England, a majority of the pastors of the Lutheran and Reformed churches, of the ministers of the Presbyterian, Congregational and Methodist churches, the whole of the Society of Friends, with a small exception, and not a few Baptist pastors, are either wholly or in part teachers of the rationalistic form of unbelief.<sup>105</sup> All these denominations already absorbed unscriptural traditions into their fold and even modified scriptures and religious traditions. They did it in the spirit that something better might be attained even supplanted by traditions.

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<sup>103</sup> Monica Correa Fryckstedt, *Elizabeth Gaskell's Mary Barton and Ruth: A Challenge to Christian England*, Diss. Uppsala U, 1982, p.p. 55-58.

<sup>104</sup> Rt. Rev. Arthur C. Headlam, *The Church of England*, London, 1924, p.p. 380-387.

<sup>105</sup> E.H. Broadbent, *The Pilgrim Church.*, p.378.

### New Evangelicalism at the advent of Brethren Movement

Marsden, a prominent evangelical of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, elucidates as to how the established church (Church of England) upon its invitation to modernism and liberalism was ruined, and therefore the Brethren doctrine of dispensationalism, as a form of pre-millennialism, provided an explanation to the Christian dogmatics by opposing the secular spirit the enlightenment spawned in it, and encouraged the fundamentalist approach in religious orders as well as in mission work. The fundamentalist Brethren movement of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century could be alone a bulwark against the onslaughts of enlightenment theories of modernism and liberalism in religious establishments and theological circles to retain Christian Faith.

It was also definitely out of renewed Evangelicalism or the zealous spiritualism of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with implied Biblicism, Conversionalism, Crucicentrism and Activism that the Brethren movement was born in England, which also created extreme interest in Calvinism and which was a label for the ideal of an early Apostolic Christianity.<sup>106</sup> The upsurge in lay activity as a resultant of Methodism was an important part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century evangelicalism, which Brethrenism practiced amidst tensions between clerical establishments and laypeople became a significant cause of accessions to the new movement. Thus, the Brethren movement was in part the product of increased participation by laypeople in nineteenth-century evangelicalism and therefore the movement came forward between the years 1820 and 1830 and slowly made its way into

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<sup>106</sup> David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* ., p.159.

English national life, amidst sharp criticism on the part of existing denominations.<sup>107</sup> In an age of doubt and the loss of religious faith, the stalwarts of Brethren movement demonstrated masculinity of Christianity through the dispensational prophetic fundamentalism of John Nelson Darby, pioneering modern Faith missions of Anthony Norris Groves and the theory of Faith ministry of the Devine George Muller of Bristol and Muller was celebrated throughout all of Evangelicalism for the orphanages he founded in Bristol<sup>108</sup>. This work was widely reported because of the novel way that it was undertaken and managed.

The founding fathers of Brethrenism were collectively a dominant flavour of Evangelicalism in England and America until and after the Second World War.<sup>109</sup> The doctrinal issues of the Plymouth Brethren, the prophetic spirit, Futurist or Pre-Millenarian view, Faith Missions under the total providential care and Faith Alone ministry, and how these contributed to change the face of Evangelicalism into fundamentalism was the doctrinal theme of Brethren movement that even influenced the evangelical activism of most of the Church Missionary Society, London Missionary Society, Baptist Missionary Society missionaries, who came over India as missionaries since 1830.<sup>110</sup> The Brethrenism, which in the thirties and forties rapidly became a power, had captivated not a few but most of the spiritual minded members of different denominations at home and Church Missionary Society missionaries in India. The redefined Evangelicalism with fundamentalist innovative such as dispensational and pre-millenarian teachings of the Brethren attracted Church Missionary Society missionaries

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<sup>107</sup> Neil T.R. Dickson, *Principles and Practices of the Brethren*, London, 2001,p.364.

<sup>108</sup> Poole-Connor, *Evangelicalism in England*, London, 1951, pp.222-23

<sup>109</sup> E.H. Broadbent, *The Pilgrim Church.*, p.p. 334-368.

<sup>110</sup> David Bruce, *Decommissioning the Heart: Reflections from a Prayer Walk*, Lion & Lamb Journal, Autumn 1997, ECONI, Ireland, p. 17-18.

(See Appendix IV) like Rhenius of Tinnevely, Mrs. Wilson of Bengal,<sup>111</sup> Dr. Kitto, Rev. C. H. Bomwetsch<sup>112</sup> and others. It began with that longing after perfect church envisaged in the prophecy of New Testament, which always has been so attractive a conception among the simple minded Christian brethren. Its influence grew in consequence of its thorough devotion to the study, verse by verse, and line by line of the Bible; not merely the critical study of Hebrew verbs and Greek prepositions, though this was not omitted by the more scholarly of the Brethren, but the study of the inmost meaning of the narratives, precepts and prophecies as a revelation from God to men and it developed in latter days in the well marked 'Futurist views of unfulfilled prophecy', which have since been widely adopted, and have led at sometimes, to much controversy.<sup>113</sup> The Brethren, therefore formed a bulwark against disbelief, which was either in the form of Rationalism or in the form of Agnosticism and what else, provided a refuge for believing souls of the century where they may act in obedience to the sacred scripture and carry fellowship with those like-minded. These conservative Christians launched a crusade against Darwinism and laid the foundations for a Christian fundamentalism<sup>114</sup>. J.N. Darby, one of the very few early ideologues of the Brethren, and the Father of Dispensationalism, at times when the phenomenon of Higher Criticism was storming the churches of England and when the apostate clergy of the Church of England were openly attacking the inspiration and the authority of the Bible, had turned the masses towards the Futurist Bible Prophecy, the soul food people needed, during the aftermath of Napoleonic wars. One prophetic sage of

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<sup>111</sup> Mrs. Wilson's joining Plymouth Brethren 1841: CMS Archive/B/OMS/C I1 O8/ Acc.4, Document No.27, University of Birmingham Library(Overseas Missions series).

<sup>112</sup> CMS Minutes (20 Feb, 1827) no. 9, p. 30; CMS Minutes (3 June 1828) no.10, p.563, University of Birmingham Library Archive (Overseas Missions series); The '*Hindu Patriot*' (1878) states relating to Mr. Bomwetsch's departure from Anglican liturgy was out of Plymouth Brethren tendencies.

<sup>113</sup> Eugene Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society.*, p.p. 282-283 and p.p. 316-317.

<sup>114</sup> *The Hindu*, August 2, 2006, p.11.

the period, A.C. Gaebelein esteemed J.N. Darby and his co-ideologue A.N. Groves as next to early Apostles<sup>115</sup> and the Brethren spirituality had expounded extreme Calvinism in its most uncompromising and aggressive form, in other words evident as wider Evangelicalism in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Thereafter as John Kent described the evangelicalism which emerged from 1830 until 1850 as being lay in spirit, urban in concern, disaffected from the ministry, indifferent to denominational frontiers, expressing its distrust of traditional religious institutions by the formation of new ones, which were kept out of the control of the clergy as much as possible. The Brethren reflected these fundamental patterns and their influence upon the spiritual life of the whole century as immediate, profound and permanent, which was to become an ideology of the missionaries in India despite their denominational background. The Brethren movement is wide enough to absorb in its fold all that is good in Evangelicalism. No sooner the movement born in England than it laid the ever first footing in Andhra. A.N. Groves, the founding father of the movement and his retinue of missionaries pioneered it in the districts of Andhra at the invitation of its first adherent in the region, Sir Arthur Cotton, the most celebrated engineer architect of Dowleswaram anicut (See Advancement of Godavary District in Appendix I, Statement ii). A survey of the movement is dealt in detail in the following chapter.

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<sup>115</sup> Earnest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism*, Grand Rapids, Baker Book House, 1978, p.xix and p. 173.



## CHAPTER VI: PLYMOUTH BRETHRENISM-THE MOVEMENT IN ANDHRA

The Edinburgh Conference<sup>1</sup> and the cooperation among the world churches on both sides of the Atlantic during the World War I led to attempts to explain the rise of Christian fundamentalism as a phenomenon and opened the flood gates for the review of several movements of the earlier century within Britain. This primarily brought to lime light the character of Brethren movement and its belief in the first century Christianity that shaped to a major extent, the fundamentalist movement of the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>2</sup>. The word ‘fundamentalism’<sup>3</sup> was coined around 1920s. The teachings of early Brethren stalwarts such as John Nelson Darby, Anthony Norris Groves and George Muller of Bristol, re-emerged under the label ‘Christian Fundamentalism’ after nearly a century’s obscurity. The fundamentalism of the movement reflected a radical approach to the Bible and Christian practice. A central concern of Brethren fundamentalism has been its steadfast opposition to theological liberalism and modernism<sup>4</sup>. A new intellectual theological approach fashioned by Schleiermacher (see chapter.3) plunged the church into scientific and rationalist quests that it could not carry through<sup>5</sup>. The church became an appendage of the state. The clerical duties of visitation, ordination, and confirmation,

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<sup>1</sup> World Missionary Conference held at Edinburgh in June, 1910.

<sup>2</sup> Curtis Lee Laws, ‘*Convention Sidelights*’, Watchman Examiner, July 1, 1920, p.p.834-35.

<sup>3</sup> ‘Fundamentalism’ in current Christian terminology means belief in the Bible as the inerrant word of God. It is belief in the factual historical record of the sacred scriptures, the inspiration of its doctrines, submission to which is therefore required by God and the duty of all men, Historically, fundamentalism has been identified with the proclamation of those salvation truths which make up the body of doctrine known as ‘the Gospel’. Michael Brown (Itinerant Gospel worker, Andhra), *Fundamentalism*, Gospel Tract Publications, U.K., 1990, p.3

<sup>4</sup> H.A. Ironside, *A Historical Sketch of the Brethren Movement*, Grand Rapids, 1942, Reprint 1985, p.7.

<sup>5</sup> Bernard Ramm, *The Evangelical Heritage: A Study in Historical Theology*, Grand Rapids, 2000, p.p.76-79

were done only as political duties allowed<sup>6</sup>. J.N. Darby who was an Anglican clergyman in Ireland around 1820 grew increasingly dissatisfied with Anglican formality and externalism as well as with the socio-political position of Irish Anglicanism. He published in 1827 the earliest tract on the subject 'The Nature and the Unity of the Church of Christ'<sup>7</sup>, which expounded the doctrine of the church and future things. This aroused a spirit of inquiry in many places as to the carrying out of the simple principles that the Brethren movement enunciated. A century after, in 1924, the adherents of fundamentalism offered to form any new union of churches and Henry Pickering, the editor of '*The Witness*', asserted that fundamentalists had no need to form a new union since Brethren assemblies, which by 1927 he estimated as totalling 3000 in Britain were readily available<sup>8</sup>. This indicates that Brethrenism was a recognized fundamentalist movement by the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The Church of England had quite other effects notably in the Oxford movement (1833) also. The leader of this movement, John Henry Newman, disillusioned by the intertwined relations of the church, state and the Anglican liberalism, took himself and his friends in a more Catholic direction. On the contrary Darby began the movement of Brethrenism within Protestantism. However certain similarities can be drawn between these two 19<sup>th</sup>-century movements. Both spearheaded the protests against interference by the state in the principles of liberal rationalism that was making inroads upon the authority of the scripture and the dogma derived from it. Another relative characteristic was an emphasis on Apostolic historic succession of the contemporary church i.e. adaptation to practices of primitive church. One striking difference was that the

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<sup>6</sup> H. Plumb, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1990 (1950), p. 43.

<sup>7</sup> H.Y. Pickering, *Chief Men Among the Brethren*, Loizeaux Brothers, New Jersey, 1918, p.p.11-15.

<sup>8</sup> *The Witness Magazine*, 54, October 1924, p.404

Tractarians were concerned to establish how the early church fathers had interpreted the Bible (from 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D onwards) and they totally disregarded the Reformation, where as the Brethren get back to the scriptures and accordingly to the 1<sup>st</sup> century church practices. Brethren were not so critical about the Reformation, but they felt that it had not gone far enough. Both the movements<sup>9</sup> laid great emphasis on the importance of the weekly celebration of the Lord's Supper, though the manner of worship differed. The Brethren pattern was all simplicity, where as the Tractarians were more ritualistic. The comparisons were more evident from the diverse spiritual pilgrimages represented by the two Newman brothers. John Henry Newman was a typical leader of the Tractarians. His younger brother Francis William Newman went under the influence of the early Brethren J.N. Darby and Groves. For sometime F.W. Newman joined A.N. Groves at Baghdad and served as a Brethren missionary. Later on the Tractarians were side tracked. The movement of the Brethren, though troubled by internal divisions<sup>10</sup>, took a fresh look at their principles and practices. The movement was a grand success with a lot of accumulated traditions through their long history of one hundred and eighty years and still is alive.

A question generally asked - why was Brethrenism known as a 'movement'. The dictionary defines a movement as 'a general tendency or current of thought, opinion, taste or action, whether organized and consciously propagated or a mere drift'. Because the Brethren never formally organized themselves into a denomination or a regulated church body, they remained a 'movement', that is a group of assemblies, which shared the same

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<sup>9</sup> Timothy Stunt, *Two Nineteenth - Century Movements*, Evangelical Quarterly, 37, 1965,p.p.221-230

<sup>10</sup> Division occurred in 1848 as 'Open Brethrenism' and Exclusive Brethrenism'. Open Brethren formerly represented by A.N. Groves is still a large group in the world and India in particular.

tendencies, and currents of thought. They did consciously propagate their opinions through their publications (especially their magazines) and through evangelism. But they refused to give it an institutional form by having a central organization. The Open Brethren (the largest section of the Brethren movement) have continued to give the purest expression to this lack of centralization, though the degree of this varied from country to country. In countries with authoritarian regimes, such as Nazi Germany, Communist Romania or Angola, they were forced to have a central council of some sort or other. But even when they were obliged to register with the government, they tried to observe limits. José Neto, in an article entitled 'The Brethren Movement in Angola, 1960-2000', explains about the Brethren Secretariat in his country:

The main objectives of the elders and deacons appointed to this Secretariat are to represent Brethren assemblies to the government, to give technical support in literature, evangelism, and mission, and to promote the health of local churches among the Brethren. This body does not interfere in the day to day running of local churches: the autonomy of the local church is the one non-negotiable issue among all Brethren assemblies, and we also have a national conference where we discuss issues of common interest and our work together.

Also internationally the Brethren do not have any agency, which directs the affairs in every country. Thus there is great variety within the Open Brethren, both internationally and within individual countries, as they represent 'a general tendency' rather than prescribing any individual doctrine or practice. Among these general tendencies, which will be found across the movement, are practices such as the weekly commemoration of the Lord's supper, believer's baptism, no ordained clergy and the

autonomy of the local assembly, and a commitment to evangelical theology, principally its biblicism, conversionism, crucicentrism and activism<sup>11</sup>. The Brethren movement though mild in initial stages as originated from house meetings, became a very popular one. J.N. Darby, the founder architect deemed by many, was the leading light behind the movement.

The Anglican Church was the home of the upper classes and it was more a social organization than a living organism. Therefore, Darby propounded the theory of 'The Church in Ruins'<sup>12</sup>, which stated that the established church was beyond redeeming. Hence true believers should leave all organized churches and only those gathered according to the pattern of 1<sup>st</sup> century was the true church. True Church, as envisioned by Darby, would be practiced by small fellowships, which worshipped God in utter simplicity, with no ordained clergy (an Episcopal authority over the exclusion of laymen), but every lay believer would be a priest for himself, with no fine church buildings. The Brethren disclaimed the deeply rooted Catholic forms of the Church of England due to the radical evangelical background of the young J.N. Darby who propagated the papacy a 'Satan's fiction' in answer to the true church<sup>13</sup>. Nor did Nonconformity as represented by Dissenters fare any better, being embarrassed by the monarchical form of its ministerial office. The exaltation of one man (priest) could become an excuse for inactivity among the members of state church and of Dissenters. The laity marginalized, not emancipated was an error against scripture committed by both the established church and the Dissenters.

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<sup>11</sup> Some of these views were collections from my interaction with Brethren Historians in England.

<sup>12</sup> F. Roy Coad, *A History of the Brethren Movement*, Paternoster Press, Exeter, U.K, 1968, p.p.116 and 123

<sup>13</sup> W. Kelly (ed.) *The Collected Writings of J.N. Darby*, 34 vols, London, n.d., vol. 1, p. 8.

The clergy and their relations to the laity were acute and became one of the principal causes behind the formation of the movement. Darby, in 1834 proclaimed in an article for the *Christian Witness*, a Brethren magazine founded that year, the lay Christian man's liberty of preaching and teaching and declared that the notion of a clergyman was dispensationally a sin. The Brethren movement envisaged by the founders was leading towards a theoretically egalitarian church ("the priesthood of all believers"), where social disparities and differences were overcome and even included women in its broader meaning. Brethrenism emancipated the laity. A product of the upper and middle classes in its initial phase, it had developed an ideology, which allowed it to become downwardly mobile. Its spiritual democracy meshed with significant elements within the British working classes. It appealed to the literate, and the autonomous working class individual was a figure of respect. Thus it was in the 1860s that Brethrenism was transmuted, emerging as an almost wholly working class and lower-middle class sect, rooted in industrialized communities of England. The Brethren growth typified the contemporary democratization of Christianity. Brethren stressed, in the words of J.L. Harris, 'equal nearness, equal liberty of access' of all believers, that their practice would be democratic<sup>14</sup>. Moreover, the search for Christian primitivism was a primary concern of the early Brethren, which challenged established structures.

In addition, the historical setting of Napoleon's Europe and the Napoleonic wars, inspired interest in the scriptural readings on prophecy. People began to consider and increasingly desired the Second Advent of Christ or his millennium rule on earth in view

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<sup>14</sup> Deryck W. Lovegrove (ed), *The Rise of the Laity in Evangelical Protestantism*, Routledge, London, 2002, p.p.217-235.

of these historical events<sup>15</sup>. Upon this background two basic sources can be underlined from which the Brethren movement sprang in Dublin and Plymouth simultaneously about 1826 in full vigour. First was the growing conviction among a vigorous handful of Evangelicals that none of the established church and Dissenter sects of Christendom truly represented a 1<sup>st</sup> century Christian community. Second, there was a heightened eschatology on the eve of Napoleonic wars with issues relating to the return of Jesus Christ and the new age that would follow.

Therefore, the Brethren Movement was born from dissatisfaction about the existing conditions in the Church of England and from the study of unfulfilled prophecy in the Bible. The 17<sup>th</sup> century Quakerism was a reaction against ritualism, formalism and worldliness; the 18<sup>th</sup> century Moravianism was a reaction against ecclesiastical and social disorders. The third form of religious conviction and profession was the 19<sup>th</sup> century 'Brethrenism', bearing some resemblances to both the former, more especially the first with forethought of eschatology.<sup>16</sup> It assumed no distinctive name, but 'Brethernism', and from an early place of meeting, 'Plymouth Brethernism'. The early adherents of this Brethren movement were deeply dissatisfied about the unholy marriage that existed between the Established church and the state<sup>17</sup>, about what they considered unscriptural (rational) ecclesiasticism and dead ritualism, and about the denominationalism denying Christ's name, taking many other names such as Lutheran, Wesleyan, Anglican, Reformed, Baptists etc., rose upon these practices in swift reaction. They took the self-

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<sup>15</sup> H.A. Ironside, *A Historical Sketch of the Brethren Movement*, p.8

<sup>16</sup> John Stott, *Issues Facing Christians.*, p. 336.

<sup>17</sup> It was in 1827 that the Archbishop of Dublin, in a charge delivered to the clergy of his Diocese, recommended that a petition should go up to the legislature seeking for increased protection for them in the discharge of their duties as teachers of religion in the land. J.N. Darby who was then a clergy resisted this charge of seeking the security from the state, relieved himself of the duties of clergy and turned one of the founders of the Brethren Movement. B.W.Burton, *A Further Review of Recovery to the Truth and its Maintenance (1827-1997)*, West Sussex, England, 1997, p.9.

designation 'Brethren' directly from the sacred scriptures. Other names by which they were known were Christians, Believers, and Saints.

Brethrenism took shape as in 1820, when letters were exchanged between groups of believers in Great Britain. The movement emerged in 1826, when a few gathered in a house in Dublin, Ireland. They were against any single man domination or clericalism in the established circles and for a movement spiritually empowering the people<sup>18</sup>. It is generally agreed that a refusal of the Eucharist to a medical student, Edward Cronin, a native of Cork and a convert from Roman Catholicism, by a congregation of independents, started it<sup>19</sup>. He was joined by another Mr. Edward Wilson, the assistant secretary to the Bible Society. The two cousins of Cronin and a Bookseller called Tims joined them. All these five formed the original nucleus of the Brethren Movement. A house in Fitzwilliam Square was the place of their worship and the first Eucharist took place here in 1827. In fact there were probably two such groups already existing in the city of Dublin before 1829, unknown to each other, when all three came together at Fitzwilliam Square to form a house assembly<sup>20</sup>. The prominent among this founding group was John Nelson Darby, a High Church Anglican Clergy man, and a grand son of most famous Admiral Lord Horatio Nelson who combated Napoleon and died at Trafalgar (1805)<sup>21</sup>. The members of the other groups in Dublin, who willingly associated themselves with the founding group, were H. Hutchinson and Lord Congleton, both wealthy landlords, J.G.Bellett, a Barrister, Anthony Norris Groves, a Dentist of Exeter

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<sup>18</sup> The Recovery Version of The Bible (N.T), LSM, California, 1991, Foot Note 7,p.1255.

<sup>19</sup> W.B. Neatby, *A History of the Plymouth Brethren*, London, 1901, p.12.

<sup>20</sup> F. Roy Coad, *A History of the Brethren Movement*, Paternoster Press, London, 1968, p.p.29-30

<sup>21</sup> Napoleon Noel, *The History of the Brethren*, Chapter Two, London, III Print, 1994, p.29



and who pioneered Brethren missionary to Andhra<sup>22</sup>. Their numbers increased. By 1830, the growing house assembly transferred to a large auction room in Aungier Street, Dublin, where the first meeting in a public place held in utter simplicity.

Among the many meetings, which sprang up all over the country in these early days, the one at Plymouth became the most prominent. J.N. Darby first found his way to Oxford at the instance of Wigram, who was then at Queen's college. In 1830 Francis Newman, a Tutor in the university, introduced B.W. Newton to J. N. Darby<sup>23</sup>. Newton asked him to go down to Plymouth, where the Brethren movement was underway at the earnest labours by Wigram and himself. The Plymouth meeting was the first in England to be recognized as a meeting place of Brethren and it had a membership of over a thousand very soon. They were spoken of as 'Brethren from Plymouth'. This eventually resulted in the inevitable designation, 'the Plymouth Brethren' for this new sect in England<sup>24</sup>. This was a simultaneous movement at several places in England, Ireland and Scotland. Dr. Mackintosh, a Brethren ideologue, writes 'among those who separated from the various organizations ...(to join Brethren) were some men of considerable talent, moral weight, intellectual power and intelligence - clergyman, barristers, solicitors, military and naval officers, physicians, and men of high position and property. Their secession...caused a very considerable stir and drew forth much opposition'<sup>25</sup>.

Most of the founders of this movement were young men; for example, when the movement started in 1826 Edward Cronin was 25 years old, J.N. Darby 27, A.N. Groves and Wigram below 35. All of them were eminent expositors of ecclesiastical writings.

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<sup>22</sup> E. Schuyler English, *Ordained of the Lord-H.A. Ironside: A Biography*, U.S.A, 1976, p.165-66

<sup>23</sup> Biographical Dictionary of Evangelicals, Leicester, 2003, pp.475-6

<sup>24</sup> Andrew Miller, *The Brethren*, GBV, Germany, Reprint, 1992, p.62

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid* p.26

Darby's Dispensationalism and the eschatological studies, Dr. Tregelles' textual criticism and voluminous writings of the rest of the Brethren were made popular by the Scofield and Ryrie Concordances. The *Scofield (1843-1921) Reference Bible* based on Brethren theology has been a major influence upon Christendom till today. Another young man and a Oxford intellectual, B.W. Newton, was offered a professorship at Bishop's college at Calcutta, with the promising prospect of becoming principal, and then to a college in Bombay presidency. He could not accept either post as he became involved in the Brethren movement<sup>26</sup>. Wigram, another Oxford scholar and a member of Plymouth Brethren, spent fifty thousand pounds on Biblical research and produced a Bible concordance<sup>27</sup>. Their teaching was extempore and in several places every member was a preacher. Their life style was exemplary as testified in the case of Philip Gosse<sup>28</sup>, a Brethren naturalist and a best friend of the evolutionist Charles Darwin.

Mobilizing the laity and the poorer folk to attend the meetings with less embarrassment in those days of great class distinction was an essential part of this growing movement. The men of upper class, for example, Lord Congleton<sup>29</sup> used to dine with his domestic servants. Wigram, heir to several fortunes, was not untypical when he begged visitors to his house to carry away any item of furniture that was not strictly necessary. Wealthy ladies put their rings and jewellery in the offering box. The city of Bristol, another strong hold of Brethrenism was an abode of activities of philanthropy as well as eclectic faith. Another stalwart of the movement, George Muller, ran orphanages

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<sup>26</sup> H.H. Rowdon, *The Origins of the Brethren: 1825-1850*, Pickering & Inglis Ltd, London, 1967, p.200

<sup>27</sup> Mrs Trotter's opinion that many of the early Brethren movement were 'men of brain, men of birth, and of large means, scholars, and students, who would have made their mark at any time and in any walk of life; lawyers of critical judgement, officers of promise in both services, large land-owners, with the cares and responsibilities of property'. Brethren Archivists and Historians Network Review, Issue 2, 2003, p.79

<sup>28</sup> Anne Arnott, *The Brethren: An Autobiography of a Plymouth Brethren Childhood*, Hodder & Stoughton, U.K, 1970, p.17

<sup>29</sup> H.Y. Pickering, *Chief Men Among the Brethren*, p.p.1-3

for thousands of street children for many decades<sup>30</sup>. This in-depth theological teaching and egalitarian Christian practice were exercised by the Brethren<sup>31</sup>, was new in church history.

The movement commenced in Dublin and Plymouth and spread to the British Isles and in the colonies. In France where a great number of persons were converted; the movement commenced in Switzerland, Germany, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, the United States, in Asia and Africa and elsewhere. J.N. Darby had become the Brethren leader with the greatest influence due to his itinerancy in the United Kingdom and in continental Europe, whereas A.N. Groves became a great veteran of the missionaries to Baghdad. The movement also produced a proportionately large number of missionaries on the principle of 'Faith'. Harold Rowdon has stated that, in the United Kingdom at least, it would not be an exaggeration to claim that 1 per cent of the entire membership of Brethren served overseas<sup>32</sup>. It has been calculated that in 1945 Brethren missionaries accounted for more than 5 per cent of all Protestant foreign missionary personnel<sup>33</sup>. They laboured in the so-called Christian and non-Christian countries without racial distinction. Adherents to Brethren doctrine, a number of other itinerants and many of the converts found the movement congenial as Brethrenism inherited not only the anti-establishment spirit, but also its lay orientation. The lay spirit of the Brethren was an important shaping force on its ethos. The movement utilized the gifts of laypeople and allowed them scope

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<sup>30</sup> Frederick G. Warne, *George Muller: The Modern Apostle of Faith*, Bristol, 1898.

<sup>31</sup> Ian McDowell, 'The influence of the 'Plymouth Brethren' on Victorian society and religion', *The*

*Evangelical Quarterly*, 55, 1983, p.213.

<sup>32</sup> H.H. Rowdon (ed.) *The Brethren Contribution to the Worldwide Mission of the Church*, Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1994, p. 38

<sup>33</sup> R. Cawston, 'The church and mission', *Christian Brethren Review* 40, 1989, p.p.19-20.

for exercise of their talents<sup>34</sup>. The innumerable brethren in various places of the world have been assembling themselves in Christian Assemblies, till today. These assemblies, since early 19<sup>th</sup> century, which still, make the scriptures their guide and pattern, and endeavour to act according to this rule, have been entirely free from clericalism and class divisions, as they have always been away from ritualism.<sup>35</sup> Henceforth the Brethren worked within a pattern of withdrawal and independence from modernism and liberalism that were always in opposition to Christian dogma and headed towards cherishing a more orthodox and fundamentalist Christianity.

It is well known that the founding fathers of the Brethren movement – in particular, Anthony Norris Groves gave birth to an important principle when he argued that, ideally, Christian work should be conducted and, especially, financed on the faith principle. The principle subsequently had a major impact far beyond the Brethren movement, in particular in the faith missions, as charted by Fiedler. If Groves was the original author of the principle in the form pursued by the Brethren and applied it in his own missionary work in the Middle East and India, it was Muller who did most to elaborate the principle in practice and to popularize it widely in Evangelicalism through the work of the Scriptural Knowledge Society for Home and Abroad which he and his collaborator, Henry Craik, founded on 5 March 1834.<sup>36</sup> Amidst unbelief and indifference of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, George Muller resolutely set himself to the task of providing for the orphaned without any external help. He wrote in July 28<sup>th</sup>, 1874, in his journal: ‘...two

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<sup>34</sup> Deryck W. Lovegrove (ed), *The Rise of the Laity in Evangelical Protestantism*, Routledge, London, 2002, p.p.217-235.

<sup>35</sup> Arthur Carl Piepkorn, *Plymouth Brethren (Christian Brethren)*, Concordia Theological Monthly, No 41, Concordia Theological Seminary, St.Louis, 1970, p.165.

<sup>36</sup> Neil Summerton, *The opening Lines of the Article on ‘George Muller and the Financing of the Scriptural Knowledge Institution’* read in the Recently held Brethren Archivists and Historians Network (BAHN) Conference held during July 3-6, 2005 in Weidenest, Germany,

thousand and one hundred persons not only daily at the table, but with every thing else to be provided for, and all funds gone; 189 missionaries to be assisted, and nothing whatever left; about one hundred schools, with about nine thousand scholars in them, to be entirely supported, and no means for them in hand'.<sup>37</sup> David Bebbington recorded, as was said by Muller himself, that his success in rising funds to feed the so big a crowd of dependents cited above, was due to his 'unbroken and unclouded communion with Jesus for very many years'.<sup>38</sup> He published the first part of his book in 1837, which has exercised an extraordinary influence on the lives of a very great number of people, encouraging them retain faith in God.<sup>39</sup> By 1880 the suburbs of London had expanded demographically. In the period 1860 until 1914, Brethren assemblies were enjoying their maximum number of followers, after the revivals of 1859 at the instance of Muller's Faith Ministry. In gratitude, George Müller has been adopted as a kind of Protestant saint, and model by the Evangelical community.

### **Plymouth Brethrenism in Andhra: -**

The missionaries in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century were drawn closer to imperial government by its promise of assistance and protection, especially in India. In addition, by 1830 the missionary vocation was reckoned the more promising, and subscriptions to the societies that sent missionaries to India and abroad accumulated every year. Church Missionary Society was ahead of all in the race. London Missionary Society was next.

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<sup>37</sup> Frederick G. Warne, *George Muller: The Modern Apostle of Faith*, Burleigh, Ltd., Bristol, 1898, p.p.97-98.

<sup>38</sup> David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain.*, p. 158. It is said of George Muller that 'a towering like beacon over a stormy sea of religious doubt of thousands of people, pointing the way to them to the harbour of safety'. G. Warne, *George Muller*, p.2.

<sup>39</sup> E.H. Broadbent, *The Pilgrim Church.*, p. 355.

Baptist Missionary Society and Wesleyans shared the same strides. All such subscriptions so received were freely dispatched to a designated head at work in the mission field. His acquaintance with the needs of the field decided policies. Edward Irving vigorously attacked this entire system of funding by the societies to the overseas missions. He admonished that the missions required the rediscovery of the nobleness of the missionary character. Most of the traditional missions, for example, Church Missionary Society, London Missionary Society, Baptist Missionary Society, Wesleyan Missionary Society etc. were drawn by 'Christianity and commerce' strategy where as the Brethren missionaries were fired by millennialist thought of Christ's imminent return. Thus evangelism tried to muster a global following. Irving proposed that the missionary zeal should be independent of external help. Thereafter, the terms like the 'Apostolic faith' and the 'faith on primitive Christian lines' were tremendously popularized since the days of Irving, and missions thus organized soon known as 'Faith Missions'. The first of this bunch were the Plymouth Brethren as noted by Andrew Porter<sup>40</sup>. Tatford similarly notes that the Brethren assemblies sent a very large number of missionaries i.e., over 5000 missionaries practically to every area of the world, depending for their support solely upon Providence<sup>41</sup>. One can observe three phases in the missionary enterprise over the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries 1) Denominational missionary societies such as Church Missionary Society, London Missionary Society, Baptist Missionary Society, Wesleyan

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<sup>40</sup> Andrew Porter, *Religion Versus Empire*, Manchester University Press, 2004, p.p.192-193

<sup>41</sup> Dr. Fredk A. Tatford, *That the World May Know* Vol III: The Challenge of India, Echoes of Service, England, 1983, p.p.91-137.

Missionary Society etc. 2) The Faith missions 3) Pentecostalism<sup>42</sup>. The Brethren missionary initiative was very influential during the Faith mission phase.

The West-country (England) Dentist and surgeon Anthony Norris Groves characteristically was the first overseas missionary of the Plymouth Brethren to reach Turkey and Persia, the unconquered and unattached to any imperial power in 1829<sup>43</sup>. He decided to embark upon missionary service abroad without any arrangement for financial support, but only on faith alone. However he and his family were victimized by the war, the plague, the famine and the floods during their three years stay in Baghdad. In April 1833, Sir Arthur Cotton, the irrigational engineer of Andhra, who built the Dowleshwaram Anicut on the river Godavary, was returning overland to India and to his duties with the royal engineers. Out of devotion to A.N. Groves he diverted his journey to Baghdad and urged him to pay a visit to India<sup>44</sup>. On his invitation, in 1833 A.N. Groves paid a visit to India traveling extensively south to north and working along with missionaries of various denominations upon the Brethren principles.

Very soon he went to England in search of missionaries, unconnected to missionary societies to work in India. When he sailed back to India in 1836, the famous missionary Dr. Hermann Gundert and two other missionary families Mr. and Mrs. George Beer and Mr. and Mrs. William Bowden accompanied him. The Bowden and the Beers belonged to Barnstaple assembly in England, where Robert Chapman, one of the early Brethren founded a congregation that followed Groves' principles of inclusive fellowship. Prior to mission work Bowden was a stonemason by trade and Beers a

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<sup>42</sup> During my mail interaction with Neil Summerton, a Brethren Archivist in England, he exposed these views.

<sup>43</sup> C.M. Agur, *The Church History of Travancore*, SPG Press, Madras, 1903, p.862

<sup>44</sup> Lady Hope, *General Sir Arthur Cotton: His Life and Work*, Calcutta, Reprint 1964, p.p.486 and 506.

shoemaker. Because of the strong emphasis on lay participation in the assembly at Barnstaple, a distinguishing feature of Brethren movement here and elsewhere, both Bowden and Beer developed their gifts of preaching and teaching of scriptures in a remarkable way, and a real surprise to Dr. Hermann Gundert, a reputed linguist of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Bowden and Beer positively responded to the call of Groves to work among the Telugu people of India and by faith in God to meet their every need<sup>45</sup>. This company of missionaries reached Madras in the same year. Groves and his family stayed in Madras along with his newly arrived children guided by Lord Congleton from Baghdad in addition to missionaries Gundert and other lady missionaries who were already with him. But the missionary families, the Bowdens and the Beers sailed up to Machilipatnam in Andhra accompanied by Lord Congleton himself. Machilipatnam on the East coast in 1836 had a population of 60,000. Lord Congleton, the most truthful man of Dublin Brethren stayed there for a month and introduced the two missionary families to the resident gentleman at Machilipatnam. While he was spending time in teaching and preaching on the Brethren lines, the Bowdens and the Beers were learning Telugu. A very good number of the Europeans were attracted by the Brethren tenets. He stayed in the house of Col. Minchen and Mrs. Minchen where a worship meeting with a sacrament of Eucharist in the first century Christian pattern was conducted at their residence in all simplicity. Further, Congleton had given a very authoritative voice to scriptures at places like Secunderabad, Cuddapah etc among the Telugus and the Europeans and then settled for a time in Pulicat (in the present district of Nellore)<sup>46</sup>. The early Brethren movement in

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<sup>45</sup> H.H. Rowdon, *The Origins of the Brethren: 1825-1850*, p.p.197-98

<sup>46</sup> Pulicat is generally considered as the southern limit of Telugu language. Robert Southey immortalized the Coromandal (Pulicat) in his *Curse of Kehema*. Edward Eastwick, *Hand Book for India*, Part I- Madras, London, 1859 or Murray's 1859 *Guide to Madras Presidency*, London, 1859, p.p. 31 & 33.



Andhra around 1836 led by Congleton was feeble. About this time, the Beers and the Bowdens desired to locate themselves among the natives, far from the temptations of the European society. Thus they settled in Narsapur, a coastal Andhra town in the Godavary district in 1837.

Meanwhile, efforts of A.N. Groves to work along with the missionaries of denominational societies received opposition<sup>47</sup> as his influences turned many a European, the missionaries and the officers working for colonial government, to resign their previous vocations and joined the Brethren movement. Those who joined the movement were Groves' brother-in-law, George Baynes, an young artillery officer serving in India, J.M. Walhouse, a former officer of the Madras European regiment and two other former soldiers, MacCarthy and MacFarlane. The Anglican circles at Madras disliked this, and Groves left Madras and moved to Chittoor<sup>48</sup> in 1837. This became an early center of Brethren activity in the southern part of Andhra i.e. Rayalaseema. Here the missionary party included Groves, his wife Harriet and children, another missionary Hermann Gundert, an ex-army official George Baynes, the Swiss lady missionary Julie Dubois, lady Harnie etc., who lived in the locality they named 'Happy Valley'<sup>49</sup>. During early missionary journeys of A.N. Groves in South India about 1833, a young native convert of Syrian Christian background, Mr. Arulappan, a strict adherent of Brethrenism, now joined the party and he used to assist Groves in the translations of his messages. Arulappan commenced his evangelical labours on Brethren principle of faith policy and

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<sup>47</sup> C.F. Timothy Stunt, *Turning the World Upside Down: A Century of Missionary Endeavour*, Echoes, U.K., 1973, p.23.

<sup>48</sup> Chittoor (Chittur) Town was the head quarters of North Arcot district of Madras Presidency and was a Company military station up to 1874. J.A.S. Burgess (ed), *The Hand Gazetteer of India*, Calcutta School Book Society, Calcutta, 1909, p.87.

<sup>49</sup> Robert Bernard Dann, *Father of Faith Missions: The Life and Times of Anthony Norris Groves*, 1795-1853, Echoes of Service, England, 2004, p.238.

served among the Telugus and the Tamils. He stayed with Groves' company in Chittoor along with three more native converts i.e. Andrew, James the bookbinder, a personal servant of Groves and European colporteur Macarthey and Groves himself. Arulappan, the first native Brethren evangelist and an associate of Groves, soon married a girl named Santhana Mary who converted from a Hindu family of Raju Naidu caste in the Telugu town of Chittoor and both toiled in the various Brethren mission fields in South India<sup>50</sup>.

Boarding schools for boys and girls were soon established, where teaching was in English. Groves, out of concern for poor village children, started a Telugu school also. Julie Dubois proved to be a most reliable and gifted teacher. Missionary Gundert, with other native believers began itinerating the surrounding villages of Chittoor in a bullock cart. Mrs. Groves was busy preaching among the native Hindu women and brought some of them to Christian belief. Soon a number of believers joined them. All brethren, European and the native, used to meet in a room for worship on Sundays with a table in the midst, laying with a cottage loaf and wine, to celebrate the sacrament of Eucharist in all simplicity. Every member, European or Indian could pray and preach extemporarily with a universal and egalitarian perception. The Dublin and the Plymouth mode of movement among the native Christians in Chittoor and surrounding places caused more stir and enquiry among missions as well as the non-believers. The questions, connected with ministry and church government into a perfect scriptural position, raised certain curiosity in the minds of many. Groves was perhaps the first missionary who sowed the seed of indigenous Indian church by involving the natives to be partakers in running the worship on par with the fellow European brethren. Mr. Groves preached the gospel in

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<sup>50</sup> G.H. Lang, *The History and Diaries of an Indian Christian*, Thynne & Co, England, 1939, p.30; R.R. Rajamani (as told to Angus I. Kinnear), *Monsoon Day Break*, CLC, Pennsylvania, 1971, gives Genealogy of Arulappan in Appendix II, p.140.

many villages sleeping in tents and traveled hundreds of miles<sup>51</sup>. The conviction that the ordination of the clergy and regular salaries to the clerics was unscriptural as raised by Groves caused no ordinary stir among the Church Missionary Society missionaries. Under the influence of this teaching of Groves, some Church Missionary Society missionaries left their respective mission and eventually joined this new movement (Appendix IV). Henry, the first son of Groves, by now a fluent speaker in Telugu, had been for some time looking after the assembly ministry at Chittoor while his father was away visiting other assemblies of other towns. Few conversions from different castes took place and a talented young Brahmin was converted and asked for Baptism in Chittoor, but it was foiled by his family. Arulappan, a well-instructed evangelist under Groves in Chittoor who went further south along with his Telugu wife and reported thousands of conversions of his lot and planted innumerable number of Brethren assemblies thither<sup>52</sup>. The next chapter deals with the life and labours of Anthony Norris Groves and his Indian associate Arulappan.

The missionary families of Bowden and Beer were guided by Groves, and had arrived in Godavari delta (coastal Andhra) and were stationed earlier in Narsapur. Narsapur previously called Madapollam, was located on the western branch of river Godavari. Narsapur, was a great shipbuilding center, and one of the earliest cloth trading centers and very famous for its weaving and bleaching yards. The town enjoyed heavy exportations of hand-woven cloth to Europe. This lucrative trade was replaced by machine made textiles of England. The textile industry got paralyzed and shipbuilding

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<sup>51</sup> Robert Bernard Dann, *Father of Faith Missions*, p.p.239-40

<sup>52</sup> Sectarian revival was witnessed following influence of Plymouth Brethren in South India (1861), Papers and Correspondence of Lay secretary, Madras corresponding committee of the CMS (Aug.1858-Sep.1862), 1861-CMS/B/OMS/C 12 098/Acc.248 of the Birmingham University Library Archive, Birmingham; *The Missionary Reporter*, An Early Journal of the Brethren, U.K.,1853, p.p.47-48

was given up. To add to this, the great famine of 1833 devastated the area. Under these severe conditions, Narsapur missionaries occupied a long deserted Dutch house<sup>53</sup>, void of doors and windows, on the bank of Godavary. The gruesome and unburied skeletal remains of the famine stricken people were seen there. The Godavari district had no mission work previous to this, while one at Vizagapatnam, 170 miles in the northeast, and the other at Madras, 350 miles in the far south, were run by funding societies such as London Missionary Society and Church Missionary Society<sup>54</sup>. The Brethren missionaries Bowden and Beer never embarked upon any prior arrangement for financial support, but had faith in Providence. Meanwhile in England certain developments had been taking place among the Brethren. Therefore the initial period of eighteen months for the missionaries were months of starvation for there was no communication either from England or from the other mission stations. However, the young missionaries continued their new teaching and evangelism regardless. Mr. Groves too, faced financial hardship at Chittoor but he still invited the Bowdens to Chittoor for a holiday in 1842. Though financially disadvantaged, George Muller at Bristol established 'Scriptural Knowledge Institution for Home and Abroad' and sent small amounts to the Groves, the Bowdens and the Beers from 1846 out of the gifts received by his institution.

The missionary Bowden shifted to Palakol, a large town in the Godavary delta, adjacent to Narsapur<sup>55</sup>. Bowden preached regularly on the streets and weekly market days. Some villagers stayed overnight to hear the Gospel. It was after six years that a first

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<sup>53</sup> Narsapur, a seaport Town of Godavary district in the Madras Presidency. The Dutch had iron foundry here in 1655 and the place was once known for cloth dying. J.A.S. Burgess (ed), *The Hand Gazetteer of India*, p.267.

<sup>54</sup> C.F. Timothy Stunt, *Turning the World Upside Down: A Century of Missionary Endeavour*, Echoes, U.K., 1973, p.91

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

convert was won. There were a few out caste converts and one high caste woman convert Atchamma (15 in all). A small house assembly of the Brethren started at Palakol. Meantime Col. Arthur Cotton, who first met A.N. Groves in Bhagdad was appointed as engineer to the Rajahmundry division in 1844 to enquire and report as to what could be done to save the district from recurring famines and to improve the irrigational facilities. After the government approval for anicut, Col. Cotton started his great work of throwing an anicut across the river Godavari near Dowleshwaram to irrigate the entire District. A number of coolies were working on the project and Cotton was most anxious that they should be evangelized. On one day he saw Englishman moving among the laboureres, speaking freely to them in colloquial Telugu, and it was Bowden. Cotton came to know Bowden's connections with A.N. Groves and he realized the common ground they shared in the Brethren tenets. On invitation from Col. Cotton, Bowden removed his family from Palakol to Dowleshwaram temporarily to preach Gospel to the working multitudes. The coolies came to work at the Anicut in shift batches of over 6000 at a time with 500 carpenters and 500 smiths<sup>56</sup>. Thus Bowden preached to big crowds of Telugus between the years 1847 and 1850 but never promised material benefits for hiring people to Christianity. He gained 2 native converts in 1848 and two more in 1849. The financial constraints were slightly lessened by newly converted English Brethren, Captain Randall, Major Dobbie and Captain Haig who started a fund. In 1849 the Bowdens were settled again at Palakol. He drew 45 more converts between the years 1850 and 1855 were upper caste converts figured largely this time. They were Vasa Panchakshari of Tirupatipadu,

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<sup>56</sup> *Ibid* p.p.92-96

Gadhamchetti Simeon of Pangidi – a Saiva devotee, 3 weavers and a Kapu in Tirugudumetta<sup>57</sup>.

It was not until 1850 that an assembly of local Brethren was established at Narsapur. The missionary Beer used to visit fairs, car festivals and hook swinging festivals through the year and preach to the people against such evil practices. He relentlessly worked among villages of every taluk in East and West Godavary area preaching the Gospel. It was during one of his several visits to the Reddisseema hill country that he died of sunstroke in 1853 at just 41. At the time of Beer's death there were 26 baptized believers viz., at Tirugudumetta 6 believers, at Narsapur 8, Kakinada 1, Agartipalem 5, Rangoon 3 and at Tallapudi 3. By 1865 there were 50 native believers in Narsapur assembly<sup>58</sup>. This number grew to 57 in 1871<sup>59</sup>. There were hundred children in their lower primary schools being given scriptural education. The Palmira leaves were used with a stylus. A training school for girls was opened at Palakol where needle or lace work was taught. Mrs. Beer started a caste Hindu girls school with an intake of 32 students at Narsapur.

In 1855, Thomas Heelis, a merchant naval officer, came to Palakol, was baptized, and filled the vacuum left by Beer. He gave some 55 years of service among the Brethren assemblies and several villages<sup>60</sup>. A Muslim convert Ali Sahib and a native, Chadawalawada Francis, constantly accompanied Heelis and his party converted around 45 people. Bowden continued until 1874 and died in the same year at 64. Between 1856 and 1874 he added some 48 believers from both upper and lower castes to the Brethren

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<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> Dr. Fredk A. Tatford, *That the World May Know* Vol III, p.98-101

<sup>59</sup> Census of the Madras Presidency 1871-Supplementary Tables Vol. II, 1874, p.299.

<sup>60</sup> Missionary Echo, A Record of Labour of Missionaries in Many Lands, Bath, London, 1872, p.100.

assemblies, located in different villages around Narsapur. Mrs. Bowden ran a dispensary also. The children of missionaries Bowden and Beer took up the ministry left by their parents. In Narsapur and Palkol at the turn of the century, there were some 35 assemblies and the largest number of colporteurs and missionaries in the Godavari delta. The weavers of sudra community came out and joined the Christian assembly at Narsapur<sup>61</sup>. P.C. Whitehouse started some 13 assemblies in and around Nagaram. Amalapuram was first evangelized by Mr and Mrs. Norman Macrae<sup>62</sup> and the assembly consisted of 325 believers about 1902 and later they were followed by a number of missionaries. There were 14 assemblies in Rajahmundry at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The missionary family, Mr. and Mrs. Bryant, arrived in 1901 using a house boat, extensively evangelized the villages along the canals and ministered to many of the assemblies in the Godavari area. By 1946 it was estimated that in some 220 villages there were between 7000 and 8000 believers gathered in Brethren meeting rooms or assemblies for worship as well as taking part in Lord's Supper.<sup>63</sup> (see Appendix III). Till 1971 there were 26 Brethren missionaries in the Godavari area, of whom 11 were in medical work in Narsapur, particularly engaged in maternity and Leprosy Hospitals. Some were engaged in running Boys and Girls High Schools in the area. However, the drawback of institutional work was that it forced many of the missionaries and evangelical workers to become more localized. The Brethren movement in South Andhra led by Bro. Silas Fox, on the

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<sup>61</sup> Echoes of Service, A Record of Labour of Missionaries in Many Lands, Bath, London, 1886, p.p.41-42

<sup>62</sup> Echoes of Service, A Record of Labour of Missionaries in Many Lands, Bath, London, 1883, p.p.24-25.

<sup>63</sup> C.F. Timothy Stunt, *Turning the World Upside Down*, p.98. See Appendix III for more information on conversions in coastal Andhra.

contrary, had a far wider reach: most regions of Telugu country from the end of Eastern Ghats to Nizam dominions were encompassed<sup>64</sup>.

However, evangelistic effort in Chittoor weakened after the leading evangelist, A.N. Groves died in 1853. Other Christian groups like Church Missionary Society, London Missionary Society, Baptist Missionary Society etc, began to meet together in small companies in various places scattered over wide areas. In the 1920s, Canadian missionary, Silas Fowler Fox, who preached in the Telugu language met these indigenous groups and won over large number of converts. The Brethren assemblies in South Andhra, now consisted of Kurnool, Kadapa, Anantapur, Chittoor, Nellore and Prakasam<sup>65</sup>. Fox preached the Gospel regularly in streets, bazaars and villages of the area. Moreover, Brethren from other language areas visited these places and participated in multilingual conferences. These resulted in interstate and intercaste marriages and other combined evangelical efforts. A South Andhra Brethren evangelist, Y.S. Prabhudas Reddy, converted in 1938, moved constantly among the South Andhra assemblies and in the wider areas of Karnataka, Tamilnadu, Kerala and the coastal Andhra to start the Brethren assemblies<sup>66</sup>. There were over 150 indigenous local assemblies, in Anantapur, Kadapa, Kurnool, Nellore, Prakasam and Guntur etc., all beyond the Godavari Delta of Bowden and Beers<sup>67</sup>. Over 30 Brethren were commended from those assemblies of South Andhra as full time evangelists to spread the movement.

Thus in 1956, through the preaching of Silas Fox and K.P.Agrippa, an Indian convert, a revival began in Anantapur and spread as far as Karnataka in the South-West

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<sup>64</sup>Echoes of Service, A Record of Labour of Missionaries in Many Lands, Bath, London, 1931, p.251.

<sup>65</sup> Dr. Fredk A. Tatford, *That the World May Know*, Vol III,p.p.130-31

<sup>66</sup> V. Sambob (ed), '*Assembly Mail*' Publications (March 2006) dealt in a broader way the Life and Labours of Prabhudas, p.p.5-14.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*



and from there to Vetapalam in the Guntur District where 25 assemblies commenced. In the Nellore District 12 more assemblies were founded, and in the Kurnool District another 12. By 1956-57 some 200 assemblies in South Andhra existed. Evangelism in the Godavari area was largely based upon institutions established by the missionaries- the hospitals, schools, orphanages, boarding centers etc.<sup>68</sup> (see Appendix III). The assemblies were independent and they had elders. Meetings were several hours long with hymns and singing with male believers sat on the ground, and the sisters on one side. No rank or distinction was observed<sup>69</sup>. Then a few brothers would open the meditations, and all the believers partook in the Lord's Supper. Baptisms followed by religious advice on responsibilities and then a collective march in a procession to the nearest water tank or an open well were standard procedures in such meetings. For 25 years Anantapur was Fox's base. Among many converts some upper caste converts of South Andhra were Paul V. Gupta and Y.S. Prabhudas Reddy.<sup>70</sup> These Indian converts helped to establish 900 assemblies in total, with an average membership of 60 in each assembly or a meeting room<sup>71</sup>.

The Brethren, were men who doubted the legitimacy of the other Churches, and in particular they came to reject the association of Church and state, and as a rule they took no part in politics or local government and the warrant for clerical orders but they had staunch adherence to priesthood of all believers. They reckoned the scripture as a book of rules and a charter to heaven. They called one another saints. Their meetings were carried

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<sup>68</sup> *Ibid*, p.p.132-37. See Appendix III for more information on conversions in South Andhra.

<sup>69</sup> The phrase 'social worship' was used to signify the pattern of worship in Brethrenism. Neil Dickson, 'Principles and Practices of the Brethren' in Deryck W. Lovegrove (ed.), *The Rise of the Laity in Evangelical Protestantism*, Routledge, New York, 2002, p.368

<sup>70</sup> Bro. Y.S. Prabhudas Reddy has been a strict adherent and an ardent communicant of Brethren Movement since 1938 till date and he is an uncle of the former Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh Sri Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy (elder brother of his father).

<sup>71</sup> Directory of Brethren Assemblies & Institutions in India, SAI, Bangalore, 1988.

out as nearly as possible like the first meetings of the Christians of early century having been inspired by the writings of the Apostle Paul. The meetings on Sundays mostly centered on the Lord's Supper. The large loaf of bread was broken and divided onto four plates and were passed from one to another, each taking a morsel. The wine was poured into four goblets and was passed from one to another. They lived in a sincere and daily expectation of Christ's second coming. There was never financial difficulty, for the Brethren generally offered 1/10 of their income to their gathering. Besides this, small wooden moneyboxes were strategically placed for public offering. The brethren did not believe in celebrating any special days or festivals and even Christmas day. They were secluded with unbelievers. Many of the Brethren in their private study referred to scriptures in original Greek as well as in original Hebrew.

The Brethren kept away from sports, dancing, seeing movies. About 1920s some even regarded the wireless as a demonic device. Husband and wife were never heard to argue in public. The wife was the helpmate and often very much in the background. Women's attitude, with their quiet dress and their quiet speech were in accordance with a Christian patriarchy<sup>72</sup>. There is sufficient literary evidence in the form of books, which characterized the evangelical discipline and morality insisted in the Victorian homes and the Brethren alike<sup>73</sup>. A mark of Brethrenism in this century has been the priority, which they have given to evangelism among children and young people, a feature generally uncommon among the Protestant churches in the beginning. Ian Rennie, in his illuminating study of Brethren spirituality, observed the influence of 'hyper Calvinism'

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<sup>72</sup> Anne Arnott, *The Brethren-An Autobiography of a Plymouth Brethren Childhood*, 1970. And in another Novel '*Esther Waters*', George Moore the novelist had Brethren heroine *Esther Waters* (1894) to depict how serene they were. One can observe George Moore's making Plymouth Brethren (in *Esther Waters*) spokesmen of the moralistic reactions.

<sup>73</sup> Edmund Gosse, *Father and Son: A Study of Two Temperaments*, Penguin Books, 1979.

among the Brethren. They were the modern pioneers of the theory of Faith Ministry and Faith Missions without any societal support or promising finances. They should not be investing money long term in land; rather it ought to be used immediately for the preaching of the gospel possibly related to pre-millennial eschatological Concerns.

. The Brethren movement helped many, to remain in as well as to retain their faith in an age of religious crisis and even influenced the Evangelical ideology of the overseas missions and missionaries.<sup>74</sup> Some of the Church Missionary Society missionaries in India reviewed their ideology similar to Brethren pattern and some of them even defected to the Brethren fold.<sup>75</sup> The Brethren missionary effort was very substantial in itself and bore comparison with the denominational societies like Church Missionary Society, London Missionary Society, Baptist Missionary Society etc. The fact that today there are churches connected with the Brethren Movement in over 100 countries in the world bears testimony to this. It was very influential in the Faith mission movement, inaugurated by A.N. Groves in India. The movement's efforts in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century were very strongly rivaled if not eclipsed by those of the denominational missionary societies (Church Missionary Society, London Missionary Society, Baptist Missionary Society), which had preceded it<sup>76</sup>.

**Women's role among the Brethren:** - The practice of allowing women to minister in the church being was expressly forbidden by scripture, and thus throughout the church

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<sup>74</sup> Ian S. Rennie, 'Fundamentalism and the Varieties of North Atlantic Evangelicalism' in Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington and George A. Rawlyk eds., *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles and Beyond, 1700-1990*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 333, 342.

<sup>75</sup> Bomwetsch, Rev. Christian, Rev. John Charles Barclay, Miss Pennington of Female Education Society and Henry Davies who was to work with Rev. F. Alexander in Ellore as evangelist, all were refuted with alleged tendency towards Plymouth Brethren in India (See Appendix IV).

<sup>76</sup> The views of Dr. Neil Summerton, Brethren Archivist and Historian, England, are reproduced here, which he expressed during my interaction through mail.

history women were much more restricted in their liberty to minister. The same was often the case with the 19<sup>th</sup> century evangelicalism. Protestantism and Evangelicalism thus offered very marginal roles to women in the church<sup>77</sup>, but Brethrenism offered them expanded roles. 'The denial of a need for an ordained minister (Priest), allowed a lot of opportunity for both men and women to minister to the Lord and to his people'<sup>78</sup>. Theodosia, the Lady Powerscourt, played a significant part in fostering the Brethren movement, holding at her house the prophetic conferences, which were instrumental in its formation. A number of other laywomen were prominent in the early development of the movement, but there were limits as to what they could do. Though women did not achieve the *equality in function* to men– yet they did in principle have *equality of status* among the Brethren (as instituted by Scripture itself)<sup>79</sup>.

From the past, among the Brethren in Andhra, women members were encouraged to be Sunday school teachers, workers among women, hospital visitors, Bible women, and missionaries – principally, tasks involving evangelism or nurture. There was one way, however, in which women could make their voice heard in church that was usually through hymn writing. A more visible role for women within the Brethren movement arose in the revivalism of the 1860s both in Great Britain and South India. The special feature of the revival in South India during 1860 was an inward work rendered by women to bring their jewellery as an offering to God, which was first exemplified by the daughter of early Indian Brethren evangelist, Arulappan. The Christian and non-Christian women followed this

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<sup>77</sup> In the Novel, '*Shirley*' by Charlotte Bronte, one character Joe Scott, a man of strict scriptural origin, is talking to two of his lady friends, Shirley and Caroline Helstone about public preaching and the role of women in the Victorian church. This reflects even the Brethren views. Charlotte Bronte, *Shirley*, Collins, London, 1849, p.p.265-267.

<sup>78</sup> This statement was made by the Brethren Historian, Dr. Dann of England during our conversation.

<sup>79</sup> A summary of my chatting with the prominent Brethren historian Dr. Neil Dickson.

example. This was indeed a first experience when women gave themselves to preach and women first began to spread the revival fire in entire South India. Santhana Mary, wife of Arulappan was a gifted teacher of the scriptures among women<sup>80</sup>. About seventy Brethren female missionaries spent their early youth in teaching, preaching and serving the people of Andhra (Appendix V). In a 1998 survey in U.K, 13% of Brethren assemblies allowed women to teach, 1% had women elders, 22% had women deacons and 48% had women on assembly committees<sup>81</sup>. Now even among the brethren of Bakht Singh movement in Andhra, which was earlier founded by the grandsons of Arulappan, women are on all its leadership teams. Thus, basically the movement was very influential among all classes of indigenous people who adhered to the movement out of dissatisfaction towards the societal missions.

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<sup>80</sup> *Missionary Reporter*, August 1853, p.47.

<sup>81</sup> Graham Brown, *Whatever Happened to the Brethren? A Survey of Local Churches in 1998-1999*, Carlisle, 1999, p.p 69-71.

## **CHAPTER VII: TWO MICRO STUDIES OF BRETHREN MOVEMENT IN ANDHRA**

We have seen in previous chapters that the Brethren missionaries worked differently and had their own ethos, objectives and operational styles. Rev. Sherring M.A., the Church Missionary Society missionary of Benares rightly differentiate them of their actions from other missionaries: ‘connected with no home society, but thriving on their own resources with enthusiasm, the mission carried on benevolent enterprise in a quiet and unobtrusive manner’<sup>1</sup>. They also distanced themselves from western influences<sup>2</sup> as is evident from individual study of two of their missionaries 1. Anthony Norris Groves 2. Silas Fowler Fox.

### **ANTHONY NORRIS GROVES (1795-1853): -**

The foremost and early Brethren missionary Anthony Norris Groves stepped into mission arena with a vision of reforming mission work overseas and inaugurated in the modern world, the age of ‘Faith Missions’, which had made little or no progress for fifteen successive centuries since the early Apostolic practice.<sup>3</sup>

A.N. Groves disapproved of the role of missionary society for mission, followed ‘faith in the Providence’ policy rather to fund raising programmes, preferred evangelism by lay or native preachers as well as Europeans in the place of ordained clergyman, and

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<sup>1</sup> Rev. Sherring M.A., *The History of Protestant Missions in India 1706-1871*, London, 1875, p.452.

<sup>2</sup> Porter, *Religion Versus Empire*, p.324.

<sup>3</sup> The Apostolic ministry of the early centuries of Christian era exclusively based on the tradition of ‘faith in the Providence’ and never depended on natural property or human patronage. G.H. Lang, *Anthony Norris Groves: Saint and Pioneer*, Paternoster Press, London, 1949, p.71.

delinked western culture with Christianity on the policy of simplicity. His great expectation was Christ's millennium rule on earth. He formulated 'persuasive' new ideas in his famous booklet '*Christian Devotedness*' (1825).<sup>4</sup> Its publication in India impacted even Alexander Duff and the architect engineer of Godavari Anicut in Andhra, General Arthur Cotton and many in India and abroad. General Arthur Cotton greatly moved by this simple literature<sup>5</sup>, travelled to Baghdad and invited him to India. The book advocated complete surrender of self and money to Christ, and to evangelize without possessions, but with faith in God alone. This was derived from Jesus, his Apostles and the Christianity of earlier centuries. Groves' motto was 'labour hard, consume little, give much, and all to God'. Groves, who was a dentist prior to missionary call, gave away all property, retaining only a small part to cover his personal and domestic needs<sup>6</sup>. These ideological convictions of Groves thoroughly contradicted the principle of 'Christianity, commerce and civilization' of Anglican and other denominational missionaries and turned Weber's Protestant ethic of capitalism upside down.

Anthony Norris Groves was born on 1<sup>st</sup> February 1795 in Newton Valence, Hampshire, England. His father, a well to do businessman, had educated him in dentistry, so, in his 19<sup>th</sup> year, he earned an income of 1500 Pounds a year from his practice at Plymouth. He had also studied Chemistry and acquired skill in surgery besides his eloquence in the philosophies of Kant, Hegel and Schleiermacher<sup>7</sup>. As a student, Groves was influenced by two Evangelicals, Joseph Richards and Thomas Hitchins, whose

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<sup>4</sup> Robert Bernard Dann, *Father of Faith Missions: The Life and Times of Anthony Norris Groves, 1795-1853*, p.65.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Duff speaks of his first glow of devotedness, as having arisen from this booklet. A Copy of *Christian Devotedness* re-printed at the Church Mission Press, Madras, 1828 and issued by the CMS in India.

<sup>6</sup> *Indian Church History Review*, Bangalore, Vol. XVIII, No. 1, June, 1984, p.59

<sup>7</sup> Lang, *Anthony Norris Groves*, p.42.

teaching led him to the knowledge of Christ. He married Mary Bethia Thompson in 1816 and moved his practice to Exeter. He and his wife together decided first to distribute 1/10 of their income, later, a quarter and later most of it, regularly among the poor in the district. These convictions were very soon embodied in his '*Christian Devotedness*'<sup>8</sup>. Mr. & Mrs. Groves joined Church Missionary Society in order to serve in Persia as missionaries<sup>9</sup>. The Trinity College at Dublin granted examinations to those seeking Anglican ordination to become missionaries or clergy. Groves left his dentistry practice into the hands of his nephew and frequently went to Dublin to pursue examinations. There he became acquainted with many sincere Christians like J.G. Bellet, J.N. Darby, Dr. Cronin, Lord Congleton etc., who were also part of the Brethren movement.

Abandoning his plans for Church Missionary Society ordination and education in language study of Arabic<sup>10</sup>, he withdrew from the Church Missionary Society and in June 1829 set out as a free-lance missionary, travelling with his family of four, his wife, two sons and he to St Petersburg and then overland to Baghdad. Unlike the denominational missionaries, he was not sent by a mission society with fabulous funds to guarantee secure communication and regular salary but by simple reason that he believed God. Groves became pioneer of pioneers as he chose Arab-speaking world. So far, the missionary societies existed prior to him, were functioning at the borders of the Islamic world. But he planted his own at Baghdad, the heart of Islam to become the first Protestant mission<sup>11</sup>. Another characteristic of his mission was a determination to operate

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<sup>8</sup> F. Roy Coad, *A History of the Brethren Movement*, Paternoster Press, London, 1968, p. 17

<sup>9</sup> CMS Minutes: G/C/Acc.1 (20<sup>th</sup> Feb. 1827), No.9. Library Archive, University of Birmingham, transcribed in CMS Minutes (20 May 1825) no.7 p.517

<sup>10</sup> CMS Minutes of the corresponding committee: G/C/Acc.1 (9 Aug 1825) no. 8, p.p.9-10; CMS Archive, G/C/Acc.3 (14 March 1826)

<sup>11</sup> Henry Martyn, who had been a chaplain in the East India Company serving at Dinapore and Cawnpore since 1805 translated the New Testament into Urdu Persian and Arabic. He decided to travel through



in isolated and unfamiliar territory, as far as possible beyond any European influence or colonial rule. He also tended to plant early apostolic type church system instead of western pattern and never advocated the British Christianity.

Some apparently useful contacts were made in Baghdad through Groves's medical work as well as evangelism. He conducted cataract operations to several people but he rarely asked fee and never considered his practice altogether a source of income.<sup>12</sup> He disapproved of missionary educational work and wrote 'I think direct preaching to the natives a much higher and more noble work....'. The educational programmes meant ultimately the involvement of government control of money and its syllabi robbed missionaries of independence<sup>13</sup>. This perspective drove Groves to an anti-colonial state position and to achieve nobleness of missionary character.

During the three years duration of the Groves' sojourn in Baghdad, the plague epidemic decimated the local population, including Groves' wife and little daughter<sup>14</sup>. Meanwhile, a missionary party consisted of Dr. Cronin, Lord Congleton (Parnell) (would be member of House of Lords), an Oxford Professor, Francis Newman, the younger brother of the founder of Oxford movement (1833), John Henry Newman etc., who joined Groves as new Brethren missionaries. The Pasha of Baghdad had once offered the post of doctor to Dr. Cronin but he politely rejected the offer. A few converts-an orphan

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Persia, Damascus and Arabia on his way to England hoping to improve his translations of Persian and Arabic. But he died in 1812 at Tokat in Persia and thus his mission to Arab speaking world ended in no time. After 18years about 1830, Anthony Norris Groves entered Arab mission field at Baghdad to pioneer it.

<sup>12</sup> Journal of a Residence at Baghdad, 1830-31 (London 1832) p.78. Journals, which Groves kept when travelling to Persia and during his stay in Baghdad - Such Journals were published in London in 1831 and 1832. He put into practice the *Christian Devotedness* (1825). He recorded his experiences in his journal that 'our little stock will last us...two months longer, and then we know not whence we are to be supplied, but the Lord does not allow us anxious...'

<sup>13</sup> *Memoir of the Late Anthony Norris Groves by His Widow*, II ed., Nisbet, 1857, p.p.326-327

<sup>14</sup> *Memoir*, p.p.126-153.

girl Harnie, a young man Serkies, an Armenian lady (would be wife of Lord Congleton) and Mokayel, a Lebanese Arab, were acquired in Baghdad.

In April 1833, Sir Arthur Cotton invited Groves to India, and he along with Cotton and Mokayel reached Bombay in July 1833<sup>15</sup>. Groves also wanted a Brethren presence in Mesopotamia and Mokayel evangelised in Mesopotamia, as Groves had desired.

Groves first travelled to Tinnevely (S. India) to help a German missionary Rhenius in his difficulties with Church Missionary Society at the context of indigenous leadership<sup>16</sup>. Here Groves met J.C. Arulappan. Arulappan soon became Groves' translator. A close father and son relationship grew between them. Groves travelled northward as far as Benares, Patna and Calcutta, starting from Madras. During his stay in the North he was moved at seeing high trafficking of baby girls by poor mothers and gathering 40 such girls, he started an orphanage at Sonamukhi. Back to Calcutta, he met the most celebrated missionary, Dr. Alexander Duff, who some time later fell seriously ill and only survived under watchful nursing by Groves himself. Groves laid an indelible

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<sup>15</sup> Timothy C F Stunt, '*Anthony Norris Groves in an International Context: A re-assessment of his early development*', NAMP Paper No. 85, Henry Martyn Centre, Cambridge, p.5. The arrival of A.N. Groves in 1833 was generally the beginning of Brethren Movement in India.

<sup>16</sup> Groves supported the native leadership as he says 'I think...our residence in India has been the means of setting this mode of ministry among the native Christians...The Europeans on the other hand, loves to keep the native in subjection and himself in the place of rule...' Here he was critical at racist and politics of power maintained by the English missionary circles as they were the ruling class. In this connection, Groves was always in allegiance with German missionaries like Rhenius, Gundert etc. Rhenius was influenced by Brethren views. This caused hue and cry among CMS circles. CMS-Book of proceedings 1831-35, Vol. V, Tinnevely xiii, Series of letters, UTC Archives, Bangalore, pp.354-56.

impression upon Dr. Duff<sup>17</sup>. Duff was doubly indebted to Groves: for care and for his booklet, *Christian Devotedness*<sup>18</sup>.

In August 1834, having completed fourteen-month missionary journey, Groves left Calcutta by ship for England where he married a second time and gathered another missionary party from Germany, Switzerland and England. He returned with them to India in July 1836. He preferred Madras Presidency to start his mission stations because he thought that the southerners were more receptive to the Gospel. Moreover, Rhenius, now an independent missionary, was also in the South. His two sons, Dr. Cronin, Mrs & Mr. Lord Congleton (Parnell), the Baghdad converts, Harnie and Serkies, with his whole missionary band of 17 men and women settled in Madras. For orphanage work at Sonamukhi in Bengal Groves deployed Brice and Kalberer<sup>19</sup>. The Brethren movement, by 1836, had become as strong in India as it was in England in 1826<sup>20</sup>. In May Lord Congleton moved to Pulicat (Present Nellore District, A.P.) getting on his missionary work. In August the Beers and Bowdens left for Machilipatnam (Present Krishna district, A.P) accompanied by Congleton<sup>21</sup>. Beer and Bowden proceeded further east to open their

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<sup>17</sup> Duff expressed thus, 'Never can I forget his earnest, beaming countenance and suffused eyes when pouring out his soul into the responding souls of a class of native youths on the theme of salvation! The image of it is as vividly before my mind's eye now as if it were an occurrence of yesterday'. C.F. Timothy Stunt, *Turning the World Upside Down: A Century of Missionary Endeavour*, Echoes, U.K., 1973, p.23

<sup>18</sup> Duff was so closely associated with Groves that he named his newborn son Alexander Groves. George Smith, *The Life of Alexander Duff*, VI ed., London, 1904, p.p.121-2.

<sup>19</sup> Robert Bernard Dann, *Father of Faith Missions*, p.p.234-237

<sup>20</sup> After Rhenius left CMS, the CMS circles at Madras feared at the possibility of Mr. Cogleton (Parnell) and Dr. Cronin might start the Brethren sect at Tinnevely. CMS/B/OMS/C 12, 0253, University of Birmingham Repository, Document No.2 out of 35 papers received by CMS in Jan.1836, contains references to this. If Lord Cogleton and Dr. Cronin were onward of their task, the Brethren Movement would have been massive in influence in S.India in the earlier days itself, if not foiled by the CMS missionaries.

<sup>21</sup> Olive, Rogers, *The Origins of the Godavai Delta Mission and its Distinctive Tenets*, ACTC, Secubderabad, 1980, p.12.

base at Narsapur, Palkol etc (see previous chapter)<sup>22</sup>. Dr. Cronin went as far as Kerala and stayed at Calicut preaching and teaching the Scriptures.

Groves used his medical training and skills among the Europeans as well as the natives to meet the expenses of his missionary band. Societal missionary circles in India, with their interpretation of the Gospels, spread malicious rumour about Groves and the Brethren movement<sup>23</sup>. Groves was convinced that Europeans and especially Indian converts should only acknowledge the life of faith in the Providence and the indigenous church should only be dependent upon this principle but not a subjection to European missionaries<sup>24</sup>. He thus desired a universal society and equality of human beings without any distinctions of race, colour or country.

He thus demanded that the foreign missionary societies should not hold control over the native churches through their resident workers. He therefore pointed at resident missionaries who were executing power over the natives, as they were the ruling group. He condemned the union of church and state as unscriptural and it was implicit in his ideas that the state principles would not judge the church principles. Hence, the general missionary attitude contrasted between the developed west and the primitive orient in the context of culture and religion. In essence, it was the general missionary imperative to promote the colonial agenda of superiority of Christian civilization, a brainchild of Henry Venn and Rufus Anderson<sup>25</sup>. Venn and Anderson formula was no contextualization or indigenisation but an effort for neo-colonization of native churches<sup>26</sup>.

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<sup>22</sup> *Ithihas*, A Journal of State Archives, Hyderabad, Vol.XVIII-I, Jan-June 1992,pp.53-54.

<sup>23</sup> C.F. Timothy Stunt, *Turning the World Upside Down*, p. 22

<sup>24</sup> *Memoir*, p.393. He argues that, if the native churches be not strengthened by this principle, the political changes of an hour may sweep away the present form of things, so far as it depends on Europeans, and leave not a trace behind

<sup>25</sup> Henry Venn, secretary of CMS and Rufus Anderson, Secretary of American board of Commissars for Foreign Missions are known for formulating the 'Three-Self' formula for establishing indigenous churches

Groves was perfectly conscious of this Venn-Anderson formula (1841 onwards) and he took a strong anti-colonial approach, stressing that the societies were not needed to carry on very extensive missionary work. He called the native churches or assemblies as missions by themselves and vice versa. (Churches are Missions and Missions are Churches). Since he was an advocate of the pre-millennial view of Christ's rule on earth, he believed that civilization was a positive hindrance to the missionary from the very comforts it teaches to raise a civilized nation rather than a holy church<sup>27</sup>. He was also convinced on seeing that 'the missionary labour of India, as carried by Europeans, is altogether above the natives...(no lasting impression could be made) till they mix with them in a way that is not now attempted...'<sup>28</sup> Groves, therefore, envisaged in India such spheres like indigenous, self supporting, self governing and self propagating churches only under the considerations of local believers in the light of scriptures, and not by subjection to foreign mission or resident missionary<sup>29</sup>. Therefore, Groves can rightly be called the pioneer of the national or indigenous church in India.

His call to Christian workers of India of the importance of establishing Biblical Indian churches instead of imposing foreign denominations where they had no right to be, was an urgent one. He and his missionary group planted home churches of the apostolic days in several places of Madras Presidency, which required no church building for

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in the colony like India. They were self-supporting, Self-governing and self –propagating indigenous churches aimed for minimising the expenditure on salaries of native pastors borne by foreign societies before and hereafter the said expenditure would be borne by native church.

<sup>26</sup> 'The Growing Church: The Madras Series', Papers Based Upon the Meeting of the International Missionary Council, at Tambaram, Madras, India December 12-29, 1938. Vol. 2, (International Missionary Council, New York), p.276. Venn-Anderson formula was widely debated and was followed by denominational (Anglican) churches in South India. *The United Church Herald (Telugu)*, Vol. 10, No. 5, August 1918, p.77

<sup>27</sup> Dana L. Robert, 'Educator, Preacher, and Promoter of Missions' in Gerald H. Anderson (ed), *Mission Legacies: Biographical Studies of Leaders of the Modern Missionary Movement*, Mary Knoll, Newyork, 1998, p.p.18-27.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*, p271

<sup>29</sup> *Memoir*, p.280

worship nor ordained clergyman to serve Lord's Supper, no stipulated salary for preaching, more independent from missionary societies and boards and all the more egalitarian in appeal. Anglican missionaries in India observed the expansion of the Brethren assemblies on these lines with astonishment and dislike<sup>30</sup>. Their malicious gossip<sup>31</sup> forced Groves to leave Madras for Chittoor<sup>32</sup> in 1837, which soon became his center of activity. Moreover, Groves realized that his native converts lost material support of money and society upon conversion and they had to be provided for. He acquired land in Chittoor and commenced cultivation of silk followed by sugar industry, economic activities which sustained not just his and his followers' evangelical efforts but also many poor children.

The historical, topographical and demographical picture of Chittoor area are recorded in James Mill's account, *Eastwick's Hand Book* (1859) and other census report accounts conveying the Groves' Chittoor. Chittoor was formerly a private estate of the zamindars of Arcot family. However once a formidable enemy of the English, Hyder Ali, died at Chittur in December 1781, instantaneously the British troops under Sir Eyre Coote occupied Chittoor and this incident brightened the prospects of the English in South India<sup>33</sup>. Coming to the topography, the then Chittur Taluk was 671 sq. miles in

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<sup>30</sup> *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, August 1860 and February 1861; *Church Missionary Recorder*, June 1860; *Indian Watchman*, October 1860.

<sup>31</sup> Groves was looked as revolutionary to other missionaries amidst whom he worked. They were not ready to accept his criticism, excluded from their circles and branded him and his fellow missionaries as greatest enemies the Church of England ever had in India. C.F. Timothy Stunt, *Turning the World Upside Down*, p.23

<sup>32</sup> 'Chiru' in Telugu means small and 'Voor' means town. Chittoor was a chief town at a distance of 98 miles from Madras and was head quarters for North Arcot District till 1911. The Madras Presidency comprises several distinct linguistic divisions, but about five-sixths of the people use the Teloogoo language, which is spoken from Vizagapatam to North Arcot. (At present Chittoor is a Southern District going by the same name in A.P), Henry Waterfield, *Memorandum on the Census of British India 1871-72* Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, 1875, p. 20; Edward Eastwick, *Hand Book for India, Part I- Madras Presidency*, John Murray, London, 1859, p. 15

<sup>33</sup> James Mill, *History of British India*. Vol. II, Paternoster Row, London, 1817, p. 531

area and had the lowest density of population that was 314 persons per square mile as per the Census of 1901, which contains a large area of forest and has a rainfall of only 65 inches<sup>34</sup>. Chittur, which was the capital of North Arcot District, inasmuch as it was the residence of the chief civil functionaries such as District Collector and a Judge as it contained the "Subordinate Court" and "Civil Court," which later became a Court of Appeal, substituted by Art. VII. Of 1843, of the Government of India, for the one Provincial Court, which formerly existed here. About 200 Sepoys' lane was there, and both the civil and military officers resided in commodious houses on the South East and South West sides, in compounds thickly planted with trees<sup>35</sup>. 'Chittur lies in a valley said to be 1,100 feet above the sea, shut in on all sides but the East by hills composed of coarse granite, gneiss and greywacke, and veined occasionally with iron ore. The native town is ill drained, and the exhalations make it very unhealthy. Elevated a little above it is the lower fort, containing the old palace of the former Paligars or chiefs of the place, and a reservoir supplied from a tank above with a perpetual stream of fine water. From this is the ascent of the Drug, or upper fort, under six successive gateways, at different heights, and traversing a labyrinth of fortifications, all of solid masonry, and winding irregularly up from rock to rock, to the summit. The ascent is partly by steps and partly by almost superficial notches, cut in the steep and smooth surface of the rock, and to be scaled only with great difficulty. The fort contains two beautiful tanks and various temples, well sunk in the rocks. There is not much historical interest about Chittur'<sup>36</sup>.

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<sup>34</sup> H.H. Risley and E.A. Gait, *Report on the Census of India 1901*, Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, 1903, p. 20. However, the density of population was high in comparison to 226 persons per sq.mile on average at Madras presidency in 1871 census. Henry Waterfield, *Memorandum on the Census of British India 1871-72*, p.6.

<sup>35</sup> Edward Eastwick, *Hand Book for India*, Part I, p.45

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid* p.46.

This was the topographical picture of Chittoor town described by Edward Eastwick's Hand Book (1859) and was nearly the same in the times of A.N. Groves as he lived there till his last breath in 1853.

Arriving to demographical details of the area, Chittoor taluk had 460 villages with a total of 30,227 habitations, which were mostly resided by Telugu peasantry. The census of 1881, reports that the population of Chittoor town was 5809, namely 4720 Hindus, 1026 Muslims and 63 Christians. The town possessed an English church with a native mission chapel, a Dispensary and a Vernacular school attached to it, which were formerly held by A.N. Groves and later ceded to American Arcot mission on his death in 1853<sup>37</sup>.

There was a lot of enthusiasm in the Telugu districts of the early nineteenth century for English education, but as already noted, state initiative in the field of education was minimal. There was only limited private European initiative, sometimes from individual Company officers and sometimes from individual missionaries, in setting up English schools. Even though schools never were in Groves' plan and he never looked on this agency as a substitute for evangelism, yet he rather reluctantly commenced a boarding school for orphaned boys and girls in 1837 who took asylum in his home. Some natives of Chittoor joined their children in the school out of interest in English education. Mrs. Harriot Groves and Julie Dubois, a lady missionary and would be wife of later Malayalam linguist and the close missionary associate of Groves at Chittoor, Hermann Gundert, taught in the Anglo-Vernacular school. People in the villages around Chittoor welcomed Gundert who was 24 in 1838 and was undoubted genius in vernaculars, to start primary schools, whereas he preferred doing evangelism on a bullock cart in the

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<sup>37</sup> W.W. Hunter, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIV, II ed. London, 1887, p. 454. American Arcot Mission Ledger, Dec 1853 to Dec 1873, UTC Archives, Bangalore, p.p.7-8.



surrounding villages rather than education. Groves also preached simultaneously with some native converts. -

He travelled for several hundreds of miles, over several days and after visiting several villages and thousands of individuals, ended his missionary tour. Groves trained several effective Indian Christian leaders like Arulappan, Andrew, James, Yesadian etc. These co-workers and successors also undertook extensive missionary tours, which kept alive the Brethren movement in the area even after his death<sup>38</sup>. The Scudders of American Arcot mission who succeeded Groves at Chittoor, were greatly benefited by the services of these Indian Christians. By thus hand picking Indian Christians, Groves put into place a genuinely indigenous Church. Groves states that the Church denomination born in one country had no right at all to exist in another country. Carey's successors, the Baptists missionaries set up Baptist Churches, the Anglicans, the Methodists etc., established their own churches in India as well. Groves' fundamental concern was to mobilize manpower for the gospel and he was not primarily concerned with labels and affiliations<sup>39</sup>. In Chittoor, the Anglicans and Non-conformists who came into his fold formed an informal fellowship like the movement in England. He encouraged similar groups to develop in the neighboring towns of Chittoor and over the years, which grew into several indigenous and independent assemblies.

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<sup>38</sup> *American Arcot Mission Itinerary Book* from Dec 17<sup>th</sup> 1862 to July 16<sup>th</sup> 1868: Details of Tours and Services conducted with numbers of villages and individuals visited. For example it was recorded that the 1864 missionary tour was lasted for 17 days, preached 403 times at 248 places in 178 villages to 8832 persons, distributed 1612 books and tracts and returned to Chittoor. (1864 p.p 97,101 and 130).

<sup>39</sup> Robert Bernard Dann, *Father of Faith Missions*, p.p.238-240

Groves' co-missionary Gundert married Julie Dubois, and the new couple left Chittoor for a new mission work in Kerala<sup>40</sup>. Early in 1853 A.N. Groves was seriously ill. His wife Harriet Groves hurriedly packed, keeping the school and the mission in the hands of two native responsible brethren and the followers of Groves, Andrew and Yesadian while she left for England. Soon after the death of Groves, the mission was delivered to the American Arcot Missionaries along with his church congregation, which numbered more than 100 Christians. Andrew and Yesadian who were trained and devoted evangelists under the service of A.N. Groves continued as usual in the new mission viz., Andrew as an itinerant evangelist and Yesadian as a schoolmaster of the vernacular school<sup>41</sup>. Groves' congregation of converts and adherents is given in the table below<sup>42</sup>.

Year	Communicants or Native workers	Baptized Christians	Adherants or Unbaptized Christians	Total
1853	13	30	70	113

One significant issue relating to Groves' ecclesiastical ideas was his being convinced of rejecting war. His biographer G.H. Lang writes: 'It was a usual thing for

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<sup>40</sup> After leaving Chittoor, Gundert followed Groves' example in attempting to form Indian churches independent of Episcopal and Governmental control and he followed the progress of the Brethren movement with interest. *Ibid* p.225.

<sup>41</sup> *First Annual Report* of the American Arcot Mission, 1853, UTC Archives, Bangalore, p.4

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid*; *Census of the Madras Presidency 1871*- Supplementary tables Vol.II, 1874, p.296.

army and navy officers to resign their commission upon conversion among Brethren...'<sup>43</sup>

An early instance of a member of the Plymouth Brethren assembly, Percy Francis Hall was a naval officer who had resigned his commission on conscientious grounds. Hence high percentage of ex-military officers were attached to the early Brethren<sup>44</sup>. Groves himself observed, 'not particular precepts only but the general spirit of the New Testament I felt to be irreconcilable with a soldier's duty and the whole system of warfare'. Therefore he spent so much time ministering to soldiers connected with the Anglican chaplaincies in Madras and sepoy lanes in Chittoor<sup>45</sup>. In the military establishment at Madras he spoke to the soldiers that the army was not the place for the Christian's greatest usefulness. George Baynes, a military officer, quit his commission and joined the Groves party at Chittoor. Later three more British soldiers approached Groves. He denounced imperial wars and conquests as immoral and expensive. His peace movement was consistently anti-imperialist. His anti-colonial and anti-racist mindset offers a useful point of access and does not subscribe to the dominant ideology. Groves described his feelings on hearing the British National Anthem being played- this, Groves declared, was a constraint to those who wish to detach themselves from the motherland in order to become citizens of the world<sup>46</sup>. His team reflected this sense of universal citizenship-Hermann Gundert a German, Julie Dubois a Swiss lady, Harnie an Armenian lady, Arulappan and Andrews both Indians.

Conspicuous to his views, Groves' influence extended far and wide beyond the limits of Brethren movement. His unusual work '*Christian Devotedness*', had caused a

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<sup>43</sup>G.H. Lang, *Anthony Norris Groves*, p. 166.

<sup>44</sup> Neil T.R. Dickson, *Principles and Practices of the Brethren*, London, 2001,p.377.

<sup>45</sup>J.A.S. Burgess (ed) *The Hand-Gazetteer of India*, Calcutta School Book Society, 1909, p.87.

<sup>46</sup> Timothy C F Stunt, '*Anthony Norris Groves in an International Context*', p.p.22-23.

great mental stir, resulting in great missionary activity over the world<sup>47</sup>. Some of the world missions, such as China Inland Mission, North Africa Mission, Operation Mobilization etc. were launched upon Groves' principle of faith policy. In 1883, a Chitpavan Brahmin lady of Maharashtra, Pandita Ramabai was converted to Christianity, and opened a school and orphanage in Bombay and afterwards in Pune. Through Mukti mission she sheltered hundreds of girls and widows ranging from infants to old women. This indigenous movement was conceived and planned by Ramabai in consequence to the inspiration she received from the biography of George Muller<sup>48</sup>. Some time later she paid a personal visit to Muller's orphanage in England. One single indigenous enterprise of Ramabai could set the example for the whole country.

Groves' fifteen years stay at Chittoor was meant to bind Indians and Europeans in Christianity and launch an indigenous Brethren movement. The Christian community gained by Groves continued long after he had gone. Among his 13 communicants or native workers at Chittoor, Arulappan, Andrew, James, Yesadian etc., expressed the heartbeat of Groves' policy of faith in the extensive evangelical work they exercised among the Telugus and the Tamils of Madras Presidency. These evangelists who once grazed under Groves, in turn, trained dozens of Christian workers, all who heralded several indigenous movements, Brethren in spirit and pattern, in South India, particularly in Andhra viz., Arulappan indigenous movement, the Bakht Singh movement etc.

#### ARULAPPAN INDIGENOUS MOVEMENT: -

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<sup>47</sup> *The Missionary Reporter*, March 1, 1856, p.132.

<sup>48</sup> Pandita Ramabai, *A Testimony of our Inexhaustible Treasure*, Mukti Mission, Kedgaon, 1977, p.37

One grandson of Arulappan, J.A. Joseph Thangaiah giving the details of his grand father, wrote a letter to missionary, Mrs. Young of Tinnevely, dated March 29<sup>th</sup> 1920<sup>49</sup>. The letter reads: ‘My grand father, Mr. J.C. Arulappan, who was with Mr. Groves, was born at Ukkiraman Kotah...He left Ukkiraman Kotah and started for mission work in his fifteenth year. He was born in the year 1810. He had been in his mission tour to Arcot, Sittoor (Chittoor), and other districts. From there he came down to this valley, which was then uncivilized and unchristianized. He started work in this valley in the year 1840 and established Christian Petah and its church within two years, say in the year, 1842. He founded a village of Christians, and an assembly of the type he had learned from Mr. Groves to be scriptural. He died in the year 1867, March 14<sup>th</sup>. He was then 57 years old...’

Arulappan was influenced by C.T.E. Rhenius, when he was just 15. Groves was his next major influence and Arulappan in December 1833 left Rhenius and went from Tinnevely with Groves. When Groves pitched his mission in 1837 at Chittoor Arulappan together with another worker Andrew, joined him. At Chittoor he was very much with Groves, learning his mind and methods in the light of scriptures as well as sharing in schoolwork. He learnt English<sup>50</sup> in the company of Groves and received salary as an interpreter. While Groves and he as an interpreter were preaching in a street, a Brahmin reproached Arulappan for being hired by the Englishman. Then and there Arulappan resolved neither to take salary from Groves nor to feel himself subordinate or dependant

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<sup>49</sup> G.H. Lang, *The History & Diaries of An Indian Christian*, London, 1939, p.7

<sup>50</sup> *History & Diaries*, p.p. 29; 115. Arulappan was also familiar with foreign languages, such as Hebrew, Greek, German etc. His Bible interleaved with Hebrew, Greek and English.

to the foreigner<sup>51</sup>. Thus Groves' example of faith and of independence was acquired by his disciple, Arulappan.

Soon after his marriage with a Telugu girl, Santhana Mary of Chittoor town, he had been in the mission tour as far as Tinnevely in the far south. During 1840-42 he founded a Christian village called 'Christian Petah'. Groves recorded that 'the dear young native, by name, Arulappan, who went from us some months since, has...remained faithful to his purpose. He determined to commence his labours in a populous neighborhood...'<sup>52</sup>Arulappan was a gifted speaker. He himself had relatives scattered widely over southern India and his visits to preach and teach among them spread Brethren movement over an area extending far beyond his base in Christian Petah. Arulappan's diaries are filled with experiences of his missionary tours and setting up of Brethren assemblies over large areas in the Madras presidency, besides his early influences in the surroundings of Chittoor<sup>53</sup>.

YEAR	NO.OF VILLAGES	NO. OF CONVERTS
1853-54	16	200
1855-56	25	300
1857-58	30	600
1859-60	33	800

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<sup>51</sup> *History & Diaries*, p.30. Arulappan stayed for four years in Chittoor (1837-1840) and well acquainted with Brethren principles.

<sup>52</sup> *Memoir*, p.392

<sup>53</sup> *History & Diaries*, p.p.90-98

During 1860-65, an unusual phenomena swept through the South Indian Brethren churches as far as Godavary district in Coastal Andhra was concerned, having its hub at Christian Petah, which included prophecy, healing the sick, women preachers, evangelization of the non-Christians etc., where it is on record that thousands were exposed to Christianity. Arulappan reported a total of 30,000 conversions in the south<sup>54</sup>. The Anglican missionaries noted it as the first entire indigenous effort on the part of Arulappan movement<sup>55</sup>. The special feature of the conversion was that women brought their jewellery as an offering, initially done by the eldest daughter of Arulappan. The non-Christian women followed their example<sup>56</sup>.

As a young man Arulappan learnt from Groves that India needs neither foreign societies nor denominations; the Indian converts required neither foreign authorization to preach nor an ordained priest to conduct prayers. Gospel ministry by an Indian to Indians for 26 years was remarkably successful, which a foreign mission or a missionary could not do through out the foreign mission enterprise. Though this revival, which peaked in

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<sup>54</sup> *Memoir*, p.467.

<sup>55</sup> Charles Edward Van, Engen, David, Burnett, A. Scott Moreau, Harold A. Netland (Ed.), *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions*, Baker Book House Company, 2000, p.p.79-80. The CMS missionary Rev. Dibb writes that the movement (Brethren) expanded under Arulappan, distinctively, the lay converts going forth without purse or scrip to preach the Gospel to their fellow countrymen, was indeed a new era in Indian missions (*Church Missionary Record*, n.s.5, Aug.1860, p.178). He writes 'heathen have here and there be brought under the influence of the movement'. (*Church Missionary Intelligencer*, Dec.1860).

<sup>56</sup> The experiences of the movement published in issues of '*The Indian Watchman*' July 1860 to October 1861 and is quoted in *Memoir* of Anthony Norris Groves, Compiled Chiefly from His Journals and Letters, 3d ed. (London: James Nisbet, 1869), p. 616.

1865, admitted by the Anglican missionaries for its unusual phenomena and indigenous leadership, it did contribute to remarkable church growth in Madras Presidency<sup>57</sup>. This acceptance among Indians contributed to the establishment of the National Missionary Society (NMS) in 1905 to evangelize their own nation and later to the National Christian Council. The radical strategy in modern missions linking paranormal phenomena with evangelism was the missiological perspective shared by Brethren fundamentalists. Thus, men like Arulappan were the legacy of A.N. Groves to India and to the world.

**BAKHT SINGH MOVEMENT:** - Bhakt Singh movement, initiated by the great grand sons of Arulappan viz., Rajamani and Dorairaj in connection to the Gospel meetings they shared with a new Sikh convert, Bakht Singh, from late 40s in Madras. Thus Groves's ideas were later taken up and spread in entire India by these descendants of Arulappan associated with Bakht Singh. In 1935 Rajamani and Dorairaj visited Christian Petah. While in a funeral function at the graveyard, they remembered their long dead grand father Arulappan<sup>58</sup>, and then undertook public preaching, tracts' distribution and campaigning for the Gospel in the streets. An increasing number of young men of various churches in Madras joined them and founded a 'Gospel League'.

By this time G.H. Lang's biography of Arulappan, compiled from his dairies had found its way to India. The impact of the book on the exemplary life and deeds of their grand father, the Indian Apostle Arulappan, rekindled his memory in his grand children. Rajamani was instrumental in compiling an outstanding book under the title 'Monsoon

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<sup>57</sup> *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, No.7, August 1860, CMS Press, Madras, p.p.175-89. Several missionaries, at first sceptical or even opposed to the movement, were won over when they saw the fruit of it.

<sup>58</sup> R.R. Rajamani (as told to Angus I. Kinnear), *Monsoon Day Break*, CLC, Pennsylvania, 1971,p.45.



*Day Break*' giving details of his grand father, Arulappan and Groves and the Brethren movement<sup>59</sup>.

In 1938 a newly converted Sikh, Bro. Bakht Singh, an itinerant preacher visited Madras. He was in the Madras city for 19 days, preaching at the Methodist Episcopal church. Rajamani and Dorairaj were among those who attended the meetings. They saw in Bhakt Singh a true spirit of their grand father, Arulappan and envisaged truly a 20<sup>th</sup> century apostolic revival in Madras, Andhra and other parts of India. They became two of his closest friends. True to their aspirations thousands of people responded to the preaching of Bhakt Singh. They continuously took the initiative for Bhakt Singh's future meetings, and as co-labourers with him, they together established an assembly of Jehovah-Shammah in Madras and subsequently other assemblies elsewhere. These fervent evangelists, influenced by Bhakt Singh movement also carried forward the principles of Groves, and his understanding of anti-colonialism and the indigenous strength of the church.<sup>60</sup> This was done through the annual Holy Convocations, the first of which was held at Madras in 1941. Around 1950, 'Hebron' in Hyderabad became headquarters of this movement. Bakht Singh put on these Holy Convocations yearly where there were mass gatherings, irrespective of caste, colour, creed, and language. The Indians thus conceived, planned and Indianized the movement. In 1951 Rajamani, grandson of Arulappan settled in the area (Vellore, Chittoor and Arcot) earlier where the Brethren movement pioneered by A.N. Groves and Arulappan. Whether Arulappan or his grand children, they all followed up the progress of the Brethren movement with interest.

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<sup>59</sup> R.R. Rajamani, *Monsoon Day Break*, Appendix II, p.p.138-140.

<sup>60</sup> Rajamani and Dorairaj were sons of Abraham Rayappa who worked as a Brethren evangelist in close association with the Brethren missionary, Handley Bird at Chalapuram about 1900. *Monsoon Day Break*, p.13.

Thousands of simple Christian fellowships or assemblies dreamt by the early Brethren stalwarts in India were the fruit of Indian initiatives. The Indians live in the nation must reach their own people. Groves was a pioneer figure in advocating these simpler apostolic methods in mission work<sup>61</sup>. Thus the native missionary movement was growing ready to complete the task. As such, this fulfilled A.N. Groves' vision for the spontaneous growth of early apostolic Indian churches.

### **SILAS FOWLER FOX (1893-1982): -**

Among the Brethren missionaries more indigenous in spirit and manners was Silas Fowler Fox. He mastered seven Indian languages including Hindi and Sanskrit. Of all the languages, he was quite at home with the South Indian languages viz., Telugu, Tamil, Kannada and Malayalam, but exceptionally gifted in use of Telugu language<sup>62</sup>. His command over 'Telugu' astonished his audience. Fox, a Christian sanyasi in saffron adopted the garb of a yogic and Brahmanic sub-discipline.<sup>63</sup>. Therefore, Fox was truly an indigene of Andhra in ideology as well in manners, though technically a foreigner.

Fox did not have connections earlier with the Plymouth Brethren movement that grew in England. But he came in touch with indigenous Brethren movement in South Andhra comprising the districts of Anantapur, Kurnool, Kadapa, Chittoor, Nellore, Prakasam and Guntur. This entirely indigenous Brethren work, however, was happy to welcome Mr. Fox and the Plymouth Brethren missionaries of Godavari Delta. There seems to be a healthy exchange between these groups. They also attained the original

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<sup>61</sup> *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, July 1996, p.3

<sup>62</sup> He wrote several devotional books in Telugu. Some of them viz., *Sapta Vimarsalu* (Seven Censures), *Anudina Malika* (366 Daily Meditations), *53 Prasangamulu* (53 Messages) etc.

<sup>63</sup> Barbara Fox, *Too Old Too Old for What*, Osoyoos, Canada, 1991, p.41.

principles of Groves.<sup>64</sup> In the early years of 20<sup>th</sup> century, Andhra Pradesh saw a revival break out through the preaching of Silas Fox popularly called ‘White Fox’ and S.K. Agrippa, a native Indian co-worker, who Fox came in touch at a new place, Kalyandrug in Anantapur district, popularly called ‘Black Fox’. Conversions increased in numbers and frequency, in South Andhra (the districts of Kurnool, Kadapa, Anantapur, Chittoor, Nellore, Prakasam and some parts of Guntur).<sup>65</sup> Among his early converts, Thimmaiah, a temple priest, with a big mass followers, was from Amarapuram, a nearby village of Madakasira, was baptized by Fox, and ran the church there till his death<sup>66</sup>. Emma Fox did a fruitful mission work among women. Anantapur became the hub, and two hundred assemblies grew up around it.<sup>67</sup>

His monthly journal, ‘*Christian Hope*’ or ‘*Kraistava Nirikshana*’, created a Christian public in India<sup>68</sup>, along with his Bible schools and multilingual convention meetings. These sometimes resulted in the interstate as well as inter caste marriages and other combined evangelical efforts. Silas Fox’s ministry in the villages of Andhra, 30 to 40 years ago, created hundreds of present-day Christian leaders in Andhra Pradesh<sup>69</sup>.

He was the youngest son of attorney Caleb and Bessie Fox, born in Josephburg, AB, Canada on December 22, 1893. At twenty-two, he was admitted to the Toronto Theological College and the English missionary Davidson spotted him. The recruitments for Ceylon and India General Mission were on. However, Silas Fox wanted to work in

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<sup>64</sup> C.F. Timothy Stunt, *Turning the World Upside Down: A Century of Missionary Endeavour*, Echoes, p.100. The combined work of Godavari Delta Brethren and South Andhra Brethren was marked by the First All-India Brethren Workers’ Conference held at Methodist Boys’ High School at Hyderabad, during 25-12-1956 and 31-12-1956. *Report of the First All-India Brethren Workers’ Conference*, Hyderabad, Deccan, December 1956.

<sup>65</sup> Dr. Fredk A. Tatford, *That the World May Know* Vol III, p.p.130-31

<sup>66</sup> An extract from Fox’s Diary, Donald S. Fox, *The White Fox of Andhra*, p.p.39-40

<sup>67</sup> A Brethren Journal, ‘*Uplook*’, Vol. 68, No.6, October 2001, p.12.

<sup>68</sup> A Brethren Magazine, ‘*Truth & Testimony*’, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1991.

<sup>69</sup> K.P. Yohannan, *Revolution in World Missions*, GFA Books, USA, 1986, p.151.

South America, not in India, which was under British imperialism. His diary states: ‘...First and foremost, as it was under British rule...Instead; my first love was South America. Here was an unevangelized field and I dearly wanted to go where no one else had been with the Gospel...’ But he was denied South America, and so decided on India. Davidson informed Fox about the Madras Presidency with its three hundred villages of Madakasira in Anantapur district. Fox enrolled himself as a missionary of the Ceylon and India General Mission<sup>70</sup> and in accordance with the mission policy he married Emma Grau in 1916 and the newly wedded couple arrived in India in 1917.

The Madras Presidency that Silas Fox now entered in was at an interesting epoch in its history of Christian missions. While the First World War was going on, the denominational missionaries in South India were carrying on with the mass conversion movements on war footing<sup>71</sup>. Silas Fox did not follow this neo-colonial trend in missionary activity<sup>72</sup>. As a missionary he resolved to identify with the people he planned to reach. A representative of Western missions and organizations would be ineffective. Thus Silas adopted saffron clothing and wore wooden sandals, which brought him closer to the people. He was also, like Groves, keen on creating an indigenous church to be led by the Indians.

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<sup>70</sup> Quoted in Fox’s Diary and referred in Italics by Donald S. Fox, *The White Fox of Andhra*, Dorrance & Co, 1977,p.19. The book is an account of the life and ministry of Silas Fox in India, to mark the diamond jubilee of his arrival there from Canada, written by his eldest son, Donald S. Fox.

<sup>71</sup> Between 1921 and 1931, an average of 12,855 converts joined the church each month. The Protestant Christian population during these Mass conversion movements was increased at a rate of 32.5% to 41%. *Directory of Christian Missions and Churches in India, Burma and Ceylon*, 1940-1941, Nagpur, 1940,p.p.33-38.

<sup>72</sup> In the words of Silas mass conversion movement is nominal Christianity. This tree must be cut down, as it has grown very big. Salvation is an individual matter and not a mass conversion. ‘Uplook’, Vol. 68, No.6, October 2001, p.19

Hindupur and Madakasira were both in Anantapur district and Fox and his wife spent a total of 7 years 3 months in Madakasira, though the initial months were spent in Hindupur. He engaged two masters, Devadoss and a Brahmin Munshi to teach him native languages, Telugu and Sanskrit, which he quickly learnt. Dave Hunt, the writer of the book, '*God of the Untouchables*', personified Silas Fox as the 'white Brahmin' (white sanyasi) and an authority in 6 or 7 Indian languages. In 1924, Silas started a paper and wrote for it himself in fantastic Telugu. This was called '*the Kalyandrug Sathyadootha*' (Kalyandrug Messenger of Truth). He first referred to the paper as the '*Little Angel*'<sup>73</sup> and then as '*Kristava Nirikshina*' (The Christian Hope), to supplement his itinerant evangelism throughout Telugu country.<sup>74</sup> The magazine monopolized more the '*Questions and Answers*' column in influence on the Telugu reader than any other missionary magazine ever done in Andhra and was the means for over fifty years to create a Christian reading public.

The Foxes' first term ended in 1924 and they returned to Canada on furlough. Fox resigned from the mission, and became an independent missionary who raised his own support. In 1926 he wrote, 'I launched out, with a wife, and five children, and to the glory of God, after a quarter of a century,...without a mission to support me, and without a deputation secretary to make known our needs at home, and without appeals'<sup>75</sup>... I know that He (God) will supply, quite apart from any publicizing of needs on my part'<sup>76</sup>.

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<sup>73</sup> This is an extract from the papers '*Collection 292*' of Silas Fox, which are now preserved in the BGC Archives of Wheaton College, Illinois, USA.

<sup>74</sup> Silas Fox (ed), *Christian Hope*, A Telugu Monthly, CLS, Bangalore, Issue 25, No.5, May 1946, p.14

<sup>75</sup> Donald S. Fox, *The White Fox of Andhra*, p. 153.

<sup>76</sup> *Echoes of Service* Magazine, February 1984, p. 75.

Fox's ascetic appearance drew the Indians, but displeased the British officials and his missionary colleagues. The racist British collector of Bangalore took serious note of Fox's dress and warned him of up keeping white superiority. Fox was dismissive of his opinion<sup>77</sup>. Silas Fox and Agrippa were drawn to Brethren missionaries, who were likeminded independent workers at this point.

Hereafter, Fox became an outspoken advocate of New Testament apostolic practices of the Brethren movement. Silas Fox and Brethren missionaries of all southern India, particularly of the Godavari Delta of Coastal Andhra found a kindred spirit. Handley Bird, a Brethren in Madras, met Fox in 1926. An entry in Fox diary reads: 'One morning after the Calcutta mail had pulled into Madras, I got off and made my way to his little room...at about 6:30 a.m. I was dressed in my saffron robe and looked like a white sanyasi (Holy man)...who are you? He asked. A servant of God just passing through Madras,' was his reply. Silas Fox along with Bird, preached in Telugu to the many Telugus in the city. This first visit began a friendship between them, which was deepened over the years<sup>78</sup>.

Silas Fox was a dramatic and effective speaker, and used all kinds of flamboyant methods, from magic lantern slides to sandwich boards, to attract attention of the masses for the gospel<sup>79</sup>. Thus he would mime and perform clownish antics, even wrestling in public to gain the attention of huge crowds and to get the gospel message across. Fox even whistled, jumped, juggled and when crowds gathered, spoke about the Gospel of

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<sup>77</sup> Donald S. Fox, *The White Fox of Andhra*, p.44

<sup>78</sup> Quoted in his Diary and referred in Italics by Donald S. Fox, *The White Fox of Andhra*, p.70.

<sup>79</sup> Picture slides having to do with evangelistic work of Fox in India c. 1920 to 1950 are now preserved in Collection 292, Accession 83-102, located in the Billy Graham Center Museum in Wheaton, Illinois, USA.

Christ. This as Fox termed, 'Folklore evangelism' drew many to Christianity. One sergeant in the Indian air force, who was a convert of Fox, testified of Fox's evangelism thus 'Fox preaches with demonstration in a local dialect a common man understands. There was no doubt he was master of the language he spoke, very eloquent and dramatic, wearing the national attire of the area'<sup>80</sup>.

Adherents from all Christian denominations were brought under the Brethren doctrinal practices and were constituted into 150 assemblies scattered at several villages of South Andhra in particular and other language areas in general. He changed his locations several times. Anantapur (1939-1946) was the hub of activity as it was an educational center of some importance, and drew a big floating population. In 1925 an assembly was created here.

Years and Places of Fox's earlier ministry of his settled work in Anantapur

Years of ministry	Place
1925-1929	Bangalore, Anantapur
1929-1933	Kuppam
1934-1938	Ooty
1939-1968	Anantapur, Bangalore

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<sup>80</sup> Sergeant Devasikhamani of Ujjain (1960), *Souvenir released commemorating the 80<sup>th</sup> Anniversary (1925-2005)* of the Brethren Assembly at Anantapur (2005), p.18.

One dignitary Mr. Rothanglien Hmar, a member of the Indian Administrative Service, underwent his training as a Deputy Collector in Anantapur. He was a member in the assembly at Anantapur in 70s. He testifies about this assembly: “the church was organized entirely in an Indian fashion. Members of the congregation sat on the floor with legs crossed. Tablas and harmonium provided the musical instruments...all the hymns were sung in Telugu. Telugu hymns... were harmonized with Indian tunes. Though Indian myself, I never correctly realized before, the need for Indianising our Christian worship and service to make a deeper dent into the Indian way of life...”<sup>81</sup> This method of worship furthered an indigenous Christian faith and practice.

Due to his extraordinary fluency in Telugu, he was almost one of them. He also did not want to detach communities from their cultural surroundings and place them on the large mission compounds to be supported by the missionary<sup>82</sup>. The converts were therefore encouraged to live independently. Fox even lived in their homes, ate their food and slept in their beds and integrated totally into the Indian communities<sup>83</sup>. He even started the mobile Bible school at Anantapur which drew large number of adherents from all communities. He states in 1951: ‘God has raised many groups of dear Indian converts in the country and without “help” from outside. They are going on...We are much against “the missionary running the Church”...Men (indigenous leaders)...may be raised up in India...’ Here was a vision of an indigenous church, free from outside control or domination by western colonialists through outside money<sup>84</sup>. He took pride in his independence and said: ‘for these 35 years God has supplied my needs and the needs of

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<sup>81</sup> Quoted in Fox’s Diary and referred in Italics by Donald S. Fox, *The White Fox of Andhra*, p.123.

<sup>82</sup> An extract from Fox’s Diary dated 1951, quoted by Donald S. Fox in ‘*The White Fox of Andhra*’, p.173.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid* p.180; *Christian Hope*, Issue 25, No.8, Aug.1950, p.1.

<sup>84</sup> *Christian Hope*, Issue 21, June 1946, p.14.



my family without funding from West or my asking anybody. I have neither home nor a door of resting place in this world, except that I will have it in the heavenly places'. This is my mission. My mission is submission'<sup>85</sup>. The Arab Muslim converts of Egypt who were settled in the vicinity of Nile, moved by his exemplary faith, often met his needs unasked. These developments convinced Fox that indigenous Christian movement across culture was possible. Among the 30 brethren, commended from the 150 assemblies, were some remarkable young men of caste Hindu background like Paul V.Gupta and Prabhudas Reddy and traditional Christians such as S.K. Agrippa and G.S. Joseph<sup>86</sup>. These four brethren, exclusively, were the living manifestations of Silas Fox in their vision of indigenous church<sup>87</sup>.

S.K. AGRIPPA(1886-1967) : - He was born and brought up in a Telugu traditional Christian family at Kothapalli, a near by village of Proddatur in Kadapa district. During his early youth he was well known for life of deceit, waywardness and robbery, so well accrued a name 'Bayyanna' (Trickster) and lived in an unimaginable state of notoriety till he had a striking conversion in 1910 through a visiting evangelist. Later he joined in Ceylon and India General Mission as an evangelist at Kalyanadurg in 1914. About 1924, Silas Fox was the missionary at Kalyanadurg, and the rest of the story has been a part of the career of Silas Fox<sup>88</sup>. Agrippa, too, was enthusiastic about "folk-lore evangelism" intercepted with humour and entertainments and used similar strategies as Silas Fox.

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<sup>85</sup> *Christian Hope*, Issue 22, No.8-12, April 1949, p.12; Issue 24, No.11, Nov.1949, p.20.

<sup>86</sup> Dr. Fredk A. Tatford, *That the World May Know*, p.131

<sup>87</sup> A great deal of attention is paid to gather sources through individual or group interviews with surviving leaders as well as with other religious functionaries of this sect. (See Appendix VI).

<sup>88</sup> Donald S. Fox, *The White Fox of Andhra*, p.p.54-58.

Agrippa, when Silas left the mission also bid farewell to the mission and pursued gospel work independently at Anantapur. Despite poverty and little education he created a missionary centre at Anantapur. Silas shifted his family from Bangalore to Anantapur and both friends toiled for nearly fifty years altogether till the death of Agrippa in 1967 separated them<sup>89</sup>. This was indeed a partnership which held because the western attitude towards evangelicalism could adopt the indigenous culture with ease and even nationalism.

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<sup>89</sup> *Souvenir* released commemorating the 80<sup>th</sup> Anniversary (1925-2005) of the Brethren Assembly at Anantapur (2005), gives particulars of the ministry of both Foxes, p.p.1-6.

Dr. N. PAUL V. GUPTA: - Gupta's child hood name was Nagaruru Vankataswami Gupta. Nagaruru was the family name and Gupta the title of their Vaisya sub caste. He used to make frequent pilgrimages to Hindu shrines until his resolute conversion to Christianity in 1936 while one Anglican missionary preached in his village. During the early years of his conversion, Gupta had good contacts with S.K. Agrippa and Silas Fox who were then in Anantapur. Very soon Paul Gupta and Prabhudas (Y.S. Venkatarami reddy) the caste Hindu converts, came to stay with Silas Fox at Anantapur. Mr.& Mrs. Fox trained them as true gospel workers<sup>90</sup>. Dave Hunt in his book '*God of the untouchables*', which is a biography of Paul V Gupta, referred to the special care Silas showed towards Gupta, he writes 'The one person who had the deepest spiritual influence upon Paul was Silas Fox as he spent many hours teaching him from the scriptures. This way V. Gupta had a deeper insight into Christianity'<sup>91</sup>.

Afterwards these young men were sent out on a preaching tour to the southern parts of Andhra. Paul Gupta narrates the many hardships he faced in the mass evangelism such as long periods of starvation, penniless and perilous travels etc. Despite hardships, Paul says they propagated Christianity in "hundreds" of villages. Over the years, Paul Gupta was entrusted with a responsibility of founding and leading the 'Hindustan Bible Institute' in Madras. Soon after it began functioning, Silas made frequent visits to this Institute, conducted special classes to students and thus tasted the success of an indigenous Christian enterprise<sup>92</sup>.

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid p.p.16-17.

<sup>91</sup> Dave Hunt, *God of the Untouchables*, 1976. Entire book is a biographical account of Paul V. Gupta.

<sup>92</sup> Barbara Fox, *Too Old Too Old for What*, 1991, p.47. Donald Fox and Barbara Fox, the son and the daughter-in-law of Silas Fox, were enrolled staff of this Institute. Ibid. p.p.45-52.

PRABHUDAS (Y.S VENKAT RAMI REDDY): - He was born in a caste Hindu family in 1921 at Pulivendula of Kadapa district. His father Yedguri Sandinti Venkat Reddy was a very early convert in the family. His third son Venkat Rami Reddy was encountered with Christian gospel by one of his converted kith about the year 1937. Afterwards he claimed genuine conversion to Christianity in his own words saying: 'In 1938, in the second year of my conversion, Mr. Fox visited my native place with the late Mr. P.V. George of Kerala for special meetings. I was 17 at that time...and I came to see that a believer ought to be baptized... In 1940, Mr. N. Paul V. Gupta, a Hindu convert, and I came to Anantapur where Mr. Fox and the late, Mr. K.P. Agrippa were working together. Our stay in Anantapur was our training period for the work God had for us. Mr.& Mrs. Fox were like our spiritual parents. She used sometimes to say, "Now that my children are away, you are my sons". Mr. Fox would have Bible classes every day at his house with us, and sometimes a few more attended...these were very happy days'<sup>93</sup>.

During the Baptismal ceremony, Y.S. Venkat Rami Reddy chose a new name Prabhudas (servant of the Lord). From that day onwards he has been known in Andhra as Prabhudas or Prabhudas Reddy. After his travail apprenticeship in Anantapur at the Bible school, run by Fox, he made several gospel campaigns along with his close associates Paul V. Gupta, Agrippa etc., in Telugu and other language areas and proved himself a gifted evangelist and an itinerant preacher. Unlike his co-workers the evangelical traits of Mr. Fox are manifestly apparent in Brother Prabhudas. Inroads of his evangelical campaign equally affected his native district Cuddapah and there grew an assembly of converts. The Sikh convert, Bakht Singh visited this assembly to help in the work of

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<sup>93</sup> Oral Interview with Prabhudas Reddy, Quoted in Donald S. Fox, *The White Fox of Andhra*, p.115.

Prabhudas. Eventually, the brethren contemplated to hand the assembly of Cuddapah to Bakht Singh. Therefore, Prabhudas chose to strive as full time evangelist in Bellary and over the years from 1944 to 1956, carved a Fort Assembly there. Meanwhile his marriage with a girl, Padmamma, belonging to a deprived section of the society, further signified his exemplary life and an aversion towards casteism. In 1956, he changed his headquarters to Nandyal in the Kurnool district and settled there<sup>94</sup>. He is 89 years now, yet he is nurturing many young and growing assemblies in Andhra, equally he has been advocating the cause of Brethren movement for these 70 years since 1938. Unhesitatingly he can be said to be the right successor of Fox.

G.S. JOSEPH : -It was at Anantapur that Silas Fox came into touch with the family of G.S. Joseph. His father, Rao Sahib G. James, was deputy collector of Anantapur. After graduation from Madras University, G.S. Joseph joined in the government service. Having passed a little time, he resigned his job and entered full time gospel ministry. It was to this man that Silas entrusted the responsibility of editing and the task of circulation of his monthly magazine, “*Krithava Nirikshana*” or “*Christian Hope*” through long years of his missionary career in Andhra and even after he finally left India<sup>95</sup>.

G.S. Joseph, from the beginning, shared in labours of running the Brethren Assembly at Anantapur in close association with his co-workers, in addition that he has been a member of the Andhra Pradesh auxiliary committee of the Bible Society of India.

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<sup>94</sup> V. Sambob (ed), ‘*Assembly Mail*’ Publications (March 2006) dealt in a broader way the Life and Labours of Prabhudas, p.p.1-12; Information also gathered by the researcher through personal interview with Mr.Prabhudas Reddy.

<sup>95</sup> *Souvenir*, Anantapur (2005), p.17

The Annual report of the Bible Society reads ‘...Mr. G.S. Joseph, who was associated with the assembly during his father’s stay in Anantapur, after having served the state government in Machilipatnam for about 4 years, resigned his job, and he along with his wife joined the assembly again as full time servants in 1944 and have continued till the present time’<sup>96</sup>. Joseph, a well educated and cultured person, used to move among the government officials and young graduates and accomplished a great work of adding more number of converts to the assembly at Anantapur.

All the four Brethren along with several other fellow leaders, in long association with Silas Fox, founded hundreds of Brethren Christian assemblies in all over Andhra and even beyond Andhra, as some hundreds of Telugu families migrated to other language areas, particularly to erstwhile Mysore state (Present Karnataka), seeking employment in Industrial establishments and in Indian Railways. These Brethren along with Silas Fox planted no less than 10 Telugu assemblies among those in Mysore state during the years from 1938 to 1970 (Appendix VII)<sup>97</sup>. All these Christian Brethren groups were well grounded on Brethren principles, fulfilling the vision of the founding fathers of the movement and particularly influenced by the life and labour of two missionaries whose case studies are dealt widely in this chapter.

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<sup>96</sup> *The Annual report of the Bible Society for the years 1973-74; Souvenir*, p.17.

<sup>97</sup> K.J. Newton, *Brethren Missionary Work in Mysore State*, CBRF, Exeter, UK, 1975(JRUL Archive, Manchester) pp.46-47.

## **CHAPTER VIII: FINAL ASSESMENT AND CONCLUSION**

In conclusion, missionaries were inextricably connected with imperialism and a threat to indigenous culture and values. The issues of imperialism, together with the claims and motivation of missionaries, led to colonialism. Of course, missionaries might not be the open advocates of empire, yet as local people identified some of their gestures acquainted to institutions or beliefs suggest their association with imperialism. Thus, the focus of denominational missionaries of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), London Missionary Society (LMS), Baptist Missionary Society (BMS), Wesleyan Missionary Society (WMS) etc., was always directed to bring the Gospel through civilizing or westernizing institutions like schools, hospitals etc., into colonies.

Societal mission schools were recognized images of imperial means, even though, no more than 3 or 4 percent of population received education in India in spite of missionary efforts. Many Hindu parents fearing that their children might be attracted to Christianity, over the years withdrew them from mission schools. However, there were occasions when missionaries' efforts worked for local advantages. The mission education provided indigenous people with all white man's many advantages. It is therefore essential to our assessment of the imperial role of missions which worked both in positive and negative ways when we take account of their limitations and inabilities. Equally significant is the fact that missionary education in India provided low castes with the means to defend their interests and improve their status.

In India, Christian teaching provided a spur to the revival and reform of indigenous religion as well as society and introduced new conceptions of gender particularly to indigenous women. Women were empowered despite missionary imperialism. Another issue of this kind is the Mass movements at the instance of vigorous missionary activity. Mass movements or mass conversions to Christianity were witnessed among depressed classes in Andhra during 19<sup>th</sup> century in the face of famine, epidemic and persecution (oppression by upper castes). These conversions were labeled as a simple surrender to White power. But alternative answers are also very persuasive: that the fundamental egalitarianism of Christianity was very touching to indigenous consciousness. Similarly Anna Johnstone (*Missionary Writing and Empire*, OUP, 2003) argues that missionaries were ambivalent and ambiguous figures in the colonial landscape—they were simultaneously on the side of White Power but also on the side of the indigenous people.

Among missionaries as well as theologians, as I discussed with emphasis in the initial chapters, there was an ever-present discussion and perennial publications justifying the Christian presence in India under the provision of the Providence. They propagated this contrasting notion among wide British public through their books and articles and more through their reports to the Church Missionary Society, Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, Methodist and Scotland Free Church mission head quarters. For example, Bishop Daniel Corrie of the Church Missionary Society in his address on the occasion of anniversary meeting of the corresponding committee, Calcutta (*Church Missionary Record*, no.11, vol vi, Nov. 1835, p.263), said ‘I verily believe the British power has been established in India with the permission, and under the direction, of



Divine Providence...There was Burmese war why? To open a way to the free dispersion of the Gospel and now missionaries are baptizing great numbers of them...The Gorkha war too? To bring us acquainted with those brave highlanders...God will support the British government in India for the good of the people and that his servants may have free liberty and protection'. This statement is one example how missionaries, unconsciously used the colonial war machine to further evangelical preaching. The notion of Providentialism is itself a discourse of conflict within the Raj, primarily in terms of the changing economic equation in India, which used transcendental divine sanction to justify Britain's economic exploitation of India. Missionaries or Whig evangelicals did not consider subject people's economic improvement equal in importance to religion. As these were two sides of the same coin, the shifting and complex character of missionaries' relations with imperial authorities and religion determined the more or less simultaneous spread of imperialism and Christianity. Also, Britain's overseas empire made it impossible for missionaries to escape all involvement with the empire and the empire because a tool for missionaries' obligation to fulfill their calling.

Missions and cultural imperialism was also dealt methodically in this volume. This study found that Empires had been held together in a settled imperial hierarchy less by material connections than by an integrated 'colonial discourse'. Therefore, Cultural Imperialism became commonplace to interpret missionary enterprise as of central importance in the construction of empire by advancing cultural change. Missionaries, everywhere, believed English to be the vehicle of an essentially superior culture wrapped in Christianity. This English language, we saw in the earlier chapters, was an effective missionary strategy for colonizing the vernaculars by confining them within a colonial

discourse of cultural power. However, It is also assumed by many that the English language, the missionaries taught, was not simply important to the centralising ambitions of imperial controllers but also helped to forge more coherent, independent and secure local communities in India. In such settings, the 'cultural imperialism' associated with missionary schools, and the linguistic change, played a vital role in community life forging differences across the nation. Certainly English the medium of a single language communication among the people of India. When the first linguistic state, Andhra was formed in 1953, Prime Minister Nehru feared this would set a trend towards the Balkanization of the Indian Republic along the lines of India's 15 languages and 250 dialects. The language of once all-embracing 'imperial project' is in common use today which imposes a quite impressive co-ordination and coherent planning among people of India. So, the missionary impact was variable and largely dependent on the type of society and its politics where they worked, up to the extent to which colonial governments wished to use them.

Missionary imperialism, which I described extensively, was one clear issue among denominational or societal missionaries viz., Church Missionary Society (CMS), London Missionary Society (LMS), Baptist Missionary Society (BMS), Wesleyan Missionary Society (WMS) etc. who come under first phase of missionary enterprise. Over the years, the formation of Faith missions represented a new phase in the enterprise. The term Faith missions was developed from a conviction of not soliciting funds, nor supported by foreign missionary societies. Thus the missionaries of this sect were to have faith in God to provide for their needs. To say in the words of Andrew Porter: 'the argument developed here has paid particular attention to the many influences that strained

relations between missions and empire and often pushed them apart. At their most extreme, these were perhaps to be seen in the activities of the 'faith missions', inspired by radical theology and anxious to distance themselves as far as possible from western influences. Occasionally missions found themselves at the other pole'. This kind of profound personal example was initiated earlier in India by the Brethren movement, particularly, as one of its founder but pioneer missionary, A.N. Groves inaugurated it in the Telugu country.

As colonialism in different forms expanded in the impoverished nations like India so was the missionary movement coming from rich countries, and eventually both contributed for the rise and spread of nationalism in the colonies. Nationalism threatened the colonial system that dominated the missionary scenario (in the case of denominational missions). This nationalist feeling, in the form of socio-religious movements or movements for political reasons, shook the role of missionary as well as western image of Christianity. With this, the power of western superiority declined, western based and western directed missionary endeavour was also declining. Now it demanded stronger indigenized ministries. In the face of these developments, in reality, the Brethren missionary efforts and their assemblages began to grow to the point where they moved closer to the goals of indigenous Christianity of self governing, self supporting and self propagating Christian communities. At one time denominational missionaries of Church Missionary Society, Baptist Missionary Society, London Missionary Society, Wesleyan Missionary Society often enjoyed the benefits of serving in regions under the control of colonial empires and they were propagators of liberal theology (westernizing British Christianity), which tended to racial superiority, domination and to colonize and

impoverish other people. Whereas, with the emergence of Brethren movement, the radical or fundamentalist theology inherited from 1<sup>ST</sup> Century Apostolic Christianity received essential impetus in India, took adequate indigenous or Asiatic forms. The two micro case studies of Brethren missionaries, on which I focused, are visibly shed light on the indigenous spirit of the movement. The indigenous elements – the simplicity of meeting places, believers sitting on the ground with crossed legs, the use of Bhakti as the style of worship, the Indian lyrical and musical systems, long days of fasting and meditations etc., all make the Indianness, seen clear, and mark the movement as unique from others. The Brethren missionaries' main focus was to raise native leadership being equipped with their own methodology to fit into indigenous setup.

I referred standard historical arguments as to the missions bearing the blame of being imperialistic in their stand points, while investigating into Brethren movement, one wide Christian group in Andhra, which was anti-imperialist, offers a useful study to a researcher. This Christian fellowship group that is so large enough now in Andhra counts to several thousands. Further the innumerable adherents to Bakht Singh movement initiated by Rajamani and Dorairaj who were associated with the Brethren from the time of their parents and grand parents and finally several fellowship groups of the Laymen's Evangelical movement started by a Brethren man N. Daniel, all put together to number several lakhs, which speak ever widened circles of influence of the Brethren movement in Andhra. These Christian fellowships called 'the assemblies' see themselves not as the creation of foreigners, nor as Indian branches of foreign societal denominations, but as the fruit of Indian initiatives. As such they fulfill A.N. Groves' vision for the spontaneous growth of early Apostolic native churches.

The history of the Protestant missions in India would not be complete without reference to the constructive role of the missionary in the social aspects, even though he bore the stigma of imperialism. In this particular aspect missionaries were looked with apathy and were a neglected stock. However, it is true that they are the integral part of the country's rich heritage and they played an unequivocal role in shaping and moulding the dimensions of modern India and modern Andhra as well. The existence of the Protestant missions and their penetration into Andhra was mainly due to the service sanctity dominated by the mannerisms of missionary as well as his audience. This was where the people of the area accepted missionary and were not anti missionary of the useful services he rendered to them. The educational and medical work of the missionaries met with approval and this aspect of their work made a long lasting impression upon the people and became a pre-ground for the developmental activities of post independent India. In the light of these facts the missions' history challenges the Indian society in the following areas:

1. In the area of religion and humanitarian activity as expressed by the ever-cherished doctrine of missionaries in respect of love and service for others.
2. In the area of social change, with a promise of social uplift of the lowly and the depressed classes.
3. In the area of economic well-being with a promise of an opportunity for economic betterment.

These challenges cannot be responded satisfactorily yet are also critical angles, since the missionaries did put pioneering and unparallel labours, on many fronts, and

their efforts rivalled the past and present governments. The alien missionaries were always friendly with people they chose to serve, irrespective of their religion, caste and colour. Particularly, the people of the depressed sections were liberated from the bondages, which were quite in vogue since their ancestral times.

Missionaries, once convinced of God's will for their lives, never looked back till they fulfilled their calling, even at the cost of their lives. The enormous expansion of Christian missions in the area was resultant of this zeal and combined an insight into philanthropy with a desire for social change. Missionaries encountered caste system and worked for its eradication. They arranged inter dining and inter caste marriages. Even when it was held to do no good, they taught the egalitarian conviction of brotherhood among its adherents. Every mission in Andhra emphasized the vocational aspect of education and gave the students the opportunity 'to learn and earn'. As there was a loom factory at Ludhiana in Punjab, missionaries brought looms, cotton gins, spades and wheelbarrows to natives in the mission centers, which have lifted several villages out of poverty. The mission centers taught their adherents some trade or handicraft to achieve livelihood and similarly, cooperative credit societies and thrift societies started by the missionaries promised of an opportunity for the economic betterment of the natives. Hundred years ago the Brethren missionaries of Godavari Delta first introduced lace work among Christian and non-Christian girls and today there are at least 20,000 people surviving by this trade in the Godavari districts.

The missionaries contributed greatly to the scientific agricultural farming in Andhra. Missionary activity exerted its influence well beyond its missionary sphere as it created social mobility, social change and dynamism in the area. Urbanization had been

characterized as the most significant historical process in Andhra since 19<sup>th</sup> century. This was particularly true of the expanding mission settlements. Large mission establishments associated with agricultural farms, Industrial institutes etc, had resulted in the growth of townships particularly in Andhra. A book titled '*Laymen's Foreign Missions*' Vol.I, part I (1933), based on the Report of Royal Commission on labour in India, 1931, shows that the years between 1872-1921 witnessed the high growth rate of important industrial and commercial cities in all regions of India. The villages occupied by the mission stations in vast areas, developed their own bank, post-office, co-operative societies, residential colonies with outlay of planned roads, agricultural farms, Irrigational dams, Industrial establishments, libraries, schools from nursery to colleges, sports clubs etc., and thus formed into modern townships. Several mission stations in Andhra, which were once villages have turned into moderate townships in the present day. Therefore, despite missions' evangelism, their social relief and developmental activities received widespread recognition and appreciation in the Telugu country in an indigenous form.

### Appendix-I

#### i. Statement showing Last Position of Godavari District in Education over the other Andhra Districts of the Madras Presidency (Mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century) before English Education or Dowleshwaram Anicut Introduced

	Ganjam	Vizag	Godavari	Krishna	Nellore	Guntur	Cuddapah	Bellary
<b>Population</b>	3,32,015	7,72,570	7,38,308	5,29,849	4,39,467	4,54,754	10,94,460	9,27,857
<b>Schools</b>	255	914	291	484	804	574	494	533
<b>Total Scholars</b>	2977	9715	2658	5083	7621	7724	6000	6641

Source: Vittal Rao. Y, Education and Learning in Andhra Under the East India Company, Secunderabad, 1979, p.68.



**ii. Statement showing advancement of Godavari District in Education over the other Andhra Districts of the Madras Presidency  
(1867-99)**

Year	Ganjam		Vizag		Godavari		Krishna		Nellore		Kurnool		Cuddapah		Bellary	
	No.of Institu- -tions	No. of Stude- nts	No.of Institu- -tions	No. of Stude- nts	No.of Institu- -tions	No. of Stude- nts	No.of Institu- -tions	No. of Studen- -ts	No.of Institi- -utions	No. of Studen- -ts	No.of Institu- -tions	No. of Stude- nts	No.of Institu- -tions	No. of Stude- nts	No.of Institu- -tions	No. of Stude- nts
1867-68	30	1524	28	1402	116	3330	26	1135	226	3918	5	202	47	997	19	1134
1879-80	561	11773	496	10167	702	17476	731	12859	554	9685	228	3687	308	4715	488	7973
1898-99	1776	38212	1354	34603	1604	53955	1801	46937	1151	27015	670	14838	841	17802	1215	27139

Source: Reports of Director of Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency for the years 1867-68, 1879-80 and 1898-99.



**Appendix-II**  
**Madras Presidency 1901-1931**

Religion	1901	1911	1921	1931
Hindus	34436586	36806604	37511012	41277370
Muslims	2477610	27440408	2840488	3305937
Christians	1038851	1191266	1261484	1774276
Budhists	241	693	1216	1359
Jains	27431	29995	25493	31206
Parsis	356	488	529	507
Jews	45	71	45	23
Animistic	641825	638463	578398	348163
Others	118	43	149	129

Statement Showing Population of Christianity in Various Census Years Along with Other  
Principal Religions

Source: Dr.A.G.Menon, An Inquiry on the Socio-Economic Policy of the British Rule in  
Madras Presidency and its impact on Freedom movement in Andhra and Kerala 1905-  
1942, Hyderabad, 1992, p.95.

**Appendix III**

**Statement Showing Growth of Brethren Churches with No. Of Adherents in Coastal Andhra (Godavari Delta, Head quarters at Narsapur)**

Year	No. Of Communicants Engaged	No. Of Villages with Brethren Assemblies	No. Of Baptized Christians Estimated
1936	90	200	6000
1946	100	220	8000
1956	65	250	9000

Sources: C.F. Timothy Stunt, Turning the World Upside Down- A Century of Missionary Endeavour, Echoes, U.K., 1973p.98; The Report of the First All-India Assembly Workers' Conference, Hyderabad From 25<sup>th</sup> Dec to 31<sup>st</sup> Dec.1956.

**Statement Showing Growth of Brethren Churches with No. Of Adherents in South Andhra (Rayalaseema, Guntur and Nellore), Head quarters at Anantapur)**

Year	No. Of Communicants Engaged	No. Of Villages with Brethren Assemblies	No. Of Baptized Christians estimated
1950	30	150	3000
1957	50	200	5000

Sources: Dr. Fredk A. Tatford, That the World May Know, Vol III, Echoes of Service Archives at Bath, England, 1983, p.p.131-33.

## Appendix IV

### List of Missionaries of the Church of England (Anglican Missionaries) in India Who Under Sway of Plymouth Brethren Views Or Who Joined in the Movement

S. No.	List of Missionaries	Mission Field/Station	Year
1.	CTE. Rhenius	Tinnevelly	1834
2.	LBE. Schmidt	Tinnevelly District	1834
3.	Schafter	Tinnevelly District	1834
4.	Rev. John Charles Barclay	Madras	1840
5.	Penington		
	(Female Education Society)	Calcutta	1840
6.	Mrs. Wilson		
	(Incharge, Native Female Schools)	Calcutta	1841
7.	Alexander Duff	Calcutta	1841
8.	Rev. Christian Bomwetsch	Calcutta	1877
9.	Henry Davies	Eluru (Godavary Dt)	1876
10.	M.A. Sherring	Benares	1880

Sources: CMS Proceedings 1836 (Appendix I, pp.55-61, Appendix II, pp.62-72) UTC, Bangalore.  
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CMS/B/OMS/C I1 O50 Document No's from 14-17 of the University of Birmingham Library  
Archive.

## Appendix V

### Record of Brethren Missionaries' Service in Andhra since 1833

S.No	List of Missionaries (Males)	Mission station	Years in Andhra
1.	Anthony Norris Groves	Chittoor	1833-1853
2.	E.C. Adams	Chagallu	1901-1949
3	C.H. Beer	Narsapur	1866-1921
4	J.W. Beer	Narsapur	1861-1884
5.	E.S. Bowden	Chettipeta	1876-1924
6.	W. Bowden	Dowleswaram, Palkol	1836-1876
7.	J.M. Boyd	Narasapur	1911-1930
8.	E.B. Bromley	Narasapur	1903-1946
9.	M. Brown	Ambajipeta	1904-1937
10.	R.J. Bryant	Prattipadu	1901-1946
11.	D.B. Burt	Itinerary missionary	1936-1972
12.	Dr. Cronin	Madras	1835-1837
13.	Lord Congleton	Pulicat, Nellore	1835-1837
14.	Dr.E.G. Davies	Itinerary missionary	1956-1974
15.	D.J. Drown	Narasapur	1959-1970
16.	W.F. Forward	Itinerary missionary	1963-1978
17.	G.L. Fountain	Itinerary missionary	1930-1967
18.	Silas Fox	Anantapur	1917-1969
19.	R.G. German	Rajahmundry, Anantapur	1947-1977
20.	Hermann Gundert	Chittoor	1835-1838

21.	George Beer	Masulipatnam, Narsapur	1836-1853
22.	Thomas Heelis	Itinerary missionary	1855-1901
23.	W. Hitchcock	Narasapur	1921-1923
24.	Dr. B.D. Holt	Narasapur	1944-1979
25.	Dr. I. Leeser	Narasapur	1953-1969
26.	A. Lilley	Narasapur	1966-1979
27.	J.Norman Macrae	Amalapuram	1876-1925
28.	T.H. Maynard	Itinerary missionary	1887-1917
29.	W.A. Morrison	Rajamundry	1925-1967
30.	A. Naismith	Narasapur	1922-1958
31.	K.H. Osborne	Chagallu	1946-1965
32.	A.G. Phair	Prattipadu	1936-1967
33.	Dr. C. Pring	Narasapur	1909-1953
34.	R.W. Rawson	Dowlaiswaram	1897-1939
35.	Dr.E.S. Short	Razole	1951-1976
36.	C.J. Tilsley	Chettipeta	1920-1966
37.	E.G. Wagland	Narasapur	1962-
38.	J. Webb	Narasapur	1921-1953
39.	P.C. Whitehouse	Nagaram	1909-1965

#### **Female Missionaries**

40.	Mrs.Adams	Chagallu	1903-1952
41.	Miss.G.W.Adams	Chagallu	1931-1969
42.	Miss.J.F.Anderson	Nidadavol	1936-1978
43.	Mrs.G. Beer	Narasapur	1836-1868
44.	Mrs.W.Bowden	Palkol	1836-1876
45.	Mrs.C.H.Beer	Narasapur	1884-1936

46.	Mrs.J.W.Beer	Narasapur	1886-1888
47.	Miss.M.Bardsley	Narasapur	1946-
48.	Miss.I.E.Barnard	Chagallu	1947-
49.	Miss.W.Bevan	Itinerary missionary	1931-1936
50.	Miss.E.Black	Amalapuram	1940-1964
51.	Mrs.E.S.Bowden	Chettipeta	1885-1927
52.	Mrs.J.M.Boyd	Narasapur	1908-1935
53.	Miss.A.J.Brealey	Chettipeta	1906-1960
54.	Miss.A.M.Bridger	Chagallu	1909-1928
55.	Miss.A.C.Bromley	Narasapur	1903-1911
56.	Mrs.E.B.Bromley	Narasapur	1905-1946
57.	Mrs.M.Brown	Ambajipeta	1905-1909
58.	Miss.E.Bryant	Prattipadu, Elur	1934-1952
59.	Mrs.R.J.Bryant	Prattipadu	1902-1946
60.	Mrs.E.G.Davies	Itinerary missionary	1956-1974
61.	Mrs.D.S.Drown	Narasapur	1961-1970
62.	Miss.A.A.Dayson	Narasapur	1924-1946
63.	Mrs.W.F.Forward	Itinerary missionary	1963-1978
64.	Mrs.G.L.Fountain	Itinerary missionary	1933-1967
65.	Mrs. Fox	Anantapur	1917-1969
66.	Mrs.R.G.German	Rajahmundry, Anantapur	1949-1977
67.	Miss.A.Good	Koyyalagudem	1926-1928
68.	Miss.M.E.Hampton	Narasapur, Tanuku	1924-1971
69.	Miss.E.J.Harding	Chettipeta	1949-
70.	Mrs.T.Heelies	Itinerary missionary	1855-1911
71.	Miss.K.Hindman	Itinerary missionary	1909-1921



72.	Mrs.W.Hitchcock	Narasapur	1921-1922
73.	Miss.P.Hodgkinson	Narasapur	1965-1978
74.	Miss.J.E.Holt	Nidadavol	1952-1967
75.	Mrs. Harriet Groves	Chittoor	1837-1853
76.	Miss Julie Dubois (Mrs.Gundert)	Chittoor	1837-1838
77.	Mrs.A.Lilley	Narasapur	1962-1979
78.	Miss.R. Lynn	Bandamurlanka	1888-1945
79.	Mrs.J.N.Macrae	Amalapuram	1876-1926
80.	Miss.M.J.Marshall	Bandamurlanka	1900-1927
81.	Mrs.T.H.Maynard	Itinerary missionary	1894-1912
82.	Miss.S.M.Medland	Narasapur	1968-1974
83.	Miss.E.M.Morgan	Narasapur	1914-1972
84.	Miss.G.E.Morice	Chettipeta	1924-1960
85.	Mrs.W.A.Morrison	Rajamundry	1928-1952
86.	Miss.H.M.Munro	Itinerary missionary	1922-1960
87.	Mrs.A.Naismith	Narasapur	1922-1958
88.	Miss.C.R.Newport	Narasapur	1904-1907
89.	Mrs.A.G.Phair	Prattipadu	1930-1967
90.	Miss. Patricia	Itinerary Missionary	1951-1976
91.	Miss.E.Revington	Itinerary Missionary	1928-1936
92.	Miss.J.A.Rhodes	Amalapuram	1899-1918
93.	Miss.M.Robertson	Bandamurlanka	1900-1927
94.	Miss .O. Rogers	Narasapur	1949-1987
95.	Mrs.E.S.Short	Narasapur	1951-1976
96.	Miss.D.Shrimpton	Narasapur	1915-1951
97.	Miss.E.Starck	Itinerary Missionary	1904-1952

98.	Miss.S.R.Taylor	Nidadavol	1924-1977
99.	Miss.H.P.Thomson	Narasapur	1968-
100.	Mrs.C.J.Tilsley	Chettipeta	1920-1966
101.	Miss.B.J.C.Tilsley	Chettipeta	1954-
102.	Miss.S.M.Waite	Narasapur	1958-1970
103.	Mrs.J.Webb	Narasapur	1932-1958
104.	Miss.A.J.Whitehurst	Narasapur	1963-1966
105.	Miss.A.S.Wright	Koyyalagudem	1957-1996
106.	Miss.D.Yates	Nidadavol	1931-1968

Source: Dr. F.A. Tatford, *The Challenge of India*, Vol. III, Appendix III, pp. 422-29, Echoes of Service Office, Bath, London, 1983. Dates of departure of some missionaries are not given in view of their continuity beyond 1983, the year of publication.

## Appendix VI

### Sources Gathered through Group or Individual Interviews with the Following Indian and Foreign Religious Functionaries, Community Leaders and Archivists and Historians of Religious Organisations.

S. No.	List of Individuals/Organizations	Designation	Place
1.	Y.S. Prabhudas Reddy	Itinerary Evangelist	Nandyal
2.	G.S. Joseph	Christian Assembly Leader	Anantapur
3.	Pitchaiah	Itinerary Evangelist	Nellore
4.	Wilson	Leader, Godavari Delta Assemblies	Narsapur
5.	Moses	Leader, Godavari Delta	Narsapur
6.	T.P. Varaprasad Reddy	Itinerary evangelist	Anantapur
7.	Dr. Devadanam Mitta	Missionary Doctor	Ambajipet
8.	Paul Gandhi	Itinerary evangelist	Guntur
9.	Ezra Immanuel	Christian Assembly Elder	Chittoor
10.	John Akkidas	Rtd. Archivist, State Archives	Hyderabad
11.	Assemblies Bible Training Institute (ABTI )		Chennai
12.	Hindustan Bible Institute(HBI)		Chennai

### List of Foreign Nationals and Organizations

13.	Neil Summerton	Brethren Archivist & Historian	London
14.	Timothy Stunt	Cambridge Teacher & Historian	Cambridge
15.	Neil Dickson	Editor, Brethren Archivists &Historians Network Review.	London
16.	Graham Johnson	Archivist, John Rylands Library Archives	Manchester
17.	Michael Brown	Brethren Overseas Gospel Worker	Bath
18.	Robert Dann	Brethren Historian	London
19.	Echoes of Service	Brethren Archives' Repository	Bath
20.	Brethren Archivists & Historians Network (BAHN)		London

**Regular Mail Correspondence with the Renowned Brethren Archivists & Historians  
by the Researcher. Two of the Token Mails Given Below.**

To: bvraju1954@yahoo.co.in  
From: "Timothy Stunt" <tstunt257@earthlink.net>  
Subject:Fwd: Fox and Stunt  
Date: Sat, 31 Mar 2007 15:59:11 -0400

Dear Mr Raju

Sorry to bother you again... I intended to mention (but forgot)  
that the papers of Silas Fox are preserved in the archives of Wheaton  
College, Illinois, USA.

I shall include as an attachment a word document in which I have  
noted the details

With best regards  
Timothy Stunt

From: "Neil Summerton" <summerto@hornsey.u-net.com>  
To: bvraju1954@yahoo.co.in  
Subject:RE: Research material  
Date: Sat, 6 Aug 2005 22:31:58 +0100

Dear brother Raju,

As you see, Neil Dickson sent this on to a number of us. I think the influence goes much wider than you indicate by the example you give (by the way, Dr Barnardo left the Brethren movement quite soon after he joined it - this was perhaps just as well as some degree of scandal attached to him towards the end of his work). The Brethren missionary effort was very substantial in itself and bore comparison with the bodies which you mention. The fact that today there are churches connected with the Brethren movement in over 100 countries in the world bears testimony to this. It was very influential in the Faith Mission movement, whose efforts in the early 20th century very strongly rivalled if not eclipsed those of the denominational missionary societies which had preceded them - one can see three phases over the last two centuries: (1) the denominational societies; (2) the faith missions; (3) the Pentecostalism world-wide. For an introduction to the faith mission movement and its origins, see Klaus Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions*, Oxford: Regnum Lynx 1994.

I hope that this is of some help.

Neil

## Appendix VII

### Statistics of Telugu Brethren Assemblies in Mysore State in 1969

Place where Assembly located	Language People	Year Started	Brethren population
Belgaum	Telugu	1966	90
Bellary	Telugu/ Few Kanarese	1944	90
Badravati Paper Town	Telugu	1961	80
Badravati II	Telugu/ Few Kanarese	1952	80
Dandeli	Telugu	1942	70
Gokak Falls	Telugu	1967	15
Hospet	Telugu/ Few Kanarese	1962	40
Hubli	Telugu	1938	200
Jog Falls	Telugu	1966	40
Raichur	Telugu	1969	20
Sambre	Telugu	1970	40

Source: K.J. Newton, Brethren Missionary Work in Mysore State, Christian Brethren Research Fellowship Occasional Paper No.6, Appendix III, pp.46-47, Exeter, UK, 1975 (JRUL Archive, Manchester).

## GLOSSARY

<i>agraharams</i>	colonies of Brahmins
<i>andhra desa</i>	land of the Telugu speaking people of India
<i>artha</i>	purpose
<i>ashram</i>	a place of religious retreat for Indians
<i>avatar</i>	incarnation
<i>bazaars</i>	marketplace
<i>bhajans</i>	Indian devotional songs
<i>bhakthi</i>	devotion
<i>charma</i>	leather
<i>chitpavan</i>	Brahmin community of Konkan (India)
<i>dharma</i>	law
<i>digambara sanyasi</i>	ascetic who practise nudity as lifelong vow
<i>dwiji</i>	twice born
<i>fauzdar</i>	petty chief of a territory
<i>hanuman</i>	Hindu Deity
<i>inamdars</i>	kinsmen of zamindars who receives some part of land revenue
<i>jnana</i>	wisdom
<i>kammas</i>	Sudra community of agrarian background
<i>kanyashulkam</i>	brides price
<i>kapu</i>	a community mainly agrarian
<i>kirtans</i>	devotional songs
<i>madarassah</i>	Muslim center of learning
<i>madigas, malas</i>	low caste social groups of Andhra Pradesh

<i>mahadharma</i>	the great law
<i>mang</i>	low caste Maratha
<i>ma-baps</i>	mother and father
<i>mirasidars</i>	Like other land-owners in South India
<i>moturpha</i>	loom tax
<i>panchayats</i>	village administrative unit
<i>pariahs</i>	low caste community in Tamil Nadu
<i>pathasalas</i>	village schools
<i>peshkush</i>	2/3 <sup>rd</sup> of gross produced paid by ryots to zamindars
<i>pettahs</i>	Christian villages
<i>purdah nasheems</i>	women living behind purdah or curtain
<i>rayalaseema</i>	geographical name of a region in Andhra Pradesh
<i>reddis</i>	Sudra community of agrarian background
<i>sadhu, sanyasin</i>	ascetics
<i>sastras</i>	religious texts
<i>swarjya</i>	self government
<i>sepoys</i>	Indian soldiers trained in European method
<i>sudra</i>	lowest among the four-section division in the Hindu caste system
<i>tatwa bodhaswami</i>	philosopher teacher
<i>vaishyas</i>	business community
<i>varna dharma</i>	based on caste system
<i>yerukala, yanadi</i>	wandering gypsy tribes
<i>zenana</i>	women's apartment in every large house in India

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