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by
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Foreword

The subject of this study is an early journal of Indian Christians: 'The Christian Patriot. A Journal of Social and Religious Progress' (Madras/Chennai 1890–1929). "Owned and conducted entirely by the Native Christian Community", the periodical saw itself as the "mouthpiece" of the Indian Protestant community of South India "as a whole". Its aim was to make their voice–as independent actors–heard in the colonial public sphere of the country. In doing so, the journal distanced itself from both the paternalism of the Euro-American missionaries and Hindu fundamentalist tendencies in parts of the Indian national movement. 'The Christian Patriot' was widely circulated and also attracted attention in South Asia, South Africa, Europe and the USA. At the same time, the 'Christian Patriot' reflects a wide range of transregional networks between local Christian elites from various regions in Asia and the global South. Thus, this study contributes significantly to a new understanding of Christian globality around 1910, beyond Western missionary activities.

One of the key problems for any future polycentric 'History of World Christianity'– which seeks to respond to its contextual, denominational and cultural plurality– remains the issue of sources. How do we gain access to the voices of "indigenous" Christians in the former "mission fields" and colonial societies of the southern hemisphere? They are usually not, or only marginally, documented in the respective missionary, ecclesial or colonial archives on which, however, most classical accounts of the history of Christianity in the Global South are still based today. This problem has been addressed by various initiatives around the world since the 1960s. One major source corpus, however, that has been largely overlooked (or often analysed only in isolated regional or academic contexts) are the journals and periodicals of indigenous Christian elites from the South. As an act of emancipation, these journals experienced a veritable boom in various colonial societies in Asia and Africa around the turn from 19th to 20th centuries. They have been the subject of a research project carried out between 2012 and 2015/2017 at my former Chair of "Early and Global History of Christianity" at the University of Munich LMU. This project dealt with periodicals from India, the Philippines, South Africa, West Africa and the Black Atlantic[1]. In some way, the ‚Christian Patriot' served as a starting point for the entire research project. The present monograph has been published first in German in 2019[2] and is a slightly updated version of the German original.

There are many people I have to thank for advice and support. This applies first to my colleagues and collaborators in the research project mentioned above, and to vari-

1 For the title and the most important publications resulting from this research project, see: chapter II Note 9.
2 Title of the German edition: Klaus Koschorke, "Owned and Conducted entirely by the Native Christian Community". Der 'Christian Patriot' und die indigen-christliche Presse in kolonialen Indien um 1900 (StAECG 34), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2019 (ISBN 9 783447 1123741).

ous contributors to the Munich-Freising conferences related to this project. Especially I would like to mention Adrian Hermann (Bonn), Frieder Ludwig (now Stavanger), Ciprian Burlaciou (Munich), Phuti Mogase (Stavanger), Paolo Aranha (Rome), Andrew Barnes (Arizona) and David Daniels† (Chicago). Important informations on individual aspects of the present study were provided by Daniel Jeyaraj (formerly Liverpool, now Chennai); Vincent Kumara Doss (Chennai); Richard Fox Young (Princeton); Gudrun Löwner (Bangalore); Andrew Walls† (Liverpool / Accra); Chandra Mallampalli (Westmont); Brian Stanley (Edinburgh); Dana Roberts (Boston); Angus Crichton (Cambridge); Mira Sonntag (Tokyo); Michael Shapiro (Kyoto); Rudolf Gerhard Tiedemann† (Shandong); Kevin Ward (Leeds); Sebastian C.H. Kim (Claremont); Prabo Mihindukulasuriya (Colombo); Muthuraj Swamy (Cambridge). Technical support for the English version of this book has been provided by Philipp Kuster and Maria Burlacioiu (both Munich). Special thanks go also to the team members of the Open Publishing Section of the Munich University Library (LMU) where this book is being published both in a digital and print version.

Parallel to, and connected with, the work on the English version of this book has been the preparation of the digital edition of the ‚Christian Patriot', which has gone/ is expected to go online by the end of 2025 (Link: https://discover.ub.uni-muenchen.de/chrispat). Many thanks for the excellent cooperation go here to the members of the Digital Services of the Munich University Library (LMU) for making this digital edition accessible to a wider public. The continued support from the members of the Yale Divinity School Library Day Missions Collection (and especially Martha Smalley) which provided the main microfilms of the ‚Christian Patriot' was also very helpful.

Journals and print media published by local Christians from Asia, Africa and other missionary or colonial contexts around 1900 still represent a largely untapped resource. One of the aims of this study is to awaken them from their slumber and to provide impetus for a systematic research in other regions as well.

Munich, September 2025
Klaus Koschorke

Chapter 1

1 Christian Madras around 1890/1900

Towards the end of the 19th century, Madras–today's Chennai–was the centre of a small but influential elite of Indian Protestant Christians. This group included lawyers, teachers, administrators, doctors and other socially upstanding and financially independent individuals. They formed their own associations (such as the *Madras Native Christian Association* founded in 1888) and established links with analogue societies of Indian Christians inside and outside the country (for example in Malacca, South Africa and Great Britain). They launched numerous initiatives (such as the interdenominational *National Church of India*, which was founded in 1886) and published their own journals and periodicals, which critically commented on the religious, social and political development of the country. One of these journals–'*The Christian Patriot.* A Journal of Social and Religious Progress' (founded in Madras in 1890)–will be the subject of this study.

Madras as a Colonial Metropolis

Around 1900, Madras was indisputably the political, administrative, commercial and cultural centre of South India. Like other British colonial cities in India, the metropolis owed its existence to the trading activities of the *English East India Company*, which had first established a small factory here in 1640[1]. This was soon expanded into the fortress of St George and developed into the core of colonial Madras, which subsequently experienced a rapid upswing, including the non-European and partly older settlement areas. Less than two decades after its foundation, Madras was already the most important British settlement and the headquarters of the British East India Company in eastern and southern India, which was constantly expanding its sphere of influence. With the transition from trade to political rule by the British in the 19th century, the rise of the colonial metropolis continued to accelerate. The harbour made the city an important hub for trade between India and Europe at an early stage. With the introduction of the railway in the 1840s, the hinterland also became increasingly accessible and Madras was connected to other important cities such as Bombay and Calcutta. The population also increased significantly. It rose from around 250,000 inhabitants in 1800 to around 400,000 in 1871–the year of the first organised Indian census–and to around 520,000 in 1911[2]. This made Madras the third largest city on the subcontinent and the fifth largest in the British Empire.

1 Literature on the following: Alexander (2006), "History of Madras"; Kumara Doss / Alexander (2012), "Protestant Elite"; Muthiah (2004), *Madras Rediscovered*; Suntharalingam (1980), *Nationalist Awakening*; Frykenberg (2008), *Christianity in India*, chapters 9–11; Houghton (1983), *Impoverishment of Dependency*, passim; Mallampali (2004), *Christians and Public Life*, 6–12 ("The Madras Presidency and its Christian Elite"); Balachandran, A. (2000), "Early Colonial Madras".

2 Wikipedia: Art. Demographics of Chennai (accessed 25 November 2015): 1891: 397,552; 1881: 404,848; 1891: 452,518; 1901: 509,346; 1911: 518,660–According to the 1901 census, 80.6% of these were Hindus, 11.3% Muslims, 8.0% Christians, 0.05% Jains and 0.02% Buddhists (Census of India, 1901–Madras, 46ff). In 1911, the proportion of Christians was 8.1%.

Madras was a cosmopolitan city and the population was very heterogeneous in its composition. This was partly the result of a deliberate policy by the British, who had encouraged the settlement of foreign traders–such as the Portuguese, Armenians and Jews–early on. In the 19th century, the colonial economy was increasingly dependent on the influx of labour from other parts of the country. Migrants flocked to Madras in growing numbers from a wide variety of regions. Members of merchant castes from neighbouring Tamil Nadu and Andhra were drawn to the city. Migrants from Kerala and Karnataka settled in the metropolis, attracted by the tantalising prospects and diverse job opportunities. Adventurers and fortune seekers came from far-flung areas like Maharashta, Rajasthan, Gujurat and Punjab. They all belonged to different socio-economic classes, castes and language groups. In addition to Tamil, Telugu, Urdu (Hindustani) and Hindi were among the most commonly spoken Indian idioms in Madras. A particularly important role in the colonial economy was played by regional merchant groups who were able to adapt to the changing conditions under English rule. Without their inner-Indian connections and supra-regional networks, British trade would not have been possible.

Western education, the emerging market economy and the modernising influence of colonial institutions favoured the *formation of new indigenous elites*. Researchers such as R. Suntharaligam distinguish between the successive emergence of a modern *commercial* elite (in the 1850s), an *administrative* leadership group trained for service in the colonial administration (in the 1860s)–which was mainly recruited from graduates of the Madras High School–and a *professional* elite (from the 1880s). The latter included lawyers, teachers and journalists[3].

At the same time, *new forms* of *political articulation* and self-organisation beyond traditional caste structures developed. In 1852, for example, the 'Madras Native Association' and the 'Hindu Progressive Improvement Society' were founded. Among other things, the former sent petitions to the British Parliament in which the rule of the East India Company was repeatedly sharply criticised. Even though the 'Madras Native Association' largely ceased its activities in the 1860s, it is nevertheless significant as the first real attempt to establish a Western-style political association in South India[4]. The 1880s saw a new wave of the formation of numerous societies. These included socially oriented reform associations such as the 'Hindu Widows Remarriage Association' (1882) and political organisations such as the 'Madras Mahajana Sabha' (1884). This forum of moderate nationalists saw its task as "to bring before our rulers the views of the public, and to correctly represent to the Government what our needs are and to suggest remedies"[5]. This period also saw the formation of communal associations such

3 Suntharalingam (1980), *Nationalist Awakening*, passim.
4 Suntharalingam (1980), *Nationalist Awakening*, 45–57; Washbrook (1976), Madras Presidency; Mallampali (2004), *Christians and Public Life*, 13f.
5 Suntharalingam (1980), *Nationalist Awakening*, 209. 207ff; Jones (1989), *Socio-religious Reform Movements*, 162ff.

as the 'Anglo-Indian Association' (1879), three Muslim associations (1876–1886) and the 'Madras Native Christian Association', which was founded in 1888. In 1887, the third session of the 'Indian National Congress' (INC), founded two years earlier in Bombay, was held in Madras. Members of the 'Madras Mahajana Sabha', who were increasingly extending their political activities beyond the boundaries of the province, played an important role here. Also in a national context and in close connection with the Indian National Congress, the 'National Social Conference' was founded in Madras in 1888.

Transregional Press Centre

One sign of the "vibrant intellectual climate"[6] in Madras at the end of the 19th century was the very lively press landscape. "The age may be called the age of news papers", stated the journal Athenaeum, which was published in Madras, as early as 1878: "For every person that read a newspaper twenty years ago, one hundred read them now"[7]. Another twenty years later, around 1900, 60 English-language journals were counted in Madras alone[8]. There were also a large number of regional language publications. They all represented different political, social and religious groups.

The earliest newspapers in Madras were the weekly 'Government Gazette', the 'Madras Gazette' and the 'Madras Courier'. They reprinted news from European journals and informed readers about debates in the British Parliament with a six-month delay. The earliest Hindu periodical was probably the 'Crescent', first published in 1844 and discontinued in 1868. It was the counterpart to the 'Record', a missionary journal, and functioned as the mouthpiece of the aforementioned 'Madras Native Association'. It was followed by 'The Native Public Opinion' and (later merged with it) 'The Madrasee'. All these papers disappeared in the course of time. Among the colonial papers with a primarily European readership, the 'Madras Times', founded in 1850 (and primarily intended for traders and settlers), and the 'Madras Mail', founded in 1857, are particularly noteworthy. This newspaper existed until 1981 and for a long time was primarily the mouthpiece of the colonial establishment. The many-voiced missionary journalism, in which the (originally Methodist and later interdenominational) 'Harvest Field' and the 'Madras Christian College Magazine' stood out around 1900, is dealt with elsewhere. The same applies to the beginnings of the indigenous Christian press. The weekly journal 'The Hindu', which was founded in 1878 and "which, by, 1890, had become India's first Indian-run, Indian-owned, English language newspaper"[9], developed into a counterpart to the 'Madras Mail' and a mouthpiece of moderate Indian nationalism. This was complemented by 'Swadesamitran', another successful sister publication in Tamil. 'The Hindu' contributed significantly to the politicisation of the Western-educated middle class of South India and was closely linked organisationally with the 'Madras Maha-

6 Kumara Doss / Alexander (2012), "Protestant Elite", 117.
7 *'Athenaeum and Daily News'* 01.05.1878.
8 Frost (2004), "Asia's Maritime Networks", 8ff.
9 Frost (n.d.), "Madras, City of Theosophists", 1.

jana Sabha', founded in 1884, the Madras section of the Indian National Congress and various initiatives for the Hindu revival in the region. Both the 'Madras Mail' and 'The Hindu' are often quoted in the CP. The journalism of the Theosophists also gained considerable influence in the 1890s, who–in addition to their flagship 'The Theosophist'–distributed a further 22 journals for Indian readers[10]). "The power of the press in India is acknowledged", stated a missionary voice around 1900. "The readiness with which any party or any new movement establishes its organ for the advocacy of its views is patent to all"[11] We will later analyse the exchanges and controversies of the 'Christian Patriot' (CP) with these and other journals in more detail[12].

Hindu Revival, City of Theosophists

The old faith was dying out–this was an assumption often voiced in missionary circles around 1880. It was also partly voiced within the Hindu community itself. At the very least, there was a religious vacuum in the Western-educated Indian intelligentsia, which was known for its scepticism and disinterest in the cultural traditions it had inherited. "Many educated men are without a religion, having given up their heathen gods and worship, but not embracing Christianity"–according to a missionary voice of the time[13]. On the other hand, there had already been strong defensive reactions to the activities of the missionaries in the 1850s, and in the 1880s there was a proliferation of revivalist societies such as the '*Hindu Sabha',* founded in 1880, or the '*Hindu Tract Society*', founded in 1887. The latter set itself the goal of "to spread Hinduism and to defend it against the attacks of its opponents". At the same time, it sought to promote "the cause of morality and sound learning"[14]. The revival of Hinduism was given an enormous boost in particular by the Theosophical movement, which had its centre in Madras since 1882 and was particularly appealing to the Anglophone elite of South India. With its thesis of the compatibility of Western modernity and ancient Indian traditions, it led the representatives of the traditional faith out of the defensive. Hindu literature, knowledge and religion were no longer regarded as backward, but as the basis for a glorious future for the country. This made it possible for many Hindus to feel not only equal but even superior to Europeans. "The relationship between Theosophy and Hindu revivalism… was a direct and intimate one"[15]. There were numerous ideological, personal and organisational links between the two movements and the early national movement in South India. Of all the Indian branches of the Theosophical Society, Madras had the largest number of members and the highest organisational density. Marc Frost described the metropolis as the "city of the Theosophists" in a forthcoming monograph on religious

10 Frost (2004), "Asia's Maritime Networks", 8ff. 15ff.
11 Decennial Missionary Conference Madras 1902–*Report*, 92.
12 See chapter II p. 39ff.
13 ABCFM–*Annual Report 1888*, 57.
14 Suntharalingam (1980), *Nationalist Awakening*, 305.
15 Suntharalingam (1980), *Nationalist Awakening*, 302.

developments in South India towards the end of the 19th century[16]. On the other hand, scandals and setbacks were inevitable, and the Theosophists soon broke with other Hindu revivalist movements such as the 'Arya Samaj' and 'Brahmo Samaj'[17].

Forms of Christian Presence

At the same time, Madras was the centre of India's modern indigenous Christian elite. "This group of Protestant Christians included a number of remarkable men who were mostly lawyers, teachers, bureaucrats and in other professions. Dominated by a very small number of upper and middle class Christians, this new leadership was vocal in articulating its views on many issues that effected the Christian community as a whole"[18]. Between 1851 and 1900, the number of Christians in India had increased tenfold. In the Madras Presidency area alone, there was an increase of more than 300% in the last two decades of the 19th century. Around 1900, the Christian community there made up 8.1% of the population (according to the 1901 census), according to other figures[19] around 10%. This was primarily the result of the so-called mass movements among the underprivileged and marginalised groups of South Indian society[20]. At the same time, however, this development boosted the indigenous Christian elite of South India, which claimed to represent the "largest Christian population" in the country, pointing in particular to the high level of education of the Christian community and its "steady and solid progress in numbers and education".[21] The latter, in turn, was a consequence of the intensive missionary presence in the region, where–after the pioneering beginnings of the Tranquebar Mission in the early 18th century–a large number of Protestant missionary societies had become active in Madras in the course of the 19th century, the "great century of Protestant missionary advance" (Latourette).

It is well known that South Indian Christianity can look back on a long history. Its beginnings date back to the third, if not the second century[22]. Since then, there has been a continuous Christian presence in the region in the form of the so-called St. Thoma Christians, who were divided into various communities in the 19th century. In the 16th century, a Catholic branch of Indian Christianity had formed as a result of Portuguese missionary activities. Even in the 19th century, Catholics made up the majority of the Christian population of South India in purely numerical terms. However, they played a subordinate role in the public debates and controversies of the time. Hindu revival and modernist religious reform movements (such as the 'Brahmo Samaj') were primarily related in their positive and negative statements to Anglo-Saxon missionary Protes-

16 Frost (n.d.), "Madras, City of Theosophists" (unpublished study, chapter IV).
17 Frost (n.d.), "Madras, City of Theosophists", 7. 23; Jones (1989), *Socio-religious Reform Movements*, 162ff.
18 Kumara Doss / Alexander (2012), "Protestant Elite", 117.
19 Seal (1971), *Indian Nationalism*, 96.
20 Jones (1900), *South India Protestant Mission*, 60.
21 NCI–*Collection of Papers*, 47ff.
22 Frykenberg (2008), *Christianity in India*, 91–115. 130ff. 244ff; Neill (1984), *Christianity in India I,* 26ff. 191ff. 310ff; Neill (1985), *Christianity in India II,* 59ff. 236ff.

tantism, but not to Roman Catholicism, which was hardly recognised. The prominent Brahmin social reformer N.G. Chandavarkar (1855–1923), for example, even spoke of "Hindoo Protestantism" in a positive sense in the 1890s[23]. Quite analogous observations can be made at the same time in neighbouring Sri Lanka, where researchers such as Gananath Obeyesekara and Richard Gombrich described the Buddhist revival as "Protestant Buddhism"–both as a protest against and at the same time an imitation of the embattled model of missionary Protestantism. The 'Christian Patriot' also initially identified Protestantism and modern Christianity as a matter of course. "Though Christianity has been in India for nearly a century"–reads an article in the CP of 10 July 1897–"it is only within the last 15 years that any practical steps have been taken to weld together into a homogenous whole the varying elements that constitute the so-called Indian Christian Community". The much older tradition of Catholic and, above all, Syrian Orthodox Christianity initially barely featured in the world view of the indigenous Protestant elite of South India that articulated itself here. This only changed around the turn of the century, parallel to the "awakening" of the "ancient" community of Syrian St. Thoma Christians in Travancore (in present-day Kerala), which had long been ridiculed as backward. But now, in the context of intensified nationalist discourses, it was gradually rediscovered as a representative of a type of pre-colonial Christianity that was "worthy of veneration" and "untainted" by Western interference.

At the turn of the century, eleven Protestant missionary societies were active in Madras City alone. They came from different countries and represented six different denominations: Anglicans, Methodists, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Baptists and Congregationalists[24]. The strongest denomination was the Anglicans (SPG and CMS) with a total of 3,273 parishioners. They were followed by Lutherans (1,064), Methodists (882) and other groups[25]. If we look at southern India as a whole, the picture becomes even more complex. J.P. Jones was able to list over 25 Protestant missionary societies in an overview of the current status of the "South India Protestant Missions" written in 1900 "at the beginning of the new century". In addition to the different national origins–England, Scotland, USA, Canada, Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, etc.–these also revealed the breadth of the denominational programme[26]. At the end of the 19th

23 "It is, I know, the fashion in some quarters to cry down the Missionary… If today there is an awakening among us on the subject of religion and society, that is a great deal due to the light brought by him… To the Christian Missionary… is due to a great extent the credit of the religious and social awakening of which the school of 'Hindoo Protestantism' of the present day is the fruit" (quoted from: ODDIE [1978], *Social Protest in India*, 3f).

24 The analysis of the situation by K. Krishna Rau, editor of the CP, in his lecture to the 'Madras Missionary Conference' on 19 August 1906 entitled "The Indian Church in Madras" (printed in CP 25.08.1906 p. 5f; CP 01.09.1906 p. 5f; CP 08.09.1906 p. 6) is revealing.

25 Ibid, with reference to the 1901 census.

26 JONES (1900), *South India Protestant Missions* (p. 8ff) lists in detail 25 Protestant societies active in South India at the turn of the century, including the 'Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge' (SPCK; Anglican); 'Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts' (SPG; Anglican); 'London Missionary Society' (LMS; "nonconformist"); 'Church Missionary Society' (CMS; Anglican); Wesleyan Methodist Missionary

century, a total of 10 different Baptist, 13 Presbyterian, 2 Congregationalist, 6 Anglican, 7 Lutheran, 3 Methodist and 3 Herrnhut societies were active in India. The largest of these was the Anglican 'Church Missionary Society' (CMS), both in terms of the number of congregations, indigenous Christians and European and Indian missionary personnel. Regionally, the centre of gravity of Indian Protestant Christianity was clearly in the south of the country[27].

However, this diversity of Western missionary activities was also increasingly recognised as a problem. In times of rising Indian nationalism, Indian Christians were increasingly confronted with the charge of "denationalisation", i.e. the accusation of being unpatriotic and lacking solidarity with their predominantly non-Christian compatriots. And where could the "foreign" character of missionary Christianity be more clearly seen than in ist multitude of competing organisations, many of which already bore the identification of their "foreign" origin in their names? Why should an Indian Christian belong to the "Church of England", the "American Lutheran Mission" or the "Danish Mission"? Much earlier than in the churches of the West, the search for church unity and overcoming the imported denominational differences–criticized as "sectarianism" of the Euro-American missionaries–was among the demands of Indian Christians.

The Protestant missionary movement not only led to the establishment of denominationally separate (and numerically quite modest) missionary congregations. Above all, it was also present in the public sphere in a variety of ways–through its journalism, its social (and socio-political) activities, the introduction (and utilisation) of new technologies and its involvement in the medical and educational sectors[28]. Missionaries were often perceived as pioneers and multipliers of Western modernity. Take, as

Society (WMMS); Basel Mission (BM); American Madura Mission (Congregationalist); Church of Scotland Mission (Presbyterian); Free Church of Scotland Mission; American Baptist Telugu Mission; Leipzig Mission and four other Lutheran missions; American Dutch Reformed Arcot Mission; and various smaller societies.

27 *India as a whole*: The Protestant missions in India presented a fragmented picture. In 1890, 10 different Baptist, 13 Presbyterian, 2 Congregationalist, 6 Anglican, 7 Lutheran, 3 Methodist and 3 Moravian societies were operating there. They came from Great Britain, the USA, Canada, Australia, Germany, Switzerland and Sweden. Of the societies active in India around 1890, the Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS) was the largest, both in terms of the number of congregations, local Christians and foreign and Indian missionary personnel. Other important individual societies were those of the American Baptists, the Anglican SPG, the Congregationalist London Missionary Society, the Gossner Mission, the Basel Mission and the American Methodists. In order of denominational affiliation and number of local Christians, the Anglicans were, as expected, in first place. They were followed by Baptists, Congregationalists, Lutherans and Methodists (detailed list in: STATISTICAL TABLES OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN INDIA, BURMA AND CEYLON 1890, 52ff). Number of "Native Christians" among the Anglicans. 193,363, Baptists: 133,122, Congregationalists: 77,460, Lutherans 62,838, Methodists 32,381 (ibid.).–*Regionally,* the Protestant presence in India was very unevenly distributed. The centre of gravity was clearly in the south, in the province of Madras, for which 365,912 "native Christians" were recorded in 1890 (ibid.). Bengal, where the British had gained the earliest foothold, was in second place (with 108,901 native Christians), the north-west in third. In the other parts of the country, there were often only isolated Christian communities, with different emphases in the individual missions. For example, the Baptists were mainly represented in north-east India and the Presbyterians in the Punjab.

28 Cf. GIBBS (1972), *Anglican Church in India*, 317–333 ("Education, Womens Work and Medical Mission").

example, the printing press[29]: "In the early 19th century Christian missionaries owned and operated most privately run presses in Madras"[30]. At the same time, they triggered counter-movements, and organisations such as the aforementioned 'Hindu Tract Society' followed the example of the Christian 'Madras Religious Tract Society'.–Social issues such as the question of caste, child marriage and other "social evils" in Hindu society were not only issues of concerned deliberations at numerous missionary conferences. They also became the subject of public campaigns and approaches to the colonial government. Although the latter usually did not respond directly to individual missionary initiatives, it did react to the changing public opinion under its influence[31].–Medical missions–i.e. the operation of hospitals and dispensaries, the deployment of doctors and the medical training of local helpers–were a central aspect of the work of American societies in particular. "No department"–as J.P. Jones summed up in 1900 with regard to the eighteen hospitals run by missions in southern India–"is more capable of being utilized as an evangelising agency"[32]; and the all-India missionary conference held in Madras in 1900 recommended the strong expansion of this branch of missionary activity.

The influence of the missions was particularly far-reaching in the field of education. Although the golden days of the first half of the 19th century were over, when the missions did not hold a monopoly but enjoyed particularly in South India a dominant position in the operation of educational institutions[33]. Since then, they have been exposed to much greater competition, with state institutions–such as Madras University, which was established in 1857–as well as schools founded by Theosophists increasingly which caused a stir from the 1880s onwards. Nevertheless, the missions maintained their strong position in the education sector, and the Indian-Christian community could boast of having the highest level of literacy, especially in South India, directly after the traditional Brahmin elite and despite its heterogeneous composition. A prestigious institution like the 'Madras Christian College'–founded in 1837 for the upper Hindu classes and proudly labelled "the largest mission institution in India" in 1900[34]–acted as an elite training ground not only for the majority of Hindu students, but also for future

29 Alexander (1994), *Attitude of British Missionaries*, 30; Muthiah, *Madras Rediscovered,* 245–249: "Printing comes to India".
30 Alexander (1994), *Attitude of British Missionaries*, 30 fn. 43; cf. Kumara Doss (1997), "Hindu Tract Society".
31 For example, in the case of the law passed in 1891 to raise the minimum age of marriage, which was preceded by a campaign by the missionaries in Madras, among others; on this and other socio-political initiatives by the missionaries, see Oddie (1978), *Social Protest,* 96ff ("The Age of Consent Controversy") and passim.
32 Jones (1900), *South India Protestant Missions*, 43f.
33 Ghosh (1998), *History of Education,* 58: "The missionary activities in education varied from province to province and were most remarkable in areas like Madras where the Company's initiatives in the field were negligible. By 1853…. missionary work in education certainly exceeded the official enterprise".
34 Jones (1900), *South India Protestant Missions*, 42.

Christian leaders[35]. Other colleges run by the missions also enjoyed above-average enrolment.–The successes in the area of female education were particularly phenomenal. Christian women in Madras had the highest level of education. "By the middle of the century missionaries in Madras were educating nearly 8000 girls, most of them Christian"[36]. The resulting leadership role in the field of female education was soon to become one of the core characteristics of Christian progressiveness among Indian Christians.

"Prospects of Christianity" around 1890 in a Missionary Perspective

What expectations did Indian Christians and Western missionaries have for the future? How did they see the "prospects of Christianity" in India in 1890–the year the CP was founded? If we first go through the annual reports and other publicised statements of the Protestant missions in India around 1890, we are struck by their unbroken optimism. Admittedly, the 1891 census was not quite as exhilarating as many missionary friends had hoped. In particular, the growth rates for the "native Christian community" in India had been somewhat lower than expected. "High expectations have been formed", summarised a study commissioned by the Calcutta Missionary Conference of 1892, "and there cannot be a doubt that the result… falls considerably below some of the more sanguine forecasts"[37]. Nevertheless, the future prospects for Christianity in India were considered good. The power of the old faith–a view often expressed in missionary circles–had been broken. Conversely, the conversion of at least significant sections of India's leading classes often appeared to be only a matter of time. "There is an apparent move towards Christianity", summarised the 'Oxford Mission', which was primarily active in education, in its 1891 annual report for Calcutta. Numerous indications seemed to confirm this finding. Overall, the "real progress of Christian influence" was unmistakable.[38] "At many places"–as we learn from the report of the Basel Mission in Southwest India for the year 1890–"where our preachers at first had met with the most stubborn resistance, the opposition gradually died away and the missionary is looked for as a necessary accompaniment of the fair"[39]."We are on the eve of the rising of a great wave of native feelings", reported the high-church Anglican 'Society for the Propagation of the Gospel' (SPG) for 1889. "This is said not by one nor by two, but by

35 Among others, V.S. Azariah, later the first Indian bishop of the Anglican Church, and K.T. Paul, a prominent ecumenical activist from the north of the country, studied here.

36 Kumara Doss / Alexander (2012), "Protestant Elite", 116; Alexander (1994), *Attitude of British Missionaries*, 305, with reference to Forbes (1996), *Women in modern India*. Not coincidentally, the first Indian woman to be admitted to the Madras Medical College in 1878 was a local Christian named Krupabai Sathianadhan. She later achieved considerable renown as an educator and writer. She was also the first Indian woman to write an autobiographical novel in English.

37 Statistical Tables of Protestant Missions in India, Burma and Ceylon 1890, xiii.

38 Oxford Mission to Calcutta–*Annual Report* 1891, 16f.

39 Basel Mission in South Western India–*Report* 1890", 23.

many"[40]. "There seems to be"–as the annual report of the Congregationalist 'American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions' (ABCFM) for the year 1890 reflects a widespread impression–"a growing anticipation on the part of the people that Christianity is to conquer, and that at no distant day"[41].

"Most of the native pastors and helpers", according to another report from this society, "are able to report that the general feeling among those who still adhere to their old forms of heathenism is that their religion is false, and that Christianity is true". Other reports emphasised less the examples of active conversion to Christianity. Instead, they refered to the decline of the old faith, whose influence is constantly waning, especially among the educated. Many found themselves in a religious vacuum or an intermediate state between a "pagan" past and a possible Christian future. Open opposition to the preaching of the Gospel, which used to be widespread, is clearly declining. This seemed true even if there were also numerous examples of ongoing discrimination against indigenous Christians, especially in rural areas. Furthermore, unmistakable signs of a completely new quality of religious resistance in the south of the country could be observed. In the region around Madras in particular, there have recently been increasing indications of a revival of traditional Hinduism. Although such bad news were carefully registered in missionary journals, they tended to be interpreted as a last gasp of the old faith. They were seen more as evidence of the unstoppable progress of their own cause "Open opposition to the truth has greatly increased", reported the missionary physician Dr Hastings from Batticotta in the annual report of the ABCFM in 1890, "but we do not look upon this as an unfavourable sign. The enemies of Christ would hardly feel the necessity of opposing if they did not see that the truth were making progress"[42].

Indian Christians as a "Progressive Community"

Christianity as the "*wave of the future*"–this was also the expectation of large sections of the Protestant intelligentsia of Madras, respectively of the "educated native Christians" of South India, as they used to call themselves, in line with the colonial jargon of the time. In doing so, they clearly expressed their independence from both the Euro-American missionaries and Indian Hindu nationalists. "A great ferment of thought is taking place, which shows itself in the native Christian community in every department of public, social and religious life"–thus remarkably early the analysis of the 'Christian Patriot', which in turn was also carefully registered in the missionary press[43]. Although representing only a minority within a minority (as the majority of

40 SPG–*Report* 1889, 21f.
41 ABCFM–*Annual Report* 1890, xvi.
42 ABCFM–*Annual Report* 1890, 61.
43 For example, the CP is quoted in the Anglican '*Church Missionary Intelligencer*' (Vol. XXIII NS, December 1897, 909)–see KUMARA DOSS/ALEXANDER (2012), "Protestant Elite", 117 note 30. This "ferment" (or "leaven") theory is central to understanding the optimistic predictions of the future in the CP.

Indian Christians came from the lower classes), this indigenous Christian elite was nevertheless convinced that it was at the forefront of the "moral, religious, spiritual and social progress" of the entire nation. At the same time, they claimed to speak for the Indian-Christian community "as a whole".

The Indian historian R. Suntharalingam has stated that the South Indian Christians "won general acceptance as a progressive community" towards the end of the 19th century[44]. In any case, the Protestant Madras elite described themselves as such, despite all self-criticism, pointing to the progress made in various areas of social life[45]. "We are a progressive community", stated the CP programmatically on 5 January 1901, i.e. at the beginning of a new year and "on the threshold of the 20th century"–"and have gained a position of intellectual culture and social advancement, that any people, similarly conditioned, might regard with gratification. This position we have gained… in a comparatively brief space of time"[46]. In education, and particularly in the area of female education, Indian Christians are leading the way: "Our community takes the lead in female education"[47]. The CP is therefore convinced that the Indian-Christian community also has "a very important part… in the regeneration of India". For "the many problems, political, social and moral, confronting new India, can only be solved successfully by Christianity" (CP 07.01.1905 p. 4–Text 3). This was not to express a claim to religious exclusivity. Rather, it reflected the conviction that "in the present transitional phase" the "*ferment*" of Christian-Western civilisation would permeate Indian society the longer the more strongly and inevitably bring about fundamental changes. In this transformation process, the Indian-Christian community had to play an important role. This, however, presupposed close co-operation with the "enlightened" representatives of other religious communities in India, provided they are committed to the good of the nation as a *whole* (and not just pursued particular interests).

The CP's criticism of parts of the *Indian National Congress (*INC*)*, as will be discussed in more detail later, was based on the charge that these were interested only in political reforms, but not in the even more urgent issue of social reforms (caste system, status of women etc.). Instead of focussing on the welfare of *all* classes and popula-

44 SUNTHARALINGAM (1980), *Nationalist Awakening*, 115: "Christian women were the most literate in South India, and Christian men ranked second only to the Brahmins in their performance of collegiate education relative to their proportion of the population".

45 E.g. CP 05.11.1898 p. 4 (Text 80): "Our community… takes the lead in female education".

46 CP 05.01.1901 p. 4 (Text 75).–This point is emphasised again and again in the CP, in programmatic articles by the editors, in the repeated column "Ourselves" (with quotations from the political, religious and missionary press about the progress of the 'Indian Christian community') as well as in the ongoing reporting. Samuel Satthianadan, a prominent member of the Protestant Madras elite, articulated the same (self-)understanding of the Christian community of South India in his 1896 publication "Sketches of Indian Christians", with reference to the Census of 1891, "the extraordinary progress of the Native Christian community–progress not merely numerical but also intellectual and social", as well as "the general awakening to which New India as a whole is subject" (SATTHIANADAN [1896], *Sketches of Indian Christians,* iv). See also the important article by P.K NAYAR (2017) on "Native Christian Auto/ biographies in Colonial India".

47 CP 05.11.1898 p. 4 (Text 80).

tion groups in the country, the CP accused the Hindu hardliners of pursuing primarily their own partial interests (in the sense of the Brahmin elite and Hindu nationalism). Conversely, the "awakening" of the Muslim community that could be observed since the turn of the century was by no means viewed with suspicion or perceived as threatening competition. Rather, it was welcomed as a sign of the positive influence of Western Christian civilisation[48]. The same applies to Hindu reform movements such as the 'Brahmo-Samaj', which–according to the CP–ultimately follows Christian principles (or the "tenets of Christianity"[49]) in its social objectives. It is precisely this ferment of Western modernity or the "holy leaven"[50] of Christianity that is permeating and reshaping Indian society for longer and longer. In this context, remarkably, the paternalism and denominational "sectarianism" of Western missionaries is seen as just much as an obstacle to accelerating this emerging process as the resistance to reform endeavours on the part of large sections of traditional Hindu society.

The relationship between the educated "native" Christians and the *Western missionaries* themselves was quite ambivalent. On the one hand, the "blessings" of their many years of work, for example in education, were praised and the "serious and self-sacrificing work" of the missionaries from Europe and America, through which the "good news" of the Gospel also reached India, was often honoured[51]. On the other hand, their "sectarianism", i.e. the import of outdated denominational differences to India, as well as their paternalism (and increasingly also racism), at least in part of the missionary community, met with growing criticism. This ambivalence is certainly comparable to the attitude of the founding fathers of the 'Indian National Congress' or the editors of the journal '*The Hindu*', who also initially appreciated the 'benefits' of 'mild' British rule without refraining from criticising specific grievances or individual measures of the colonial administration. The real problem–according to a revealing article in the CP from 1896–only became apparent when the Indian Christians were no longer content with a subordinate position, but demanded the long-promised equality. "Everywhere we see Native Christians progressing and claiming privileges that were denied to them formerly. It has been our painful experience to note that as long as Native Christians allow themselves to be patronised by Europeans the utmost cordially and sympathy exists between the two classes. *But the moment the Native Christian claims equality he is snubbed and kept at a* distance"[52].

A recurring theme in the CP is the "*Three Selves*", i.e. the goal of a self-propagating, self-sustaining and self-governing "native church". As is well known, this was originally a missionary concept that was developed at the same time around the middle of the 19th century by Henry Venn, the formative figure of the Anglican CMS, with a view to

48 CP 15.09.1906 p. 4 (Text 63).
49 CP 05.04.1902 p. 5 (Text 62).
50 CP 19.05.1906 p. 4 (Text 82).
51 CP 28.09.1901 suppl. (Text 13).
52 CP 20.02.1896 p. 4 (Text 36–emphasis KK).

Africa (and later India) and by Rufus Anderson, the mastermind of the ABCFM, who primarily had the North-East Asian "mission fields" in mind. However, the promise of "self-government" of the "native churches" was increasingly relegated to the level of Sunday speeches, at least in significant parts of the missionary establishment, since–according to conservative critics–the time was "not yet ripe" for this. Mirroring this, however, the demand for the 'Three Selves' increasingly became the slogan of emancipatory endeavours of indigenous Christian elites in Asia and Africa in general and in India in particular. The many facets of this debate, which was intensively fought out both within and outside the Christian community of South India, are tangible in the votes to be analysed below in the CP. In certain cases–such as the demand for the *self-extension* of the emerging Indian church–this debate led to concrete results quite early on. This led to various initiatives of an indigenous mission, such as the founding of an all-Indian 'National Missionary Society of India' (NMS) in 1905, which followed the motto "Indian men, Indian money, Indian leadership". Other early models of Indian-Christian self-organisation, such as the '*National Church of India*' established in Madras in 1886, remained controversial even within the Protestant intelligentsia of South India. It was not the goal as such that was disputed, but the sequence of steps leading to this goal. In any case, the diversity of analogue initiatives around the turn of the century remains highly remarkable.

Expectations of Indian Christians for the New Century

High expectations were placed on the upcoming 20th century, which, according to the conviction of leading Indian Christians, would also usher in a new era of the country's "native church". In the political news section of the CP, reports about the "new India", the "awakening of Asia" and the imminent "Indian millennium" proliferated[53]. Missionary sources quoted in the CP emphasised the improved global communication and travel conditions (steamships, railways, telegraphy, etc.), the "opening up" of long closed areas in Asia and Africa and the worldwide progress of the Western missionary movement[54]. For the Protestant Madras elite, who have their say in the CP, the high degree of self-organisation of Indian Christians was a sign that "we are entering a new era of activity and progress which are clearly indicated by the coming into existence of some influential self-organisations" (CP 17.07.1897 p. 4–Text 38). In an article from 1901, the CP programmatically contrasts the 19th century, which had just come to an end–char-

53 "Indian millennium": e.g. in CP 25.03.1899 p. 6.

54 E.g. CP 13.06.1899 p. 4: "Indeed, the 19th century is admittedly the greatest Missionary epoch in the History of the Christian Church"; CP 19.05.1900 p. 5 ("Evangelical work in the last half century"): "the gradual (now complete) opening of China to the Gospel; the uprising of Japan; the occupation of Central Africa (notably Uganda and Livingstonia); the great popular movements of Christianity in Madagascar; and the increase in special missionary work, especially medical and women's work"; CP 07.05.1904 p. 2: "The New Century opens out fresh fields for extension of work. In Asia, the railway across Siberia, the entrance of Western Ideas into China, the opening up of Korea, the liberation of the Philippines from the rule of Spain; the progress of education in India; in Africa… " (etc).

acterised as the "century of (sc. thoroughly meritorious Euro-American) missions"– with the 20th century that had just begun. This, so the expectation, should become the century of the "native Christians" and be characterised by "the self-support, the self-government and the self-extension of the native Churches" (CP 28.09.1901 suppl.– Text 13). This expectation of an emancipatory revival related not only to India, but also to other countries and "mission fields".

Topics discussed in the CP around the turn of the century: "The Indian Church of the Future" (CP 24.12.1898 p. 4); "India in transition" (CP 28.10.1899 p. 4); "The Social Life of Native Christians" (CP 20.01.1900 p. 3); "The Responsibilities of Indian Christians" (CP 03.02.1900 p. 5)–whereby, in addition to the enormous numerical and educational progress "within the last half of the century", their growing obligations are also recalled in particular; "The Missionary Outlook in India" (CP 17.02.1900 p. 4), among other things with reference to the growing "desire for independent enterprises" among Indian Christians; controversies surrounding the programme of the 'National Church of India' (CP 28.10.1899 p. 4); "Changes in Hinduism" and the growing interest in Christianity among parts of the "educated Hindus" (such as the Brahmos): "This attitude is no longer one of opposition, it is one of sympathy and even patronage" (CP 09.12.1899 p. 5); or the increasing importance of interdenominational co-operation for the future of Indian Christianity: "We are firmly convinced that the 20th century will see mighty things accomplished in the direction of Christian unity" (CP 21.12.1901 p. 6). Christianity was now at the "zenith of its power", as the CP quoted on 16 December 1899 from the '*Prabudapa Barata*', "one of the foremost Hindu revival organs". In addition to the growth of missionary institutions, the Hindu newspaper refers to the sharp rise in numbers of the "native Indian clergy" in the region (multiplying from 20 in 1851 to 800 in 1890)[55].

A significant expression of this spirit of optimism at the beginning of the new century was the project of a '*Madras Native Christian Association Twentieth Century Enterprise*'. It had been intensively discussed in Madras since autumn 1899–"at the dawn of a new century"–[56] and was announced there in January 1900 at a jubilant mass meeting[57]. This was a building project with numerous social facilities. It was to serve as the headquarters of the 'Madras Native Christian Association' (MNCA) and, at the same time, should give visibility to Indian Christians as an independent entity (and distinct from the Euro-American missionaries) in the centre of Madras. A larger building complex was planned with meeting rooms, a library and reading room for Indian Christians, a home for Indian-Christian students, a guest house for visitors travelling through, a

55 CP 16.12.1899 p. 4: "Christianity, now in the zenith of its power, politically and numerically, is even more formidable" as a quote from the '*Prabudapa Barata*'.

56 CP 11.11.1899 p. 3; CP 21.10.1899 p. 4; CP 28.10.1899 p. 6; CP 04.11.1899 p. 5; CP 02.12.1899 p. 6; CP 23.12.1899 p. 5.

57 CP 13.01.1900 p. 3; CP 06.01.1900 p. 4; CP 06.01.1900 p. 4; CP 20.01.1900 p. 3.

social centre for needy members of the congregation as well as rooms for teaching and various charitable activities:

> "The main object of the enterprise is to secure a local habitation of the Association in some central locality in the city of Madras, consisting of a large hall for meetings of the Association, a general reading room and library specially suited for Indian Christians and a Hostel for Indian Christian students. The central building will also serve as a general Chuttrum (sc. public house) for Indian Christian sojourners in the city as well as a home for visitors from the Mofossil; and it is also proposed to utilize a part of the building as a Friend-in-need Home for deserving Indian Christian poor, and for an Orphanage and Industrial School"[58].

Above all, however, this–self-financed–project was also intended to be an expression of the growing independence of the Indian-Christian community, which had now attained a "position of prominence and self-help" (CP 11.11.1899 p. 3) and should therefore no longer be dependent on missionary support. "Self-support and self-development" were therefore the slogans at the ceremonial opening of the campaign (CP 13.01.1900 p. 3). At the same time, the planned building was to serve as a meeting place for the Christians of South India[59]. For this reason alone, it deserved the support of "every" Indian Christian. "Such an edifice, built entirely at the expense of the community, will also serve as an impressive monument of a rigorous indigenous Christianity in the midst of our non-Christian brethren in the metropolis of South India" (CP 20.01.1900 p. 3).

Unfortunately, this ambitious project could not be realised as planned. The necessary donations were received more hesitantly than expected. A bank failure in 1906 also meant that the foundation capital collected up to that point was lost, which meant that the building could not be continued, at least not to the extent originally planned. Due to the collapse of the London-based Arbuthnot bank, other institutions of Indian Christians and various missionary organisations active in India also suffered a total loss in some cases. "It is strange, and yet true, that Indians will more readily confide in Englishmen and their transactions than one another"–according to the CP's self-critical commentary on this development[60].

Despite these and other setbacks, however, the optimism with which large sections of the Protestant Madras elite looked to the future remained largely unbroken. The conviction "that the Indian Christian community has a very important part to play in the regeneration of India"–according to the CP in its message for the New Year 1905–was decisive: "The many problems, political, social and moral, confronting new India

58 CP 19.12.1903 suppl.–Text of the advert on the MNCA 1904 annual calendar. Brief mention of the project in: EBRIGHT (1944), *National Missionary Society*, 27f.
59 "Rallying point for all Indian Christians" (CP 12.05.1906 p. 5).
60 CP 27.10.1906 p. 4; other news in the CP on the "Arbuthnot Bank Failure": CP 26.01.1907 p. 2; CP 15.06.1907 p. 5; CP 15.06.1907 p. 6; CP 29.06.1907 p. 4; CP 28.09.1907 p. 4–In 1907, the MNCA/MICA was still looking for a building in a central location (CP 29.06.1907 p. 4).

can only be solved successfully by Christianity" (CP 07.01.1905 p. 4–Text 3). And an article on 22 December 1906 (p. 5), on the occasion of the introduction of an 'Indian Christian Associations Day', stated: "Every decade [sc. in Southern India] sees not only the numerical growth of our community, but also its advance in the more important directions of education, culture and corporate feeling".

Chapter ii

II The 'Christian Patriot'–The Journal

"What Do We Exist For?"–Programmatic Statements of the *'Christian Patriot'*

In February 1916, the '*Christian Patriot*' (CP) looks back on 26 years of existence. Summing up, he asks the question: "What… do we exist for?" and answers it as follows:

> "The *Christian Patriot* exists to make clear our attitude of sympathy and friendliness towards our non-Christian fellow citizens and to express our views on the various social, political and economic movements set on foot for the advancement of India. […]
>
> The *Christian Patriot* exists to express our views in regard to the Indian Church and to Missionary policy and methods in India generally in so far as they affect the well-being of Indian Christians.
>
> We are helping to promote the communal consciousness of Indian Christians, so widely scattered over India and so sadly divided by denominational and other differences, and bring about greater unity and solidarity.
>
> We try to bring the various Christian organisations throughout India, Burma, Ceylon, Straits and South Africa, in close touch with one another, and by recording their activities, help to stimulate and co-ordinate their effort. If we have not much in this way, it is clearly not our fault, it is the fault of the various secretaries who do not send us their reports for publication.
>
> We have tried to promote better understanding among Indian Christians themselves, discuss their needs and secure their co-operation in all matters calculated to promote the well-being of the entire community"[1]

The '*Christian Patriot*' was founded in Madras (now Chennai) in 1890 and existed until 1929[2]. Its subtitle was "Journal of Social and Religious Progress". The CP was published weekly[3], reported in detail on religious, social and political developments in the country as well as on international events and commented them critically. The journal's name already signified its agenda: as Christians also to be "patriots"[4] engaged in the uplift of the country. This was seen as an urgent challenge in times of awakening Indian

1 CP 19.02.1916 p. 4 (Text 4).–A short self-portrayal of his history can be found in CP 19.12.1903 suppl. (in: "CP Calendar for the Year 1904").
2 Apart from a few exceptions, only the years up to 1916 are analysed in this study.
3 In 1906 there were considerations as to "how the Christian Patriot can be made a daily" (CP 20.10.1906 p. 5).
4 In addition to the CP, there was also a '*Hindoo Patriot*' (cited in CP 08.10.1898 p. 1), '*Muslim Patriot*' (cf. CP 04.08.1906 p. 5; CP 22.12.1906. p. 7; CP 23.02.1907 p. 5) and '*Indian* Patriot' (cf. CP 08.02.1908 p. 5).

nationalism and increasingly harsh charges of "denationalisation" raised against Indian Christians. "Christian in tone and patriotic in its aims", the CP sought to express the "sentiments and aspirations of Native Christians" (CP 02.01.1896 p. 4). In doing so, it distanced itself both from the paternalism of Western missionaries and the exclusivism of the certain Hindu nationalists, whom it accused of pursuing particular interests and being interested only in political changes, but not also in the desparately needed social reforms in the Indian society.

The journal's aim was to give Indian Christians a voice and make them heard as independent actors in the country's public sphere–alongside with, and also quite independently of, Western missionary presence. The decisive keyword was the term "Native Christian Community". Later (and increasingly since about 1900) it was replaced by the self-designation as "Indian Christian Community". One of the most important objectives of the CP was to awaken this community to self-help and independence and to enable it to act as a subject in its own right in India's colonial society. "If the *Christian Patriot* has done anything"–according to a programmatic text from 1896–"it has been not only to teach our brethren the *lessons of self-help and self-dependence*, but also to afford an opportunity to some of the most enlightened and cultured among them to put into practice these lessons" (CP 02.01.1896 p. 4–Text 1). To a certain extent, this "Indian Christian Community" did not yet exist as an empirical entity but was rather a project of the future. Being "so widely scattered over India and so sadly divided by denominational and other differences", as the CP repeatedly lamented and also noted in ist retrospect in 1916 quoted above[5], it was rather a work in progress. But this was precisely where the CP saw its mission: to connect these disparate elements, to sharpen the awareness of a common identity or "communal consciousness" and "to represent the views and promote the interests of the Indian Christian community *as a whole*". This should happen not only in Southern India, but "all over the country" (CP 10.01.1903 p. 4), and should include members of *all* classes.

Admittedly, this community was currently still small and torn apart. But it harbours a tremendous potential; and in awakening this potential, the CP assigns itself a central role. "The possibilities before the Indian Christian community, backed up as it is by influences which make for moral, social, intellectual and spiritual progress, are indeed vast… Therefore does the community need wise, careful, sympathetic guidance as at present, and our earnest prayer is that with God's help the *Christian Patriot* will prove the means of affording this guidance and teaching which the community needs at present…. The community everywhere can boast of men and women of light and leading,

5 CP 19.02.1916 p. 4 (Text 4).–"There neither was nor is there an Indian Christian Church in the proper sense of the term. Such a church is yet to rise"–thus the analysis of the later editor of the CP K. Krishna Rau in a lecture on the "Indian Christian Church in Madras" (CP 25.08.1906 p. 5f). A programmatic article in the CP of 14.08.1897 p. 3 on "The Past, Present and Future of the Indian Christian Community". According to the author, this could only look back on a short history ("not more than half a century"). The unification of the scattered and fragmented Indian Christians "into an organic whole" was still pending.

and what is most encouraging is that these men and women are not indifferent to the concerns of the Indian Church of the future but are most eager to take a part in the solution of [sc. India's] problems" (CP 10.01.1903 p. 4).

The circle of CP supporters was initially recruited primarily from the Protestant intelligentsia of Madras–a group that, according to the historian R. Suntharalingam, enjoyed general recognition as a "progressive community" in South India in the 1890s[6]. In any case, they saw themselves as such–"We are a progressive community"–despite the heterogeneous composition of the Christian community, with reference to their high level of education[7]. It is highly remarkable how much this Indian Christian elite–itself only a minority within a minority–saw itself at the forefront of India's "moral, social, intellectual and spiritual progress": "We firmly believe that the Indian Christian community has a very important part to play in the regeneration of India. The many problems, political, social and moral, confronting New India can only be solved successfully by Christianity; for its moral power to purify and renovate the personal and social life is immense. The possibilities before the Indian Christian community are great,… and our earnest prayer and hope is that the *Christian Patriot* will prove of some help in affording this sympathetic guidance" (CP 07.01.1905 p. 4). As an organisation "capable of influencing and directing Native Christian opinion", the CP also saw its mission as contributing "to raise the Indian Christian community to a position of commanding influence in this country" (CP 02.01.1896 p. 4–Text 1).

"Owned and Conducted Entirely by Members of the Native Christian Community"

In 1890, the CP was founded in Madras by a group of Indian lay Christians[8]. From the beginning, it was a "purely indigenous venture", "owned and conducted entirely by

6 Suntharalingam (1980), *National Awakening*, 115; cf. Kumara doss/Alexander (2012), "Protestant Elite", 116ff.

7 "We are a progressive community"–but still "there are defects in us" (CP 05.01.1901 p. 4–5).

8 Until recently, there has existed virtually no *literature on the CP*. A few important references could be found in: Kumara Doss/Alexander (2012), "Protestant Elite", 116f; Kumara Doss (1988b), "Swadeshi Movement" (as well as in other articles by Y.V. Kumara Doss and E.S. Alexander, see bibliography); Houghton (1983), *The Impoverishment of Dependency* (repeated references); Singh, *Ecumenical Bearings*, 85–Occasional mention in, for example: Mallampalli (2004), *Christians and Public Life*, 114ff; Ebright (1944), *National Missionary Society*, 44; Baago (1969), *Pioneers of Indigenous Christianity*. Similarly, for a long time, individual issues of the CP had been accessible only in *scattered missionary or private archives* in India, US and UK, with the most important source being the microfilms kept at the 'Day Missions Collection' (Yale Divinity School Library New Haven, CT 06511–Film S613). Now, the journal is easily available through a digital edition based primarily on the Yale microfilms and edited by Klaus Koschorke, in cooperation with the Digital Services Department at Munich University Library (LMU). This Digital Edition has gone online in November 2025 (https://discover.ub.uni-muenchen.de/chrispat). It is accompanied by three appendices including (I) An Extended Introduction, (II) A Selected Bibliography and (III) A Reprint of a S*election of Transcribed Texts* from the CP originally published in: Koschorke/ Hermann et.al. (2016a), *Discourses,* 25–138, with kind permission by Harrassowitz Publisher. These transscribed texts are referred to repeatedly in this study as well. They are cited not by page, but by the number of the relevant text (as "Text"); see explanations on p. 255. In addition, this present monograph will be attached as Appendix IV as well by the end of 2025 (see https://discover.ub.uni-muenchen.de/chrispat). –On the *Indian*

members of the Native Christian community" (CP 02.01.1896 p. 4–Text 1). This distinguishes it from other indigenous Christian newspapers investigated as part of a research project based at the Munich chair of 'Early and Global History of Christianity' (Prof. Klaus Koschorke)[9]. These journals had been initially founded by missionaries and only later taken over by indigenous Christians. In South Africa, for example, the journal '*Inkanyiso yase Natal*' was established in 1889 at the Anglican St Alban College in Pietermaritzburg. It was published with strong African participation right from the start. But it was not until 1895 that the paper passed "entirely into the hands of Natives"[10]. In India, the '*Harvest Field*' may serve as an other example. This was initially a Methodist paper and for a long time the mouthpiece of large sections of the country's *missionary community*, before mutating into the organ of the country's–increasingly Indianised–'National Christian Council' from 1913 (or 1924).

The CP, on the other hand, was proud to owe its existence exclusively to an initiative by Indian Christians: "The unique feature of the journal is that it is a purely indigenous venture. It was planned by Indian Christians, started by them, and is being conducted by them" (CP 10.01.1903 p. 4–Text 2). In organisational terms, the CP was closely linked to the '*Madras Native Christian Association*' (MNCA), a non-denominational association of South Indian lay Christians founded in 1888, which quickly spread to other parts of the country and developed a wide range of social, charitable, political and economic activities. Its meeting reports (and those of other Christian associations) were regularly reproduced in the CP, and membership fees received for the MNCA as well as subscrip-

press in the 19th and early 20th century in general cf.: Ray / Gupta (2017), "Periodical Press in Colonial India"; Kamra (2011), *Indian Periodical Press*; Codell (2003), *Imperial Co-Histories*; Gosh (2006), *Power in Print*; Kaul (2003), *Reporting the Raj*; Kesavan (1988), *History of Printing*; Sadasivan (1974), *Growth of Public Opinion*; Ganesan (1988), *The Press in Tamil;* Stark (2007), *An Empire of Books*; Gupta / Chakravorty (2004), *Print Areas;* Jeffrey (2009), "Concepts about Print"; Jones (1992), *Religious Controversy;* Mangamma (1975). *Book Printing in India.–On Christian journals see:* Lent (1980), "The Missionary Press of Asia"; Mahaboob Basha (2021). "Christian Press and Hindu Social Reform", 114–135; Mahaboob Basha (2018). "Telugu Women's Periodicals", 33–45; Ramakrishna (1991), "Women's Periodicals in Andhra", 80–87; Ashitha (2019). "Women's Periodicals in Colonial India", 50–64; Chandra Sekhar (2023). "Christian Women's Periodicals", 1–18; Chandra Sekhar (2025b), "Rediscovering Hitavadi", 1–27; Chandra Sekhar (2025a), "Telugu Christian Periodicals", 31–57.

9 The title of this *research project* supported by the 'Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft' (DFG) and 'Fritz-Thyssen-Stiftung' (FTS) was: "Indigenous Christian Elites in Asia and Africa around 1900 and their Journals and Periodicals. Patterns of Cognitive Interaction and early Forms of Transregional Networking". The journals analyzed in the context of this project came from four regions: India, South Africa, West Africa and the Philippines. The project was based at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München LMU (with the sub-projects on India, South Africa and the Philippines; project leader: Prof. Dr Klaus Koschorke) and at the Fachhochschule für Interkulturelle Theologie Hermannsburg (with the sub-project on West Africa; project leader: Prof. Dr. Frieder Ludwig). Important *book publications* resulting from the research project are: Koschorke / Hermann / Mogase / Burlacioiu (2016a), *Discourses;* Koschorke / Hermann / Ludwig / Burlacioiu (2018a), *"To give publicity"*; Koschorke (2019d), "Owned and Conducted entirely by the Native Christian Community"; a survey on the main findings of the project can be found in: Koschorke / Hermann (2023a), *"'Beyond their own dwellings'"*, 177–221. Various *individual articles and publications* resulting from the project are listed in Koschorke / Hermann et.al. (2018a), "To give publicity", 16–18; for the titles on India and the 'Christian Patriot' see the bibliography in this volume s.v. "Koschorke".

10 '*Inkanyiso* yase *Natal*' 04.01.1895 p. 3 (Text 125).

tion payments to the CP were often credited to the same place. "The journal, though not officially connected with the Association, still owes its existence to it"[11]. It was largely the same group of people who had their say here as there.

With effect from 1 April 1912, the CP became the property of the newly founded 'Christian Patriot Company Ltd'. Its purpose was "to promote the religious and social welfare of the Indian Christian community by means of a Journal, Library, Printing press and other suitable methods" (CP 06.07.1912 p. 8). It was organised as a corporation, with an annual meeting of shareholders[12]. In terms of personnel, it remained closely linked to the newspaper management. In 1912, for example, the editor of the CP, J. Lazarus, also acted as its "managing director" (CP 29.03.1912 p. 6), and at the same time took care of an expanded range of publications.

Despite all the resistance, crises and permanent financial difficulties, the CP was able to hold its own in the Indian press landscape for an unusually long time. It existed for almost forty years until its demise in 1929. This distinguishes it not only from other–mostly short-lived indigenous Christian journals such as the '*Indian Christian Herald*', the mouthpiece of the national church movement in Bengal, whose discontinuation the CP had to lament in 1903 (CP 10.01.1903 p. 4–Text 2). But missionary papers also often had to give up early. For example, the *Indian Evangelical Review*, which the CP recognised as "one of the ablest missionary journals" and whose demise it therefore commented on with the expression of "deep regret" (CP 06.02.1904 p. 5). It originated from the private commitment of liberal missionaries and belonged to the progressive wing of the missionary press with which the CP was associated.

Management, Editors, Authors

As mentioned, the leadership of the CP came from the circle of the Protestant intelligentsia of South India. There existed close links to the 'Madras Native Christian Association' (MNCA), but also to other emancipatory and non-missionary movements of Indian Christians–or those pushing for greater independence. These included the National Church Movement, the Madras YMCA, the 'National Missionary Society' (NMS) founded in 1905, the 'Continuation Committee Conferences' (CCC) of 1912/13 (which led to the increased development of national forms of organisation in Christian Asia) and–beyond the period of this study–the 'Christo Samaj' in Madras, which was co-founded in 1916 by the then editor of the CP Vengal Chakkarai[13].

11 Thus the 'Christian Patriot Calendar for the year 1900' (CP 23.12.1899 suppl.).

12 A list of shareholders in 1912 can be found in CP 02.03.1912 p. 7.

13 On Vengal Chakkaraj and the CP, see the (historically imprecise) remarks in MALLAMPALLI (2004), *Christians and Public Life*, 116–From 1916 to 1924, Paul Chenchiah was a member of the editorial board of the CP. He also belonged to the leadership of the YMCA in Madras, was a member of the board of the NMS and represented the South Indian United Church (SIUC) at the 1928 World Missionary Conference in Jerusalem.– On the end of the *Christian Patriot* in 1929, see V. CHAKKARAI's remarks (in: '*The Guardian*' [Calcutta] Vol X/9, 07.04.1932 p. 100f; reprint in: THOMAS [1992], *Vengal Chakkarai* II, 100): "*The Christian Patriot*, the organ of Christian nationalism, was boycotted by missionaries and Indian Christians, as not reflecting the dominant

K. Krishna Rau served as "Editor and Manager" for 20 years until his death in 1909. The Rev. J. Lazarus, B.A., was appointed his successor as editor, "and another prominent member of our community has accepted the post of manager" (CP 08.05.1909 p. 4). K. Krishna Rau–as we learn from his obituary in the CP–was born in Tiruvallur in 1852 as the son of a respected Brahmin family from Nellore. After conversion and baptism in 1879, he first became headmaster of the 'Wesleyan Mission School' in Madurantakam and from 1887 of the 'Wesleyan College' in Madras. "His pupils and students are now scattered all over the [Madras] presidency, and many of them are holding high and responsible positions". He took over the editorship of CP at a critical moment for the journal. "His great ambition has been to make the *Patriot* the organ of the whole Indian Christian community"[14].

J. Lazarus, official editor of the CP since 1909, was one of the leading figures of the Protestant Madras elite and an independent pastor of the 'Danish Mission'. As early as 1895, he planned the foundation of a native missionary society of Indian Christians, was actively involved in the projecting of the 'Madras Christian Association's Twentieth Century Enterprise' (CP 21.10.1899 p. 4), was one of the inspirers of the NMS founded in 1905 and was involved in the 'Madras Christian Benefit Fund' (CP 27.11.1909) and the 'Madras Religious Tract and Book Society' (CP 29.02.1908 p. 7). In 1905 he travelled to Europe, about which the CP reported in detail (CP 29.04.1905). In 1910 he received an honorary doctorate in theology from an American university (University of Bates, US). This was in recognition of "his indefatigable efforts for the missionary cause, his contributions to Christian literature, both in English and Tamil, and his noble example to educated Indian Christians"–according to the CP on 6 August 1910 (p. 4). His conduct as editor was not without controversy. Critics accused him of pursuing a "suicidal policy", as he had loosened his ties with the MNCA (CP 12.08.1911 p. 6).

Other prominent personalities were also involved in the leadership of the CP–in functions that were not always clearly differentiated. *W.L. Venkataramiah*, "a former editor of the CP" (CP 07.04.1900 p. 4), was also a representative of the 'Indian Christian Association' in Chatrapur in southern India (CP 17.11.1900 p.3). *Samuel Sathianadan* (1861–1906) had studied in England and was one of the first Indians to obtain the title of "Doctor of Law" in Cambridge. He became the first Indian professor at Presidency College, Madras, the first Indian president of the all-India YMCA, founded in Madras in 1891, and vice-president of the NMS, founded in 1905. He was active in the MNCA

views but voicing those of miserable coterie. *The Christian Patriot* had to pay the heavy penalty of disappearing from the field". The concerns of the CP were continued by '*The Guardian [of Calcutta]*', see CHAKKARAI, ibid., 101. The opposition (both among missionaries and conservative Indian Christians) to the CP developed during the period "when it was under the control of the 'Christo Samaj' group in Madras", which had been established in 1916. "I must say that the Christian Patriot group was much in advance of the times, and paid heavy penalty in various ways" (CHAKKARAI ibid., 147; first published in: '*The Guardian*' [Calcutta] Vol XI/13, 30.03.1933 p. 148–150). The context of these remarks is the incipient "Rethinking Missions" debate in South India in the 1930s.

14 CP 24.04.1909 p. 4; see also his obituary in the CP of 01.05.1909 p. 4: "The Late Mr K. Krishna Rau. An Appreciation".

and as a publicist demanded extended rights for Indian Christians. He died on 4 April 1906 in Yokohama, Japan.

The *authors and commentators* in the CP were "learned men and leaders" of the Indian-Christian community. They did this without remuneration: "Several well-known writers have rallied around the Journal and have worked hard without any recompense" (CP 05.01.1901 p. 5). The occasional articles by Indian "lady authors" are specially emphasised in the CP[15]. However, contributions also came from individual sympathising missionaries who felt connected to the concerns of the CP. The missionary community of South India was anything but uniform. Even within the Anglican community, there were very different voices. In addition to the majority of conservative missionaries who were critical or even hostile to the independence efforts of Indian Christians, which they regarded as premature, there were also prominent supporters of the endeavour for a "national form" of Indian Christianity in the CP.

For the *correspondents,* see below.

Readers, Circulation

The exact circulation can only be determined approximately. CP repeatedly makes relative statements ("increased numbers of subscribers", "one hundred more"[16]) and reveals an uneven geographical distribution (focus in South India, "many readers" in Bombay and only very few in Bengal[17]). Absolute figures are found only sporadically. Kumara Doss / Alexander mention–with reference to a missionary source from 1900–the number of "more than 800 subscribers"[18]. This would correspond to the circulation figure that can also be assumed for *'The Hindu'*–the newspaper of the religious competition also published in Madras[19]. The CP itself states for 1900: "There are about 1000 subscribers"[20], a figure that is later repeated several times. Applying the usual conversion factor for comparable journals, this would mean a readership of between 10,000 and 20,000 people for the CP[21], many of whom can be regarded as multipliers with a sometimes considerable reach.

15 E.g. CP 30.07.1896 p. 7; CP 29.01.1898 p. 3; CP 05.05.1900 p. 3; CP 25.08.1900 p. 5; CP 13.01.1906 p. 3 ("By an Indian lady").

16 E.g. CP 02.04.1898 p. 6; CP 18.02.1916 p. 4.

17 Bengal: CP 30.07.1896 p. 7: "half a dozen"–here, of course, there was a separate indigenous Christian press.

18 Kumara Doss/Alexander (2012), "Protestant Elite", 122, with reference to Jones (1900), *South Indian Protestant Missions*, 63, who speaks of "more than 800 subscribers".

19 This is their estimate by Muthiah (2004), *Madras Rediscovered*, 54.

20 CP 13.01.1900 p. 3 (column 1).

21 Circulations of other Indian Christian journals: '*The Young Men of India*', for example, published by the Indian YMCA since 1885, reached a circulation of 1800 copies, and another YMCA periodical–the 'Inquirer', founded in 1899–a circulation that rose from 2100 to 3500 (David [1992], *YMCA and the Making of Modern India*, 80–82). The *'National Missionary Intelligencer'* (NMI), organ of the NMS, had a "circulation of nearly 2000 copies. Five vernacular journals each reaching 1000 homes" (CP 29.03.1912 p. 6).–Mack (2013), *Menschenbilder,* 27–98, provides an overview of the journals of the various Protestant missionary societies (and their circulation figures) in the 19th century. *'Der evangelische Heidenbote'*, for example, the journal of the Basel Mission

The CP is primarily aimed at members of the "Indian Christian Community", but also seeks to reach the "educated" public in Madras and throughout India. The fact that it has had considerable success with this is shown, among other things, by the considerable journalistic response and the sometimes intense debates with parts of the country's non-Christian religious or political press (see below). The CP was also studied by Hindus: "The 'Christian Patriot' has become a popular paper here, both among Christians and Hindus" (CP 30.07.1898 p. 6). Among Christian readers, the CP wanted to address members of "all denominations" (CP 10.01.1903 p. 4) and "all classes" (CP 02.04.1898 p. 6). Primarily, however, it is clearly aimed at the "educated" elite and the–present or future–"leaders of the community", whose "sentiments and aspirations" the CP knows it is obliged to bundle and bring to the attention of a wider public (CP 10.01.1903 p. 4–Text 2). European Christians and missionaries were also among the readers and in many cases became involved in the debates triggered by the CP (see below).

The CP was published in English; there are only occasional sprinklings in Tamil[22]. The CP therefore did not reach readers without colonial language skills, at least not directly[23]. Nevertheless, the CP deliberately addressed a multilingual audience and, for example, sparked a public debate in its columns about the appropriate translation of key biblical terms (such as the name of God "Jehovah") into Tamil and Telugu[24].

We have three classes of readers, says the CP in retrorespect in the year 1916, and thus justifies the inclusion of a general news section from agency reports (the so-called "Telegraphic Summaries") in the Journal. "Our readers may be roughly divided into three classes: (1) Poor Indian Christians (a large number) who get no dailies, and in fact no other paper, (2) People who may get a daily but who find very little time to read the daily news; for these it is a time saving arrangement to keep them up-to-date, (3) The third class the one who complain are those who don't subscribe for the paper or find time to read the dailies which they might get. We are not concerned with the third class–for these are not very many; these men should take the paper for other considerations and not for the 'Summary' (CP 19.02.1916 p. 4–Text 4).

Distribution, Circulation

The CP had its centre of gravity in South India. It gradually spread throughout the country and increasingly circulated outside India–especially among the Indian diaspora in

founded in 1828, initially had a circulation of 2,000 and after 1½ years had a circulation of 6,500 copies (ibid., 82). In the 18th and 19th centuries, a journal "was worthwhile from a circulation of 500 copies" (Mack [2013], *Menschenbilder*, 118).

22 E.g. CP 08.09.1906 p. 6; CP 28.10.1912 p. 3 (கொரிந்திய உபநிடதம் / Korintiya upaniṭatam, i.e. "Corinthian Upaniṣad" / "Corinthian Philosophy", an interpretation of 1 Corinthians 15:12–25).

23 Of course, the widespread practice of "reading out" newspapers in India must be taken into account.

24 CP 09.09.1905 p. 5 (Text 67); CP 21.10.1905 p. 6 (Text 68).

South Asia and occasionally also in Europe and the USA. In 1909, a letter to the editor from Singapore even described it as a "world wide paper"[25].

"Though published in Madras"–says the CP in a review from 1903–"its one great object has been to represent the views and promote the interests of the Indian Christian community *as a whole*, and hence it appeals to members of the community all over the country. We are thankful for the support it has received outside this Presidency, but whilst the *Christian Patriot* is well-known in the Western and Northern Provinces of India, and even in the Central Provinces, it is not so well-known in Bengal". There was also a "very large constituency" "not only in this country but also in Great Britain and in America" (CP 10.01.1903 p. 4–Text 2). As early as 1896, the CP spoke of a "tolerable good circulation in every part of India from Cape Comorin to Cashmere"–"except in Bengal", where, of course, there was already a separate indigenous Christian press (CP 30.07.1896 p. 7). Progress in dissemination is specifically noted in each case. "The CP has become quite popular in Tranvancore also"–according to the CP on 19.03.1898. In India, but also in neighbouring regions (Burma, Singapore etc.), this supra-regional expansion probably took place partly parallel to that of the *Madras Native Christian Association* and its offshoots. This association founded *branches* throughout the country or networked with Indian-Christian associations in other places[26], usually through the press or the CP.

The subscription costs in 1902, with free delivery, were Rs. 5 per year in "India, Burma and Ceylon" and Rs 6 for "foreign countries" (CP 11.01.1902 p. 1). A year earlier, Ceylon had not yet been included in the more favourable India rate–the expanding circulation of the CP can also be seen in such details[27]. The–sporadic and incomplete–subscriber lists ("acknowledgements")[28] confirm that the readers of the CP lived predominantly in the 'Madras Presidency'. At the same time, however, they reveal its growing national and international distribution. The CP was also delivered to recipients in Burma, Ceylon, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Penang, Lahore, Mauritius[29], Fiji, Australia, Great Britain, Germany[30], Switzerland, Denmark and the USA. Of the 41 names on a list dated 29 January 1910 (p. 7), one each came from Penang and "Germany" and two

25 CP 21.08.1909 p. 5 (Text 12).–Scattered individual details on the circulation of the CP and other technical details are compiled in the "*Discourses*" (p. 43ff) under the heading A.2 ("Realities of Publishing": Text 5–12).

26 For the geographical and transregional spread of the MNCA/ICA's see see p. 122ff. 203ff. 210ff.

27 Other information on distribution: CP 30.07.1896 p. 7: "tolerable good circulation in every part of India from Cape Comorin to Cashmere except in Bengal where the number of our subscribers is limited to less than half a dozen" (CP 30.07.1896 p. 7); "numerous Bombay readers" (CP 05.12.1895 p. 6); CP 19.03.1898: "… has become quite popular in Travancore also…"; etc.

28 "Acknowledgements", i.e. (irregular) confirmations of receipt of payment, can be found, for example, in the issue of 18.02.1897 p. 2; 12.02.1898 p. 7; 05.03.1898 p. 6; 23.10.1909 p. 7; 29.01.1910 p. 7. From 1901 to February 1907 the country details are missing in these lists.

29 Subscribers in Mauritius: e.g. CP 03.02.1900 p. 6; CP 10.02.1900 p. 7.

30 Subscribers in Germany ("Germany"): e.g. CP 05.02.1898 p. 2 (Rev. Lenckfeld); CP 10.02.1900 p. 7 (Rev. Wohlenberg); CP 20.01.1900 p. 6 (Rev. Th. Petersen); CP 29.01.1910 p. 7 (Rev. R. Handman); CP 18.12.1909 p. 2 (Rev. M. Schaible, Rev. L. Raeder). In this issue of 18 December 1909 p. 2, an African name is remarkably mentioned as a subscriber from Switzerland: "Rev. B. Luthuli, Bern / Switzerland".

each from Burma, England and New York. The two subscribers from New York were J.R. Mott, the organiser of the Edinburgh World Mission Conference in 1910, and the' Foreign Mission Library (from whose holdings, now stored at Yale, the main copy on which this study is based is taken)[31].

The CP was quoted both inside and outside India. The country's missionary press saw it as an advocate of the participation rights of Indian Christians[32]. A paper like the *'Bombay Guardian'* was able to describe the CP as "really the ablest native Christian newspaper in India"[33]. In South Africa, for example, it was Gandhi's newspaper '*Indian Opinion*' that reprinted an obituary of a prominent Indian Christian (G.W. Chatterji) in its issue of 3 April 1909. From the USA, for example, Rev. James S. Dennis (from Norfolk, Conn.), who praised the CP "as useful… source of information" and repeatedly took the opportunity "to cite the paper and quote from its columns repeatedly in a volume on 'Christian missions and social progress' which I have in course of preparation"[34]. In Dublin, it was the paper '*The Irish Churchman*', which did not learn of Azariah's consecration as the first Indian bishop through the missionary press, but only through the CP, which caused an international sensation: "We observe with pleasure from the *Christian Patriot* of Madras that the first Indian Bishop of the Indian Church, Mr. Azariah, was consecrated last December at Calcutta" (quoted in CP 15.03.1913 p. 5).

Letters to the Editor–National and International

The CP has witnessed the development of a veritable culture of letters to the editor. "Letters to the Editor" reached the CP from home and abroad. Letters came from different parts of the country. They covered a wide range of topics and were written by differ-

31 See source reference in p. 255; cf. also CP 08.02.1913 p. 7: "Day Mission Library, U.S.A". Isolated copies of the CP can also be found in the archives of the Leipzig Mission (information from Prof. Ulrich Gäbler, email of 28 September 2017), the Basel Mission and in other mission and colonial archives, the systematic recording of which would be an interesting task.

32 '*The Harvest Field*' 1895, p. 352: "This whole question of participation in mission management by our native brethren is now kept prominently before our Christian community by *The Christian Patriot* and other organs of the native Church" (quoted from: GRAFE [1990], *Christianity in Tamil Nadu*, 71).

33 Quoted in the CP of 8 May 1909 p. 4 under the heading "Ourselves". Similarly, the recommendation of the CP as "one of the leading religious papers in India" for "every Indian household" by the '*Indian Standard*', reported in the CP on 30 July 1897 p. 2. The '*Madras Times*' also quoted repeatedly from the CP and described it as an "excellently conducted organ of Native Christianity" (CP 28.10.1899 p. 5). Elsewhere, the differences between the CP and the Anglo-Indian colonial press are unmistakable.

34 CP 15.10.1898 p. 1. His writing (J.S. DENNIS [1897–1899], *Christian Missions and Social Progress*. 3 vol.s, New York / Chicago / Toronto) contains some very extensive quotations from the CP.

ent authors. In addition to local Christians[35] and missionaries[36], non-Christian voices were also occasionally heard. Hindus objected to individual articles and demanded, for example, a differentiated presentation and "less hasty and more accurate…remarks about… non-Christian brethren…" (CP 02.01.1896 p. 7). Indian Christians responded to letters to the editor from European missionaries and vice versa[37]. Letters in the CP commented on letters to the editor that had appeared in the secular press[38]. Discussion forums in the CP that were regarded too long were repeatedly closed by the editors[39]. In the case of anonymous or pseudonymous letters ("A Christian", "Anglican", "Ignoramus", "Truth", "Spero Meliora"), it is not always possible to clearly identify the group to which the author belongs.

Remarkable is the considerable number of letters to the editor from outside India (which will be analysed in more detail elsewhere[40]). Writers of letters to the editor intervened in the debate about an *Indian bishop* (CP 09.10.1909 p. 5) and discussed questions in the CP that were controversial in the Indian-Christian *community* in Singapore itself[41]. Indian visitors from Natal reported on the difficult situation of the "colonial born Indians" in South Africa and called for solidarity from their compatriots in the Indian "motherland" (CP 02.07.1910 p. 2). Letters from England respond to articles in the CP and comment on the situation of Indian students in Great Britain (CP 25.08.1900 p. 5). An "Indian Christian" from Mauritius thanks the CP for the way in which the journal "puts forward before the proper authorities our grievances and… suggests

35 Some topics of letters to the editor from Indian Christians around the turn of the year 1899/1900: CP 23.12.1899 p. 3: "The Rights and Privileges of Lay Agents in the Wesleyan Mission" (author: "An Indian Wesleyan Methodist"); CP 13.01.1900 p. 7: "Hinduism merging into Christian Religion"; "The South Indian Missionary Conference and Caste"; CP 27.01.1900 p. 6: "Non-Christian Judges and Native Christian suits" (author: "X."); CP 17.02.1900 p. 3: "The Christian Community and European dress"; CP 04.11.1899 p. 3: "Sabbath Market at Thrippooniturah" (author: "A Student", with reference to Japan, among others); "Crisis in Tranvancore" (author: "A Proselyte from the Syrians"); CP 09.12.1899 p. 3: "Infant Baptism" (author: "Truth"); CP 09.12.1899 p. 6: Unjust treatment of an Indian schoolmaster in a CMS school; CP 21.10.1899 p. 6: "Caste and Christianity" (author: "A Hindu Christian"); etc.

36 E.g. CP 05.09.1898 p. 6; CP 27.08.1904 p. 2; CP 18.02.1905 p. 5–Occasionally they are explicitly labelled as non-Indian voices, e.g. CP 19.05.1906 p. 4: "An European opinion" (on the question of "Female education in India").

37 In CP 09.12.1899 p. 3, for example, there is a reader's letter discussion on the subject of (Western or indigenous) "names of Christian converts" between a Telugu Christian (D. Anantam) and the Anglican "Archdeacon Caley", who in turn had already reacted earlier in CP to a vote by this author.–Another example: Reader controversy about "baptism of Hindus" in CP 14.11.1896 p. 6.

38 For example CP 10.07.1909 p. 5: Letter to the editor in CP responds to letter to the editor in the 'Madras Mail'.

39 E.g. CP 26.06.1909 p. 6: "We cannot open our columns for further controversy" (on the subject: "Anglican Church in Travancore"); similarly, the extended debate in the CP on "the alleged grievances in Singapore" is ended (CP 02.10.1909 p. 4; cf. CP 21.08.1909 p. 5–Text 12). "This correspondance must cease now" (CP 06.01.1906 p. 4).–In other cases, letters to the editor are not printed because of offensive remarks (CP 18.09.1909 p. 4).

40 See chapter VI p. 203ff.

41 CP 21.08.1909 p. 5 (Text 12); CP 28.08.1909 p. 6.

the manner in which they might be redressed"[42]. Writers of letters to the editor from Ceylon criticise an English "agnostic paper" that was also read in Ceylon–and press for a reply to be printed in the CP in order to reach the audience in Ceylon as well as in England (!)[43].

Technical Aspects, Printing Modalities, Payment Behaviour

The CP appeared weekly, initially on a Thursday and from February 1896 on a Saturday. "This is the third time within the period of six years that we have found it absolutely necessary to enlarge the size of the paper and to effect improvements in it", the CP proudly announced on 2 January 1896 (p.4). Since then, the standard size has been eight pages. In addition, there were occasional "supplements" on specific topics or occasions. In particular, the lectures and discussions from MNCA events were also printed there (for example on the question: "Female education in India"–as in the CP on 5 November 1898. The editorial team of the CP also supervised other publications. An 'Almanac' and a calendar with important dates and addresses of and for the Christian community in Madras and South India were published annually. Articles of the CP were compiled and published in book form and tracts on current topics were published.

The printing company was–repeatedly?–changed. From 1898 the paper was printed by the 'Methodist Episcopal Press', in an improved layout and "at a greatly enhanced cost" (CP 02.04.1898 p. 6). In 1912, the CP technically became the property of the 'Christian Patriot Company', whose projects included the founding of its own printing press (CP 19.02.1912 p. 4). At the CP office in Mount Road (Madras), it was not only possible to obtain copies of the paper itself, but also, on request, of other journals with which the CP was in dialogue. One such journal was 'The Indian Christian', published by the 'Indian Christian Association of Great Britain' in London, which the CP introduced in its issue of 30 April 1896 (p. 4). On the other hand, the archiving of its own journal occasionally left much to be desired. In an appeal dated 3 April 1909 (p. 1), the editors asked for two issues from September 1906, which they could no longer find themselves in their archive, to be sent "urgently".

The journal contained extensive *advertising*–for commercial articles (e.g. clothing, umbrellas, medicines or culinary specialities such as 'Dehli Cakes'), job offers from church institutions (e.g. in schools) and private advertisements ("Christian domestic staff wanted"). In 1900, the rates for year-round commercial advertisements were Rs. 5 per column per month and Rs. 14 for a full page; for shorter bookings, the rates

42 CP 27.02.1897 p. 5 ("Ourselves"); the same text notes further letters from London ("a retired Anglo-Indian doctor"), Secunderabat ("a Wesleyan Missionary"), from a "Lutheran Missionary" and from another missionary from Bangalore.

43 CP 22.03.1913 p. 5–Other international letters to the editor came from Australia (e.g. CP 09.10.1909 p. 4f), Sri Lanka (CP 05.03.1898 p. 6; CP 18.03.1899 p. 6), the USA (CP 15.10.1913 p.1: "Ourselves") or South Africa (CP 03.11.1906 p. 3–Text 103).–"I regret", according to a reaction from England to reading the CP, "daily, that the most of our English people are ignorant" (sc. about current developments in India) (CP 03.08.1909 p. 4).

increased to Rs. 6 and Rs. 16 respectively. A single advertisement cost 4 annas per inch. The price doubled for all vernacular advertisements (CP 06.01.1900 p. 7). Other journals of the–missionary or political–press also advertised for readers in the CP[44]. Advertisements appeared for Christian publications in Tamil, Telugu and Malayam as well as for (missionary) tracts on the teachings of Swami Vivekananda (ibid).

CP repeatedly called on its readers to recruit new subscribers (e.g. CP 02.01.1896). The paper should belong to every Christian household or at least in the hands of "all educated Indian Christians" (CP 07.05.1896 p. 4). On the other hand, CP constantly had to lament the poor payment behaviour of many of its subscribers. The paper even threatened to name defaulting customers who were more than a year behind with their payments: "We intend publishing a list of those who are in arrears for more than one year" (CP 06.07.1912 p. 4). Financial bottlenecks and repeated crises accompany the history of the CP. The situation was particularly dramatic in 1916, in the midst of the turmoil of the First World War, which–not dealt with in this study–had a direct impact on the Christians of India in particular. The number of subscribers–according to the CP on 19 February 1916 (p. 4)–"must be doubled in a few months, otherwise we are afraid, the paper will have to be discontinued, as many others have done during this time of great financial strain". The CP also survived this crisis until it was finally discontinued in 1929.

Sources of Information

The first two pages of the CP issue of 2 August 1902 contain the following *sections:* "Telegraphic Summary" / "News and Notes" / "Local and Provincial" / "Missionary and Church News"; these are followed by articles on various topics. "Telegraphic Summary" contains mainly political news from around the world and the British Empire and–like many other Indian journals–is based on the telegraphic news services and/or reports from the Reuter agency[45]. "Local and Provincial" is based on various (South) Indian sources, while "Missionary and Church News" analyses various missionary and church journals from India and overseas. In total, hundreds of domestic and foreign

44 In the aforementioned issue of the CP of 6 January 1900, for example, '*The Harvest Field*' or '*The Baptist Missionary Review*'.

45 "India was the most profitable part of the British Empire for Reuters… Whole pages of the Indian newspapers were filled with Reuter's telegrams. Conversely, news from India… were in steady demand in England" (Read [1992], *History of Reuters*, 83); "Until World War I the Reuter organisation in India, expanding continually with the development of a vigorous newspaper Press, kept the same pattern. Indian newspapers and merchands respected and relied upon Reuters service: news from India flowed into London…" (Storey [1969], *Century of News Gathering*, 124; cf. in general: Bayly (1996), *Empire and Information*; Silberstein-Loeb (2014), *International Distribution of News*, passim. On the importance of telegraphy in colonial India cf. Headrick (1991), *Invisible Weapon*, 51: "India was one of the birthplaces of the electric telegraph"; ibid. 53: "By 1883, when the Telegraph Department was merged with the Post Office Department, it reached every major town; runners forwarded the telegrams to village post offices"; ibid. 40: "After the North Atlantic and Mediterranean routes, the route to India was the busiest in the world".

journals are quoted in the CP[46], some–such as the '*New York Times*'–in the context of telegraphic news, others–such as the South Indian press in particular–in continuous discussion and commentary. "We publish 'Telegraphic Summary'–Why? Many ask", asked the CP in a review in 1916 and answered: For many readers, the CP was the only source of information, which is why the paper also included regular "Indian news"[47] :

The CP's editorial team also had access to numerous domestic and foreign periodicals through the practice of *journal exchanges*. "Echoes from our exchanges" was a regular column in the CP, with news from India[48], South Africa (CP 09.06.1900 p. 8–Text 10c), England and the USA (CP 12.07.1902 p. 6), among others. "One of our American exchanges" was, for example, the paper '*The Congregationalist',* from which the CP quotes on 31 March 1900 (p. 7). Journals from other countries (and especially those of local Christians there) were sometimes also available to interested persons in the CP's editorial offices (CP 30.04.1906 p. 4). The public *libraries* and the reading rooms of Christian institutions were of great importance–both for the authors and the readers of the CP. The latter were to be found in the various local YMCAs, missionary organisations or regional 'Indian Christian Associations'[49]. The establishment of suitable libraries, with access to current press products, was one of the explicit objectives of the CP[50]. We also know from missionary sources that in England, for example, political and church magazines were collected and sent to interested parties in India and other "mission fields" on specific dates[51]. In this way, local news from British newspapers repeatedly found its way into the Indian discourse.–The CP's service also included the regular publication of the *arrival times of mail ships*. This made it easier to obtain the latest news.

Correspondents at Home and Abroad

The reports of local correspondents were of particular importance. These were often simply identical with readers who sent in contributions, which CP repeatedly encour-

46 A list of even just a few of the journals cited in the CP would comprise hundreds of titles.

47 CP 19.02.1916 p. 4 (Text 4).

48 E.g. CP 30.07.1896 p. 6, where it is a Muslim magazine ('*The Mahomedan Advocate of India*'), the first issue of which is kindly presented in the "exchange".

49 E.g. CP 06.01.1906 p. 4.

50 CP 06.07.1912 p. 8 (Text 5.3); the establishment of a separate library–geared to the needs of Indian Christians–was also planned as part of the above-mentioned 'MNCA 20th Century Enterprise'. The "public libraries" in Madras, for example, were the subject of a long article in the CP of 16 April 1896 p. 4. In the reports on 'Indian Christian Associations' outside the country, the operation of a library (for example in Rangoon–CP 19 April 1900 p. 3) and the subscription of periodicals (in Penang, for example, "three daily and 1 weekly paper"–CP 02.09.1913 p. 6) are often specifically mentioned. The various regional YMCAs with their reading rooms or the "Christian Reading Club Ernaculam" (CP 19.11.1896 p. 8) regularly appear in the subscription lists of the CP itself.

51 In '*The Mission Field*' (November 1904 p. 349), published by the SPG, the following notice is given to British readers: "To Working Parties–Parcels for Bombay (Bombay City, Ahmednagar, Dapoli and Kolhapur) should be sent up before the end of this month. Boxes will be sent in January to Natal Diocese (Durban, Maritzburg, Highflats, and Enhlonhlweni)". "The Work and Clothing Sub-Committee will be glad of magazines and reviews etc. (not weekly papers) for isolated Mission stations; also for coloured prints for Mission Churches and schools". Other missionary societies also organised similar mail-order campaigns for used newspapers.

aged. Reports on special events and happenings as well as all news that provided information on the progress of the Christian community were welcome: "We want to chronicle Indian Christian passes, promotions, revivals and conversions, united efforts, grievances based on facts and mildly worded; in short, everything that is of interest and importance to our growing community. We want even lady correspondents" (CP 22.05.1909 p. 4). Not all of these *correspondents* were personally known to the editor (CP 28.05.1898 p. 2), and articles were repeatedly rejected due to formal or content-related deficiencies ("declined with thanks", e.g. CP 25.03.1899 p. 6). The names of the correspondents are not mentioned. Their reports are sometimes labelled with abbreviations (e.g. 'R'). Local correspondents reported–once or repeatedly–from a wide variety of places (such as Bombay, Poona, Vellore, Tinnevelly, Trivandrum, Simla, Calicut); and in a note dated 27 July 1901 (p. 7) "permanent correspondents" were sought "at the following places: Calcutta, Bombay, Allahabad, Lahore, Lucknow, Dehli, Palamcotta, and Colombo–Apply to the Editor". There were "Special correspondents" for certain occasions and topics such as regional missionary conferences or the 'Temperance Movement' (e.g. CP 26.08.1905 p. 3; CP 05.10.1901 p. 3). Occasionally, "Hindu Correspondents"[52] and "Lady Correspondents"[53] also worked for the CP. They reported, for example, on the activities of the theosophist Anne Besant or events organised by the YWCA.

"Our Own Correspondents" also occasionally reported from abroad over a certain period of time. Between March 1899 and July 1900, at the height of the Boxer Rebellion, "Our Own China Correspondent" sent a series of articles from Shandong, China, in which he reported on anti-missionary pogroms and the persecution of Chinese Christians, among other things, as an eyewitness. It took four weeks for his last report to find its way into the pages of the CP (CP 28.07.1900 p. 4). "Our Straits Letter" brought news about the fate of Indian migrants and contract labourers in present-day Malaysia (CP 25.05.1907 p. 5; CP 28.09.1907 p. 5); and a correspondent reported from Singapore with information about the progress of the mission among the local Tamils (CP 31.03.1900 p. 8). In a 'News letter' from Rangoon, an "Indian Christian of Madras" reported on the Indian Christian community there (CP 18.09.1909 p. 5). The CP printed an isolated "Correspondent" report from Jamaica on 7 April 1906 (p. 3). The "London Correspondent" often first provided information about the current London weather and local events before turning to more important topics and international visitors to the metropolis of the British Empire (e.g. CP 11.06.1896 p. 7; CP 03.09.1896 p. 7). Regular news from the United Kingdom was also provided over a longer period of time by news from Hastings in England and the "Irish letter".

52 CP 28.01.1898 p. 3; CP 17.12.1898 p. 3; CP 27.02.1897 p. 5 ("Brahman correspondent").
53 CP 28.02.1898 p. 6; CP 09.11.1901 p. 5; CP 24.08.1898 p. 8 ("India in Transition"–"By an Indian Lady").

The 'Christian Patriot'–"the Oldest Christian Journal in India"

The 1890s saw a virtually exploding Indian press landscape. As early as 1878, the Madras *Athenaeum stated*: "The age may be called the age of newspapers… For every person that read a newspaper twenty years ago, one hundred read them now"[54]. Towards the end of the century, this development accelerated further, and by 1900–according to a survey by Mark Frost–60 English-language journals were counted in Madras alone, 86 in Calcutta and 16 in Rangoon (as well as 10 more in other languages)[55]. "At the present time the Press of India is one of the greatest powers in the land", the CP also states. "Modern India has given birth to able journalists and authors. During the ten years ending in 1901/02, the number of registered printing presses increased from 1,649 to 2,193; the number of newspapers from 602 to 708; the number of periodical publication (other than newspapers) from 349 to 575; the number of books published in English… from 768 to 1,312", the paper wrote on 13 July 1907 (p. 3). The Christian community in India, on the other hand, had–according to the CP's self-criticism–so far made insufficient use of the potential of the press, as Christian journalism was mostly in the hands of foreign organisations. "Purely indigenous publications are extremely rare" (CP 02.07.1898 p. 4). The paper claimed to be a "factor in the spiritual and intellectual life of young India" (CP 07.05.1896 p. 5).

At the same time, the CP was proud to be the "oldest Indian Christian journal" (CP 10.01.1903 p. 4). There was indeed a long tradition of missionary journalism in India. It also had a stimulating effect on the development of the general press[56]. But independent journals published by Indian Christians themselves were rare. "The want of an independent paper, like the *Christian Patriot*, is very keenly felt by the Bombay Christians", complains a letter to the editor from this city (CP 05.12.1895 p. 6); and for a long time the CP knew of only *one* comparable periodical, namely from Calcutta, which admittedly had to cease publication in 1903: "The *Indian Christian Herald* was a similar venture in Calcutta which owed its existence chiefly to Babu Joy Govind Shome, but after the death of that great leader, it ceased to exist, and the *Christian Patriot* remains now as the oldest Indian Christian journal in India" (CP 10.01.1903 p. 4). All the more rea-

54 *'Athenaeum and Daily News'* 01.05.1878.

55 On the "information explosion" in South Asia in the 1890s, see in particular Frost (2004), "Asia's Maritime Networks", 82ff.

56 Cf. the overview of the Christian press in India in the 19th century in Singh (1977), *Ecumenical Bearings*, 79–87: "One is amazed at the number of Christian periodicals printed in India in the 19th century" (ibid, 87). Under the category "Undenominational papers edited by Indian Christians", he names the '*Indian Christian Herald*' (originally: *'Bengal Christian Herald'*, founded in Calcutta in 1870 by Kali Charan Banurji and Jay Gobinde Shome; name change in 1876), as well as the '*Christian Patriot*'. Other early indigenous Christian journals remain unmentioned here as well as in the CP (or were already outside his perception due to their different denominational orientation). For example, the English-language '*Times of Goa*' (motto: "Awake, Arise, or even be fallen"), which was founded in Goa in 1885 by the later head of the "Independent Catholics of Goa and Ceylon" Francisco Xavier Alvares. Another possible example: *"The Shíd Shídán* ['Messenger of Light'], the organ of the Native Christians at Lucknow" (as described in '*The Church Mission Intelligencer*' 1885 p. 60).– No copy of the weekly *'Eastern Star'*, the organ of the NCI in Madras, has survived (Mallampalli [2004], *Christians and Public Life*, 114).

son for the CP to welcome more recent journalistic initiatives, which had been noticeably increasing since 1905. These included the' *National Missionary Intelligencer*, the organ of the National Missionary Society, which was founded in 1905 as not a purely Indian organisation; the weekly *Indian Christian*, "a new journal ably edited by the Rev. A.N. Banerji, Calcutta", which propagated national church ideas (CP 12.01.1907 p. 6); or the older journal '*Young Men of India',* which was increasingly used as a forum for Indian Christians and authors (e.g. CP 11.08.1906–Text 107)[57]. Under the heading "Indian Christian Journalism", the CP on 21 June 1906 (p. 7) welcomes the newspaper 'The Christian Citizen', which is published in Poona "entirely under the supervision of Indian Christian gentlemen". Earlier, a Catholic start-up, *'The Catholic Watchman',* was also welcomed and at the same time admonished to "take up the cause of Native Christians" instead of denominational controversies (CP 03.12.1898 p. 5). Political start-ups such as the journal '*Young India*' were also warmly welcomed in times of the Swadeshi movement: "'Young India' is the name of a new weekly journal 'dedicated to the service of the dawning Indian nation'… We wish all success to our new comrade" (CP 14.09.1907 p. 2). They are seen as a sign of the "awakening" of the "new India" and are welcomed as brothers in spirit.

A developed press system is also perceived internationally in the CP as a sign of modernity and emancipatory progress. When describing the "awakening" of Asian nations–for example in Japan, China and Korea–particular attention is paid to the newspaper landscape of the country in question. This is repeatedly linked to the fact that Christians are active in leading positions there[58]. Networking with them and organising an exchange between the respective journals was an important concern for the CP.

Press Controversies, Debates in the 'Christian Patriot'

A wide range of topics are discussed in CP. This usually takes place in dialogue with other journals–with various representatives of the Hindu press, secular journals, missionary journals and diverse voices within the Indian Christian community itself. They quoted each other, commented on and criticised each other and engaged in numerous debates. "Is there such a thing as public opinion in India?" asks the CP and seeks to introduce the concerns of Indian Christians into the public discourse in the face of monopolising efforts by the Hindu-dominated "native press", but also in the face of missionary journalism. The aim was to create a pluralistic, "healthy public opinion in

57 Further examples: CP 06.01.1912 p. 4: "The I[ndian]. M[issionary]. S[ociety] of Trichinopoly has started an Organ of its own"; CP 07.01.1911 p. 1: welcoming the "'The Sunday Friend', a Tamil Christian Weekly"; CP 30.09.1905 p. 5 about the 'Indian Christian messenger', meanwhile (?)mouthpiece of Indian Christian authors: "'We must remember', says our contemporary, 'that we are the only cosmopolitan race of India…we are neither Hindus nor Mahommedans… we are neither wholly Bengalees… nor Madrasses".

58 In Japan, for example, there are journals "owned, managed and edited by Christians…. There is still a larger number of journals whose conductors though not professedly Christian, distinctively favour Christianity" (CP 30.04.1904). In China, Christianity had spread "by education and the press"–according to the CP on 21 March 1908 p. 3. Further examples concern Korea and South Africa. Christians

the country" (CP 20.02.1896 p. 4), in which the voice of the "native Christians" could be clearly heard.

Hindu Press

"Attacked and misrepresented by Hindu journalists" (CP 24.09.1896 p. 4), the booming Hindu press was one of the main addressees of the CP. There were repeated debates with the weekly magazine '*The* Hindu'–the leading organ of the Hindu revival movement in Madras[59] and described by the CP as "our sapient critic of the Mount Road" (CP 12.12.1895 p. 6). The very extensive statements in the CP of 9 January 1896 on the relationship of Indian Christians to the Indian National Congress, for example, were not simply an editorial choice of topic. Rather, they were triggered by an enquiry from the 'Hindu', "what exactly was the attitude of the Native Christians, *as a community* [and not just of individual activists–KK], towards the National Congress"[60]. This debate went on for several issues and was later taken up again and again. The massacres of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire ("Turkish atrocities") were controversially commented on by both journals (CP 12.12.1895 p. 6), and the 'Hindu' focussed on the "sufferings" of the Indians in British South Africa (CP 18.01.1897 p. 1) in contrast to the CP's calls for solidarity for the Armenian brothers in faith. The CP rejects the accusation of "denationalisation" against the Indian Christians just as decisively as the 'Hindu's' criticism of the British missionaries, which it considers unjustified (CP 06.02.1904 p. 6)[61]. Elsewhere, CP is able to quote the '*Hindu*' unbiasedly and, for example, reproduces its reports on "the treatment of Indians in Natal" in detail (CP 28.01.1897 p. 7). Positive statements by the 'Hindu'–which could also welcome a vote by the Anglican bishops on the question of "national life"–are reprinted in the CP (CP 17.02.1900 p. 5), as are other topics discussed in the 'Hindu'[62]. Reflections in the 'Hindu' on the relationship between Western civilisation and progress are commented on in a very differentiated manner (CP 15.07.1905 p. 4f); and the resignation of the 'Hindu's' long-time editor G. Subramania Iyer is described as a "great loss… (for) Indian journalism" in general (CP 08.10.1898 p. 5).

There was also fierce controversy with a North Indian journal, the '*Pioneer*' from Allahabad, among other things because of its "malicious reports" on the role of American missionaries in China (CP 04.08.1900 p. 5). They triggered a fierce debate in which

59 On the history of the 'Hindu' cf.: Muttiah (2004), *Madras Rediscovered*, 93–113; Frost (n.d.), "City of Theosophists", 1ff.

60 CP 09.01.1896 p. 4f: "The National Congress and the Native Christian Community" (Text 46); see analysis in chapter III p. 84ff. The fundamental debate in the CP on "Indian Christians and 'Advanced' Politics" also took place in an intensive discussion with the rival newspaper 'The Hindu', "who has suddenly decided to recognise the Christian community as an integral part of the Indian people" (CP 27.10.1906 p. 4).

61 Other controversial topics discussed between the CP and *'The Hindu'* concerned the statements of the Japan delegates Motoda and Harada on "Christianity and Japanese Progress" (CP 14.04.1906 p. 5). Further examples: CP 21.07.1900 p. 5; CP 02.02.1904 p. 5 ("The 'Hindu' on Christian Missions"); etc.

62 Quite remarkably, "correspondents"–i.e. freelancers–could try to place the same article in both the CP and the *'Hindu'*. In any case, a contribution was rejected for this reason in the CP of 30 July 1910 p. 5: "Notices to Correspondents:… The letter has already appeared in *The Hindu*".

other Christian papers from various regions of India also took part (CP 25.08.1900 p. 5). Elsewhere, however, the 'Pioneer' could be quoted approvingly, for example when it–although "not always a friend of Christian Missions"–expressed its appreciation of the high level of education of the Indian Christian community (CP 22.09.1900 p. 2). The fierce attacks of the "vernacular press of Bombay" on the social work of Pandita Ramabai were indignantly rejected. CP refers to the refutation of all the accusations made by another Christian journal from Bombay, the '*Dnyanodaya*' (CP 21.02.1903 p. 4). The dispute between the *Dnyanodaya* and the '*Indu Prakash*'–topic: "Decline of Hinduism"–is also taken up in the CP (CP 12.02.1898 p. 7), and the polemic of the '*Hindoo Patriot*' against conversions to Christianity is countered (CP 08.10.1898 p. 1). Conversely, an article in the '*Hindustan Review*' on "The Future of Christianity in India" is quoted at length. CP wants to inform its readership about the "attitude of educated Hindus towards Christianity" (CP 16.01.1904 p. 4–Text 58). The CP also quotes at length from the '*Prabudapa Barata*', "one of the foremost Hindu revival organs" (CP 16.12.1899 p. 4). The '*Indian Review*' is described in the CP as a "very pro-Hindu periodical of wide influence". All the more remarkable–and reproduced in detail by the CP–is the article by an "Anglo-Indian journalist", which attests to the considerable progress made by the Indian-Christian community "in regard to education, social status and moral advancement" (CP 09.11.1907 p. 4).

'The Indian Messenger'–the organ of the religious reform movement 'Brahmo Samaj'–is repeatedly quoted approvingly in the CP (e.g. CP 05.04.1902; differently on 20.07.1897 p. 6). The same applies to the '*Indian Social Reformer',* which is committed to the programme of social change in Indian society (e.g. CP 22.07.1911 p. 7). There were also close personal contacts between the two journals, and both journals also advertised for subscribers in the other. This did not preclude heated controversies on certain topics. For example, on the issue of the singularity of Christ and the role of Christianity in India's national life, where the CP lodged a formal "protest" against the *Reformer*'s commentary on one of its articles. However, this controversy is carried out in a tone of "utmost respect" for each other (CP 16.07.1898 p. 4; CP 25.06.1898 p. 6).

Missionary and Colonial Church Press

In addition to Indian Christians, as mentioned, some liberal "missionary friends" are also among the authors of the CP; and local or national missionary journals are often used as sources of information on religious and ecclesiastical conditions–in India and worldwide. However, the *conclusions drawn from* this news often differ significantly from those of the missionary press. Uganda, for example, is repeatedly portrayed as a "mission field" whose indigenous church has made enormous progress towards autonomy and self-administration in a short space of time. That Uganda could also serve as a direct model for India, however, is a position that the CP resolutely affirms and that the journal '*Dnyanodaya*', published in Bombay by the American Marathi Mission, just as clearly denies ("conditions in the darkness of Africa are by no means the same

as here in India"–CP 12.02.1898 p. 7). In other contexts, however, the latter is a journal that the CP repeatedly quotes with approval (e.g. CP 02.09.1905 p. 4; CP 09.09.1905 p. 7).

There are various topics on which the CP repeatedly clashes with parts of the missionary press. The denominational "sectarianism" of missionaries is one such issue. In one article, for example, the CP criticised the narrow-minded refusal of high-church Anglicans to make their church premises available to other Protestant denominations. This triggered a controversy, and the CP had to defend itself against the accusation "that we have adopted an attitude of intolerance, if not of antagonism, towards the High Church party" (CP 10.09.1898 p. 5f). In many cases, such debates also took the form of letters to the editor from European missionaries and replies by the CP. In the issue of 5 March 1898 (p. 6), for example, the Lutheran missionary Rev. Thomas Naether (in Krishnagiri) has his say in detail, fiercely attacking the CP (and other actors) for their positive attitude towards the project of a 'National Church of India'. The CP responded to this criticism by printing not only this letter but also an extensive polemic by the author on the subject of church union from a Lutheran perspective–under the title "Lutheran Polemics"–and leaving it to the judgement of its readers. Conversely, Indian Christians often criticised the missions active in the country in letters to the editor. "Basel German Missionaries versus Native Christians" is the title of one such letter (printed in the CP of 19 November 1896 p. 6).

The CP repeatedly complained about the lack of equality of qualified Indian clergy in the mission churches. Conversely, the '*United Church Herald*' of the SIUC, for example, denied its presentation by the CP[63]. Critical reports from the high church press in Calcutta on the social orientation of the YMCA there, which was criticised as one-sided, were brought to the attention of CP readers without further comment (CP 18.06.1898 p. 5). Not all missionary journals are the same, and "with the greatest regret" the CP had to announce on 6 February 1904 (p. 5) that the '*Indian Evangelical Review*'–"one of the ablest Missionary Journals in India"–had ceased publication.

The question of the "Self-Government of the Native Church" is a perennial issue[64]. Closely linked to this is the problem of a "native episcopate in India". "Not yet", "the time is not ripe", "they never will be fit for it", was the repeated response of authoritative missionary authors to corresponding demands (e.g. CP 02.12.1899 p. 5–Text 21). In this debate, the aforementioned Rev. J. A. Sharrock, Superintending Missionary of the SPG in Trichinopoly, among others, repeatedly spoke out. He did so–as mentioned above–not only in the '*Madras Mail*', but also in the CP in a very long statement, which the CP initially printed "without comment" (CP 18.02.1905 p. 5), only to continue this debate later with the inclusion of various missionary voices and documents on "prob-

63 '*The United Church Herald*. Organ of the South Indian United Church', Vol. VI, April 1914.

64 For example, the CP on 15 April 1899 p. 4, in a discussion of an article by the Rev. H. Gulliford in '*Harvest Field*'. In it, the CP criticises, among other things, "the race-prejudice" and "the cool way in which, at Missionary gatherings, men and women, with little experience and less brains", make disparaging remarks about the "Native Churches" of the country.

lems of Native Church Organisation", among other things with reference to different experiences in India, China and Japan (CP 25.02.1905 p. 4). A later pamphlet by the Rev. Sharrock in the international SPG journal '*East and West*', in which he also spoke out against the appointment of Indian bishops, led to a heated debate in the CP about letters to the editor. The SPG missionary was accused of more or less undisguised racism: "Give them (i.e. to the Indians) an Indian Bishop *today…* Let no European Missionary think that he is able because he is an European" (CP 11.09.1909 p. 5). Other topics, some of which were discussed very controversially in the CP itself or in the missionary press, were the different expectations of the Edinburgh 1910 World Missionary Conference and, shortly afterwards, the debates surrounding the appointment of Azariah as the first Indian bishop[65].

The influence of the CP and other voices of Indian Christians on the formation of opinion in the missionary camp cannot be discussed here[66]. Central problems such as the question of church unity or the search for a "national form" of Indian Christianity, which later became the dominant theme in the Edinburgh debates and especially in the Asian Edinburgh Continuation Conferences of 1912/13, often only became explosive through the prior demands and debates of indigenous actors. "I have heard it said often," said the Anglican Bishop of Bombay James Edwin Palmer in 1910, the year of the Edinburgh Conference, "that if we, foreign missionaries, left India in a body today, all Indian Christians would very quickly unite and form *one* Indian Church. I have heard it said again and again that it is only we foreign missionaries who keep the Indian Christians from unity"[67].

At this point, it is worth mentioning just one small example that may illustrate the importance of the indigenous Christian press for missionary decision-making processes. An anonymous letter to the editor in the CP of 13 August 1904 had criticised "a strange missionary rule" of the Leipzig Mission and specifically the dismissal of a long-standing Indian employee whose stepdaughter had married without the necessary permission of the mission leadership. The chairman of the responsible "church council" of the Leipzig Mission responded very quickly and also in a letter to the CP. In it, he defended the controversial rule, but instead of dismissing the catechist in question, he only announced that he would demote him. The historian Ulrich Gäbler comments on this process in the 2018 biography of his grandfather Hermann Gäbler, who was involved as a Leipzig missionary to India, as follows: "Going public thus brought about a turnaround in the (sc. local) church council (sc. of the Leipzig mission). He was not indifferent to how the mission was perceived by others"[68]. This publicity, however, was created and represented here and in other cases by the CP.

65 See chapter V p. 188ff. 191ff
66 See chapter III p. 67ff. 75ff. 99ff.
67 Quoted from Koschorke et.al. (2007), *Documentary Sourcebook*, 93f.
68 CP 13.08.1904 p. 2; CP 27.08.1904 p. 2; Gäbler (2018), *Missionarsleben,* 265. 264–266.

Controversies Within the 'Indian Christian Community'

The Indian-Christian community was anything but a uniform entity. Here, too, there were very different opinions, and these differences were also increasingly aired in the press. The question of suitable forms of organisation for Indian Christians, for example, was one such controversial topic. Although the CP discussed the project of an Indian national church in detail in its Pros and Cons (and in particular gave its initiator Pulney Andy a chance to speak), his supporters initially accused the CP of having a fundamentally negative attitude: "The attitude of the Christian Patriot from its very beginning towards the National Church Movement set on foot by Dr Pulney Andy appears to be one of antagonism". "You", criticised the CP, "consider that social union among Native Christians should be brought about as preparatory ground for the planting of the National Church"[69].–"The oracle has spoken and we are doomed"–this is how the CP initiated a fierce debate with the Madras Christian College Magazine. The controversy revolved around "the relations between Europeans and Natives", and the specific starting point was the CP's negative review of a speech by an Indian pastor (Rev. Guanaolivoo) printed in the 'Magazine', which the latter had criticised as too obsequious and "ascribing certain faults to his (sc. Indian) brethren". In the eyes of the CP, it lacked the necessary self-confidence of Indian Christians[70].

Another important topic of these internal debates was the different regional contexts and experiences of Indian Christians. Writers of letters to the editor from Bombay complained about inaccurate reporting about their city: "The people of Bombay would very much like to be painted as they are" (CP 05.12.1896 p. 7). Lectures by North Indian Christians in Madras on current topics–such as the perennial issue of an Indian national church–are reported on and discussed in detail in the CP, but are assessed as having only limited relevance, as they "hardly apply to the Native Christian Community in South India" (CP 22.09.1900 p. 5). The CP repeatedly complained that it had received only sporadic or no news at all from various regions.

The Formation of an 'Indigenous Christian Public Sphere'–India

The CP defined itself as "an organ capable of influencing and directing *Native Christian public opinion*" in the aforementioned programmatic statement from 1896 (CP 02.01.1896 p. 4–Text 1). In its review from 1916, the CP counted it among its aims "to promote the communal consciousness of Indian Christians, so widely scattered over India and so sadly divided by denominational and other differences". At the same time,

69 NCI–*Collection of Papers*, p. 13.10.–The discussion continued. On 14 March 1908 (p. 4), for example, a letter to the editor appeared in the CP defending the NCI against criticism from the CP. The latter had accused the NCI of a lack of missionary activities and of merely poaching believers from other Christian churches.

70 CP 24.09.1896 p. 4 "We did not attack missionaries… But those who sneer at us and despise us… those who from sheer ignorance or theological hatred misrepresent us and calumniate us it is not possible for us to respect" (ibid.). Later, in contrast to the attitude of the *Madras Christian College Magazine,* the CP refers to the recognition of its position by "an influential European minister" (CP 19.11.1896 p. 5).

it sought "to bring the various Christian organisations throughout India, Burma, Ceylon, Straits and South Africa in close touch with one another, and, by recording their activities, help to stimulate and co-ordinate their efforts" (CP 19.02.1916 p. 4–Text 4). This was done primarily through the medium of the press and the intensified exchange of news and ideas between the previously unconnected parts of the Indian-Christian community in different regions of the subcontinent. The connection between *community building* and the press, which Benedict Anderson has analysed in another context[71], can be studied particularly well in this example. The aim of the CP is to establish such a–densifying–communication space within the country's very heterogeneous *Indian Christian community* and at the same time to make its voice heard in the colonial discourse and against numerous competitors in the market of rivalling public opinions. What we can observe here–initially in relation to India–is the formation of an 'indigenous Christian public sphere'[72].

71 Anderson (1983), *Imagined Communities*. On the discussion about Anderson see below p. 233ff and: Koschorke / Hermann (2018e), "Transregionale indigenous-christliche Öffentlichkeit", 234ff. 2569f; Koschorke / Hermann (2023a), "*'Beyond their own dwellings'*, 177–221.

72 As part of an emerging 'transregional indigenous-Christian public sphere'; see chapter VII.

CHAPTER III

III Indian Themes

Indians and Europeans, Paternalism and Racism

The CP covers a broad spectrum of topics. In the following, the focus will be on certain issues that were crucial in the Indian context. At the same time, however, they are highly relevant also from a comparative perspective–looking at other indigenous Christian journals from Asia and Africa that have been analysed as part of the Munich-Hermannsburg research project[1]. One such topic that played a central role in very different regions and colonial contexts has been the problem of European *paternalism and racism*. This issue played an important role both within the churches (in the relationship between local Christians and Western missionaries) and vis-a-vis the respective colonial administrations and European settler communities, as well as an element of a global discourse–in confrontation with social Darwinist and biologistic theories with which colonial ideologues sought to justify the inequality of the "races".

There were "extremely few signs of sympathy between Europeans and Native Christians", complained the CP in 1896 (CP 20.02.1896 p. 4–Text 36). The paper quotes from a lecture given by the Indian Rev. D.K. Shinde–"a very energetic pastor"–at a conference of the Anglican diocese in Bombay. According to the speaker, this finding was all the more regrettable because Christianity, as the "religion of love", should actually lead to harmony between all Christians, "whatever race or community they belong to". One reason for the discriminatory behaviour of Europeans is that they form their image of Indian Christians almost exclusively through their dealings with subaltern service personnel or beggars who pretend to be Christians. The growing number of "educated" Indian Christians, on the other hand, and the enormous progress made by the Indian Christian community in the field of education are simply not recognised by Westernes.

"Cast off your pride", appeals the Rev. N.V. Tilak in the CP in 1907 to "our European brothers and sisters in Jesus, living in India, wether missionaries, government servants, soldiers or merchants", and calls for the social "barriers between the two races" to be broken down. "Racial pride is not often a virtue… Ye, noble race of the West, are sent here by God as our benefactors, as our teachers. But if, in your pride, you consider us as spoilt babes and worthless pigmies,… you will miss your first aim and displease your and our master". This article is entitled "An Indian Christian Appeal to European Christians" (CP 21.09.1907 p. 3).–Even in the period that followed, the CP could hardly note any improvements. Quite the opposite was true:. "The behaviour of our ruling

1 See chapter 2 FN 9. Correspondingly, the documentation and analysis volume of the Munich-Hermannsburg Journal Project has been arranged according to the various topics discussed in the analyzed journals from India, South Africa, West Africa and the Philippines. See Koschorke / Hermann et.al. (2016a), *Discourses*, 21f ("General Structure of the Source Book"). 37–446 ("Selected Journals From Four Regions", on the individual topoi); and on their evaluation in the overall comparative study: Koschorke / Hermann et.al. (2018a), *"To give publicity", 63–202* (chapter C: "Themes of the journals from a comparative perspective").

classes towards us is unaffable", stated the CP on 21 August 1909 (p. 3). "They retain a cold reserve of superiority over us".

The racism and widespread arrogance of superiority of Europeans in India, which is lamented here, was in itself a more recent phenomenon, as the CP repeatedly emphasised. Earlier generations of veteran missionaries and liberal Britons who had been living in the country for a long time thought very differently. "Those days seem to have gone by when noble and Christian Englishmen definitely set before themselves the task of raising India to self-government", reads an article from 27 July 1907 (p. 3) entitled "The Indian Nation and Christianity": "Theories of political education once cherished and proclaimed [sc. such as the concept of the 'Three Selves' discussed in more detail below] are now regarded as sentimental and unpractical". This is also linked to certain social and technological changes in the recent past. These included the significantly shorter travelling times between Europe and India (compared to the past) and, as a result, the increased influx of colonial officials and colonists unfamiliar with the country to the subcontinent. "Every Englishman on landing in India becomes a member of the Anglo-Indian community, and unless the missionary is very carefull he unconsciously imbibes the prejudices… He is told [sc. in British clubs] that none [sc. Indian] can be trusted, that familiarity is fatal, that an Englishman must always and everywhere maintain his position [sc. of superiority] at all costs"[2].

The CP not only criticised the actual behaviour of the European colonists, but also the various ideological theories used to justify European claims to superiority[3]. "Tropics and Self-Government", for example, is the title of an article in the CP of 9 September 1905 (p. 4f–Text 43). It is directed against the "theory… that the people living in tropical countries are not fit to be independent and govern themselves", which had recently been reheated by English colonial apologists. According to the CP, this assertion not only contradicts all Christian values, but also the concrete results of Western educational activities in India. "Where an honest attempt has been crowned by European missionaries to train and give real responsibility to the children of the soil, there the attempt has been crowned with success". The ability for self-determination is not a question of climate or geography, but of character. The idea of freedom is inextricably linked to the message of the Gospel.–The CP repeatedly addresses the theory of evolution and the social Darwinist statements of the German zoologist and philosopher Ernst Haeckel, for example, with reference to corresponding European debates (e.g. CP 21.08.1909 p. 3). Charles Darwin is also frequently mentioned and repeatedly criticised. However, he is perceived in the CP less as a racial theorist than primarily as an agnostic and atheist[4].

2 On the role of British clubs in Colonial India cf.: Sinha (2001), "Britishness, Clubbability, and the Colonial Public Sphere", 489–521.

3 On the various racial theories and social Darwinist discourses in colonial Asia (and Africa) at the turn of the century cf: Banton (1987), *Racial Theories;* Demel/ Kowner (2013), *Race and Racism in Modern East Asia*; Demel (1993), *Wie die Chinesen gelb wurden*; Barkan (1991), *Scientific Racism*; Barth / Osterhammel (2005), *Zivilisierungsmissionen*.

4 E.g. CP 05.12.1895 p. 4f; CP 16.04.1898 p. 4f.

Relationship with the Missionaries

The relationship with the European or American missionaries was ambivalent. On the one hand, for the CP, as already mentioned, the blessings of "Christian civilisation" in general and the high level of education of the Indian-Christian community in particular are inconceivable without the "loving and self-sacrificing" work of Western missionaries[5]; and missionaries are repeatedly defended against attacks from the Hindu press. On the other hand, the paternalism (and increasingly also racist tendencies, at least in parts) of the missionary *community* and, specifically, the long-promised but repeatedly denied equal treatment of Indian and European Christians are the subject of sharp criticism. This made it all the more urgent for the CP to make the voice of the Indian Christian community clearly heard as an independent group in the market of competing opinions in India's colonial public sphere.

"Some of our staunchest supporters are European and American missionaries", the CP repeatedly states (e.g. CP 02.01.1896 p. 4–Text 1). Indeed, some prominent (and also less prominent) personalities who belonged to the liberal wing of the missionary movement and were open to the idea of a "national character" and "indigenous form" of Indian Christianity were among the eager supporters, correspondents and authors of the CP. Missionaries from various areas (inside and outside India) were among the subscribers to the CP, including a person like J.R. Mott in faraway New York.–Other statements in the CP about individual missionary societies and missionaries, on the other hand, are cautiously critical and occasionally even openly hostile (such as the accusation of the "heresy" of racism raised against certain members of the high church wing of the Anglican establishment[6]). As a rule, however, the criticism in the CP is quite moderate and, above all, a very broad spectrum of voices have their say. For example, the debates in the CP on the Edinburgh 1910 World Missionary Conference, which are described in more detail below, range from an appreciation of the "universal" character of this ecumenical event to criticism of Azariah's "timid" appearance there and

5 E.g. CP 05.11.1898 p. 4: "Thanks to the loving and self-sacrificing work of missionaries our community, next probably to the Parsee community, takes the foremost lead in female education"; CP 22.01.1890 p. 1 ("What missionary education has done"); etc.

6 See, for example, the controversy with Rev. J.A. Sharrock, the "Superintending Missionary of the SPG Trichinopoly" (CP 18.02.1905 p. 5; CP 11.09.1909 p. 5; see p. 42f. 60. 63) and other SPG representatives (e.g. CP 10.09.1898 p. 5f), or with the German missionary and Lutheran hardliner Thomas Naether (CP 05.03.1898 p. 6). Racism ("race prejudice") as "the most damnable of all heresies (in) Christ's Church": this was the accusation of a letter to the editor addressed to the European missionaries (in the context of the debate about an Indian episcopate: CP 23.10.1909 p. 6–Text 19).–Also noteworthy is the reply by the North Indian Christian Alfred Nundy in the CP of 18.06.1898 (p. 3) to the English missionary Rev. J.H. Goffin, who had complained about the "ungratefulness" of Indian Christians. This is followed by fundamental remarks on the "estrangement between missionaries and Indian Christians".–"Criticism of Foreign Missions in the home land" is the title of a paper that the CP reprints from a missionary journal on 10.06.1905 (p. 3).

the demand for "complete independence" of South Indian Christians from missionary control and heteronomy[7].
Instructive is the above-mentioned report on a speech by the "energetic pastor" Rev. D.K. Shinde in 1896 before the Anglican diocesan conference in Bombay, which the CP comments on as follows:

> "Everywhere we see Native Christians progressing and claiming privileges that were denied to them formerly. It has been our painful experience to note that as long as Native Christians allow themselves to be patronised by Europeans the utmost cordiality and sympathy exist between the two classes. *But the moment the Native Christian claims equality he is snubbed and kept at a* distance"[8].

This observation marks a line of conflict that can be observed in numerous topics negotiated in the CP. Controversy arises at the moment when Indian Christians insist on the promises of participation which was part of the missionary message. Remarkably, in the same issue of the CP, this sharp criticism of the "extreme narrowmindedness" of certain Euro-American missionaries is followed by an equally sharp confrontation with Hindu nationalist voices in the 'Indian National Congress', who–according to the CP–were only pursuing particular interests[9]. A variety of debates in the CP can be located in this double frontline position.

As explained elsewhere, the CP obtains much of its information about ecclesial and religious events in India and worldwide from the missionary and colonial church press. However, their reports are often read and interpreted through a special lens, often with completely different conclusions and focus than those of their missionary authors[10]. In addition, local conditions are repeatedly criticised by referring to developments in other parts of the Christian world. At the same time, the CP repeatedly reminds the missionary teachers of the emancipatory core of the gospel they brought into the country–as a message that transcends the boundaries of "race" and "nation".

7 See chapter V p. 188ff.
8 CP 20.02.1896 p. 4 (Text 36; emphasis KK). Conversely, the attractiveness and emancipatory dynamic of the later Indian ecumenical movement lay in the fact that there–for example at the so-called Edinburgh Continuation Conference in Madras in 1912–the Indian participants demanded "complete equality" both in "status and responsibility with Europeans" (CP 30.11.1912 p. 5–Text 35).
9 CP 20.02.1896 p. 4 ("The National Congress and Public Opinion in India"); see chapter III p. 84ff.
10 See chapter IV p. 157ff.

Dialectics of the "Three Selves"

One of the terms that crops up again and again in the debates in the CP is the formula of the "Three Selves". This refers to the goal of a self-extending [or self-propagating], self-supporting and self-governing native church". Originally a missionary concept, this formula increasingly mutated into a slogan of emancipation for indigenous Christian elites in Asia and Africa around the turn of 19th and 20th centuries. This was in reaction to a hardening missionary policy, which increasingly operated with the slogan "Not yet" or "The time has not yet come". The time, conservative missionaries claimed, was *not* yet *ripe* for an independent indigenous church and the transfer of leadership to "native" Christians. This might only be possible in 10, 20, 50 or 100 years (or perhaps "never"[11]). Originally, however, the Protestant missionary movement (and especially certain Anglo-Saxon branches) had started with a offer of participation and the promise of advancement for *all* people. The gospel should be preached to all peoples, regardless of "race", ethnicity and language. At the same time, an ascent up the "ladder of (Christian) civilisation" was to be expected. However, this expectation of equal participation in the blessings of Christian civilisation had been increasingly disappointed since the 1890s, at the peak of Western colonialism and social Darwinism[12]. This triggered a variety of efforts by indigenous actors in the mission churches of Asia and Africa to become independent of European missionary control. At the same time, numerous debates in the CP took place in this field of tension.

The origins of the concept of the 'three selves' are known to be associated with two names in particular: Henry Venn (1796–1873) of the Anglican 'Church Missionary Society' (CMS) and Rufus Anderson (1796–1880) of the Congregationalist 'American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions' (ABFM). *Henry Venn* had been the director and leading theorist of the CMS, which was founded in 1799, since 1841 and was initially active in West Africa and soon afterwards in India, among other places. According to his ideas, it was the task of the European missionaries to preach the gospel to the "heathens", establish churches, train local Christians and give them positions of responsibility–and then move on to other (previously unreached) areas. The missionaries were therefore supposed to make themselves superfluous as quickly as possible–described by Venn as the "euthanasia of the mission". The pastoral care of the congregations thus created should be placed in the hands of local teachers and pastors, who were to be

11 Indian Christians would "never" be ready for self-government–according to a widespread opinion among *some* (by no means all) missionaries, which the CP condemns as an "outcome of pride and race-prejudice" (CP 15.04.1899 p. 4: "The cool way in which, at Missionary gatherings, men and women" with little experience and less brains, pass judgements such as these, 'Oh! It is useless talking of self-government of Native Churches. They will never be fit for it'").

12 A quote from South Africa: "As… we are beginning to rise to a higher life (sc. through missionary education), prejudices (sc. of the white colonialists) rises against us"–so '*Inkanyiso yase Natal*' on 3 December 1891 (p. 6; *Discourses,* Text 184), mouthpiece of the black Christian intelligentsia in Natal in the 1890s. For the following, see in detail: Koschorke (2018b), "Dialectics of the Three Selves".

appointed and maintained by their congregations themselves. The final stage in the development of an independent "native church", according to this concept, was the establishment of a "native episcopate". For the next few decades, these ideas formed the cornerstone of what Peter Williams called "CMS orthodoxy"[13]. With the elevation of S.A. Crowther (ca. 1808–1891) from what is now Nigeria in 1864 as the first black African bishop of modern times–which was accompanied by great public interest–this policy initially found a highly impressive confirmation[14].

–*Rufus Anderson* was secretary of the ABCFM, founded in 1810, from 1832 to 1866 and as such travelled to the Middle East, Turkey, South Asia and Hawaii. He also formulated as the goal of all missionary activities the founding of independent congregations. These should be able to spread the gospel themselves and to finance and govern themselves, independently of missionary support.–Finally, the American Presbyterian *John L. Nevius* (1829–1893) developed these principles further with regard to the conditions in China (where he had been working as a missionary since 1854) and Korea. In Korea in particular, the principles of "self-propagation, self-government, and self-supporting" were then intensively adopted under the title "Nevius Plan". In various regions, the principles of the "Three Selves" had become official guidelines of significant parts of the Protestant missionary movement [15].

In India, it was above all representatives of the CMS who introduced the Three-Self formula into the internal missionary debates and upheld it–over against dissenting voices from conservative critics or missionaries from other traditions. This line of tradition had also been repeatedly recalled by the CP itself. For example, it pointed to the early example of the successful establishment of independent congregations in Sierra Leone in 1862 under the aegis of the pioneer Henry Venn, before going on to discuss current developments in South India[16].

Increasingly, however, the goal of an "independent indigenous church" was relegated to the level of Sunday speeches or became the subject of dispute between rival wings of the Protestant missionary movement[17]. "*Not yet*" was now a frequently given answer to corresponding demands by Indian Christians. "The time has not yet come for a native episcopate in our part of the Mission field", said the Rev. Arthur Westcott of the high-church conservative SPG, for example, rejecting such demands (CP 11.03.1905 p. 5). "But

13 Williams (1990), *Self-Governing Church*, 27.

14 Reference to the end of Crowther; on Crowther see: see p. 153f. 237f; also p. 58. 60 FN 37. 62. 134 FN 334. 135. 191. 197 FN 1. 198.

15 On Venn, Anderson and Nevius and the missionary origins and development of the concept of the "Three Selves" in the 19th century, see: Williams (1990), *Self-Governing Church,* passim; Stock (1899), *Church Missionary Society* II, 411–465; Shenk (1981), "Special Relationship"; Hanciles (2002), *Euthanasia of a Mission;* Beyerhaus (1959), *Selbständigkeit*, 31–55; Beyerhaus (1964), "The Three-Selves Formula"; Warren (1971), *Henry Venn*; Schirrmacher (1993), *Rufus Anderson*; Bays (2012), *Christianity in China*, 70f.–On the role of the "Three Selves" in the debates of Asian and African Christians see: Koschorke (2018h), "Dialectics of the Three Selves".

16 CP 28.09.1901 suppl. p. 1 (Text 93): "Our Native Church Council. An Experiment in Self-Government".

17 For example–within the Anglican Church–between representatives of the CMS and the high church SPG in the so-called "Ceylon schism" of 1872–1878.

the time… is not yet", the '*Church Missionary Intelligencer*', the journalistic organ of the CMS, responded to the demand for a union of all Indian Christians in an Indian national church (CP 02.12.1899 p. 5–Text 21). Certain arguments were then repeatedly put forward, such as the continued financial dependence of many Indian congregations on missionary support; the unresolved–or controversially answered–sequence of the two guiding criteria of "self-support" and "self-government" (which came first?); the allegedly insufficient education and lack of qualifications of the Indian clergy (who, according to the CP's counter-criticism, were often underrepresented in the mission churches compared to secular professions); and, in particular, the small number of indigenous leaders who enjoyed the trust of both Indian and European Christians[18]. Incidentally, the latter argument contradicted the concept of Henry Venn, who had envisaged the development of separate church structures for European and native Christians[19].

"Truer and nobler words on missionary policy have never been uttered before". This is how the CP comments on a report about the Rev. S.S. Allnutt of the Dehli Mission, who had criticised the paternalism of Indian Christians by his European colleagues as a departure from old missionary ideals. "This principle"–i.e. the ideal of indigenous Christian independence–"has been lost", according to the CP (19.02.1898 p. 5). This was followed by a debate in a letter to the editor, which in turn called for greater independence for Tamil Christians in India and Ceylon. Only in this way could the goal of a "self-governing, self-supporting church" be achieved. "We have had European supervision long enough", said one letter to the editor, "and are now able to manage our own affairs" (CP 05.03.1898 p. 6).

In a programmatic article from 1901, the CP explained that the 19th century, which now had come to an end, had been the century of the Western missionaries, who–quite meritoriously–had laid the foundations for the formation of indigenous churches "in various parts of the world" through their self-sacrificing work. The 20th century, on the other hand, said the article, would be dominated by "native Christians and not foreign missionaries". It would be characterised by "the self-support, the self-government and the self-extension of the native churches"[20]. This conviction–expressed in many variations–inspired numerous initiatives by Indian Christians, some of which were discussed and trialled in Madras at the same time and others one after the other, and which the CP reports on.

- For example, the *'National Church of India'* (NCI), founded in Madras in 1886 (and later discussed in more detail), sought to unite all Indian Christians, regardless of their denominational affiliations, in *one* church led by Indians, which was also

18 "The number of natives trusted both by their own people and by Europeans" was "distinctly small"–according to the Rev. Westscott of the SPG (CP 11.03.1905 p.5).
19 Williams (1990), *Self-Governing Church,* 60: "The later Fens had been moving both towards the idea of a native Church. Separate from the Church of England, and, as an interim measure, missionary bishops".
20 CP 28.09.1901 suppl. p. 1 (Text 13).

intended to reflect the "national characteristics" of Indians. At the same time, it sought "to encourage independence, and self-reliance… and self-government" among Indian Christians[21]. A later–and updated–draft constitution for the NCI from 1915 was also orientated towards the key concepts of "Self-support", "Self-propagation" and "Self-government";[22]

- The '*Madras Native Christian Association*' (MNCA), for example, launched numerous campaigns aimed at promoting the independence and financial autonomy of Indian Christians. "Self-support and Self-development" were the slogans used at the opening ceremony of the campaign for the 'Madras Native Christian Twentieth Century Enterprise' discussed above[23]. The numerous fundraising campaigns organised by the MNCA–for fellow believers in need at home and abroad–were also seen as evidence of Christian 'swadeshism' and as steps towards the goal of the fullest possible "self-support" of the Indian-Christian community;
- The '*National Missionary Society of India*' (NMS), not coincidentally founded in 1905 (time of the first peak of the Indian *Swadeshi movement*) and also not coincidentally in Serampore (as an indigenous counterpart to the "official" beginnings of the British Protestant mission in India). It was by no means the first, but certainly the most important indigenous missionary organisation in India and followed the principle: 'Indian men, Indian money, Indian leadership'. At the same time, it increasingly saw itself as the spearhead of a pan-Asian movement: "The greatest end of missions was declared to be the establishment in every country of an indigenous native church, self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating"[24].
- The CP repeatedly reports on debates on the keyword 'Native Church Organisation' (and the Three-Selves) in the various missionary *communities* and especially in the Anglican world community. Thus in the CP of 25 February 1905 p. 4, which brings together different voices of missionaries from India, China, Japan and Africa on this question.–The '4th Decennial Indian Mission Conference', which was held in Madras in December 1902, also discussed the question of a "Native Church" under the categories of "Self-Support" and "Self-Government" (in that order). Missionaries and Indian Christians had different answers as to what the recommended "reasonable and increasing share of the government of the Church"[25] should consist of.

21 NCI–*Collection of Papers*, 13: "The National Church movement aims at uniting the various denominations, and to have one united Church as suited to the national peculiarities and instincts of the people; to encourage independence, and self-reliance, to introduce a system of self-help, self-work and self-government in the ministrations of the Church, without depending on foreign aid…"; cf. Thomas (1979), *Christian Indians*, 79; Houghton, *Impoverishment of Dependency*, 185.

22 CP 31.07.1915 p. 5f. For the NCI, see chapter III p. 67ff.

23 CP 13.01.1900 p. 3; CP 05.01.1901 p. 1; on this project see chapter I p. 18ff; cf. also: Ebright (1944), *National Missionary Society*, 29. On the MNCA/MICA see in detail chapter III p. 122ff; chapter VI p. 210ff

24 CP 08.10.1910 p. 6 For the NMS, see chapter III p. 130ff.

25 Decennial Missionary Conference Madras 1902, 28ff: "The Native Church": (A) Self-Support (p. 28ff); (B) Self-Government (p. 30ff).

- Reports on union endeavours within the mission churches established in India, such as the 'South Indian United Church' (SIUC), which emerged from the merger of Presbyterian and Congregationalist missions in 1908. One of the central questions at their conferences was also: "How far should self-government in the Indian Churches be conditioned on self-support?"[26]). Independently of the missionary church union projects, however, the debate about an "indigenous United Church of self-support and self-effort" continued in Indian Christian circles (e.g. CP 18.08.1907 p. 3)
- The central importance of the "Three Selves" formula in the debates of Indian Christians at this time is also particularly recognisable in the fact that–as described in more detail in Chapters IV and V[27]–it represents the search criterion, as it were, when looking at indigenous churches and indigenous Christians in other regions and "mission fields" that could serve as a model for the emancipatory aspirations of Indian Christians. The "flourishing native church" of Uganda is one such example that the CP holds up to Indian Christians as a model and "object lesson". Although only recently established, the Ugandan church has already taken "gigantic steps towards self-government". "The people have made great success in the direction of Self-support, Self-extension and Self-government" (CP 11.03.1905 p. 5–Text 96).

26 CP 15.01.1910 p. 5. On the SIUC cf. chapter III 80ff. 87ff.
27 See chapter 145ff; chapter V(in the individual regional sub-chapters).

Controversies around an Indian Episcopate

Early Debates

The idea of an Indian episcopate was already being considered in Anglican Church Mission Society (CMS) circles in the 1860s[28]. They also led to public disputes early on and found their way into the letters columns of the Indian colonial press. In its issue of *24 March 1873,* for example, the *'Madras Mail'* reported on voices calling for a "native" bishop for the south Indian CMS district of Tinnevelly as well, with reference to the successful work of S.A. Crowther in West Africa. The *Madras Mail takes* a very critical view of this proposal, pointing to the different circumstances in Africa and India. CMS and SPG, the *Madras* Mail recommended, would do well "to continue their present (sc. mission) machinery, and trouble themselves less about a native bishop"[29]. At times, William Thomas Satthianadan, a prominent member of the Madras elite, was considered as a candidate for bishop, who incidentally had personally met the Yoruba Bishop Crowther in London in 1878[30]. In neighbouring Ceylon (Sri Lanka), there were also concrete considerations in CMS circles in the 1870s regarding the consecration of local bishops, also with reference to the Crowther experiment, which was "generally regarded as a success". Even the names of suitable Tamil and Sinhalese candidates were mentioned[31]. However, all these plans came to nothing[32], due to internal resistance and disputes within the Anglican Church and among the CMS missionaries.

For a long time, nothing happened in India either, which led to growing impatience among educated Indian Christians. In 1899, for example, the '*Indian Christian Guardian*', the journal of Indian Christians and foreign students in Great Britain, lamented the stagnation of development:

> "It was acknowledged by all that India is sadly behind-hand as regards the Episcopate. No Native of the soil, in connexion with our [Anglican] Church, has yet been consecrated bishop…. Anyhow, it cannot be right always to hold a large and growing Native Church [like the Indian Church] in leading-strings, nor can it be fair to govern it for ever by a foreign episcopate. At least let a beginning be made by the appointment of Native Suffragan Bishops where the right [Indian] men are forthcoming…".[33]

28 Williams (1990), *Self-Governing Church*, 60f.
29 Details here and below in: Koschorke (2011a), "Native Bishops".
30 Jackson (2003), "Prominent Indian Christian Family", 315 ("proposed as the first Indian Bishop in 1978"). 328 ("in London in 1878, the Satthianadans met Bishop Adjai Crowther", with reference, inter alia, to the biographical sketch by: Sathianadan (1893), *Rev. W.T. Sathianadan).*
31 From the internal CMS correspondence: Letter from Rev. John Allock (Baddegama) dated 9 December 1879 (CMS Archive Birmingham C CE/O 29/23). The names of the two Sinhalese candidates were Rev. George Gunawardene and Henry Gunasekara. Corresponding considerations existed for two Tamil candidates.
32 Efforts to elect a Maori bishop also failed in New Zealand at the end of the 1870s (Davidson [2000], " New Zealand", 220: "failure to elect a Maori Bishop" in 1877).
33 *'Indian Christian Guardian'* vol. 3 (1899).

The CP also repeatedly addressed the question: "Why are there no Independent Native Churches?" (so in the issue of 18 June 1898 p. 4f–Text 26). In the same issue, under the heading "The Queen and the African Bishops", there is a report on the Fourth Lambeth Conference of 1897, in which "three" [respectively two] African [assistant] bishops" also took part, which caused a great stir in London. They were even received by Queen Victoria. The CP printed verbatim the detailed report of a missionary journal about this event (and the speeches given there), only to add a single sentence of commentary: "*When is India to have her own native Bishops*?"[34]. The message is: the Africans have their own bishops. We in India, on the other hand, still do not have any, although we have been promised one for a long time. When will this promise finally be honoured?

Ongoing Controversies

Meanwhile, the debates about a "native bishop" for India continued. Under the title "The Indian Church of the Future", the CP pleaded on 18 February 1899 (p. 3) for "independent and self-governing Indian churches having its own bishops and synods, its own forms of worship… and ceremonies…" At the same time, the journal spoke out against a centralised form of organisation: "But ONE united Church for India… is an impossibility, especially in this land of diversity".–In May 1901, the CP published a detailed report on the memorandum of a CMS committee on the question of a "Constitution of Independent Churches in the Mission Field". Its central recommendation was: "a Native Episcopate should be gradually formed during the present transition time". Even though this proposal was subject to many provisos–only a "gradual" introduction of a native episcopate was considered, and this also dependent on additional criteria such as the "stability of such Christian communities in matters of doctrine, discipline, and self-support"–it was nevertheless welcomed by the CP as forward-looking and as a "Magna Charta for Missions for the 20th century". At the same time, however, the CP felt compelled to continue to warn against those missionaries "who, with their narrow vision always keep harping on the shortcomings and defects of native Christians" and thus seek to obstruct the development of an independent indigenous church[35].–On 11.02.1905 (p. 2), the CP quotes a sympathetic article in the 'Madras Mail' "on the question of a native Indian episcopacy". Core thesis: "a native episcopate, sooner or later, is an obvious necessity", with reference to the responsible positions that Indian Christians already occupy "in all parts of the Madras Presidency, Burma, Ceylon, the Straits, South Africa and elsewhere".–"Some problems of Native Church organisations" is the

34 CP 18.06.1898 p. 5 (Text 92; the printed original can be found in the *'Church Missionary Intelligencer'* 49 [1898] p. 425). The three (assistant) bishops mentioned also included the Nigerian bishop mentioned in CP 12.01.1907 p. 6 as a role model; on him cf. AYENDELE (1970), *Emmanuel "Holy" Johnson*, 153–155.–For an analysis of this text–which became one of the triggering moments of the Munich-Hermannsburg Journals research project–cf. below p. 197 FN 1; p. 144.

35 CP 04.05.1901 p. 4–The report reproduced in the CP comes from the *'Church Missionary Intelligencer'* 52 (1901) p. 244ff. 247f and assumes "probably a long period [sc. of transition]" (ibid, p. 248).

title of an article in the CP of 25.02.1905 (p. 4), which reports on debates within the Anglican world community. It quotes the opinions of bishops and missionaries from various countries and different societies (such as CMS, SPG etc.) on this question. As a result of this overview, the CP concludes that, despite the objections of conservative critics, there is a growing consensus in the Anglican missions in favour of the introduction of an indigenous episcopate, albeit with significantly reduced powers. For example, native bishops should initially act only in a subordinate position ("native bishops… for the present [as] assistants only") and "under the guidance of a European Episcopate". Instead of separate episcopates for the different "races", the majority of the report voted in favour of "territorial bishoprics".

Despite this cautious support in various missionary camps, the fundamental opposition to the introduction of an Indian episcopate did not fall silent. "Wherever English missionaries are a necessity, native bishops are an impossibility", repeatedly stated the Rev. J. A. Sharrock, Superintending Missionary of the SPG in Trichinopoly[36], who has already been mentioned elsewhere. He referred to the allegedly inadequate qualifications of Indian clerics, who would still need a long time to catch up with the educational advantage acquired over centuries by the Brahmin upper class. This statement led to strong reactions in the CP. "Europeans are generally bad judges of the merits and character of Indians", wrote a letter to the editor ("Alpha") in the CP of 11 September 1909 (p. 5). "Thank God there are among Indians persons fit to be made Bishops…" "Give them [i.e. to the Indians] an Indian Bishop today". And another letter to the editor accused Sharrock of sheer chauvinism and racism ("racial prejudice"). This was–of all the errors to be found in the Church of Christ–declared tob e "the most damnable of all heresies" (CP 23.10.1909 p. 6–Text 52). After all, according to another voice calling for an Indian episcopate, Jesus Christ himself was Asian[37]. Writers of letters to the editor from Singapore also took part in the debates about an Indian bishop (CP 09.10.1909 p. 5).

V.S. Azariah, First Indian Bishop

On 29 December 1912, V.S. Azariah (1874–1945), who came from a humble background, was consecrated in Calcutta as the first Indian bishop of the Anglican Church and entrusted with the leadership of the newly created diocese of Dornakal. The CP welcomed Azariah's consecration as an "epoch-making" event in the history of Indian Christianity. And rightly so. For Azariah was not only the first indigenous bishop in the Anglican Church of India, but in the whole of Asia. He was also the first Indian bishop in one of the country's Protestant churches. Even in the Roman Catholic Church,

36 Cf. p. 42f. 53 FN 1. 60ff. 63ff.

37 "Let us never forget that Jesus Christ was as Asiatic": CP 12.01.1907 p. 6. 6, where this demand is reinforced with reference to the West African bishops Crowther and Oluwole.

Indian bishops were not consecrated until much later (from 1923)[38]. Nevertheless, there was considerable resistance to Azariah's election in parts of the colonial church and missionary establishment. But opposition came aöso from the ranks of Indian clerics and Christians. "While Mr Azariah's numerous friends and admirers", according to the CP's commentary, "will rejoice over the settled fact of his consecration, his opponents, especially those from his own 'household', will regret the frustration of their belated and ill-considered opposition"[39].

In contrast, the CP emphatically welcomed the forthcoming consecration of "our brother" Azariah and reported approval from many parts of the country and the Indian-Christian diaspora of South Asia. "The announcement of the nomination of Rev. S. Azariah… to the office of Bishop has been received" with great joy by the people in Tinnevelly", according to a report from his home region (CP 12.03.1912 p. 7). In Bangalore, "a large gathering of Anglicans and non-conformist Indians and English" took place to welcome the new bishop, including prominent local dignitaries (CP 09.08.1913 p. 6). In faraway Penang (Malaysia), an "extra-ordinary general meeting" of the local 'Indian Christian Association' was organised to discuss a "congratulatory cablegram to Bishop Azariah on his consecration as the first Indian Bishop" (CP 02.08.1913 p. 6). In Rangoon (Burma) there was a meeting of the Indian Christians from the Tinnevelly District living there to commemorate Azariah's forthcoming consecration in Calcutta by participating in a "District Consecration Presentation Fund" and sending a "golden cross from Rangoon" (CP 26.10.1912 p. 6). The CP reported regularly between October and December 1912 on donations received to the "Consecration Presentation Fund" mentioned there. Donations came from various areas of India and South Asia[40]. They also served to mobilise the Indian-Christian community in the regions concerned.

38 Long before that, three Goan Brahmins had been ordained bishops (or "apostolic vicars") in the Roman Catholic Church in the 17th century (Neill [1984], *Christianity in India I*, 335–341). The small community of St. Thomas Christians–specifically: the so-called "Jacobite" 'Malankara Church', which was in communion with the Patriarchate of Antioch–had only begun to appoint Indian bishops since 1896; previously it had obtained its foreign leadership personnel from the Antiochian Patriarchate (cf. Mundadan [1984], *Indian Christians*, 8–14).
39 CP 07.09.1912 p. 5; on the debate about Azariah see in particular CP 17.02.1912 p. 3. Cf. Harper (2000), *Shadow of the Mahatma*, 122: "Protests… came for different reasons from the Church hierarchy led by the Metropolitan, from the Governments of Madras and India, from both Anglican and non-conformist missionaries, and from Indian Christians themselves". On the circumstances and controversies surrounding Azariah's consecration, see Harper, *ibid*. 91ff. 138ff; important especially p. 122–153 ("The British debate over Azariah's consecration"); and p. 134–137 ("The Indian Perspective on Azariah's Consecration"). In addition to his alleged lack of experience in church service (he had previously worked primarily as a YMCA travelling secretary and in the service of the NMS), the caste issue and the accusation of a lack of high social status and reputation among Hindus also played a role in the resistance of Indian Christians. As a Nadar, Azariah belonged to a "lower"–and traditionally considered "backward"–caste. This may also have been a major reason why the Hindu nationalist press–which otherwise always called for better representation of Indians in the country's civil service–took little notice of his elevation to bishop (Harper, *ibid*. 134f).
40 Mentioned in: CP 26.10.1912 p. 6; CP 23.11.1912 p. 7; CP 07.12.1912 p. 7; CP 14.12.1912 p. 7; CP 21.12.1912 p. 7. In the list of 23.11.1912 p. 7, for example, the names of 30 individual donors in various Indian cities as well as collections from 14 "pastorates" are listed, including one each from "Burmah" and "Rangoon". The list of 07.12.1912 p. 7 contains details of 16 individual and 17 collective donations from various places, including eleven from "Ceylon".

At the same time, the CP placed Azariah's consecration in an overarching global perspective by comparing him with the West African Crowther. "The eyes of all Indian Christians will be turned towards the coming Bishop who we are sure with God's help and blessing will prove as great a gift to India as his African predecessor, Bishop Crowther (sc. to Africa" (CP 07.09.1912 p. 5–Text 94). The CP later repeatedly reported on Azariah's first activities as bishop of his diocese[41]. In the period that followed, Azariah quickly developed into a leading figure in the Asian ecumenical movement, which lies outside the period of this study.

41 About CP 15.03.1913 p. 6 ("is now touring for the first time in the ceded districts").

"Native Ministry": Indigenous Pastors, Teachers and Catechists

The CP contains a broad spectrum of opinions on the position, problems and prospects of an indigenous clergy. Some of them have already been discussed in the section on the controversies around the question of an Indian episcopate. The CP documents both the opposition of liberal missionaries to the arrogance of their European colleagues and compatriots and the protest of Indian pastors and mission employees against the arrogance and prejudices of their white superiors. Forms of increased self-organisation of Indian pastors are discussed as well as new models and institutions of theological education, which should serve to improve the qualifications of Indian pastors, teachers and catechists.

In 1896, for example, the CP approvingly quotes the Rev. S.S. Allnutt, one of the "most experienced" and universally respected representatives of the 'Cambridge Dehli Mission'. He essentially blamed the European missionaries themselves for the fact that only a few qualified Indian Christians sought employment in missionary services–"by lack of sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of our [sc. Indian] people, by want of tact and patience,… [by creating a] feeling of distrust and suspicion". The missionaries, according to his analysis, "have not realised as they ought the change that has taken place in Indian thought and opinion during the last few years" (CP 05.03.1896 p. 4).–"The Indian Ministry"–said another missionary veteran, Bishop Thoburn of the 'Methodist Episcopal Mission', who had been active in the country for a long time, in 1898 with a similar thrust–"deserves much more respect and recognition than is usual practice". The CP therefore quotes at length the appreciative words of the American bishop about his "Indian brothers" who, contrary to widespread prejudices, had "never abused" his trust. This, according to the CP, is an important statement at the present time, when there is much talk in missionary circles about "the worldliness and the low spiritual tone of native ministers" (CP 05.03.1905 p. 5).

On the other hand, racist outbursts such as those of the above-mentioned Mr Sharrock were not an isolated incident. On the contrary, they had been increasing since the turn of the century. The repeated question of a Hindu friend "Are Indian ministers not placed on a par with Europeans?" could only be answered in the negative by the authors of the CP, much to their regret: "We have as often had to answer in the negative" (CP 25.02.1905 p. 4).

In the spring of 1897, there was a heated discussion in the CP under the heading: "The Status of Indian Graduates in Native Ministry". It spanned several issues and was conducted mostly anonymously by Indian authors–who complained about the lack of opportunities for advancement and unequal pay in the service of the missionary societies–and missionary representatives. Under the heading of "Justice", "Veritas", "Earnest

Onward", "Great Gain" and "Plain Truth" they crossed swords[42].–A massive attack on the "race prejudice" of some missionaries can be found in an editorial commentary in the CP of 15 April 1899 (p. 4) on an article in the missionary journal 'Harvest Field'. It complains about "the cool way in which, at missionary gatherings, men and women, with little experience and less brains", made disparaging remarks about long-serving native co-workers.–A voice from neighbouring Ceylon was heard in the CP of 28.07.1900 (p. 2). The Sri Lankan clergyman Rev. Simon de Silva is quoted here: "The tendency in some of the missionary societies is to place as much responsibility and power as possible in the European missionary, irrespective of his local knowledge". Simon de Silva was a Methodist clergyman and a leading representative of moderate Christian nationalism in the British Crown Colony. His statements were primarily related to the Methodist mission in Sri Lanka, which was anti-hierarchical in its tradition (and especially in comparison to the Anglican Church in the country), but could not escape the anti-egalitarian tendencies of the time. In any case, his summary reads: "our own Ceylonese ministry remains in comparable inferiority"[43].–Another name mentioned in the CP from neighbouring Ceylon is that of S.K. Rutnam. After studying in the USA (Princeton) and married to a Canadian missionary doctor, he had sought employment with the Congregationalist ABCFM after his return to Ceylon in 1898, which should be "equal in status and pay" to that of the American missionaries. But he was refused. In 1899, he then published a polemic on the "race antagonism" of the Euro-American missions and founded his own independent mission in the north of the country[44].

A remarkable individual case of treatment of Indian employees that was judged to be unjust has already been briefly discussed elsewhere: a conflict within the Leipzig Mission that led to the dismissal of "Christian", a catechist who had worked for the mission for 25 years, in 1904. The background to this conflict was the "curious" rules within the Leipzig mission, which the CP criticised, as well as the clash between local marriage traditions and the denominational narrow-mindedness of the regional mis-

42 CP 18.02.1897 p. 3; CP 27.02.1897 p. 6; CP 06.03.1897 p. 3; CP 13.03.1897 p. 6; CP 03.04.1897 p. 7 "The controversy should stop now" (for reasons of space), according to the editor's note in CP 03.04.1897 p. 7; there were obviously numerous other comments on the subject.

43 CP 28.07.1900 p. 2. Rev. John Simon de Silva (1868–1940) was a Methodist minister in Sri Lanka (since 1892), writer (Sinhala literature), Christian nationalist, author of a Ceylonese national anthem and member of the Indo-Ceylonese delegation that participated in the 1907 WSCF conference in Tokyo. On Simon de Silva, see MIHINDUKULASURIYA (2017), "Christian Nationalism", 139–182.

44 S.C. Kanaga Rutnam (1869–1929) is mentioned in the CP on 30.10.1897 p. 3 and 21.08.1897 p. 4. His publications include "Race Antagonism in Christian Missions" (Colombo 1899, in which he quoted from the CP) and "An Oriental study of Foreign Missions" (written 1908, printed London 1920). Quote from "Race Antagonism" p. 75f: "The minds of leading native Christians, throughout India and Ceylon in regard to this policy (i.e. the unequal treatment of Western missionaries and native Christians in the service of the mission) is well-known; and they have no hesitation in denouncing it as unjust, uncharitable and unchristian. We know of leading native Christians of Japan, China, India, Syria, Armenia, Bulgaria, etc., and they are also of the same conviction". The treatise contains p. 81ff, among other things, a differentiated description of the personnel policy of the various societies. On Rutnam, see p. 216f. 236 FN 16. 279.

sion leadership. In this particular case, however, the CP's report had a positive effect: Christian was not dismissed, but "only" demoted[45].

The status, competences and opportunities for advancement of the native pastors and employees naturally differed considerably in the different missions. In the annual reports of various societies, the ultimate goal of transferring "as much responsibility as possible upon the pastors, in order to foster in them a feeling of responsibility and independence" was repeatedly emphasised[46]. The establishment of 'Native Church Councils' (within the framework of the traditional concept of the 'Three Selves'), which was common in the CMS and other Anglo-Saxon missions, can be regarded in itself as a remarkable (and in the colonial context quite progressive) instrument of local self-government. However, it remained largely ineffective as long as it was linked to the condition of financial independence. De facto, missionary control and dominance was barely touched in many cases.

Nevertheless, at the beginning of the new century, there was an unmistakable increase in self-confidence and new forms of self-organisation among Indian pastors. In 1901, for example, the Rev. J. Lazarus, later one of the editors of the CP, called an 'Indian Minister's Conference' in Madras. He referred to the significant increase in the number of ordained Indian ministers in Madras (once only a handful, "now there are as many as 42"). According to his appeal, they therefore needed their own forum to articulate "common interests". Even if the CP's 1901 report on this new "clerical movement", which was primarily supported by lay Christians, cannot conceal a certain scepticism ("modelled somewhat on the constitution of the 'Madras Missionary Conferences' at whose meetings we fear Indian members seldom feel at home"), the new initiative was nevertheless emphatically welcomed and its development "on more or less Indian lines" wished for. It was praised in the CP "as a further proof of the life and vigour of the Indian Church in South India" and a hopeful sign at the beginning of the new century (CP 11.05.1901 p. 4–Text 17).

In 1906, the then editor of the CP K. Krishna Rau gave a programmatic lecture on the "Indian Christian Church in Madras" to the 'Madras Missionary Conference'. The "days of the autonomy of the missionary", he criticised, were still not over despite announcements to the contrary. Only very occasionally did native pastors have "an independent position on a par with foreign missionaries" (CP 01.09.1906 p. 5).–This criticism was repeated many times in the following period. It intensified in times of the swadeshi *movement,* which was also on the rise among Indian Christians. A letter to the editor in the CP of 21.0.1909 (p. 5) speaks of the "present growth of *swedeshi*

45 CP 13.04.1904; CP 27.08.1904 p. 2; cf. Gäbler (2018), *Ein Missionarsleben*, 264f.

46 For example, in the 79th Annual Report of the 'Madura Mission' of the ABCFM of 1889 (ABCFM–*Annual Report* 1889, 59): "These ordained assistants are usually placed in large districts with many villages and helpers under their oversight and care… It is the aim of the missionaries to throw as much responsibility as possible upon the pastors, in order to foster in them a feeling of responsibility and independence, and to prepare for the time when the young church in India shall be supported, officered, and directed only by India's children".

Christian movement. Is it any wonder, he asks, that qualified Indian Christians prefer to join the 'National Missionary Society' or other Indian-led organisations[47] (usually at considerable personal sacrifice) rather than the mission churches? There are also plenty of renowned leaders among Indian pastors. "India is for Indians!", he concludes, "… and the foreigners should retreat"[48].

This constant criticism by Indian Christians was not without consequences, as discussed elsewhere in connection with the Edinburgh 1910 World Missionary Conference[49]. One of the Indian reform projects in the run-up to this ecumenical event was the plan for a 'Union Theological College' in Bangalore, which was to be interdenominational and provide qualified training for a "higher class of Christian workers for services as Pastors, Evangelists, and Teachers". As the CP emphasised, this corresponded to an old demand of Indian Christians. Indeed, the paper even cautiously claimed a kind of intellectual copyright to this idea[50].–One of the central themes of the Edinburgh follow-up conferences in Asia in 1912/13 was the promotion of indigenous "Christian leadership"[51]. At the corresponding South Indian regional conference in Madras in November 1912, it was decided "to make a real and unmistakable advance, by placing Indians on a footing of *complete equality, in status and responsibility*, with Europeans and thus opening for them the highest and the most responsible positions in every department of missionary activity where this has not yet already been done". As the CP reports, V.S. Azariah[52] had introduced this resolution, which was also adopted shortly afterwards by the national Indian follow-up conference.

47 In addition to the NCI, the author also refers to the example of the interdenominational 'Christian Brothers Union', to which Indian Christians belonged "independently in their positions in government or other departments".

48 CP 21.08.1909 p. 5 The author refers to Rev. J. Lazarus (Danish Mission), Canon Gnanakan and Rev. M.D. Israel (SPG) as well as Rev. A. Theophilus (CMS) as examples of renowned leaders among the Indian pastors.–"We have omitted certain spicy portions of this letter": the CP editor's note.

49 Cf. chapter V p. 188ff.

50 CP 18.09.1909 p. 4: "… we believe we were the first to make such a proposal in a paper read by us on the 'Native Ministry' about 22 years ago…"; cf. also: CP 10.07.1909 p. 2+5.

51 See chapter IV in the table of contents of: CCC–*Continuation Committee Conferences in Asia,* 9 (on the individual Asian conferences).

52 CCC–*Continuation Committee Conferences in Asia,* 32. 127 (emphasis KK); CP 30.11.1912 p. 5 (Text 35).

National Church Experiments: the 'National Church of India'

Foundation of the 'National Church of India' in 1886

Among the various experiments discussed in Christian Madras, the project of an Indian national church was the first to be tackled concretely[53]. Already described by contemporaries as "the first prominent indigenous movement of Indian Christians"[54], the 'National Church of India' (NCI), founded in 1886, has recently attracted increased attention, although it has not yet been the subject of a monograph anywhere[55]. It goes back to the initiative of S. Pulney Andy (1831–1909), also known as Parani Andi or Parani Andy, a convert from a high-caste family. He had studied in England (where he was the first Indian to obtain a medical doctorate in 1860) and then worked in the service of the government on the Malabar Coast in a prominent position as Superintendent of Immunisation. He was baptised in 1863, but did not join any church. He ended his medical career prematurely in order to devote himself to his favourite project and "hobby" (according to the CP on 25.09.1909 p. 4) in Madras, namely the founding of an Indian-led national church.

This Indian national church was to unite *all* Indian Christians–free from the denominationalism and "sectarianism" of the western missionaries–in *one* independent, self-supporting and self-governing church. On 12 September 1886, the 'National Church of India' was solemnly founded at a meeting of Indian lay Christians in Madras, and was celebrated as "an accomplished fact" at the annual meeting the following year in 1887–"whatever folks may say to the contrary". At the same time, the aims of the newly founded church were described as follows:

53 It is important to note that the discussions in the CP about the vision of an Indian national church were not limited to the 'National Church of India' founded in Madras in 1886, as discussed in this section. Rather, the debates also continued within the various mission churches (cf. chapter III.7: "Ecumenism") and played an important role there, for example in the context of Edinburgh 1910. However, especially from a comparative perspective–in view of the 'African Independent Churches' and church independence movements in Asia that were forming at the same time in Africa–the NCI project deserves far more attention than it has received so far; cf. Koschorke / Hermann et.al. (2018a), "*To give Publicity*", 20–24. 65–90.

54 So in *'The Harvest Field'* ser. 2,8 (1887) p. 160 (quoted from: Houghton [1983], *Impoverishment of Dependency*, 184).

55 On the 'National Church of India' (NCI) cf.: Baago (1967), "First independence movements", 65ff. 70ff; Baago (1969), *Pioneers of Indigenous Christianity*, 1–12.17f; Thomas (1979), *Christian Indians*, 75–85; Houghton (1983), *Impoverishment of Dependency*, 184–192. 200ff; Kumara Doss (2011), "National Church of India", 472f.– Important documents on the early history of the NCI can be found in: NCI–*Collection of Papers* ("*A Collection of Papers* Connected with the Movement of the National Church of India", Madras: Cosmopolitan Press 1893 [in the archives of the 'United theological College', Bangalore]; excerpts printed in: Koschorke et.al. (2007), *Documentary Sourcebook*, 102–104 (Text 77a-c). The CP contains a great deal of information on the development and debates surrounding the NCI that has not been preserved elsewhere.–For Pulney Andy (for other forms of the name see above) (1831–September 1909) see. Wikipedia English (accessed on 10 August 2013); Houghton (1983), *Impoverishment of Dependency*, 184ff. As early as 1891, the CP published a short biography of Pulney Andy (CP of 27 August 1891 and 3 September 1891, cited in: NCI–*Collection of Papers,* 13. The CP published an obituary of the founder of the NCI on 25.09.1909 (p. 6). Pulney Andy also played an important role in various other organisations of Indian Christians, including the MNCA, the 'Tamil Christian Congress' and the 'Madras Temperance League'.

> "The need for a United Church in India [is] very great. […] [There is need for a] church that will not reflect Scotch Presbyterianism, nor English Anglicanism, nor German Lutheranism; but which will combine into a harmonious whole the best features of all denominations, and be suited to the social instincts and national characteristics of the native converts. Christianity has in India been moulded too much after European pattern, and missionaries have been a little over-anxious to perpetuate their own Church peculiarities.[56]

Organisation, Distribution

The NCI initially sought followers primarily among the "educated" members of the Indian Christian community. Pastors ("ministers") of all denominations were invited to participate–initially on a voluntary and unpaid basis–as long as they recognised the Bible as the "only guideline" and renounced denomination-specific special teachings and rituals[57]. Church services were held weekly, alternating between English and Tamil. Later, Telugu was also added as the language of worship, and the NCI's annual reports were now published in three languages[58]. Tamil lyrics were sung and native music played in the services–something new at the time and a first step towards cultural indigenisation. Because: "Christianity, though of Eastern origin, has come to us dressed in a European garb… Unless Christianity is adopted to suit the tastes of the Eastern nation, it will… make little or no progress"[59]; and the consideration of "national pecularities" was one of the objectives of the new church. The NCI published its own journal–the 'Eastern Star'–of which no copy has survived. Membership figures are difficult to determine. Kumara Doss[60] gives the figure of 120 members for the founding year 1886 and around 500 members for 1916, with a nominal existence of the NCI at this time not only in Madras but also in Bangalore, Kolar, Salem, Nagercoil, Agastheresvaram, Kotaidy and Tuticorin. The first annual meeting of the NCI in Madras in 1887 was attended by 300 "native Christian ladies and gentlemen", as we learn from the first annual report[61]. The average attendance at church services is given in the sources as one hundred and the number of (volunteer) pastors for 1886/87 as 31[62]. In 1903, a letter to the editor in the CP informs us of the first ordination of the NCI's own pastor[63]. On 24 April 1909 (p. 2),

56 NCI–*Collection of Papers*, 49 (excerpt in: Koschorke et.al. [2007], *Documentary Sourcebook,* Text 77c).
57 NCI–*Collection of Papers*, 29f: Draft of a first provisional constitution (dated 28 November 1885), which was still regional in concept. A more developed form of organisation is reflected in the draft of 1915 (in: CP 31.07.1915 p. 5f), which provided for a "Federation" of regional NCI churches and a "General Council of the Federated National Church of India".
58 CP 22.02.1908 p. 5: "Trilingual report of the NCI".
59 NCI–*Collection of Papers*, 27.
60 Kumara Doss (2011), "National Church of India", 412.
61 NCI–*Collection of Papers*, 37.
62 NCI–*Collection of Papers*, 34 These Indian pastors belonged–for the time being–to one of the denominational mission churches.
63 CP 22.08.1903 p. 6 ("Scriptural Baptism and Ordination"): "… ordained him as the first pastor of the Indian Church", judged as "heretical" by the letter to the editor.–A *wedding* in the NCI is reported in the CP of 29 June 1907 p. 3 ("A Wedding") reports in detail and mentions numerous names.

the CP reports on an NCI church service in Kolar and notes "a very good attendance". "The Pastor, Elders and Preachers of the Church [sc. were] doing the Lords work, not for money, but for love", emphasised the speaker on this occasion.

The NCI did not achieve its goal of "national" expansion, nor did it expect it in the immediate future. Still small, this association of Indian Christians saw itself as the forerunner of a movement that would gradually cover the whole country. Some progress was made in 1894. Indian Christians in Tinnevelly, southern Travancore and Bombay broke away from the respective mission churches to which they had previously belonged. Some of them joined the NCI. In 1922, congregations outside Madras also existed in Travancore, Kolar, Bangalore and Kistna. Some of them later merged into the 'Church of South India' founded in 1947[64].

Remarkable cross-connections existed with the 'Indian National Congress' (INC), which was founded in 1885. Its third annual congress took place in Madras in 1887. This served as an occasion to organise a parallel meeting of Indian Christians from the various parts of the country on the question of an Indian "National Church". 15 of the 607 delegates to the 1887 INC Madras Congress were Indian Christians. Among them were Pulney Andy, K.C. Banurji and J.G. Shome, three leading representatives of the national church movement. "For the first time a small conference took place of Indian Christians from different parts of the country who were at the same time delegates to the Indian National Congress". There was also a parallel meeting of Indian Christians at the next annual meeting of the INC in Allahabad in 1888. The subject of the discussions was the "idea of a National Church, or a Church adopted to the condition of life in India"[65].

Precursors, Parallel Movements

The NCI in Madras was by no means the first and only experiment of its kind. There had already been previous efforts to establish an independent church under local leadership in Bengal, Tinnevelly and neighbouring Ceylon[66]. Pulney Andy himself referred to the example of the Rev. Lal Behari Day, who had spoken out in favour of "The desirableness and practicability of organising a National Church in Bengal" in a lecture to the 'Bengal Christian Association' in Calcutta in 1869[67]. Conversely, the NCI, founded in Madras in 1886, had an inspiring effect on the 'Christo Samaj' formed in Bengal a year later[68].

64 BAAGO (1969), *Pioneers of Indigenous Christianity*, 17f; BAAGO (1967), "First Independence Movements", 70–72. "Only in the beginning of the 20th century the plans for a real Church began to materialise when groups of Christians in Tinnevelly, Kolar and other places… joined the National Church". In 1922, congregations "in Travancore, Kolar, Bangalore and Kistna" also joined the NCI, the remnants of which merged into the 'Church of South India' (CSI) after 1947 (ibid 76).

65 THOMAS (1979), *Indian Christians,* 80f.

66 On the 'Hindu Church of the Lord Jesus in Tinnevelly' (since 1858) and the debates on a 'National Church of Bengal' (since 1860ff) cf. BAAGO (1969), *Pioneers of Indigenous Christianity*, 1–11; on corresponding controversies in colonial Ceylon in the 1870s and 1880s cf. KOSCHORKE (1994), "Unabhängigkeitsbestrebungen".

67 NCI–*Collection of Papers*, 24.

68 NCI–*Collection of Papers*, 18. 81.

At the same time, the name of this organisation showed an unmistakable proximity to the 'Brahmo Samaj', whose leader Keshub Chunder Sen in turn also impressed Pulney Andy[69]. The idea of a "national church", which encompassed all denominations on a territorial basis, was also familiar to him through liberal theological tracts from England. The reference to developments in other missionary areas–such as Japan, which was perceived as exemplary[70]–also played a role early on. The NCI saw itself supported also by diverse debates within the local missionary community and especially in CMS circles[71].

Relationship with the Missionaries

On the whole, the NCI met with cold rejection from the missionaries. Individual liberal missionaries such as the Rev. J.M. Scudder of the American 'Arcot Mission' expressed their "hearty welcome with the movement". Others–such as the Rev. H. Jensen of the Danish Lutheran Mission and the Methodist Rev. T.H. Whittamore–even occasionally preached at NCI services[72]. However, the Anglican Bishop of Calcutta declared during a visit to Madras: "A national Indian Church is an impossibility"[73]. Missionary journals such as the '*Harvest Field*' paid great attention to the NCI and abstractly expressed their understanding for the independence endeavours of the Indian Christians who were "coming of age". However, their independence could only be realised "when the time is ripe"[74]. Other missionary organisations expressed similar sentiments. The NCI's annual report of 1891/92 spoke of "much opposition, misrepresentation and silent contempt" that the movement was facing[75].

For its part, the NCI rejected the accusation that it was an "anti-missionary" organisation that wanted to "drive the existing missions out of the country"[76]. Its idea was rather a gradual transition to full independence. The services of the NCI therefore took place in the afternoons and did not compete with those of the denominational or "sectarian churches". The NCI repeatedly appealed to the leaders of the mission churches to enable their believers and pastors to become members of the NCI at the same time. In their own interest alone, they should support the project of an Indian national church, as the multitude of competing denominations repeatedly proved to be a "stumbling block" for the preaching of the gospel in India. Thus Pulney Andy in 1893 in an appeal "To the Boards of Directors of Foreign Missions in Europe and America".

69 NCI–*Collection of Papers*, 80.
70 NCI–*Collection of Papers*, 20. 66.
71 Andy referred to a sermon by the Rev. M. Sell of the CMS, who had spoken in 1885 before the Madras Diocesan Conference in favour of the "necessity of a national church for India" (NCI–*Collection of Papers*, 20)
72 NCI–*Collection of Papers*, 55. 132.
73 NCI–*Collection of Papers*, 81.
74 NCI–*Collection of Papers*, 59.
75 NCI–*Collection of Papers*, 193.
76 NCI–*Collection of Papers*, 153.

This appeal was signed by 146 Indian Christians–"members and sympathisers of the National Church of India"[77].

Controversies with the 'Christian Patriot': "Religious or social union first?"
However, the NCI was not only opposed by the missionaries, but also by some members the Protestant Madras elite. The attitude of the CP itself was ambivalent. It fully shared the NCI's central concerns–the independence of Indian Christians and criticism of the missionaries' denominational "sectarianism". The right sequence was controversially debated. "Religious or social union first?"–this was the decisive alternative. The CP considered it more urgent to first strengthen the social cohesion of the multiply divided Indian-Christian community rather than to establish a separate church organisation. "You consider that social union among Native Christians should be first be brought about as preparatory ground for the planting of the National Church", Pulney Andy wrote to the CP in the early 1890s[78]. This led to a fierce controversy that culminated in the NCI's accusation "that this journal has been started purposely as an Anti-National Church organ". "The attitude of the *Christian Patriot*", according to the NCI's journalism, "from its very beginnings towards the National Church Movement set on food by Dr Pulney Andy, appears to be one of antagonism"[79]. The CP fiercely defended itself against this accusation and published a short biography of Pulney Andy in its issues of 27 August 1891 and 3 September 1891, which praised him as an "eminent" personality and a "blessing to our community". However, differences remained on the question of strategic priorities. "A National Church"–said the CP–"is a grand and noble idea. Some say it is impractical…. We do not consider that the idea is altogether unrealisable but what we say is: Let us bring about social union, let us obliterate all distinctions of caste and rank,… let a state of things be brought about when it will be possible for us to cooperate in minor matters, and then the ground will be prepared for the formation of a national Church"[80].

77 NCI–*Collection of Papers*, 143 (?)–151 (damaged copy; "Seventh annual report, 1892–1893"). This signature list is highly significant for the social history of the NCI.
78 NCI–*Collection of Papers*, 10.
79 NCI–*Collection of Papers*, 13.
80 This is how the CP is quoted (in: NCI–*Collection of Papers*, 8); the exact date is unknown (probably CP 27.08.1891 or CP 03.09.1891; these issues of the CP are no longer preserved in the original or on microfilm). Similar votes can be found in: CP 17.07.1897 p. 4–Text 38 ("Not till the individual churches become financially self-supporting should any attempt be made to form a National Church"); CP 03.02.1900 p. 5 ("The problem of the National Church of India can only be solved after there comes into existence a large number of strong, self-supporting Churches"). This position of the CP seems to be similar to that of the missionary critics of the NCI. The difference lies in the CP's demand for a rapid and far-reaching transfer of responsibility to Indian Christians in the mission churches.–There were also differences between the CP and the NCI on other issues. In the 1890s, Pulney Andy published a paper (entitled "Are not Hindus Christians") in which he pointed to analogies between the Vedas and the Old Testament (CP 13.02.1896 p. 3). In 1904, the CP condemned this as "hasty, ill considered talk" on the question of an "Eastern or Oriental Christianity". "A Hinduised Christianity

Further Debates

In any case, the question of an Indian national church remained a perennial favourite and a much-discussed topic in the columns of the CP in its pros and cons. Missionary critics also emphasised their opposition in letters to the CP. For example, the former Leipzig missionary *Rev. Thomas Naether,* who also asked the journal to print a detailed treatise entitled 'Lutheran polemics' in order to communicate the Lutheran understanding of a true church union. For the idea of an Indian national church also found favour among his flock: "Also (sc. Indian) Lutherans seem to favour this idea (sc. of a National Church)…. Many as such as call themselves Lutherans seem to be subscribers to the 'Christian Patriot' like me, and ought to be reminded what is the truly Lutheran view of a united Church". The CP printed the letter to the editor and the polemical tract without further comment.[81].

At the end of 1899, an article in which Alfred Nundy–a lawyer and prominent lay Christian from north-west India–called for "the *speedy union in one National Church of all the Protestant Christian bodies found in India*" was widely reported in the press. While the '*Madras Mail*', for example, showed sympathy for this demand in view of the progress made by the Indian Christian community, the '*Church Missionary Intelligencer*' clearly considered such a project to be premature: "But the time–so, at least, it seems to us–is not yet". "*Our* position," said the CP, "we trust, will not be misunderstood. We fully see the difficulties in the way of bringing into existence an Indian Church… but what we, with the *Madras Mail*, assert is that Missions should pave the way for the coming into existence of a National Church, by trying to throw greater responsibility on the Indian clergy and laity"[82].–At the beginning of 1899, the CP had already positioned himself in an article on "The Indian Church of the Future". In it, it argued in favour of "independent and self-governing Indian churches having its own bishops and synods, its own forms of worship… and ceremonies… But ONE united Church for India… is an impossibility, especially in this land of diversity" (CP 18.02.1899 p. 3).

On 12 January 1905 (p. 6), the CP printed an appeal by Indian Christians to "our Fathers in God of the Anglican Communion in India". Their concern was "how best to show our sympathy with the yearnings of Christian Indians for a national Church of India", in times of Swadeshi and various emancipatory movements among Indian Christians.–The tenor of an article on "The Indian National Church" in the issue of 23 February 1907 (p. 3) was similar. "The Swadeshi Movement is not without its effects and lessons for Indian Christians", reads the paper by a Rev. D.M. Joshi before the

is as absurd as a round square. The Christianity that is needed for India is Christ and HIS Salvation" (quote from the CP in '*The Baptist Missionary Review*' vol. 10, 1904, 268; see HOUGHTON [1983], *Impoverishment of Dependency*, 192. 211. 58).

81 CP 05.03.1898 p. 6–Thomas Naether was a staunch Lutheran who fell out with his own society (the Leipzig Mission) because of his conservative positions, was dismissed in 1894 and switched to the American Missouri Lutherans. Cf. www.lmw-mission.de/de/missionar-113.html (accessed on 5 January 2017); FLEISCH (1936), *100 Jahre lutherischer Mission*, 173. 178. 181f. 225. 230.

82 CP 28.10.1899 p. 4f; CP 02.12.1899 p. 5 (Text 20+21–emphasis KK).

'Anglican Diocesan Conference' in Bombay. The speaker referred to the high degree of self-organisation of Indian Christians in the various parts of the country and to the rise of the 'National Missionary Society' (NMS) as an important indigenous initiative. With regard to the desired goal of an Indian national church, the article proposed a number of "preliminary steps", including the creation of a "class of Indian assistant bishops and archdeacons"[83].

The CP published an open letter from Pulney Andy to the Euro-American missionaries on 28 April 1906 (p. 7) under the heading "The National Church of India". His key sentence: "My friends of the West! do not stand in our way. We understand our people better than yourselves".–On 14 March 1908 (p. 4), a letter to the editor appeared in the CP defending the NCI against the CP's criticism. The journal had criticised the NCI for its lack of missionary activities and for merely poaching believers from existing Christian churches. In contrast, the letter to the editor refers to the evangelistic successes of the NCI among Hindus, the recent ordination of its own pastors in the 'National Church' and the lasting importance of the NCI as a remedy against the "sectarian Christianity" of the missionaries.

Since 1900, these debates about an Indian national church or the possibilities of a "Native Church Organisation" were increasingly associated with a view far beyond India. The significance of the reference to West Africa, Uganda, Japan and other regions or churches perceived as models is discussed in more detail in Chapters IV and V of this study. As early as 1898, the CP had discussed the topic of "Development and Independence of the Native Churches" in detail with reference to the "remarkable remarks" and field reports by missionary bishop A.R. Tucker, who was active in what is now Uganda, which also attracted a great deal of attention in India[84].

Later Developments, Impulses

Andy Pulney, "the life and soul of the movement", died in 1909[85]. With the death of its founder, the NCI had also passed its peak. Although individual branches of the NCI now also existed outside Madras (see above) and an attempt was made to restart the movement in 1915–as a "federation" of independent and self-governing regional churches[86]–the project of a centralised Indian national church proved to be a failure overall. Various reasons have been given for this development. Reference has been made to the opposition of many missionaries; the structural dependence of many Indian clergy on the missionary societies as well as the social profile and elitist character of the NCI[87].

83 CP 23.02.1907 p. 3 (Text 27). Cf. CP 16.02.1907 p. 3: "The Indian National Church" as the theme of the 'Bombay Diocesan Conference'.
84 CP 12.03.1898 p. 5 (Text 25).
85 Thus his appraisal in the CP of 22.02.1908 p. 5.
86 CP 31.07.1915 p. 5: "Proposed Constitution" of the "National Church of India". Noteworthy Art. 5: "Every Church shall be a self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating Church"; Art. 17: "The General Council of the Federated National Churches of India shall meet at least once a year".
87 Baago (1967), "First Independence Movements", 76–78; Houghton (1983), *Impoverishment of Dependency*, 200ff.

"The Church envisioned by him (sc. Andy) attempted to provide a legitimate sphere for Indian leadership denied by the missionary authority structure. However, lower caste converts were not attracted, and the NCI became almost exclusive domain of upper-caste Christians"[88].

Nevertheless, the NCI in Madras (and similar endeavours such as the 'Christo Samaj' in Bengal) provided far-reaching impulses. They inspired a variety of emancipatory experiments by Indian Christians and at the same time accelerated missionary church unity endeavours. As early as 1887, the missionary journal *'The Harvest Field' was* challenged by the NCI to make alternative proposals. The recognition that the majority of missionaries still refused to grant the NCI in the late 1880s and 1890s could no longer be withheld from another initiative of Indian Christians–such as the 'National Missionary Society' of India (NMS), founded in 1905[89]. Missionary church union projects like the 'South Indian United Church' (SIUC), which was established in 1908 through the merger of Presbyterians and Congregationalists, placed themselves, albeit with restrictions, in a line of tradition with the NCI and the national church experiments in Bengal[90]. They were partly welcomed by Indian Christians and partly criticised as inadequate[91]. On the eve of the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference in 1910, the Anglican Bishop of Bombay, James Edwin Palmer, commented on the mood in India as follows: "I have heard it said often, that if we, foreign missionaries, left India in a body to-day, all Indian Christians would very quickly unite and form one Indian Church. I have heard it said again and again that it is only we foreign missionaries who keep the Indian Christians from unity"[92].

In Christian Asia and Africa, independentist and national church endeavours were among the most prominent characteristics of the years around 1900. In times of the "national awakening" of many colonised peoples, they were an expression of the growing gap between the emancipatory aspirations of indigenous Christian elites and the increasing paternalism of the missionaries. In contrast to Africa, however, where the wave of African-independent churches usually led directly to a break with the respective missionary mother churches, the NCI in India endeavoured to achieve a gradual transition to complete independence for Indian Christians.

88 Kumara Doss (2011), "National Church of India", 472f.

89 For details on the NMS, see chapter III p. 130ff.

90 *United Church Herald* 1913 p. 254: Address by the President of the South Indian United Church (SIUC) on "An Indian National Church"; he referred to the initiatives of M.C. Kali Charan Banarji in Bengal and Pulney Andy in Madras. Admittedly: "In one sense there is no such thing as a National Church of Christ. Christ is a common Saviour. He belongs neither to the East nor to the West". On the other hand: "Yet we must ask: 'Is Christianity indigenous to India?

91 CP 22.02.1908 p. 5: "We are not much in favour of the Unions that are being advocated in this country". On the more far-reaching debates cf. also CP 09.12.1911 p. 7: "A National Church for Indian Christians".

92 On church independence endeavours and national church movements in Asia and Africa around the turn of the century cf. Koschorke (2002b), "Edinburgh 1910", 189–202 (and the literature cited there); on the treatment of this topic in the Munich-Hermannsburg Journals Project see Koschorke / Hermann et.al. (2018a), *To give publicity*, 63–90.

Ecumenism: Missionary "Sectarianism" and Indian Initiatives

Criticism of Missionary Denominationalism and "Sectarianism"

"The Native public opinion is against denominational differences… public opinion is so strong that it is beginning now to spread its healthy influence", reads a letter to the editor published by the CP on page 1 of its issue of 22 October 1898[93]. In the same issue, the CP printed another letter to the editor, which also castigated the "sectarian differences" and "the antagonism, the unsanctified rivalries, the jealousies and the sectarian strife" among the missions operating in India.

In fact, the complaint about denominational fragmentation and "sectarian differences" between the various missionary churches was a constant topic of debate among Indian Christians. The growing number of different missionary societies towards the end of the century exacerbated the problem. This was all the more so as these had previously often been active in separate "mission fields". Now, however, they increasingly came together in the same place, especially in the cities (often as competitors), so that the broad spectrum of Western missionary Protestantism in its many variations could now be seen on the ground.–Above all, however, in times of India's "national awakening", the accusation of "denationalisation" by Hindu nationalists against the country's Christian communities intensified. In many cases, these already carried the identification of their "foreign" and foreign origin in their names. Why, for example, should an Indian Christian belong to the (Anglican) 'Church of England', the (Congregationalist) 'American Madura Mission' or the (Lutheran) 'Danish Church'? "Denominational Christianity", according to the CP's repeated statement, is "unsuited for India"[94]. The divisions within Indian Christianity are regarded "a source of weakness and a subject of laughter" as well as "a stumbling block to many, even among believers"[95]. "The Hindus", according to another prominent voice quoted in the CP, "who are beginning to appreciate Christ and His teaching, are disgusted with the sectarian differences of the West"[96].

At the same time, the criticism of the "sectarian differences" in the Protestant mission churches was the unifying factor of numerous initiatives of Indian Christians that are reported or discussed in the CP. These include the project of an Indian national church, the 'National Missionary Society of India' founded in 1905 and various other endeavours aimed at overcoming denominational differences and bringing together Indian Christians "irrespective of denominational affiliation". A united church in India, "that will not reflect Scotch Presbyterianism nor English Anglicanism nor German Lutheranism, but which will… be suited to the social instincts and national characteristics of the native converts", was the aim of the 'National Church of India' (NCI) founded

93 CP 22.10.1898 p. 1 ("Denominational differences and Native Christians").
94 For example CP 11.06.1904 p. 4. Similarly CP 11.01.1902 p. 3 on the "sectarian differences that separate one set of Christians from another".
95 CP 11.06.1904 p. 4.
96 CP 28.04.1906 p. 7 (Text 23), with reprint of an open letter from Pulney Andy to the western missionaries.

by Andy Pulney in Madras in 1886[97]. In the CP, however, the vision of a united Indian national church has often been discussed independently of this specific project. Corresponding debates took place–with reference to the concept of "Three-Selves"–both within and outside the established mission churches[98].

Relationship to other Denominations

For a long time, these debates were purely internal Protestant. The relationship to the Roman Catholics or the "Syrian" Christians of the St Thomas' Church tradition initially played hardly any role among readers of the CP. Admittedly, the Roman Catholics were, in purely numerical terms, the strongest force in the Christian camp (and made up around 51 of the Christian population of South India around 1900[99]). However, in the eyes of the Protestant Madras elite (and large sections of the "educated" public of South India at large), they were regarded as rather backward, lethargic, secluded and not very interested in national progress. "There is a general opinion… that the Native portion of the Catholic Church in Madras, at all events, is not showing the signs of activity that it should" (CP 03.12.1898 p. 5). Among the authors of modern Indian-Christian literature, according to another regrettable statement in the CP, "there is not a single prominent author among our Catholic brethren"[100]. Catholics also played a rather subordinate role in the debates with Hindus and the various revivalist movements in other religious traditions. The latter were much more strongly related to the counter-model of "modern" missionary Protestantism, which was both fought against and imitated.

Similar observations apply to a greater extent to the so-called St. Thomas Christians. For a long time, they hardly featured in the debates and in the world view of the Madras Protestants. "Though Christianity has been in India for nearly a century…", reads a treacherous sentence in 1897, which equates the beginnings of Christianity in India with those of Protestantism on the subcontinent (and ignores the much longer history

97 NCI–*Collection of Papers* p. 49 (excerpts in: Koschorke et.al. (2007), *Documentary Sourcebook,* Text 66c).–On the NCI see below chapter III p. 67ff.

98 On the Anglican debate cf. e.g. CP 23.02.1907 p. 3 ("The Indian National Church"; lecture by Rev. D. Joshi at the diocesan conference in Bombay); on internal discussions among Indian Christians, see for example a letter to the editor in CP of 18 August 1907 p. 6: "We may find many Indian Christians today who exhort other people to organize an indigenous United Church of self-support and self-effort, but how many are there who sincerely labour towards this important organization?".

99 Moffet (2005), *Christianity in Asia* II, 447: 1900: 1,920,000 Roman Catholics; 1,200,000 Protestants; 650,000 Syrian (or Thomas) Christians.

100 CP 28.01.1899 p. 3 ("Indian Christian literature"): Indian Catholics lacked "a fair share of original thought and intellectual life". This is attributed to paternalism by the church hierarchy or to "the withholding of the word of God from the Indian members of the papal communion and the consequent denial of private judgement".–We also hear very little about direct contact between the two communities in the CP. There were also a few Catholic members in the MNCA (CP 05.03.1898 p. 6). "This was the first time we had listened to a Roman Catholic Service"–according to the author of a report in the CP about such a visit to a church service (CP 12.11.1898 p. 6).–On the Catholic communities in the 'Madras Presidency' cf. Grafe (1990), *Christianity in Tamilnadu*, 35ff.

of the Catholic and Syrian churches there)[101]. Of course, the existence of St. Thomas Christian communities was not unknown. But they were mostly perceived as backward, backwoods and afflicted with many "social evils" of the surrounding Hindu society. This abstinence is all the more remarkable as the St. Thomas Christians were not only at home in distant Kerala (Travancore). Rather, there was also a strong local Thomas tradition in Madras[102].–Later, in the course of India's "national awakening", completely different voices were heard. Now "the ancient Christian community of Travanvore" (CP 20.05.1911 p. 4–Text 91) gradually became the symbol and idealised representation of an authentic Indian Christianity that was pre-colonial and not yet torn apart by missionary "sectarianism". In addition, individual branches of Thoma Christianity were increasingly involved in ecumenical endeavours from around 1910 onwards. In fact, the history of Indian Christianity in the early 20th century is also remarkable because cooperation between Protestant churches and members of the Oriental Orthodox tradition occurred here much earlier than in other "missionary fields"[103].

In contrast, the Indian Protestant community saw itself as an emancipatory force and as the "leaven" in the social and national life of the country. Its major handicap, however, was its divisiveness–often separated due to confessional hair-splitting, which, although historically explainable, seemed completely incomprehensible to Hindus and Muslims:

> "In a single district a dozen different societies may be at work, separate from one another and so more or less jealous, while in vital matters really one. The differences as they appear to the converts centre around petty points of ecclesiastical procedure which may still have a certain vitality in the countries of the West, but which in face of Hinduism and Mohammedanism have absolutely no meaning whatever, and are only a hindrance to effective Christian work" (CP 16.10.1909 p. 6).

Local Initiatives: Joint Protest against the 'Succession Duties' 1899/ 1901

Early on, however, there were also significant exceptions. At a local and regional level, Indian Christians of different denominations were able to come together to defend common interests[104]. On 15 April 1899 (p. 4), a large lead story appeared in the CP:

101 CP 17.07.1897 p. 3 (Text 89), from a lecture by D.S. Sawarkar before the 'Poona Indian Christian Association'. Corresponding statements can be found repeatedly until the first years of the new century.–In contrast, a statement from 1912 is quite different: "It should be borne in mind that far more than half of Christians of India are not the fruit of the activity of the Protestant Church (2'239'472 out of 3'876'203) and are not connected with it" (CP 26.10.1912 p. 3), with reference to the 1911 census ("Roman Catholics": 1'901'046; "Syrian Christians": 315'162; "Protestants": 1'636'731) and followed by a long article on the Syrian Christians of India.
102 See MUTTIAH (2004), *Madras Rediscovered*, 114–126 (on the St Thomas' Mount and Little Mount festival of Our Lady of Health).
103 For details, see chapter III p. 117ff.
104 The CP reports on a "mass meeting… by Native Christians of all denominations including Roman Catholics" in Bangalore on 30 June 1900 p. 3. Purpose here: a congratulatory message to the Maharajah of Mysore.

> "NOTICE! NOTICE!!! NOTICE!!!
> A meeting of INDIAN CHRISTIANS to discuss the question of the Death Duties as affecting the Indian Christian community will be held in the Victoria Hall, on Saturday, April the 29th, at 6 p.m. The attendance of all Indian Christians is earnestly solicited".

This action was triggered by a new law on succession duties, which put Indian Christians at a massive disadvantage compared to Hindus, Muslims, followers of Parsism and other religious communities. Outrageous and unique in the world–that was the criticism of the CP[105]. However, the united protest action of Catholic and Protestant Christians in South India against this law was also unique in the history of the country, as the CP also emphatically emphasises: "The meeting was… unique as it was the first occasion on which Roman Catholics, Anglicans and Protestants belonging to the Indian races met together in a common cause"[106].

The appeal was well received, and the rally in Madras on 29 April 1899–"a very large meeting of Native Christians of all denominations"–developed into a mass event. There were not only numerous participants from Madras City itself, but also "delegates… from Trichinopoly, Cuddalore, Tinnevelly and Palamcottah"[107]. The Roman Bishop Theophilus Mayer spoke on behalf of the Catholics; the representative of the 'Madras Native Christian Association' was Dr Pulney Andy. Subsequently, other prominent members of the Indian Christian community of South India also took the floor. All speeches, draft resolutions and the accompanying legal texts were published in detail in the CP[108], as were the supporting comments in the local press[109]. A committee was tasked with drafting a memorandum. This was to be sent both to the government in Madras and to the government of India as a whole (or to the Viceroy as the supreme representative of the British Crown). This "memorial" met with broad approval. Signatures of over 600 Indian Catholics and Protestants were quickly collected from Madras alone. The aim of the demanded amendment was "(to place) native Christians on the same footing as Hindus, Mohomedans, Parsees and others with reference to death duties" (CP 03.06.1899 p. 5). Supporting votes were also received from other parts of the country[110].

105 CP 15.05.1899 p. 4: "an administrative anomaly unknown in any country of the world".
106 CP 06.05.1899 p. 5 (Text 28).
107 CP 06.05.1899 p. 3.
108 CP 06.05.1899 p. 5; CP 27.05.1899 p. 3. Other important references in the CP: CP 08.04.1899 p. 5; CP 15.04.1899 p. 4; CP 22.04.1899 p. 5 (Text 28; detailed text 88); CP 06.05.1899 p. 3+6.4; CP 13.05.1899 p. 5; CP 27.05.1899 p. 2+3; CP 03.06.1899 p. 5.
109 CP 15.04.1899 p. 4. Remarkably, '*The Hindu*' also supported this initiative ("will have the sympathy of all right thinking people").–On the public controversies in 19th and early 20th century India about the marriage, family and inheritance rights of Indian Christians in general cf. MALLAMPALLI (2004), *Christians and Public Life,* passim.
110 The starting point for the whole initiative was a protest action by Catholics in Mangalore (CP 08.04.1899 p. 5). The CP was disappointed by the lax reaction of the Bombay Indian Christian Association: "We cannot understand why our brethren in the other Presidencies are so indifferent about this matter (sc. the question

This action led to success, albeit not immediately. In a statement criticised by both the missionary and Indian-Christian press, Viceroy Lord Curzon was initially reluctant to respond to the demands of the Indian Christians[111]. According to the critics, a revised draft law published on 19 January 1901 only took their grievances into account in certain respects. This led to another protest meeting of "native" Catholics and Protestants in Madras on 23 February 1902, which obviously had an effect. In any case, "a new law" was now passed as desired. This "Native Christian Relief Bill" of March 1901 was still regarded as insufficient by some Christian commentators. However, the CP celebrated it in its issue of 30 March 1901 (p. 4) as a "complete signal success" and as the culmination of the long-lasting "efforts of the Catholic Indian Association and the Madras Native Christian Association". "This successful termination", according to the MNCA itself in its annual report for 1901, "of the agitation to redress one of the pressing grievances of Native Christians–an agitation in which the Madras Native Christian Association took the leading part from the very commencement–is noteworthy"[112].

It seems that there have been no further spectacular cooperative actions between the Catholic Indian Association and the MNCA. In any case, we hear nothing about it in the CP. "Catholic authorities took exception to that alliance", according to the historian Hugald Grafe with reference to the joint protest action of 1899/1901[113]. A leading activist and representative of the Catholic lay association, Swamikannu Pillai, later criticised the hierarchy of his church with the words: "Our missionaries are willing to allow caste, but they are not willing to admit the existence of an [sc. united] Indian Christian community"[114]. In 1912, the CP mentions a separate appearance of the two lay organisations before the governor, which was met with complete incomprehension by the non-Christian press. "It is not clear", the CP quoted a journal named 'The Indian Patriot' on 7 December 1912, "what… difference… makes it necessary for them to act separately in… making representations to the Government". The–Protestant–'Indian Christian Association' had presented itself to the governor as an advocate of the national progress of the entire country in a way that deserved the admiration of "every progressive-minded Indian". The Catholics were quite different. "We are however struck", the 'Indian Patriot' is quoted in the CP, "with the marked contrast…. of the 'Catholic Indian Association'.

of succession duties") (CP 13.05.1899 p. 5). In the same issue, the CP proudly reports that the complaint of the Indian Christians in the matter of "Succession Duties" had already become the subject "of an interpellation in the House of Commons" (in the British Parliament in London) (CP 13.05.1899 p. 5).

111 Reprinted in '*The Harvest Field*' 12 (1901), 17–23, here: 21f. This "Viceroy's reply" also concerned other grievances of Indian Christians, such as their inadequate representation in the higher ranks of the civil service, questions of marriage law between Christians and Hindus, and the "civil disabilities of the Christian population" in Mysore, Travancore and Cochin. Cf. also: *'The Harvest Field'* 12 (1901), 113–115.

112 CP 21.12.1901 suppl. p. 3f ("Fourteenth Annual Report of the MNCA 1901").

113 Grafe (1990), *Christianity in Tamilnadu*, 131.

114 Quote according to: Grafe (1990), *Christianity in Tamilnadu*, 131f.

The latter seem to be as narrow in their outlook as they are admittedly backward in education and material prosperity. They had little to tell his Excellency…".[115]

Missionary Church Union Projects

The various Protestant missionary societies active in India naturally also felt the pressure for increased co-operation. This led to intensified coordination ("comity") and various union projects. They were mostly welcomed in the CP, but in many cases also accompanied by references to the need for further steps.

"We are firmly convinced that the twentieth century will see mighty things in the direction of Christian unity", said the CP on 21 December 1901 (p. 6). Christians would increasingly feel the need to distinguish between "*essential* Christianity" and "*accidental* Christianity".–One of the highlights of Protestant missionary self-presentation in colonial India at the beginning of the new century was the large 'Decenial Missionary Conference' in Madras in December 1902. It was attended by 55 missionary societies with over 250 members. The CP welcomed it as an "object lesson in Christian unity". "Christians of all Churches and denominations, casting aside all their petty differences, met together with the one object of concerting measures for winning India to Christ" (CP 20.12.1902 p. 4).

Concrete union projects first came about among the Presbyterians of South India[116]. In 1901, the congregations of the 'American Arcot Mission' and two Scottish Presbyterian missions joined forces. In 1904, several Presbyterian missions from North India were added. They now formed a 'Presbyterian Church of India'. In 1905, there was a loose federation of the Congregationalists of the London Mission and the American Madura Mission in Tamil Nadu. The first interdenominational union was the 'South India United Church' (SIUC) formed in 1908. This was a union of all Congregationalists and Presyterians in South India and the Jaffna District in Ceylon (Sri Lanka). After the First World War, other missions such as the Basel Mission were added. The SIUC then formed the core cell of the 'Church of South India', which came into being in 1947 through a merger with Anglicans and Methodists.

More or less detailed reports on these various projects can be found in the CP. Under the heading "Denominational Unity in India", in January 1905 the CP published excerpts from an article by the renowned American missionary Rev. J.P. Jones on the recently formed federation of *Congregationalists* "in order to form a national Congregational body in India". Among other things, it emphasises the influence of the 'National Missionary Society' (as a purely Indian initiative) on this union project and the ques-

115 CP 07.12.1912 p. 7.

116 On the South Indian Union projects before 1910 cf.: Sundkler (1965), *Church in South India*, 36–59; Firth (1976), *Indian Church History*, 237ff; Baago (1965), *National Christian Council*, 4ff; Kuriakose (1982), *Source Materials*, 270ff (on the 'South Indian Missionary Conference', Madras 1900). 281ff (on the 'Fourth Decennial Missionary Conference', Madras 1902). 293ff (on the 'South Indian United Church'); Grafe (1990), *Christianity in Tamilnadu*, 129ff; Koshi (2004), *Ecumenical Movement*, 39ff.

tion of why such a union had not been formed earlier (CP 04.01.1905 p. 6).–"Union of Churches" is the title of an article in the CP of 9 February 1907, which describes in detail the devastating impression that the divisions within the church were making on Hindus. Christianity as a unifying force in India, which was torn apart in many ways, thus became completely untrustworthy. "On this account", the CP comments, "we cordially welcome the resolutions of the General assembly of the *Presbyterian Church* in India on Union", which met recently (in December 1906).[117].

The establishment of the *South Indian United Church (*SIUC*) in* 1908 was widely welcomed in the CP. "It is a matter for rejoicing", according to a comment in the CP of 22 August 1908, "We look upon this movement as a sign of the times". However, this was accompanied by a series of critical questions. After all, this union–as a "foreign enterprise"–was being organised from the wrong end. "For such an effort to be purely Indian, it ought to emanate from Indian Christians themselves". But this was not the case. Because "Indian Christian laymen–for we do not regard mission-paid educationists as laymen–took no part in the movement". Furthermore, such a union should be broader and include other churches (such as the Anglicans) in addition to Presbyterians and Congregationalists. "If left to themselves and their national instincts we are pretty certain that Indian Christians", free of any historical encumbrance, "take steps at the right end and realise the Church Union now dreamt of by ardent enthusiasts"[118].

An article in the CP of 27 April 1907 under the heading "The Union of Indian Churches" formulates fundamental questions about the various missionary church union efforts. The core problem was that the new church union–with specific reference to the Presbyterian one–did nothing to change the balance of power and dependence on Western centres. "Without the consent and modification of those, it is not possible to make changes in the administration of Missions here. There is no proposal… to place the management of foreign funds in the hands of an Indian Church". Above all, however, there are "two streams of tendency" or different objectives in the current union endeavours. The missionaries were primarily seeking to overcome the scandal of the "Western divisions" they had imported into the country. For Indian Christians, on the other hand, it is important that Christianity is "naturalised" in India. "The Protestant of the West asks for ONE Church; the Indian for a NATIONAL Church". "The conception of a National Church should be strongest and clearest in the heart and brain of the Indian Christian"[119].

117 CP 09.02.1907 p. 4 Positive aspects of this resolution: the objective of a "united *indigenous* Church of Indian Christians", the considerable participation of Indian members in the Union Committee and the prospect of a "larger union of the branches of Christ's Church in India".

118 CP 22.08.1908 p. 4 ("Church Union"). The author of this letter ("Communicated") is not named.–Other mentions in the CP of the SIUC: CP 24.08.1907 p. 4; CP 03.07.1909 p. 4; CP 08.08.1909 p. 3; CP 04.09.1909 p. 6; CP 09.10.1909 p. 5; CP 16.10.1909 p. 6; CP 24.12.1909 p. 6 (appointment of J.P. Cotelingam, "a worthy Indian Christian", as President of the SIUC); etc.

119 CP 27.04.1907 (p. 5); emphasis in original.

Developments around Edinburgh 1910

Edinburgh 1910 also marked a turning point in the history of Christianity in India. In the context of the World Missionary Conference, the debates on intensified inter-church cooperation and the indigenisation of Indian Christianity accelerated on the subcontinent, as explained in detail elsewhere[120]. At the same time, they soon led to concrete results and finally ushered in a new stage in the history of Indian (and Asian) ecumenism. "Absolute independence" for the Indian church, following the example of Japan and Uganda–this was the expectation of a South Indian cleric for the coming assembly of world Protestantism (CP 30.04.1910 p. 4–Text 31). Edinburgh supported "the great importance of the raising of Native leaders"–this was the summary of an Edinburgh returnee who reported on his experiences in Scotland at a "large" meeting of the various churches in Madras (CP 19.11.1910 p. 4). The Edinburgh Conference had already raised high expectations in South India. At the same time, it strengthened the reform-oriented forces among both the missionaries and Indian Christian leaders. As a result, it initiated a variety of structural changes.

The global significance of the Edinburgh Conference–which has often been described as the peak of the Protestant missionary movement of the 19th century and the starting point of the ecumenical movement in the Western churches of the 20th century–lies above all in the fact that it made the "awakening of the great nations" of Asia (and to some extent also of Africa) the starting and reference point for its analysis of the situation of global Christianity[121]. It therefore reacted in a completely new way, as a hub and kind of transmission belt, to the debates and developments in the emerging churches overseas. In India in particular, the pressure and compulsion to overcome denominational fragmentations was constantly increasing. A critical voice already quoted above had clearly expressed the demand that the union project was best left entirely to the Indian Christians, without missionary involvement (CP 27.04.1907 p. 5). And in 1910, on the eve of the Edinburgh Conference, the Anglican Bishop of Bombay, James Edwin Palmer, described the prevailing mood in India as follows:

120 For details see chapter V p. 204ff.

121 "We have heard from many quarters of the awakening of great nations"–thus the concluding message of the conference "To the members of the Church in Christian lands" (World Missionary Conference 1910. Vol. IX [Edinburgh, etc. 1911], 108. On the Edinburgh Conference see STANLEY (2009), *Edinburgh 1910*; on the reception of Edinburgh in Asia cf. WEBER (1966), *Asia*, 115ff. 130ff; on Indian impulses on Edinburgh cf. SINGH (1977), *Ecumenical Bearings*, 303–328. 329–357; on Edinburgh as a "relay station" between the churches of Asia and the West, see KOSCHORKE (2012b), "Relaisstation", 273–284; KOSCHORKE (2000b), "Edinburgh 1910". Cf. also: ROUSE / NEILL (1993), *Ecumenical Movement I*, 473–476; as well as the texts in: KOSCHORKE et.al. (2007), *Documentary Sourcebook*, Text 66–72.

> "I have heard it said often, that if we, foreign missionaries, left India in a body to-day, all Indian Christians would very quickly unite and form one Indian Church. I have heard it said again and again that it is only we foreign missionaries who keep the Indian Christians from unity"[122].

Through its intensive preparatory correspondence alone, Edinburgh absorbed a variety of impulses from the overseas "mission fields"–and returned them there in a reinforcing way. The (few) Asian delegates at the conference quickly assumed prominent leadership positions in their respective home churches. In 1912, V.S. Azariah became the first Indian bishop in the Anglican Church in the country (and the whole of Asia). The Asian Edinburgh 'Continuation Committee Conferences' of 1912/13–from which the respective 'National Missionary Councils' (NMC) and later the 'National Christian Councils' (NCC) emerged–became the starting point for national (rather than denominational) forms of organisation of the Asian Protestant churches[123]. In India, it happened in this context that representatives of the Mar Thoma Syrian Church took part in a Protestant conference for the "first time"[124]. Also for the first time, at this level, they made official contact with the country's Roman Catholic hierarchy[125]. In the period that followed, the Indian (and Asian) ecumenical movement underwent a dynamic development that led to concrete results much faster than in the Protestant churches of Europe. Most prominent example became the foundation of the 'Church of South India' in 1947. Nevertheless, many Indian Christians continued to criticise the dependence on Western models in the various union projects, which they felt was still too strong. It led to a variety of initiatives to give new shape to the "aspirations of Indian Christians" outside the historical mission churches.[126].

122 Bp. E.J. Palmer (1910), *Reunion in Western India*. Papers and Articles by the Bp. of Bombay (Bombay), 3ff: "The Hope of the Reunion of Christendom".

123 This was linked to the demand for "complete equality in status and responsibility" between indigenous Christians and Europeans; for example, in India at the regional conference in Madras and the national conference in Calcutta (CCC–*Continuation Committee Conferences in Asia*, 32. 127). What is also remarkable about the Madras conference is the reversal of the traditional sequence of "self-support" and "self-government" as criteria of church autonomy. Now it says: "Self-government promotes self-support" (ibid, p. 32). The CP report on the Madras Conference emphasises in particular the initiative of Indian Christians. K.T. Paul, for example, "urged to keep as our goal a National Church" (CP 30.11.1912 p. 5–Text 35).–On the 'National *Missionary* Council' founded in 1913 as an emancipatory project cf. Baago (1965), *National Christian Council*.

124 CP 30.11.1912 p. 5 (Text 35); for details see chapter III p. 117ff.

125 Cf. Hopkins (1979), *John R. Mott*, 386ff. 390.

126 Thus the "Rethinking Group" in the context of the Tambaram Conference of 1938 or the reactivation of the 'Christo Samaj' (Madras) in 1917, which incidentally frequently used the CP as a mouthpiece in the subsequent period (Christo Samaj [1921], *Memorandum*, 2: "The growing desire for a more regular expression of the new life through the medium of a journal was fulfilled in the year 1917, when the property in and control of the *Christian Patriot* passed into the hands of some of the members of the Samaj. The *Patriot,* though not officially connected with the Samaj, stands, on the whole, for the same ideals and has given wider publicity and impetus to the new aspirations of Indian Christians").

Indian Christians and the National Movement

Changing Relations with the 'Indian National Congress'

In 1885, the *Indian National Congress* (INC) was founded in Bombay–initially more of an honourable assembly than the popular movement that it later developed into. It was initially welcomed enthusiastically by parts of the Indian Christian community. While the relationship between Muslims and the National Congress has been the subject of numerous studies ,[127] there have only been a few studies on the position of the Christian minority to date[128]. They show that Indian Christians were initially actively involved in the Congress and were much more strongly represented there than their proportion of the population. Of the 607 registered delegates at the third session in Madras in 1887, for example, 35 were Christians[129]. Christian delegates tabled important motions at this session[130]. The Christian social reformer Pandita Ramabai was one of the first ten female delegates to the Bombay Congress in 1889 (including three other Christian participants) and was the first woman to give a speech there.

A clear indication of the high expectations placed on the Congress by sections of the Christian intelligentsia were attempts by the *National Church Movement* to use it as a platform for their own endeavours. In 1887, a meeting of the '*National Church of India*' (NCI) was held in Madras parallel to the INC's annual convention. It counted three Christian delegates to the convention–S. Pulney Andy, K.C. Banurji and J.G. Shome–among its most prominent representatives. Consideration was given to making such parallel conferences a permanent fixture. Initially, the INC received also very positive voices from liberal missionaries. In 1895, the American J.R. Mott visited the annual meeting of the National Congress in Poona and was impressed by the variety of "races and creeds" represented there. The significance of the Asian national movements, which would later play such an important role in the deliberations of the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference in 1910, may have first become clear to Mott on this occasion.

Increasingly, however, the initial enthusiasm gave way to more critical assessments. In January 1896, the CP opened a wide-ranging debate and disputed the "national and representative character of the Congress". The discussion was triggered by an article in the Madras-based journal '*The Hindu*', which had posed the question "what exactly was

127 E.g. Zaidi (1984), *Congress and the Minorities*.

128 Oddie (1968), "Indian Christians and the National Congress", 45–54; Kumara Doss (1988b), "Swadeshi Movement", 5–22; Thomas (1979), *Christian Indians*, 86ff.

129 Data according to Oddie (1968), "Indian Christians and the National Congress", 53. In Allahabad in 1888 there were 22 Indian Christians out of 1248 delegates, in Bombay in 1889 there were 31, in Calcutta in 1890 there were 15 out of 677, in Nagpur in 1891 11 out of 812.

130 Prominent delegates there were N. Subramaniem, Christian lawyer and member of the Madras Municipal Council; Kali Charan Banerji, leader of the Christian community of Bengal; Babu Mohun Sudan Das, a well-known representative of the Christian community in Orissa. Cf. INC–*Report of the Indian National Congress 1887*, 105–108. 108–111. 103f; cf. ibid. 38–40.

the attitude of the Native Christians, *as a community*, towards the National Congress"[131]. And in marked contrast to the recommendations of certain Western missionaries, who continued to urge Indian Christians to actively support the Congress, the CP defined its own position as one of "*studious indifference and neutrality though not of antagonism*". There is no doubt, it argued, that individual Indian Christians and prominent representatives of the community played an active role in the movement. "Though we admit all this, we cannot help thinking, at the same time, that the Congress movement has failed to enlist the sympathy and support of the community *as a whole*". Reference was made to the contradiction to the original objectives of the Congress. While the INC was initially concerned with the gradual renewal of the *entire* country, the CP criticized, "along all lines, mental, moral, social and political, of the nation thus evolved", hardly any sign of this could be observed in the present. De facto, the Congress only serves the particular interests of the Hindu Brahmins, who have always dominated. Concrete steps to dismantle the class and caste barriers that hinder the country's "progress" are lacking. As striking proof of the current Congress's hostility to urgently needed reforms the article refered to the banishment of the '*National Social Conference*' from the grounds of the last annual conference in Poona in 1895 by the Congress leader Gangadhar Tilak[132]. Equality was demanded only vis-à-vis the British, but was by no means realised internally. Nothing had changed in the humiliating position of women. "Our women are sunk in the lowest depths of ignorance and misery… while we men are already High Court Judges, District Collectors, Members of Legislative Councils" etc. [133]

This reserved attitude also characterised the CP's position in the period that followed: patriotism yes, but not in the form advocated by the radical wing of the INC. They were "divorcing political and social reform"–this was the repeated charge raised again the Congress majority dominated by the Hindu nationalists (e.g. CP 21.06.1902 p. 4). At the same time, the extremists in the INC increasingly equated the national cause with the revival of Hinduism, while the Christians increasingly faced accusations of "denationalisation" (e.g. CP 27.01.1900 p. 5–Text 48) and were increasingly marginalised within the Congress. Despite the many years of commitment of prominent Christian figures, there were no Christians in leading positions in the INC. This was the bitter conclusion of the CP in its review of the 1904 annual conference[134]. In 1902, the Bengali

131 CP 09.01.1896 p. 4f. (Text 46–emphasis KK).
132 Cf. Lütt (2012), *Das moderne Indien*, 53f: "At the Congress meeting in Puna (Poona) in 1895, he (sc. Tilak) succeeded in ensuring that the Social Conference was not allowed to use the INC's premises. As a result of this campaign, no social legislation was passed between 1891 and 1929".–This was preceded by the controversy surrounding the *Age of* Consent *Bill* of 1891, which raised the minimum age of marriage for girls from 10 to 12 and whose internal congressional proponents Tilak had resolutely opposed. Cf. Heimsath (1964), *Hindu Social Reform*, 205ff: "Social versus political Reform"; Suntharalingam (1980), *Nationalist Awakening*, 289ff. 331ff.
133 CP 09.01.1896 p. 4f. (Text 46); CP 20.02.1896 p. 4 (Text 47).
134 CP 04.02.1905 p. 7 (Text 49).

Kali Charan Banurji, a renowned and highly respected Christian from all camps[135], had been nominated for the office of president but was not elected.

The year 1905 marked a turning point in India's political development. The victory of Asian Japan over European Russia also gave enormous impetus to nationalist and pan-Asian endeavours in India. Above all, however, it was the partition of Bengal by the British in the same year that led to calls for *swaraj* ("self-government") and *swadeshi* ("self-sufficiency") and triggered a militant boycott movement against British goods and facilities. There are different voices in the CP when it comes to assessing the *Swadeshi* movement. A comment in the CP from 9 September 1905 (p. 5) is cautious: "It is not very easy to determine what attitude educated Indians should adopt towards the present movement in Bengal and Poona". The CP contains news about the devastation of missionary institutions in parts of Bengal[136] and the protests of Bengali Christians. He reports on the growth of a "strong feeling among Bengali Christians against the spurious Swadeshi and anti-Partition boycott movement". "They could not", declared 600 participants at a church rally in Baithakana, "join a movement that was anti-Christian in character"[137]. In the debate about the Swaraj movement, reference to the Indian "princely states" also played an important role, where Christians were repeatedly criticised for suffering from various restrictions. This foreshadowed the difficulties of independence under a Hindu majority, where "religious toleration is unknown, and a rigid pro-Hindu policy would be pursued to the utmost"[138].

On the other hand: "Swadeshism is in the air", says the CP in April 1907, referring to the national "awakening" of other Asian nations such as Japan, China and Persia (CP 27.04.1907 p. 4–Text 50). "The spirit of patriotism" has not only gripped the educated, but "is reaching even the man in the street". It is increasingly breaking down encrusted structures and centuries-old evils such as "the rigidity of caste". Indian Christians should therefore be nationally minded and assume political responsibility[139]. It was also no coincidence that the '*National Missionary Society*' of India (NMS)–often praised in the CP as an Indian initiative and expression of 'Christian' *swadeshism* (e.g. CP 29.09.1906 p. 4)–was founded in 1905 as a national organisation of Indian Christians and immediately spread throughout the country. In matters where no beliefs were at stake, it was "seriously injurious to us Indian Christians in every possible way to be out of touch with our Non-Christian brethren", according to a voice in the CP of 12 January 1907 (p. 6).

In 1907, the INC split into a "moderate" and "extremist" wing. "The split left the 'Moderates' in control of the Congress machinery, forcing the Extremists into a politi-

135 Sitaramayya (1946), *Indian National Congress*. Vol. I, 83, 107f. In the official Congress historiography, he was counted among the small group of "Indian patriarchs".
136 CP 05.10.1907 p. 4 ("The Swadeshi Movement").
137 CP 29.10.1906 p. 5.
138 CP 24.08.1907 p. 4 ("Indian princes and the Political situation").
139 CP 09.11.1907 p. 4 ("The Native Christian as a Political Factor in India").

cal wilderness for some years"[140]. The CP responded with a modified recommendation. "Every Indian Christian", it called on 17 October 1908, should "decide within the next few weeks" whether or not to join the INC. This was because one of the main reasons for the previous reluctance–the danger of a "Hindu oligarchy"–had now disappeared. Irrespective of this decision, the readers of the CP are called upon to commit themselves to the common good as a whole[141].

In contrast to the cool and distant relationship with the INC, which was subject to many fluctuations, other reform movements such as the aforementioned '*Indian Social Conference*'–which was expelled from the INC in 1895–were emphatically welcomed. The CP regularly publicised their events; and conversely, the editor of the *'Indian Social Reformer',* the organ of this movement, was a welcome guest at the annual conferences of the Madras Protestants. "Resolutions were adopted", according to the report on a provincial conference of the ICS in June 1902, "on the remarriage of widows; female education; late marriages; marriage expenses; drink; Hindu converts; foreign travel; purity movements; and intermarriage". Despite all reservations in detail (and the conviction of the fundamental superiority of Christianity as a socially transformative force), the CP expressed its "hearty sympathy with all movements that aim at the improvement of society"[142]. The unifying element was not only the commitment to the urgently needed social reforms of Indian society, but in particular also the perspective of cross-religious cooperation. "We are well aware", said the CP with regard to the upcoming national conference of the ICS in 1903, "of the usefulness of Social conferences in bringing about a feeling of sympathy and brotherhood…. We fully sympathise with the coming Social Conference and wish the movement success. We hope some practical conclusions will be arrived at and put in action"[143].

Organisations representing the interests of Indian Christians, such as the '*Madras Native Christian Association*', founded in 1888, or the '*Indian Christian National Council*', *founded in* 1903 (but remaining relatively inactive), are discussed elsewhere[144]. Among other things, they sought to improve the employment of Indian Christians in the civil service and their representation in the legislative councils. One issue that concerned the readers of the CP as well as other patriotic Indians was the fate of their compatriots in South Africa[145]. This was a regularly recurring theme both in the INC's annual resolutions and in the CP's reporting. In addition to the other media, the CP also repeatedly drew on news from Indian Christians (and church sources) in and from South Africa. Gandhi's activities were recognised early and positively in the CP. The '*Indian*

140 Kumara Doss (1988a), "Indian nationalism", 137.
141 CP 17.10.1908 p. 4 (Text 52). Conclusion: "We must first of all build up the character of the nation before aspiring for autonomy".
142 CP 21.06.1902 p. 4.
143 CP 21.11.1903 p. 4.
144 Cf. chapter III p. 127ff.
145 On South Africa as reflected in the CP, see chapter V p. 177ff.

South Africa League' formed a forum for interreligious solidarity, whose activities were reported in the CP on 23.10.1909 as follows: "The members of the *Indian South Africa League*, Madras, held a Reception last Thursday evening at the rooms of the Young Men's Christians Association, in honour of Mr. H. S. L. Polak, Editor of the *Indian Opinion*, of Natal, and the delegate of Transvaal Indians now on a visit to India". The South African delegation was thanked for their commitment and the solidarity of the Indian population of the country. Polak, the editor of the Gandhi paper '*The Indian Opinion*', in turn called for pressure on (and intervention by) the Indian colonial government in favour of the Indian compatriots in Transvaal. "The function [sc. in Madras] was well attended, representatives of the Hindu, Mohammedan, Christian and Parsee communities being present"[146].

146 CP 23.10.1909 p. 7 (Text 104).

Interreligious Relations

"At the present time"–said the CP at the beginning of 1904–"India is the great battle-ground of religions. All the great historical religions of the world–Christianity, Mahomedanism, Buddhism, Hinduism and even Zoroastrianism–have all met together on Indian soil and are striving for mastery with one another". Unlike in earlier times–"and thanks to the spirit of tolerance and enlightenment of the present times"–this competition is now being conducted peacefully; and if Christianity passes this test in India, the scene with the toughest religious competition, it will also be successful globally[147]. According to repeated analyses in the CP, India is in a *period of* transition[148]. Under the onslaught of modernity, the old faith is increasingly losing ground. It is still very strong, especially in the countryside. Among the educated elite, however, there is often a religious vacuum. "English education has had the effect of undermining the faith in orthodox Hinduism" (CP 24.09.1896 p. 4). In the "new India"–a term often used in the debates of the time–the old traditions and customs were increasingly being called into question.

"Social Evils" of Traditional Hinduism

The CP often contains sharp attacks against the "social evils" of traditional Hinduism. They are charged to hinder the country's national and social progress. "The first and the foremost evil of Hindu society", reads an article "specially written for the *Christian Patriot*" by a Bengali-Christian author in 1901, "is the caste system. It… has for centuries opposed all social progress… (and) has been the immediate and direct cause of the degradation of the people of this land". Secondly, this is linked to "the denial of education to the females" as "the crowning device of Hindu society". The "daughters of the country" are artificially kept in the "shackles of ignorance". However, this is not simply a consequence of the social customs and Indian traditions, but is religiously justified and legitimised, as a glance at the *Rig Veda* and other Hindu holy scriptures shows. Without fundamental changes, therefore, "no reasonable advance in the direction of national progress… possible and practicable" (CP 23.03.1901 p. 5–Text 5).

Traditional Hinduism has no future–this is also the opinion of non-Christian authors who have their say in the CP. Voices of Hindus are repeatedly quoted expressing pessimism about the prospects of their own religion. "No wonder we are going down"–according to a Hindu letter to the editor in the CP of 29 January 1898[149]. "The decline of the Hindus" was also lamented by a prominent representative of the social reformist wing in a speech to the 'National Social Conference', large parts of which were printed in the CP on 16 January 1904. "No fact ought to serve more to open the eyes of the Hindus to their social evils than this–that they are slowly reduced in num-

147 CP 30.01.1904 p. 5–Text 59 ("Some Aspects of Hindu revivalism").
148 E.g. CP 27.01.1900 p. 5 (Text 48).
149 CP 29.01.1898 p. 3. "The apathy of the modern Hindu to his religion is simply shocking" (ibid).

bers". Among other things, he referred to the mass conversions of members of the lowest classes to Islam and Christianity and their enormous growth rates in recent times[150]. "The future of our current Hindu religion with its so many unreasonable social customs and severe caste rules, is quite dark and hopeless", according to another Hindu voice quoted in the CP[151].

Religious Revivalism, Hindu Reform Movements

On the other hand, various *revivalist movements* in Hinduism are increasingly dominating the religious scene in the country and in the debates in the CP. "There is much talk these days about the revival of ancient Hinduism", it was stated on 18 February 1897 in an overview of the current "religious tendencies of India"[152]. From then on, the topic of "Hindu revivalism" (or "neo-Hinduism" as it was called in the sources) became an integral part of the CP columns–even if (or precisely because) this movement presented an extremely diffuse picture. "No two persons mean the same"–said the CP in a review in January 1904. For many of its followers, the only unifying factor of this "Neo-Hinduism" was a "vague glorification of the past greatness of India, without connoting any definite form or belief"[153]. In any case, it led to the mobilisation of broad sections of the population:

> "We notice on all sides young men rising in defence of ancient Hinduism, Hindu preachers going around determined to stamp out Christianity from their country, and Hindu societies formed everywhere. All these are healthy signs. It shows that our countrymen have passed the stage of apathy and indifference in matters concerning religion which is akin to death itself; but if we are not mistaken the motive that prompts all this activity is a spirit of patriotism. Patriotism is a very good thing but it must be consistent with truth"[154].

150 CP 16.01.1904 p. 3 ("Mr Justice Chandavakar on Hindu Society"). Similarly CP 11.05.1901: "The leading Hindu paper of Calcutta, the '*Amrita Bazaar Patrika*', made the following statement: 'Bengali society is threatened with dismemberment. The Native Christians have made an inroad upon it'".
151 CP 21.08.1909 p. 3 ("The Future of Hinduism"). Only a liberal Hinduism was fit for the future: "Hinduism should be made open to all, and be made on par with the liberal religions of the world" (ibid).
152 CP 18.02.1897 p. 4f.
153 CP 31.01.1904 p. 5 (Text 59).
154 CP 18.02.1897 p. 4f ("Religious Tendencies of India").

At the same time, however, it was unmistakable that many reform movements in Hinduism[155] were deeply *influenced* by Western ideas in general[156] and *Christianity in* particular. "The *influence of Christianity on Hindu religious thought*" was considerable, according to a lecture by Mr Naraina Rau from Brahmo circles in 1899, which the CP therefore warmly recommended to all those who were "interested in the 'New India'". This can be seen not only in the example of the reform movement of the 'Brahmo Samaj' and its founding personalities Ram Mohun Roy and Keshub Chunder Sen, who recognise Christ as "the universal atonement for all mankind"[157]. Quite generally, according to the CP on 18 February 1897 (p. 4f), the 'Brahmo Samaj' was "one of the most impressive testimonies of the living influence of Christian ideas" in India.

It was the missionaries, the "pioneers of Christian evangelisation", who through their social reform activities "have helped to revitalise Hinduism", as another prominent Brahmo leader emphasises in an article on "Revised Hinduism", from which the CP quotes diligently[158]. Despite all the rivalries, the diverse social activities of the Christian missionaries were also recognised as exemplary by other Hindus[159]. The CP recognises the "remarkable influence of Christianity on Hindu religious ideals" in various ways. This also includes the growing interest of "modern Indians" in the Bhagavad Gita (instead of the Vedas), as the CP explains with reference to corresponding statements by a Hindu author: "The Gita is the New Testament of the educated Indian". Increasingly, the Gita and the teachings of Christ were being studied together (CP 12.07.1902 p. 4).– Under the heading "A Hindu on the future of Christianity in India", the CP reprints an article from the *'Hindustan Review'*. It was written by a certain Mr Jnan Chandra Banerji, who is presented by the CP as "typical of the attitude of educated Hindus

155 On the Hindu revival and reform Hinduism (in its relation to Christianity) cf: *(general)*: Salmond (2004), *Hindu Iconoclasts;* Sharma (1988), *Neo-Hindu Views of Christianity;* Michaels (1998), *Hinduism, 63–65;* Chauduri (1979), *Hinduism;* Sharpe (1988), "Neo-Hindu Images of Christianity"; Thomas (1989), *Indian Christians*, 56ff. 74ff; Frykenberg (2008), *Christianity in India*, 399–403.–(In Madras / South India): Muttiah (2004), *Madras Rediscovered*, 93–113. 221–230; Houghton (1983), *Impoverishment of Dependency*, 127–152; Frost (n.d.), *City of Theosophist*; Oddie (1982b), "Hindu Tract Society"; Jones (1989), *Socio-religious Reform Movements*, 162ff.–(*In contemporary missionary perspective:)* Mott (1911), *Decisive Hour*, 33ff.; Andrews (1912), *Renaissance in India,* 106–144 ("The new Reformation"); Farquhar (1915), *Modern religious Movements*; Sharpe (1965), *Not to destroy*, 137–208.

156 "The revivalist tendency that is now everywhere seen among the Hindus… can be traced to the new spirit which Western education has brought into operation among us", quotes the CP under the heading "A Hindu view of Hindu revivals" from an article by a Hindu author (CP 27.02.1897 p. 5).

157 CP 10.06.1899 p. 4 (Text 56).

158 CP 16.12.1899 p. 4 ("Babu P.C. Mozoomdar on Revived Hinduism"). His analysis of the situation is particularly remarkable: "Christianity (is) now in the zenith of its power, politically and numerically", with reference to the organisational strengths of missionary Protestantism, the missionary schools and colleges scattered across the country, the wide circulation of Christian ideas, conversion successes among the Pariahs, the growing number of Indian clergy and Christian congregations, as well as other features of the "progress of Christianity in India". Conclusion: "If Hindus be in the future as they were in the past, their degradation is a foregone conclusion".

159 See the material in Houghton (1983), *Impoverishment of Dependency*, 106ff; Oddie (1978), *Social Protest in India,* 3f.

towards Christianity". The article describes the ethicising influence of Christianity on the reinterpretation of the Hindu tradition (and the discovery of a supposedly caste-free primeval period) as follows:

> "Christianity has given us Christ, and taught us noble moral and spiritual lessons which we have discovered anew in our own scriptures… It has awakened a new spirit of enquiry in the dropping Hindu mind".

The encounter with the Christian message led to the realisation of the "baneful effects of certain soul-degrading customs" and thus purified the Hindu community and filled it with "new life"[160].

In a lecture published in CP on 17.09.1898, a certain Lakshaman Rau–"himself a Brahmin convert" and an "independent Christian worker"–analyses the different attitudes of "educated Hindus" towards Christianity. He distinguishes between three groups: (1) representatives of Hindu orthodoxy and connoisseurs of the Sanskrit scriptures, but with no knowledge of English: Their behaviour was mostly determined by indifference and apathy and occasionally by hatred and antipathy; (2) The established English-knowing elite of South India (especially among members of the older generation): "With few and rare exceptions, men of this class have a respect for the ethical teachings of Christ, and for the name of Christ also"; (3) Students in English-speaking schools and colleges who are increasingly under the influence of radical nationalism (and increasingly agnostic and anti-Christianity tracts from the West). Their attitude towards Christianity is often "decidedly hostile, though towards Christ himself it is one of *reverence*"[161].

In many details, the various currents of "Hindu revivalism" differ considerably, as the CP repeatedly emphasises. A less frequently mentioned group is that of the '*Arya Samaj',* which had its centre of gravity in northern India. It was founded at the end of the 1870s by Dayananda Sarasvati. It combined social activities among the lower castes and women with an emphasis on the authority of the Vedas. The contact with Christian ideas was rather selective[162]. Nevertheless, a Hindu fundamentalist critic, quoted in the CP, described it as "a comfortable compromise between Christianity and Hinduism"[163].–The influence and activities of the *Theosophists*, who had had their Indian headquarters here since 1882, were increasingly noticeable, especially in Madras. Initially labelled a "foreign" religion in the CP–due to the origins of their leaders H.S. Olcott, Madame Blavatsky and Annie Besant–they quickly grew to become the main compet-

160 CP 16.01.1904 p. 4 (Text 58; emphasis KK).
161 CP 17.09.1898 p. 4f (Text 55): "The attitude of educated Hindus towards Christianity".
162 On the 'Arya Samaj' cf. JORDENS (1988), "Dayananda Svarati's Interpretation", 122ff.
163 CP 20.09.1902 p. 5–The CP was able to praise the 'Arya Samaj' as a "mighty moral power in Upper India", despite its aggressive anti-Christian propaganda (CP 18.04.1903 p. 4).

itor for missionary Christianity in the 'Madras Presidency'[164]. They were particularly popular among the Anglophone middle class of South India. The CP often criticised Theosophy as a "superstition of the worst kind" (CP 07.01.1897 p. 7) and pointed out the internal contradictions of this movement, which presented itself as a rediscovery of "true" Hinduism[165]. Educational activities of the Theosophists among the marginalised "Pariahs" were described as a mere imitation of the "Christian missionaries in their work of benevolence" (CP 21.03.1903 p. 4). But the successes of the Theosophists could not be denied. "Hinduism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism and Islam", the CP quotes from a speech by Annie Besamt at the annual meeting of the Theosophists in Benares in 1905, "have come under the magic power of Theosophy. 'Twenty-five years [ago] the Hindus were actually ashamed of their religion. Now Hinduism, under the guidance of Theosophy, is lifting up its head from one end of the country to the other'" (CP 21.01.1905 p. 5).

"During the past year we devoted special attention to the neo-Hindu movement of Swami Vivekananda. A series of critical articles… has appeared in our columns", said the CP in a review of the year 1897 (CP 08.01.1897 p. 4). Indeed, the Bengali-born *Swami Vivekananda* (1863–1902; real name: Narendranath Datta) had achieved not only national but also international fame through his appearance as the first Hindu before the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893[166]. Since his visit to Madras in the spring of 1897, he also caused a sensation in South India. Denied by the CP, he gave the "educated classes" there the "erroneous" impression "that the Swami had affected a religious revolution in England and America" (CP 11.02.1897 p. 8). His lectures in Madras were also translated into various regional languages (CP 05.02.1898 p. 1), and fierce literary controversies followed. Among other things, the CP criticises his polemics against the social reform movement in India. Conversely, however, his decisive condemnation of the caste system is positively emphasised (CP 18.02.1897 p. 5). In any case, "the mission of Hinduism in the West" was henceforth–ambivalently assessed–also a topic in the CP[167]. After the Swami's death on 4 July 1902, the CP published an obituary that paid tribute to him as "one of the most prominent figures in India". It emphasised his overcoming of the traditional self-isolation of Hinduism "through avoiding contact with alien forces". "The Swami performed a public service in indicating the lines along

164 The CP offers a review of 36 years of her existence in an article of 6 January 1912 p. 3 ("The Theosophical Society").–Cf. Campbell (1980), *Ancient Wisdom Revived*; Frost (n.d.), *City of the Theosophists*; Taylor (1991), *Annie Besant*.

165 E.g. CP 01.02.1894 p. 3: "Calcutta Hindus say that if Mrs Besant is, as she professes, a true disciple of Hinduism, her first duty is to put herself under the authority of her husband".

166 On Vivekananda cf. Gupta (2003), *Swami Vivekanada*; French (1988), "Swami Vivekananda Experiences".–Incidentally, one of the earliest mentions of Vivekananda in the CP (only fragments of which survive for 1893 and 1894) can be found in the "London Letter" in the CP of 05.11.1896 p. 7, in which he is quoted–on the occasion of a meeting with Indian Christians in London–as saying, among other things: "I don't intend organising any definite Church. I take my stand on Adwaitism".

167 CP 11.02.1897 p. 4f. "But to us Indian Christians", the CP comments, shaking his head, the seduction of the Swami's American followers by "the absurdities of his teaching" was incomprehensible (ibid).

which Hinduism must proceed, if it should desire to preserve its ancient greatness" (CP 12.07.1902 p. 5f–Text 64).

Among the neo-Hindu reform movements, the CP saw the closest proximity to the *'Brahmo* Samaj'[168]. It was regarded by him as the clearest proof of the profound influence of Christianity on the religious climate in the "new India"[169]. The 'Brahmo Samaj' saw itself "as the greatest moral upheaval outside Christianity in India" and as the movement that realised the tenets of Christianity to the greatest extent–within the framework of "what Indian religious systems can attain to"–in the Indian context[170]. At the same time, the proximity to the Brahmo Samaj in terms of content led to intensive ongoing discussions with the representatives of this movement, who–like their leader Babu P.C. Mozoomdar–called for a "stronger adaptation of Christianity to the Indian environment"[171]. These very exciting debates cannot be traced here in detail. However, they illustrate the intensity of the interaction between the two movements.

Religious Revivalism around 1900 as a Pan-Asian Phenomenon

The much-discussed "Hindu revivalism" in the CP was part of a pan-Asian phenomenon. Around the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, analogue movements emerged in various regions and religious traditions. They led to the rediscovery of their ancient–pre-colonial–traditions and were generally associated with the beginnings of a cultural (and often also political, at least as its precursor) nationalism. In January 1899, for example, the Jaffna-based journal '*The Hindu Organ*' observed:

> "Everywhere throughout the East there is a revival of [sc. Asian] learning and literature, and the work of rescuing the glory of the Oriental religions from the forgotten past is going on apace. In India, Burmah, Siam, Annam [Vietnam], Japan and even in China, which… sent a representative to the Parliaments, the need for religious and moral education is largely felt. Not that our ancestors did not pay to the subject as much attention as is now attempted to be paid to it, they went further in that respect than we who live amidst the materialistic tendencies of the present age can conceive of. In fact, our ancestors lived, moved, and had their being in religion"[172].

In most cases, this revival was not simply a rediscovery of the continent's traditional religions. Rather, this revival was usually associated with modernising tendencies, which in turn were a consequence of interaction with Western modernity and, in par-

168 On 'Brahmo Samaj' cf. KOPF (1979), *Brahmo Samaj;* KOPF (1988), "Keshub Sandra Sen".
169 E.g. CP 18.02.1897 p. 5: "Brahmoism… a half-way house to Christianity". Conversely, Brahmo authors often attributed positive "changes within Hinduism" to "the outcome of Western influences, among which the chief are education (directly) and Christianity (indirectly)" (CP 22.07.1911 p. 7–Text 61).
170 CP 05.04.1902 p. 5 (Text 62), with quotation from the Brahmo journal '*The Indian Messenger*'.
171 CP 16.12.1899 p. 4.
172 '*The Hindu Organ*' (Jaffna) 18.01.1899 p. 41 ("Present-day Hinduism").

ticular, with impulses from the Christian missionary movement. For the Buddhist revival in Sri Lanka, for example, the term *"Protestant Buddhism"* has been coined by in sociological discourses of religion: thereby Buddhist modernism is seen both as a *protest* against, and at the same time as an *imitation* of, the model of missionary Protestantism[173]. This term is connected with various characteristics: the emphasis on the lay element (instead of the traditional primacy of the Sangha) and the rational and scientific character of Buddhism; the (partial) adoption of a monogamous ideal of marriage and the development of a specific lay ethic (with an emphasis on spiritual egalitarianism); the accessibility of the Pali canon through English translations, but also the adoption of missionary propaganda techniques or organisational forms (YMBA instead of YMCA, a Buddhist instead of Christian catechism, etc.). Even, quite surprisingly–in a country with the traditional lunar calendar–"Buddhist Sunday Schools" were established at the end of 19th century.

Analogue developments also took place in other cultural contexts (as, for example, in China where attempts were made to found a "Confucian Church"). Not only in contemporary missionary journalism, but also in current historiographical discourses, reference is often made to the intensity of the interaction between the different religious traditions of Asia and Western modernity. Missionary Protestantism played here a significant role.

For an integrative history of Christianity in Asia, the comparative analysis of the continent's various religious revival movements around 1900 represents an important research task still tob e realised. In conjunction with the rise of Asian nationalism, they confronted the continent's missionary communities–which were usually isolated and fragmented through denominational, geographical and cultural differences–for the first time with a common challenge. They triggered diverse debates and led to new approaches in the search for a "national form" and indigenous expressions of Asian Christianity[174].

Christian "Leaven" and Hindu Revival

In India, it is remarkable that the CP does not primarily perceive the various revival movements as religious competition, but rather welcomes them. They are regarded as a sign of the impact of the "ferment" and "leaven" of Western-Christian modernity, which is inexorably penetrating the tradition-bound Indian society. "We need hardly say that

173 Gombrich / Obeyesekere, (1988), *Buddhism Transformed,* 202–240 ("Protestant Buddhism"); Bond (1988), *Buddhist Revival in Sri Lanka*, 45–74 ("The Early Revival and Protestant Buddhism"); Prothero (1990), *Construction of 'Protestant Buddhism'*; cf. also Bechert (1966), *Buddhismus*, 37–108 ("Der buddhistische Modernismus").–On the various religious revival movements in South Asia at the turn of the century cf: Beckerlegge (2008), *Religious Reform Movements.*

174 See the reflections in: Koschorke (1996), "Kirchliche Emanzipationsbestrebungen", 72–89; Koschorke (2024a), *A Short History,* 185ff.

the revival movement in India has our deepest sympathy", said the CP on 30 January 1904 at the end of his overview of different forms of "Hindu Revivalism".

> "The leaven of Christianity has much to do with this revival. All the theistic movements in India are the outcome of Christian influence"[175].

"The Muhammadan Awakening in India" is also welcomed in the same way. According to the CP on 15 September 1906, this was not primarily a political movement, but a very encouraging "educational and social movement" that deserved much respect and all sympathy. It sought to eliminate backward structures (such as the archaic "purdah system", which resulted in the exclusion of women from education) and "aims at liberalising and modernising the Islamic faith". "We wish", according to the CP's concluding comment, "our Muhamadan fellow-subjects good luck"[176].

As the CP repeatedly emphasises, India is in a state of transition, and Christian ideas play an important role as a catalyst in this process. "A great ferment of thought is taking place, which shows itself in the native Christian community in every department of public, social and religious life"–according to a statement from 1897. In terms of female education, the Christian community is leading the way and setting an example: "Well educated Christian women are a holy leaven" for the whole of India (CP 19.05.1906 p. 4–Text 82). "Christian education… is leavening the whole of India"–another statement frequently made in the CP[177], often quoting external observers. In the religious field, the 'Brahmo Samaj' in particular is regarded as impressive proof of "the living influence of Christian ideas" in modern India (CP 18.02.1897 p. 5); and their moral influence can already be seen in the "revival and transformation" of the "Pariah" and other marginalised groups. This shows Christianity "in innumerable instances (as) a moral lever of great potency". "In a hundred different ways", summarises the last author quoted, "the leaven of Christian influence is working in India"[178].

The significance of this "leaven" concept does not lie in the overestimation of the numerically small community of Indian Christians, which was often hostile from the outside. Rather, it explains the unshakeable optimism of many authors in the CP who knew they were on the right side of history. They saw themselves at the forefront of a movement that was striving for the moral, social and spiritual renewal of the entire country. That is why–unlike many missionary critics–they also welcomed all signs of spiritual awakening and social progress in the country's other religious communities.

175 CP 30.01.1904 p. 5 (Text 59). "The neo-Hindu movement is also a testimony to the quickening power of Christianity"–thus on 1 July 1899 (p. 4) an editorial in the CP on the "prospects of Christianity in India" in the forthcoming 20th century.
176 CP 15.09.1906 p. 4 (Text 63): "The Muhammadan Awakening in India".
177 CP 18.02.1897 p. 5.
178 CP 20.01.1902 p. 4 ("The Working of the Leaven").

Aspects of Living Together: "Christians and their Neighbours"

The CP also provides information on numerous aspects of coexistence between Christians and non-Christians in colonial India. Issues of dispute in everyday neighbourhood life, forms of social exclusion[179], controversies about the possibility of mixed marriages[180], competition and problems in the workplace[181], questions of political representation and employment in the civil service, the ups and downs in relations with other religious communities[182] are openly discussed. Examples of "noble action" and the "higly generous act the part of certain Hindus"[183] are repeatedly praised.

Overall, the position of Christians in South Indian society had improved dramatically in recent years–according to a lecture at the annual meeting of the MNCA in 1901, which the CP reported on in detail. It was dedicated to the topic "Indian Christians and their neighbours". "Not long ago", said the speaker Rev. C.W. Ambavalavar, "I need not say, we were despised, and looked down upon and ignored by our Hindu neighbours…. It was then impossible for us to attempt to have intimate intercourse with the Hindu neighbours. To confess oneself Christian was in itself an act of heroism in those days". The situation is very different today: "We are no longer despised, our numbers have wonderfully increased as seen by the last census. In education we have made rapid strides… The members of our community are occupying highly respectable positions in every walk of life…". All the more reason now for "sympathy, kindness and toleration towards our Hindu neighbours", regardless of their–friendly or hostile–attitude. "We should strive as far as possible to be in close touch with them, and not to cut ourselves altogether adrift from their society…".[184]

However, the situation was not so positive everywhere. There were also major regional differences in this respect. Especially in the north of the country, where the number of Christians was much smaller, there were widespread tendencies towards self-segregation among them. In a lecture in Madras, a prominent North Indian Christian (Alfred Nundy) complained about the lack of social reputation and the ghetto mentality ("exclusiveness") of the Indian Christian community, which the CP expressly does not accept for South India. These statements, the journal comments, "hardly apply to the Native Christian Community in South India" (CP 22.09.1900 p. 4). When the Japanese visitors expressed a similar impression in an interview in 1906–Indian Christians kept their distance from the Hindus–they were immediately asked whether this could

179 E.g. CP 21.10.1905 p. 3: "The moment an Indian becomes a Christian his family, clan and friends, seriously perform his obsequies. He is dead to them…".
180 Which, remarkably, the CP can also endorse: CP 30.04.1910 p. 4.
181 E.g. CP 15.01.1910 p. 5: "The Hindu Sub-Magistrate and the Sabbath day".
182 E.g. CP 22.07.1911 p. 7 (Text 61): "… opposition (sc. to Christianity) had been steadily growing less and ceased altogether rather suddenly about six years back"; quite different CP 27.10.1906 p. 5 (Text 60): In Bengal Christian "counter-demonstrations to the Hindu agitation" in favour of the Swadeshi movement; etc.
183 CP 12.03.1898 p. 5 (Text 54).
184 CP 11.01.1902 p. 3 (Text 57): "Indian Christians and their neighbours".

only be based on information from the north. Because the situation in Southern India was completely different[185].

Especially if, as discussed above, the Indian Christian community saw itself as the "leaven" in the life of the entire nation, its members–according to the voices in a discussion of the MNCA in Madras on "The Social Life of Native Christians"–should also see themselves as a "bridge" to the Hindu community (CP 20.01.1900 p. 3). Co-operation with the "enlightened" representatives of the other religious communities for the good of the nation was one of the characteristics of "Christian patriotism" for the CP from the very beginning. In 1916, looking back on 26 years of its existence, the CP prominently listed the following among the aims of the paper:

> "The Christian Patriot exists to make clear our attitude of sympathy and friendliness towards our non-Christian fellow citizens and to express our views on the various social, political and economic movements set on foot for the advancement of India" (CP 19.02.1916 p. 4–Text 4).

Secular Ideologies

The CP's engagement with secular ideologies is a topic that cannot be dealt with here, although it is also of great importance for understanding religious revivalism in India at the turn of the century. The mass circulation of agnostic and rationalist treatises from the West and "the vast amount of anti-Christian literature" from there (CP 09.07.1896 p. 7) not only shook the old faith, but conversely also gave considerable impetus to opposition to the Christian missionaries. Names such as Darwin, Haeckel and Huxley appeared repeatedly in the columns of the CP, and the debate with the European "Zeitgeist"[186] was one of the self-imposed tasks of the journal, which aimed to inform the Indian-Christian elite at the height of contemporary debate culture. The theory of evolution "has now been accepted… as almost a universal one" is the thesis of an article in the CP of 16 December 1899 (p. 3), and "Atheism unwarranted by Science" is presented in a critical discussion with European agnostics.

185 CP 28.04.1906 p. 3 (Text 113): " 'There is some criticism' ", said the Rev. T. Harada from Japan in an interview, " 'I heard about Indian Christians that you are keeping away the Hindus and other Indians as if you are foreigners…': Q: 'You heard this criticism in North India I suppose'–A: 'Yes, expressed by non-Christians' ".
186 E.g. CP 18.07.1903 p. 2; CP 15.01.1910 p. 6 ("Theosophy and the Zeitgeist").

Cultural Indigenisation of Indian Christianity

Debates on the question of "indigenisation"–that means the search for an "indigenous" form of Indian Christianity–in the CP are mostly focused on the topic of "indigenous leadership" and the other aspects of the classic Three-Self formula (i.e. the ideal of a "self-governing, self-supporting, self-extending native church"). The question of *cultural* indigenisation, on the other hand, initially received less attention. In some cases, corresponding suggestions from missionary circles were even firmly rejected. It was then primarily the 'National Missionary Society of India' (NMS), founded in 1905, in which the inclusion of local traditions in the organisation of Christian spirituality and church life was increasingly discussed.

Church architecture. On 18 June 1898, under the heading "Why are there no independent native Churches", the CP critically discusses the speech given by CMS President Sir John Kennaway at the society's last annual meeting in London. Kennaway had referred self-critically to the "deep-rooted tendency in the Anglo-Saxon character", "to Anglicise everything with which it comes into contact", and cited as an example the complaint of a now deceased missionary to India, "that in India none of the Native Churches are built after Indian architectural style". "The absurdity", according to the CP's reply, "of such an application of an important principle is evident to all those who know what a Hindu temple is and what it is meant for. Everyone in India knows that to build a Christian church after the style of a Hindu temple will be nothing short of folly for the simple reason that it will not serve the purposes of Christian worship. The tendency to Anglicisation in this respect has, therefore, worked beneficially". Other aspects, however, "in which the tendency to Anglicanisation has hampered the growth of an indigenous church" are judged as problematic by the CP. These include the adherence to the denominational differences or "peculiar church distinctions of the West" in India as well as the denial of leadership positions for Indian Christians in the mission churches[187].

Liturgy, music, hymnology. Tamil lyrics (spiritual songs to Tamil melodies) were also sung in the meetings and church services of the NCI, which was founded in 1886–a novelty at the time[188]. "There are signs of an indigenous hymnology", the North Indian Christian Kumar Datta observed in 1908, namely "in southern India… and to a lesser degree in the north"[189]. In 1899, the CP reported on the preparation of a *Tamil hymn*

187 CP 18.06.1898 p. 4 (Text 69).–The CP's comment a good decade later on a church built in the local style ("in harmony with the architecture of the country") in Manchuria was quite different. This example should inspire Indian Christians: "let the proper and *swadeshi* spirit show itself in architecture as well as in theology and homiletics".

188 Mentioned, for example, in the first annual report of the NCI 1886/87 (in: NCI–*Collection of Papers*, 34 [excerpt in: KOSCHORKE et.al. [Earlier attempts at inculturation–in Bengal, for example, Kali Charan Banerjea had tried to introduce the *nagartikan* (dancing and singing procession) from the Bakhi tradition among Christians around 1880–met with criticism from the missionaries.

189 See: DATTA (1908), *Desire of India*, 255f (excerpt in: KOSCHORKE et.al. [2007], *Documentary Sourcebook,* Text 66a).

book to replace an older hymnal with Tamil hymns published by the 'Christian Literature Society' and the Anglican SPCK. The first step is to compile "as complete a collection as possible of existing Tamil hymns, old and new", and readers are asked to help by sending in printed and unprinted examples. "A large number of Tamil Hymns", comments the CP, "have appeared in our columns from time to time, and as some of them are of a very high order it is hoped that the attention of the Committee will be drawn to these Hymns as well"[190].

Christian poetry. In 1910, the CP published an article on the well-known Christian Tamil poet H.A. Krishna Pillai (1827–1900). Born into a Hindu family, he converted to Christianity. According to the CP, he was not only an excellent connoisseur of classical Tamil literature, but also wrote Christian works in the tradition of the great Hindu epics, earning him the reputation of a "Christian Kamban" (Kamban was a famous Tamil poet of the 13th century and author of the Tamil version of the *Ramayana*). "Besides being an eminent scholar and poet, he was an earnest Christian. His Christian life and piety paved the path of the conversion of many in South India". Pillai's life and work is presented in the CP as an "inspiration for present and future generations"[191].

Indian names. The problem of giving Indian converts "Christian" (and at the same time English) names instead of Indian–and "heathen"–names at baptism was discussed time and again. For example, an article by Alfred Nundy, a prominent Christian lawyer from North India, appeared in the CP on 5 November 1896, criticising this practice as "denationalising". At the same time, he regretted that not only the missionary press but also the CP had not made a terminological distinction between "Indian" and "heathen" names in an earlier editorial on the subject[192].–In 1909, however, in times of general national enthusiasm, the mood had changed significantly. "As we are now in the building up of an Indian nation", the journal remarked in an article on the subject of "Indian Christian Names", "we should see that our names are as national as possible". This is why the Indian respectively "national name" is now also increasingly being retained among Christians. "Tamaswamy and Parvati are considered just as good and suitable as Reuben and Phoebe, though it is incongruous to couple different names like John Govinda and Thomas Sambasivan. […] It would be advisable to avoid changing a man's or a woman's name at baptism and leave his developing a finer character to import a richer meaning into his old name…. As a rule the wholesale adoption of American and Eng-

190 CP 16.09.1899 p. 5 (Text 66); in CP 28.01 1899 (p. 3) Vedanayaga Sastri from Tanjore is praised as the author of such "Tamil hymns". Cf. also CP 14.11.1895 p. 2–See also the article "Western Music and Western Sacred Poetry in the Indian Church" by a Rev. H. Harms, printed as a basis for discussion in CP 24.04.1906 p. 3.
191 CP 03.07.1910 p. 5 (Text 71).
192 CP 05.11.1896 p. 3–Of course, this did not correspond to a uniform practice. In the autumn of 1899 there was a detailed discussion in the CP about "Native Christians on caste titles" (CP 19.08.1899 p. 4) and "Names of Christian converts" (CP 28.10.1899 p. 6; CP 09.12.1899 p. 3), with examples to the contrary (such as retaining the former name).

lish names should be discouraged. This is a *Swadeshi* age and let even Indian Christians become *Swadeshi* in their choice of names for their children and future generations"[193].

Another significant terminological shift concerns the terms "Native" and "Indian". According to a note from 1905, it was now *common sense* among both Indians and Europeans to speak of "Indian Christians" instead of "Native Christians"[194]. In the same year, the 'Madras Native Christian Association' renamed itself the 'Madras Indian Christian Association'. This terminology now became generally accepted. Earlier alternative suggestions (such as 'Hindoo Christians'), on the other hand, were no longer recognised[195].

Theology. In his aforementioned 1908 essay "The desire of India", S. Kumar Datta from Lahore, later President of the Indian YMCA and Indian delegate to the Second Round Table Conference in London in 1931, stated

> "The Indian Church has failed on the whole to produce a distinctive theology capable of reaching the minds and hearts of the people. The religious history of India would lead us to look for something of this kind. Yet the nearest approach to a distinctively Indian interpretation of Christ has come from a non-Christian sect, the Brahmo Samaj…". [196]

Remarkably, the 'Brahmo Samaj' is ascribed here by the CP greater competences in the formulation of a "distinctively Indian interpretation of Christ" than the church representatives in the country. The CP also debates the question of an "adaptation of Christianity to the Indian environment" repeatedly–and for a long time in a decidedly reserved manner–in a dialogue with Brahmo positions. Such an adaptation was "a very favourite theory" of the Brahmo leader Babu P.C. Mozoomdar. "But if by adaptation is meant compromise", said the CP on 16 December 1899 (p. 4), "then Christianity looses its essential feature".–"The Brahmos have made familiar the expressions 'Oriental Christ' and 'Oriental Christianity'", stated the CP on 11 June 1904 (p. 4). Even European missionaries would now adopt this terminology. In contrast, the CP comments: "To us, to speak of Western Christianity and Eastern Christianity is as absurd as speaking of the Western aspect… and the Eastern aspect of the law of gravitation. The essence of Christianity… (is) as universal as the laws of nature". However, it was necessary not to

193 CP 24.07.1909, p. 4 (Text 70).

194 CP 04.02.1905 p. 6–Later, the rhetoric changes, especially in the context of the visit of Japanese Christians in 1906, who, like the Indians "people of the East", would give back to the Indians the Lord Jesus from the Orient, who "has been taken away by the people of the West" (according to the letter from the Lahore congregation to the Japanese guests: CP 28.04.1906 p. 3). In general, the fascination of Japan for the readers of the CP lies in the fact that this "oriental" country combines Western modernity with Asian appropriation. Cf. chapter V p. 159ff on Japan and chapter VI p. 227ff on the beginnings of a Christian Panasianism.

195 CP 15.09.1892 p. 3; cf. CP 22.03.1913 p. 5.

196 Datta (1908), *Desire of India*, 255f (excerpt in: Koschorke et.al. [2007], *Documentary Sourcebook,* Text 66a).

export particular developments of the European churches–such as "the denominational Christianity which is unsuited to India"–to the Orient[197].

The names of those "Pioneers of Indigenous Christianity"–as Kaj Baago had called 19th century Indian Christians who, for the first time in a Protestant context, attempted to establish a positive relationship between the Christian message and the religious traditions of India (such as Krishna Mohun Banerjea or A.S. Appasamy)–are often mentioned in the CP. But they are portrayed here not as representatives of a specifically Indian theology, but primarily as renowned representatives of the country's "educated" Christian elite across religious boundaries[198].–"Indian Christian Literature" is the title of a lecture given by the Rev. J. Lazarus at the annual meeting of the MNCA in 1898, which the CP printed in full on 28 January 1899. It emphasises the high literary productivity of Protestant Christians and lists the names of recognised Christian authors from different regions of the country. Even if according to Lazarus a clear preponderance of English-language publications is to be regretted, his summary is: "On the whole,… we have reason to congratulate ourselves on the intellectual efforts of our community"[199].

Around the turn of the century, a controversy arose that shows how much more the authors speaking in the CP were interested in Christianity as a modernising force, rather than in inculturation-theological initiatives. Andy Pulney, founder of the NCI, had published a small pamphlet in 1894 entitled "Are not Hindus Christians?", in which he pointed out parallels between the Old Testament and the Vedas. The CP initially passed over this writing with silence and in 1904 condemned "the hazy, ill considered talk, indulged in on the subject of Eastern or Oriental Christianity", which in his estimation was merely the fashion of the day. "A Hinduised Christianity"–was the journals's judgement–"is as absurd as a round square. The Christianity that is needed for India in Christ and HIS Salvation"[200].–Liberal missionaries such as A.G. Fraser, N. Farquhar or C.F. Andrews are frequently mentioned in the CP and sometimes quoted at length. However, newer theological models such as the so-called "fulfilment theology"–Christ did not come to destroy but to fulfil (Mt 5:17)–which sought to appreciate Hinduism as a precursor to Christian revelation, did not find much resonance in the CP[201].

197 CP 11.06.1904 p. 4 ("The Christianity that is needed for India").

198 BAAGO (1969), *Pioneers of Indigenous Christianity*; compare for example the list of renowned Indian Christians in CP 05.01.1901 p. 4f (Text 75).

199 CP 28.01.1899 p. 3, albeit with the caveat that most of them "wrote in English and not in their vernaculars". This had to be changed because "the authors must deliver their message through the vernaculars". Among the English-language authors named are: Krishna Mohan Bannerjea, Ramchandra Bose, Nehemia Goreh, Michael Dutt, Lal Bahri Dey, Govinda Samanta, Torn Dutt ("woman… sweet singer of Bengal"), Sagama and Kamala ("admired in different countries of Europe"). Among the vernacular authors, mainly writers in Tamil and Telugu are listed. A "more or less complete catalogue of Indian Christian literature" would be desirable.

200 Thus the CP, quoted in '*The Baptist Missionary Review*' 10 (1904) 268; cf. HOUGHTON (1983), *Impoverishment of Dependency*, 192 FN 58 (= p. 211).

201 Farquhar's "Christ the Crown of Hinduism" is commented on in the CP of 30 July 1910 (p. 5) by an (Indian or European?) reviewer as follows: "I cannot but admire hiss kill and enthusiasm, but my mind alternatively admirers it and finds fault with it". Cf. FARQUHAR (1 1913 /2 1971), *Crown of Hinduism*; SHARPE (1965), *Not to Destroy.*

Bible translations in public discourse. In the Protestant context in particular, Bible translations into the respective regional languages were often at the beginning of all missionary activities. However, the fact that these Bible translations–which could never be carried out without the involvement of local Christians and co-workers anyway–were not simply produced in closed committee meetings, but were also the subject of intense public debate, is clearly shown in the CP's publicity[202]. In 1904 (or 1905), the Bible Society of Madras had published a revised version of the Telugu Bible, which triggered fierce controversy. The main point of contention was the rendering of the biblical name of God. The previously used word *Jehovah* was now replaced by the term *Sarvesvaradu*, which reminded critics too much of Hindu terminology. This sparked "a rather wordy warfare" in parts of the Christian public, in which the CP also took part. Together with a Baptist missionary journal, it documented in detail the different opinions of European missionaries and Indian Christians on this issue and called on its readers to make their own statements. Because: "the Bible is for the Telugu people, and the word of the Telugu people should be decisive on such a question". Tamil readers also took part in the debate. After all, Telugu is linguistically related to Tamil, and the same problem arises here and there[203]. The opinion gathered was clear: the vast majority of the votes cast (and also the editor of the CP himself) were "emphatically" against the innovation[204].

Christian ashrams. The founding of the 'Christukula Ashram' in 1921 in Tirupattur (North Arcot) by Savarirayan Jesudason and Ernest F. Paton is generally regarded as the beginning of the Christian ashram movement in India. However, the discussions about such a project go back a long way[205]. The CP provides an insight into earlier initiatives to organise forms of communitarian life based on indigenous models. In 1905, for example, the CP printed a letter to the editor under the heading "A Christian Swadeshi Movement", which it highly recommended reading. It reports on the founding of a "new [Christian] brotherhood" in Allahabad–in the spirit of the biblical ideal of community *and* modelled on Indian ascetics. They are looking for "educated (Christian) persons of either sex… to consecrate their talents to the uplifting of the members of their community, and countrymen men and country women". Under the guidance of a *guru,* they lead a communal life, "all living and boarding together as a family of Christian workers, men and women separately and in separate places under separate arrangements[206].–In

202 On the CP (and the other journals analysed as part of the Munich-Hermannsburg DFG project), see the texts compiled under the heading "D.2 Christianity and Local Cultures, Debates about Languages and Bible Translations" in: *Discourses,* Text 67ff. 181ff. 276ff. 380ff.

203 CP 21.10.1905 p. 6 (Text 68).

204 CP 09.09.1905 p. 5 (Text 67). This debate is continued in CP 16.09.1905 p. 5f; CP 23.09.1905 p. 5; CP 30.09.1905 p. 5; CP 07.10.1905 p. 5; CP 21.10.1905 p. 6; CP 28.10.1905 p. 6–This debate marks a clear change in the situation compared to 1898. At that time, in view of the planned revision of the Tamil Bible translation, the CP had still complained about the lack of participation of "some competent native clergymen" and mentioned the names of suitable persons (CP 08.19.1898 p. 5).

205 The first experiments are associated with the name Bhavani Charan Banerji (1861–1907) in Bengal.

206 CP 21.10.1905 p. 6.

1912, the CP reports on a conference of the NMS in Delhi, which was dedicated to the question of the "indigenous character" of the society's work. Various proposals were discussed: "freedom from the trammels of salaries and the encouragement of endowments and self supporting workers; workers should live among the people and be in every way identified with their interests: *dharmasalas* and itinerancies should be established". Finally, K.T. Paul, a prominent founding member of the NMS, "contended that his Society was not a copy of Western methods but in the same breath he suggested a Christian *Ashrama* whose members should be celibates"[207].

According to historian G.P.V. Somaratna, the ashram movement subsequently made "a disproportionately large contribution to the 'Indianisation' of the Church"[208]. However, the topic of cultural indigenisation was now generally prominent on the agenda. The national Indian 'Continuation Conference' of 1912 (following the WMC Edinburgh 1910), for example, counted the freedom of cultural articulation ("freedom for self-expression") among the most prominent requirements for the Indian church of the future: "The Indian Church should have entire freedom to develop on such lines as will conduce to the most natural expression of the spiritual instincts of Indian Christians"[209].

207 CP 06.07.1912 p. 4 (Text 72).
208 Somaratna (2011), "Ashram Movement", 43f; England (2002), *Asian Christian Theologies*. Vol. I, 372f (with a rich bibliography); cf. Jesudason (1937), *Ashrams Ancient and Modern*, passim; O'Toole (1983), *Christian Ashrams in India;* Vandana (1978), *Gurus, Ashrams and Christians;* Pattathu (1997), *Ashram Spirituality*.
209 CCC–*Continuation Committee Conferences in Asia*, 125.

Education, Progress, Modern Elites, "Mass Movements"

Education played a central role in the life of the Protestant Madras elite. They regarded themselves–and were also perceived as such from the outside[210]–as a "*progressive community*". Although only a minority within a minority, they saw themselves at the forefront of the social, religious and spiritual progress of the entire country. The high level of education of its members (and in particular the community's leading role in the field of *female education) was* a decisive characteristic of this Christian progressiveness.

"The educational progress of native Christians", according to the CP on 19 March 1896 (p. 4), was "far in advance of the other communities, excepting Europeans and Eurasians". "Progress under native Christians"–said the CP in 1898, this time referring to the latest data from the 'Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency'–"is more marked than under any other native community"[211]. "There can be no doubt"–it says in 1901 in an article on "Educational progress of Indian Christians in the light of the Census (sc. of 1901)"–"that the Indian Christian community is leaving all other Indian communities far behind in the race of intellectual progress"[212]. It is true that the Christian community–in terms of school education for boys, for example–is still well behind the Brahmins, both in absolute numbers and in relation to the size of the group[213]. However, their growth rates are disproportionately high and bode well for the future.–The "progress of Indian Christians", according to the CP in 1904, was also evident in "the very large number of Indian Christians who have won University distinctions". In terms of *primary education,* the Christian community was now on a par with the Brahmins, "and in female education it is taking the lead everywhere". Indian Christians are also strongly represented in the list of *fellows* of Madras University, as doctors in the public health service and as teachers, lawyers and in other respectable professions. However, they are not represented in the *Legislative Council (*the representative body in colonial India with appointed members)[214].

This *eduational progress* was based on the numerous educational institutions founded by the Euro-American missions over the last 50 years. These were by no means unrivalled when it came to imparting modern knowledge. In addition to state institutions, the school established by the Theosophists also caused a stir from the 1880s onwards[215]. But the missions still maintained an impressive–and gradually expanded–

210 Sunthuralingam (1980), *Nationalist Awakening*, 115: "Indian Christians… won general acceptance as a progressive community. Christian women were the most literate in South India, and Christian men ranked second only to the Brahmins in their performance in collegiate education relative to their proportion of the population"; analogue: Kumara Doss / Alexander (2012), "Protestant Elite", 114ff.
211 CP 30.07.1898 p. 4 (Text 74).
212 CP 19.10.1901 p. 4.
213 Thus–in relation to boys' school attendance–CP 30.07.1898 p. 4 (Text 74).
214 CP 24.12.1904 p. 5.
215 Cf. Gosh, *History of Education*, 58ff.

institutional presence, which the CP repeatedly refers to with pride[216]. Institutions such as the renowned Madras Christian College–described in 1900 as "the largest mission institution in India"–served not only as an elite training centre for the majority of Hindu students, but also for future Christian leaders (such as V.S. Azariah or K.T. Paul). However, it is not the missionary activities but Indian initiatives that are at the centre of the CP's interest. "Most of the higher education of women in this country is under the control of our lady graduates, and the heads of the Bethune College in Calcutta and the Training Female College in Bombay are Native Christian ladies. And our women have not confined their educational and philanthropic labours to Missionary and Government establishments. They have originated new and independent sphere of action, in which they have achieved great success"[217].

The Brahmanical monopoly on education had been broken and the Christian community had made unimagined progress in a short space of time thanks to missionary educational institutions and its own initiative, according to an article from 1901. At the same time, it contains a very optimistic outlook for the new century: "Standing on the borderland of the 20th Century which has just been ushered in, we would gladly penetrate the dim vista that stretches before us […] *We are a progressive community*, and have attained a position of intellectual culture and social advancement that any people, similarly conditioned, might regard with gratification. This position we have gained in God's mercy, in a comparatively brief space of time." [218]

This is linked to the claim to play a "very important role" as a Christian community in the process of transition from the old to the "new India":

> We firmly believe that the Indian Christian community has *a very important part to play in the regeneration of India.* The many problems, political, social and moral, confronting New India can only be solved successfully by Christianity; for its moral power to purify and renovate the personal and social life is immense. The possibilities before the Indian Christian community are great,… and our earnest prayer and hope is that the *Christian Patriot* will prove of some help in affording this sympathetic guidance […][219].

India is in a "transitory period", according to the frequently varied analysis, and Christianity will play a decisive role in this transformation process as a socially formative force. It is true that the Christian community is still very small in numerical terms. But the "ferment" of Christian civilisation has long been absorbed into Indian society, as non-Christians also recognise. "Christianity has influenced the thought and life of

216 For example, CP 06.07.1912 (p. 5, in an overview based on the 1911 census): "we also compute 47 colleges, 64 theological seminaries, 17 normal schools, 142 high schools, 26 technical schools, and 122 hospitals. Together with orphanages, asylums, hostels, sanitariums, etc., the total number of institutions reported is about 1'047".
217 CP 05.01.1901 p. 4–5 (Text 75).
218 CP 05.01.1901 p. 4–5 (Text 75).
219 CP 07.01.1905 p. 4 (Text 4).

the whole of educated India", it says–quoted approvingly by the CP–in an article in the Brahmo newspaper 'The Indian Messenger' of 25 December 1905[220]. And it was Christianity that "taught us [sc. Hindus] noble moral and spiritual lessons which we have discovered anew in our own Scriptures", was the statement of an "educated Hindu" who comments on the prospects of Christianity in the 20th century in the 'Hindustan Review' (again reprinted in the CP)[221]. Conversely, the CP recognises clear traces of Christian influence in numerous contemporary religious movements. This applies not only to the 'Brahmo Samaj', which–like its founder Ram Mohun Roy–has adopted central ethical postulates of Christianity and is characterised as "the greatest moral upheaval outside Christianity in India"[222], but also to many other modernising reform movements in Hinduism and Islam. Remarkably, they are not primarily seen as rivals, but rather as a sign of the "awakening" of the "new" India after centuries of slumber[223].

Conversely, this results in a call (and willingness) to cooperate with all forces outside the Christian camp that are committed to the goal of "social reform" and spiritual renewal in India as well as the fight against the caste system, superstition, discrimination against women and other "social evils" of traditional society[224]. Contrary to what had been claimed by ignorant critics from northern India, the Christian community in south India does not withdraw into a ghetto-like self-isolation, but can point to a long line of prominent personalities who enjoy respect and recognition across religious boundaries[225]. The regular columns in CP include the section "Ourselves as Others see us", which compiles multiple voices from the British (colonial) and Indian press to document the growing prestige of the Indian-Christian community in the Indian society[226].

Despite all this impressive evidence and the eager analysis of the latest census data to prove Christian progressiveness, the problem remains that this group of "educated native Christians" only represented a minority within the Indian Christian community. The latter was made up of very heterogeneous elements[227]; and its numerical growth was increasingly fuelled by the so-called mass movements among mostly illiterate groups

220 CP 20.01.1906 p. 4. Cf. also CP 17.09.1908 p. 4f. (Text 55): "The attitude of Educated Hindus towards Christianity"; CP 10.06.1899 p. 4 (Text 56).

221 CP 16.01.1904 p. 4 (Text 58).

222 CP 05.04.1902 p. 5 (Text 62).

223 "We hardly need to say that the revival movement in India has our deepest sympathy" (combined with the criticism that in the Hindu revival "no two people mean the same": CP 30.01.1904 p. 5 (Text 59); "we are glad to see that Government is helping our Mussalmen brethren in this direction", on the subject: "The Muhammadan Awakening in India" (CP 15.09.1906 p. 4–Text 63). Cf. also the obituary of Swami Vivekananda (CP 12.07.1902 p. 5f. (Text 64).

224 For example, within the 'Social Reform Association' or the non-Hindu nationalist wing of the Indian National Congress, see chapter III p. 84ff.

225 See e.g. CP 22.09.1900 suppl. p. 2 (Text 73).

226 An example: CP 05.01.1901 p. 6 (Text 77); cf. also the list of names in CP 05.01.1901 p. 4f. (Text 75). The publication of biographies of prominent Indian Christians (for example by Samuel SATTHIANADHAN [1896], *Sketches of Indian Christians*, Madras; initial print run 2000 copies) served the same purpose.

227 CP 25.06.1896 p. 6: "The Indian Christian community, recruited as it is from all castes and of all grades of society, is no doubt composed of heterogenous elements".

and members of lower castes on the subcontinent. This problem is by no means suppressed in the debates of the Protestant Madras elite, but is constantly present. "We are a progressive community", reads an article on the "Duties and Responsibilities of Indian Christians in the 20th century". But: "there are [still] defects in us", with reference to the "painful distinctions of pagan caste" that persist even among Christians[228]. The desired "social union" of Indian Christians is anything but already realised. However, Christianity–as a universal religion that "recognises neither caste nor race"–is in a position to gradually bridge the differences that undoubtedly exist, as recent developments confirm[229] and give hope for the new century. New educational institutions are therefore of particular interest, especially for the lower classes[230]. Alongside this, however, there are also repeated sharp words of criticism of the "apathy and indifference of the intelligent section of the native [sc. Christian] community" towards their fellow Christians from the lower castes[231]. Ultimately, however, it is once again the "leaven" theory that guides the social diagnosis: the "ferment" of the Christian message would gradually penetrate the country's encrusted social structures and lead to positive changes. In particular, it is Christian women who, as the "holy leaven"[232] and pioneers of education among previously marginalised groups, will steer the country's future in a positive direction.

The growing importance of the mass movements in the Christian camp and changes in the prioritisation of missionary education policy nevertheless led to critical reactions from the Madras elite. The united conversion of entire groups from the lower end of the social spectrum was to be welcomed, according to an article from 1906: "But we wish to emphasise the fact that such mass movements are not an unmixed blessing… The work among the higher castes may be hard, but it ought not to be neglected"[233]. There were heated debates at one of the Indian Edinburgh follow-up conferences in 1912, where Indian participants spoke out "emphatically" against a one-sided prioritisation of mass movements instead of traditional educational work in secondary schools and colleges. Instead, they referred to "the great importance of higher education as a missionary agency" and pleaded for a recognition "of the place and importance of both the mass movements and the higher education in the missionary propaganda"[234].

228 CP 05.01.1901 p. 4f. (Text 75).
229 "The gulf… is still often great, but it is being bridged. The Indian (sc. convert from a mass movement) is a better educated man, with a wider outlook than he was 20 years ago" (CP 14.10.1905 p. 7).
230 For example, the project of summer schools (to train local leaders in *mass movement areas*: CP 13.01.1906 p. 2 (Text 76), or various initiatives of the Indian 'National Missionary Society'.
231 CP 05.11.1898 p. 4. In one of its first issues, the CP condemned as scandalous the behaviour of a Christian schoolmaster who refused "Pariah" children admission to his school (CP 28.04.1892 p. 4). In the same context, there was criticism of "the Pariah's new friends" in various neo-Hindu associations, who–alarmed by Christian missionary successes–suddenly showed an interest in the hitherto marginalised casteless.
232 CP 19.05.1906 p. 4 (Text 82).
233 CP 03.03.1906 p. 4; cf. CP 14.01.1905 p. 7. Criticism of missionary focussing on *mass movements* for example also in CP 14.10.1905 p. 7; CP 05.01.1907 p. 5.
234 CP 07.12.1912 p. 5.

In these controversies, the conflicts that later were to become the subject of so-called Dalit theology from the 1980s onwards can already be seen.

While it was long believed that Western education as such undermined the Hindu faith[235], since the turn of the century there have been increasing calls for an intensified "vernucalisation" and greater consideration of the respective cultural traditions in teaching at higher Christian educational institutions. As the reform pedagogue A.G. Fraser, who worked in Kandy, Sri Lanka, emphasised, the aim of Christian education should not be to preach an "English Christ", but the "Christ of India and Ceylon". Under the heading "Education and the National Movement in India and Ceylon", the CP reports briefly on such considerations, without being able to really sympathise with them[236]. This aspect of indigenisation efforts did not yet play a decisive role in the debates of the CP's readership.

235 "Now the lower castes can no longer be kept in ignorance and in servile condition by the higher castes, and especially by the Brahmins, for many of them have good Western education"(CP 21.08.21. p. 3).
236 CP 14.03.1908 p. 4.

Women, Female Education, Gender Issues

"Wherever Christianity has spread there the emancipation of women has followed", quoted the CP on 5 November 1898 from a speech by S. Gnanamuthu, lecturer at the Christian College in Madras. He had spoken at the annual meeting of the 'Madras Native Christian Association' (MNCA), which was dedicated to the topic of "Female education in India with special reference to the native Christian community"[237]. In fact, the "leading role" of Indian Christians in female education was at the centre of their self-image (and external perception) as a "progressive community", just as they made this issue the criterion for their relationship to other political and social movements in the "new India"[238]. This issue was also an important topic in contacts with other Asian Christians–for example during the visit of a Japanese delegation to India in 1906 (see below). In any case, keywords such as "Female education in Madras" or "Educated Indians and Female education" were frequently discussed in the columns of the CP[239] and at the meetings of the MNCA. At the same time, this was the area where the contrast between Christianity as a modernising force and traditional Hinduism and Islam–which were rejected as backward–became particularly clear.

"The denial of education to the females is the crowning device of Hindu society", reads an article–"specially written for the CP"–from 23 February 1901 on female education as an essential prerequisite for India's national progress. "So long as the daughters of this land are bowed down by the fetters of ignorance, deprived of all that is good, all that is noble and all that is virtuous, no reasonable advance in the direction of national progress is possible and practicable". By denying education to "her women and daughters", India is the most backward of all nations. It is not only social customs and traditions that are responsible for this, but in particular "the religious books of the country", which deny women access to education.[240]. "Our women are denied"–according to another voice, which emphasises in particular the connection between illiteracy and the widespread practice of early marriage–"equal privileges with men, and are kept in darkness and ignorance. Our girls, in very tender age, are most inhumanly sacrificed on the altar of marriage to old men with one foot in the grave… Our women are practically denied almost all the benefits of higher education."[241]. Despite all the existing difficulties, the situation is different for Christians. "Our community, next probably to the Parsee community, takes the *foremost lead in female education*. In all the provinces in India the women who have been the first to receive University distinctions

237 CP 05.11.1898 suppl. p. 4; the lecture by S. Gnanamuthu and the subsequent discussion are documented there in full; cf. the introductory article in: CP 05.11.1898 p. 4 (Text 80).
238 Thus on the Indian National Congress and the Social Conference; see above chapter III p. 84ff.
239 E.g. CP 08.02.1908 p. 4; CP 10.02.1906 p. 7; CP 17.08.1907 p. 6; CP 21.09.1907 p. 6.
240 CP 23.03.1901 p. 5 (Text 79).
241 CP 21.01.1899 p. 6 (Text 78).

have been native Christians"[242]. "The community is placed in the most advantageous position in regard to the acquirement of knowledge… In female education it is taking the lead everywhere"[243].

The institutional basis of this progress was the educational institutions of the missionaries, who–as repeatedly emphasised in the CP–were the first in India to provide school education for girls to any significant extent. Prominent missionary educational institutions were now often "under the control of (Indian) Christian ladies". Important in the debates of the Protestant Madras elite on educational issues is the reference to the latest census data (at provincial or national level) or other statistical surveys of the colonial administration. In detail, they provide a regionally, socially and in relation to the different levels of education differentiated picture and are discussed in the CP quite controversially and also self-critically. Despite all the progress made, there were still considerable "deficits" among the Christians (CP 05.01.1901 p. 4f–Text 75); and measured against earlier expectations, "the educational condition of Indian Christians… far from satisfactory" (CP 26.03.1904 p. 4–Text 81). Various factors were to blame for this: the heterogeneous social composition of the Christian community, the persistent "pagan" caste mentality, unfortunately tob e found also in the midst of the Christian churches, or false role models even in the minds of educated Indian Christians. Many of them, as it was critically noted, still see the place of women in the kitchen instead of following a "Christian ideal of women". According to this ideal, women can take on independent responsibility in marriage, family and neighbourhood. Contrary to "crude" fears to the contrary, educated women are by no means a threat to the social cohesion of the community[244].

On the whole, however, the developments of the last ten to twenty years gave cause for pride and great optimism. According to the latest statistics–as the aforementioned Mr S. Gnanamuthu, speaker at the annual meeting of the MNCA in Madras in 1898,

242 CP 05.11.1898 suppl. p. 5 ("Female Education with special reference to the Native Christian Community").
243 CP 24.12.1904 suppl.–On the topic of 'Women in Colonial India' cf.: FORBES (1996), *Women in modern India*; LAUX (1997), *Frau in der Hindugesellschaft*; SETH (2007), *Subject Lessons* (esp. chapter 5: "Gender and the Nation: Debating Female Education", 129–158); ALLENDER (2016), *Learning Feminity in Colonial India*; MILLS (1996),"Gender and Colonial Space", 124–147.–In the context of missions: SINGH (2000), *American Missionary Women* (see therein esp: chapter 7: "Isabella Thoburn [1840–1901]: The Lal Bagh Schools and the Isabella Thoburn College", 245–280); ROBERT (1996), *American Women in Mission*; KEIM (2005), *Frauenmission und Frauenemanzipation*, esp. 169f. 171ff; KENT (2004), *Converting Women;* BAUMANN, C.M. (2008), "Redeeming Indian 'Christian' Womanhood?", 5–27; SEMPLE (2003), *Missionary Women;* THORNE (1999), "Missionary-Imperial Feminism", 39–65); HOFFMANN (2015), *Mission–Bildung–Frauenemanzipation*; MUIR (1880), "Seclusion Women in India", 73–78; LEWIS (1885), "Christian Work amongst the Women of India", 73–78; cf.: KOSCHORKE (2015b), "Stellung der Frau", 217–227.–(Auto-) biographies of Indian Christian women: NAYAR (2017), "Native Christian Auto/ biographies", 193–210; PADMANJI (1889), *Once Hindu, Now Christian;* GRIFFIN (1911), *Chundra Lela;* GANI (1892), "An Appeal from Native Christians"; cf. MAHABOOB BASHA (2018). "Telugu Women's Periodicals", 33–45; RAMAKRISHNA (1991), "Women's Periodicals in Andhra", 80–87; ASHITHA (2019). "Women's Periodicals in Colonial India", 50–64; CHANDRA SEKHAR (2023). "Christian Women's Periodicals".–On the marriage and family law of the 'Native Christian Community' cf. MALLAMPALLI (2004), *Christians and Public Life*, passim.
244 CP 05.11.1898 suppl. p. 5.

stated–there are 2,701,657 girls of school-going age in the Madras Presidency, but only 4.8% of them attend school. "Among Hindu Brahmins 20% of girls of school-going age are under instruction, but among non-Brahmin Hindus only 2.7%". Among the local Christians, however, this percentage is 33.5%. Even if one takes into account the fact that only a few Indian-Christian girls make it beyond the upper secondary level[245], the following still applies: "In all the stages of Education, Primary, Secondary and Collegiate, we find our girls taking the lead". While the Brahmins lead the way in terms of school education for boys, "our community… surpasses all other natives of the soil in the matter of female education"[246].

The CP is convinced that Christian women are acting as "holy leaven" in the current transitional phase of Indian society[247]. The "new women" of India communicate across religious boundaries[248]. The gallery of prominent Indian Christian women presented by the CP naturally included a personality such as *Pandita Ramabai* (1858–1922), who–

"an Indian social reformer, a champion for the emancipation of women, and a pioneer in education"[249]–was held in the highest esteem not only by the contemporary missionary and indigenous Christian press[250], but also by the wider Indian public. As a Sanskrit scholar, she was given the title of *Pandita* and the honourary name *Sarasvati* by the University of Calcutta. A convert from a Brahmin family, she also gained recognition for her translation of the Bible into Marathi. She was one of the first female delegates to speak at a session of the 'Indian National Congress' in 1889 and gained international prestige through her lecture tours in the USA, among other things. However, she became known above all for her great social work, which saved thousands of members of lower castes, child widows, orphans and other destitute women during a devastating famine in Maharashtra in 1896. South Indian Christians eagerly donated to her enterprise, for which the CP eagerly beat the propaganda drum. She fought the widespread practice of early marriage and founded Christian schools[251] in rural areas.

Another person repeatedly mentioned in the CP (and who also appeared there as an author) was *Lilivati Singh* (1868–1909). She campaigned for the right of Indian women to university education. She was presented as a "role model" for her fellow women in

245 CP 05.11.1898 suppl. p. 5: "In 1896–97 there were only two Native Christian girls in the collegiate stage, and even in the Upper Secondary stage the number was 120".
246 CP 05.11.1898 suppl. p. 5f.
247 E.g. CP 19.06.1906 p. 4 (Text 82).
248 CP 20.06.1903 p. 3.
249 This is the characterisation in Wikipedia English Art. Pandita Ramabai (accessed on 01.05.2017). There is a wealth of literature on Pandita Ramabai. Biographically orientated is: SENGUPTA (1970), *Pandita Ramabai Sarawati*. Latest monographic treatment: SUARSANA (2013), *Pandita Ramabai*. She quickly became internationally known and was also recognised in the West African press as early as 1889 ('*The Sierra Leone Weekly News*' 04.05.1889 p. 3; see *Discourses*, Text 312).
250 CP 29.01.1898 p. 5; CP 05.02.1898 p. 2; CP 10.10.1903 p. 4; CP 24.12.1904 p. 3; CP 05.01.1901 p. 4–5 (Text 75); CP 15.09.1906 p. 3 (lecture on Pandita Ramabai); CP 21.01.1906 p. 6.
251 For example, the Christian High School in Gulbarga.

the obituary of the CP of 3 July 1909[252]. Singh was a third-generation Christian. She came from a humble background and was sent to school by her father–"not a very great man, nor a very learned man". Because she received an award for her excellent M.A. degree from the local '*Indian Christian Association*', she was first mentioned in the CP in 1896. She later worked as a teacher (and "only Indian teacher on the college staff") at her former school, *Lucknow Womens College,* and followed her teacher Isabella Thuborn to America to raise money for the college.

In 1900, she took part in the ecumenical missionary conference in New York as an Indian delegate and gave a speech there that deeply impressed the then US President Harrison Singh[253]. In India, she became Vice Principal at Thoburn College, the oldest women's college founded in India, and supported emancipatory movements of Indian Christians such as the 'National Missionary Society' founded in 1905.

In 1906, a delegation of Japanese Christians travelled to India at the invitation of the Indian YMCA. The topic of their nationally acclaimed lectures was: "What can India learn from Japan?" One of the answers was: education for women. "We endeavour to raise womanhood…. Japan has abolished caste. Will you? Japan has given education to her women. Will you?"[254]. In 1907, the conference of the 'World's Student Christian Federation' (WSCF) was held in Tokyo, the first ecumenical event in Asia with a majority of Asian delegates. Lilivati Singh (as the only female member of the Indian delegation) was asked to speak on the topic: "Women Students in India". In her presentation, she analysed the individual stages of the Indian school and education system and drew a sobering conclusion: "When in Japan I visited several girl's schools and talked with many leading educationalists, I felt discouraged over India". Japan, she said, already had compulsory education for 35 years. In India, on the other hand, "compulsory education for girls… is impossible, with its child-marriage, its pardah system and its sacredly held opinion that girls have no brains". Positive work, on the other hand, is being done by the Indian YWCAs. Nevertheless, Rambai's analysis was not without hope: "Slowly, very slowly perhaps, the cause of higher education for women, is spreading and gaining ground in India…. Yes, India has a great future before her". But only in Jesus Christ could India's spiritual longing find fulfilment[255].

Other traditions sharply criticised in the CP–such as child marriage, the practice of dowry and the seclusion of girls and women *(pardah)*–are also linked to the debate on *female education*. The "pernicious system of early marriages" is also castigated as a "hindrance to the education of our girls" by the Syrian Christians in Tranvancore (who

252 CP 03.07.1909 p. 3. In the same year, 1909, the American Florence L. Nichols dedicated a book to her ("Lilavati Singh: A Sketch"). As an international personality, she presented an article in '*Life and Light for Woman*' as early as 1908 (Vol. 38, February 1908, p. 50–51: "Lilivati Singh in China and Japan").–Further important mentions in the CP: CP 23.01.1896 p. 5; 18.05.1901 p. 5; 20.01.1906 p. 6–7; 01.11.1908 p. 6 (Text 84); 16.07.1910 p. 5 (Text 85). Cf. also: MONTGOMERY (2005), "Western Women in Eastern Land", 171f.

253 CP 03.07.1909 p. 3.

254 *'Indian Witness'* 15 March 1906 p. 163. cf. KOSCHORKE (2015a), "'What can India learn from Japan?'".

255 CP 11.01.1908 p. 6 (Text 84).

have lived in a Hindu environment for centuries)[256], just as a legislative initiative by two Hindu members of the Madras Legislative Council to raise the age of marriage is fully supported by the CP[257]. Earlier intra-Christian controversies–for example over the admission of polygamous candidates to baptism–have lost their relevance, as polygamy is gradually declining and "the rightness of monogamy is gradually being recognised by all classes"[258]. The discrimination of Indian Christians in inheritance law has been the subject of repeated and vehement complaints[259]. The practice of marriage and divorce among Christians in the various provinces, classes and denominations was the subject of a survey that sought greater consideration in legislation[260].

256 CP 12.07.1902 p. 5.
257 CP 05.02.1898 p. 4 ("A Bill to prevent Infant Marriages").
258 CP 13 August 1896 p. 5 (Text 86).
259 See e.g. CP 14.04.1899 p. 4 (Text 88): "Native Christians and Succession Duties"; cf. GRAFE (1990), *Christianity in Tamil Nadu*, 131; MALLAMPALLI (2004), *Christians and Public Life*, 59–84.
260 CP 16.04.1910 p. 3: "Indian Christian marriage and divorce".

Indian Christians in the Princely States

The situation of Indian Christians in the so-called princely states also received special attention in the CP. Unlike the territories of "British India", the "princely states" were not subject to direct but to "indirect rule" by the British colonial government. This was partly for historical reasons and partly for strategic considerations, because "it was believed that indirect rule tended not to generate such powerful nationalist movements as were to be found in British-run territories"[261]. In princely states such as Mysore, Cochin and Tranvancore (the latter predecessor states of today's Kerala), the "native Christians" were often worse off than in British India. The situation in Tranvancore–known as "a purely Hindu state"[262]–was even less favourable than in comparatively liberal Mysore[263]. In any case, topics such as "The position and disabilities of Native Christians in the Tranvancore State" (as well as in Mysore) took up a lot of space in the CP's journalism[264]. Such complaints concerned: blatant discrimination in inheritance law, exclusion from important posts in the civil service; unchanged application of certain caste rules; and other forms of social and religious discrimination. Under the heading "The employment of Christians in Native States", the CP reported in May 1899 on an attempt by the Tranvancore and Cochin Christian Association to intervene with the Tranvancore government[265]. On 14 May 1898, the CP published a memorandum by British missionaries in which they protested to the higher colonial government against a new law passed by the Travancore authorities. According to this law, it was forbidden in future, under penalty of imprisonment, to erect public places of worship (even on private land) or to hold processions without official authorisation. According to the indignant criticism of the interpellants, this law represented "a menace to the liberties of all Christian worshippers"[266].

These and other complaints by the missionaries were unsuccessful. An earlier petition by Indian Christians also failed to achieve its goal[267]. Towards the end of the 1890s, the attitude of the Travancore government hardened increasingly. It became increas-

261 Kawashima (1998), *Missionaries and a Hindu State*, 4f; also Fisher (1991), *Indirect Rule in India*, 2f. On the political and legal organisation of the princely states in general cf.: Copland (2001), *Unmaking of an Empire*; Ernst / Pati (2007), *India's Princely States*; Banghash (2015), *A Princely Affair.*

262 This is due to both its history (Tranvancore was never under Muslim rule) and the continuing sacred functions of the ruling house: Kawashima (1998), *Missionaries and a Hindu State*, 4f.

263 "Unlike in the sister State of Mysore Christians in Tranvancore and Cochin have been placed under great disadvantages" (CP 08.04.1899 p. 5).

264 These are the titles of two CP publications listed in the CP of 9 July 1896 (p. 1). The titles of these brochures were also the topics of individual annual meetings of the MNCA.

265 CP 08.05.1899 p. 5; cf. CP 21.05.1898 p. 3.

266 CP 14.05.1898 p. 3; on this memorandum see: Kawashima (1998), *Missionaries and a Hindu State*, 77–79.

267 On the unsuccessful petition of "native" Christians of 1887 (who had demanded free access to "streets reserved for Brahmins"), see Kawashima (1998), *Missionaries and a Hindu State*, 71f. 75–Nevertheless, Indian Christians in Tranvancore did not hold back with declarations of loyalty to the Maharajah. This was the case at a "mass meeting… by Native Christians of all denominations including Roman Catholics, numbering over a hundred", reported in the CP on 30 June 1900 (p. 3).

ingly conservative in social matters and hostile towards the missionaries. The British colonial administration (both in the Madras Presidency and in India as a whole) was also less and less willing to intervene in the 'princely states' in favour of the Indian Christian community. On the contrary: instead of asserting its liberal ideals (in social and religious matters) in the princely states as far as possible, it increasingly adopted their conservative positions in British-ruled districts as well. "The British"–according to Koji Kagashima's summary–"adopted at least two contradictory policies regarding social and religious customs in India: the policies based on 'civilising mission' and 'religious neutrality'". The latter aspect was now increasingly emphasised[268].

Negative experiences with Hindu rulers, such as in Travancore[269], dampened the optimism about the country's future that was otherwise widespread in Indian-Christian circles. Concerns about Hindu dominance were also articulated elsewhere. For example, in the north of the subcontinent, at the height of the Swadeshi movement after 1905 (the year of the partition of Bengal), which led to aggressive Hindu agitation in many places and occasionally to violent actions against local Christians. Bengali Christians from various districts then organised a large counter-demonstration, as reported by the CP on 27 October 1906. One of the slogans at this rally was: "Under Hindu domination the condition of Christians would be insufferable"[270].

268 Kawashima (1998), *Missionaries and a Hindu State*, 76ff. 80. Similarly, the conclusion of: Mallampalli (2004), *Christians and Public Life* (chapter II.2: "Rights of Converts within British and Princely India, 1870–1895", p. 25–37), especially p. 36f on the situation at the turn of the century: "Rather than upholding… its commitment to liberal ideas, [British] officials downplayed its impact within British-ruled districts".
269 In addition, there were always positive reports, e.g. in the CP of 21 October 1905 p. 4: "Progressive Legislation in Mysore".–One of the Christian leaders from the north of the country was Prince Harnam Singh, "the Indian Christian prince" (CP 22.09.1900 p. 5).
270 CP 27.10.1906 p. 5 (Text 60).

Long Overlooked: The St. Thomas Christians

One feature that distinguishes the history of Christianity in India from that of other world regions is the St. Thomas Christians as representatives of a very old indigenous Christian tradition. It is true that there had been Christians and churches in many other Asian countries long before the arrival of Western missionaries. In many cases, however–as, for example, in China or in neighbouring Sri Lanka–these had long since disappeared when the Portuguese came initiating the first wave of European colonial presence in Asia in the 16th century. In South India, on the other hand, the local St. Thomas Christian community could look back on a continuous existence since the third, if not the second century. Divided in many ways, the St. Thomas respectively (because of their use of the Syriac liturgical language) the so-called "Syrian" Christians had their regional centre of gravity in the area of today's Kerala (Malabar / Cochin / Tranvancore). Around 1900 there existed four main groups: 1. the "Romosyrians" (or the Syro-Malabar Church) in union with Rome; 2. the so-called "Jacobites" (the Syrian Orthodox or Malankar Orthodox Church of the West Syrian tradition under the Patriarch of Antioch); 3. the Anglican-influenced "Mar Thoma Church" (often referred to in the sources as the "Reformed party"), which finally broke away from the Syrian Orthodox Church in 1889); and the small East Syrian–or "Nestorian"–community.[271]

It is striking that the St. Thomas Christians in the CP received little attention for a long time. In a report dated 17.07.1897, which speaks of the hesitant self-organisation of Indian Christians, the beginnings of Christianity in India are reduced to the last 100 years ("though Christianity has been in India for nearly a century")[272]. What is remarkable about this is that both the much longer Catholic history in the country (since the 16th century) and the presence of Syrian Christians dating back to the early days are ignored here, although their existence was of course not unknown. But for the Protestant Madras elite, Christianity was above all a modernising force and "wave of the future". In contrast, the St. Thomas Christians–who could only have survived in the remote regions of Tranvancore by adapting to their pagan environment–were afflicted with too many "social evils" of Hindu society to meet the criterion of Christian progressiveness. If they were mentioned at all, they were more likely to attract attention

271 An article in the CP of 18 April 1908 (p. 4) gives the following figures: "1. Romo Syrians, 315,000; 2. Jacobites under the Patriarch of Antioch, 200,000; 3. Reformed, who call themselves 'St. Thomas Syrian Church'; and 4. Nestorians who have revolted from papal sway, 8,000". Also important is the (reprinted) article on "The Syrian Church" in CP 26.10.1912 p. 3–Overview of the various churches of the St Thomas Christian tradition in: Hage (2007), *Orientalisches Christentum,* 315–378; Lange / Pinggera (2010), *Altorientalische Kirchen* 77–88; Mar Gregorios (1982), *Indian Orthodox Church,* 1–4 ("Fragments"); cf. desweiteren: Daniel (2014), *Malankara Mar Thoma Syrian Church*; Joy (1986), *Mar Thoma Church*; Chaillot (1996), *The Malankara Orthodox Church*; Verghese (1974), *Syrian Churches*; Ittyerah, *K.C. Chacko of Alwaye*.–On the Thoma tradition in Madras cf.: Muttiah (2004), *Madras Rediscovered*, 114–125: "The Thoman Tradition": St Thomas Mount.
272 CP 17.07.1897 p. 3 (Text 89). Slightly varied CP 25.08. 1906 p. 5: "Christianity in Madras is more than a century old" (with reference to the Danish-Halle mission as its beginning).

due to their internal quarrels. In addition, they were often regarded as 'lethargic' and backward, especially in the eyes of Western-educated Christians in the urban centres. Numerous grievances–such as casteism, child marriages, superstitious practices, etc.–that the Christian reformers found objectionable in traditional Hindu society were also widespread among them. "Syrian Christian girls are very backward in education", complains a letter to the editor from the region in the CP, blaming the system of compulsory dowry adopted from the Hindus[273]. Another Syrian-Christian voice quoted in the CP confirms: "The dowry system is a curse to our community" (CP 22.09.1900 p. 2).

Gradually, however–in times of national "awakening" and a return to pre-colonial traditions–the public perception of the St. Thomas Christians changed. In many cases, their image as a backward community gradually gave way to an almost idealised portrayal. It is probably no coincidence that the first clear evidence of an enthusiastic rediscovery of the Syrian Church of St. Thomas Christians by the Indian Christian elite did not come from India itself, but from the Indian expatriate community in London (where Gandhi, for example, first became aware of the 'Bhagavadgita'). In 1896, the 'Indian Christian Association of Great Britain' was founded in London. This organisation saw itself as representing the interests of Indian Christians living in England and set itself the task of providing advice and support to new arrivals and Indian students in particular. In addition, the aim was to counteract "racial prejudices" in relations between Indian and European Christians and to intensify spiritual and intellectual exchange between Great Britain and India (as well as between Indian Christians on the subcontinent and in the diaspora). The association published with the 'Indian Christian Guardian' (ICG) its own magazine. It is quite remarkable how, since ist first issue in January 1897, this periodical had been dedicated to a specific topic, namely the "Ancient Christian Church of India". This ancient Indian Church, idealised as the "beloved Mother Church of India", is older than all later Roman and Protestant endeavours, and free from the "curse of the denominationalism of the missionaries". It had existed for a long time "before Rome and England sent out their missionaries". And it still exists today–it is claimed somewhat unsuspectingly–"in its original simplicity, and has proudly rejected all attempts at rapprochement by both Rome and England". Regrettably, however, the Western missionaries–after the failure of all takeover attempts–"founded their own small sects under their own names–Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists and many others". Therefore it is important to emancipate from this "sectarianism" of the missionaries and return to the original unity of "India's native Church"–inspite of the fact, as the Guardian self-critically notes, not a single Indian Christian living in London belongs to it and knowledge about

273 CP 02.11.1901 p. 2–"The Syrian Christians of Malabar", according to the assessment of an Indian contemporary (T.K. Gopal Pannikar) in 1903, "living as they do alongside of their Hindu religionists, have appreciably affected Hindu manners; and their life and customs have been largely influenced by contact with them" (quoted in: EBRIGHT [1944], *National Missionary Society,* 131). A remarkable "anthropological" study of the Syrian Christians in present-day Kerala, based on research conducted in 1910, is provided by: AYYAR (1924), *Syrian Churches*.

it is still extremely poor there. For this reason, in its subsequent issues, the magazine will collate all informations about the Syrian Church it can find in London's libraries[274].

In India, the founding of the London 'Indian Christian Association' was noted with sympathy; and the CP warmly recommended the 'Indian Christian Guardian' for further distribution[275]. It is noticeable that in its reporting the points of mission criticism and unification efforts are emphasised, but not the reference to the Syrian Church as the mother church of India. Nevertheless, from the turn of the century, the Syrian Church began to enjoy growing interest among the country's Christian intellectuals. It also played an important role in the formation of the 'National Missionary Society' (NMS) in 1905–an emancipation movement of indigenous Christians that was as peculiar as it was characteristic of India. "Indian men, Indian money, Indian leadership" was the motto of the movement, which did not want to compete with the missionary societies, but intended to provide them with an indigenous alternative. Just one year after its foundation, it had already spread to 100 cities. We find a whole series of later Indian church leaders in it. The St. Thomas Christians were involved in these endeavours from the very beginning, especially in the form of the 'Mar Thoma Syrian Church'. This was the branch that was closest to the Anglicans anyway. However, it is their changed perception by their Indian fellow Christians that is particularly noteworthy. Increasingly they are looked at as "the oldest and in many ways a most important Christian community in the land". The fact that since the turn of the new century they are joining forces with the other branches of Indian Christianity–now that "a national consciousness has also dawned among Indian Christians"–can only be praised as exemplary behaviour, which alone corresponds to "true Christian patriotism"[276].

These debates are also increasingly reflected in the CP. "It must be a revelation to many", wrote an article in 1902, "to learn of the very large number of Syrian Christians in South India, which the census figures reveal. The Syrian community alone, including both Jacobite and Roman, number 571,327, whilst the total Protestant Indian Christians in the whole of India is only 970,596. The influence of such a large community on the West coast must be considerable; and we have reason to be thankful for what it has achieved in the past, in the midst of severe trials and difficulties"[277]. According to an article in 1907, they were "preeminently fitted" to play a leading role in the evangelisation of India, with reference also to their participation in the NMS (CP 05.10.1907 p. 6). On 18 April 1908 (p. 4), the CP intervened in the debates among its readers about a possible union between the Anglican CMS and the Syrian Mar Thoma Church with a vote in favour of a much more far-reaching union:

274 '*The Indian Christian* Guardian' I (1897) 2ff. 29f. 48ff. 65ff; II (1898) 9ff. 11ff. 46ff. 60f. 69; III (1899) 7ff.– Cf. KOSCHORKE (1999), "Emanzipationsbestrebungen", 210ff.

275 CP 30.04.1896 p. 4 (Text 118 and Text 9.7); cf. CP 14.04.1896 p. 6; CP 09.07.1896 p. 2.

276 NMS–*First Ten Years*, no 4.16.60–66.–On the 'National Missionary Society of India' (NMS) see below chapter III p. 130ff.; on the participation of Syrian Christians in it cf. EBRIGHT (1944), *National Missionary Society*, 130ff.

277 CP 12.07.1902 p. 5 (Text 90).

> "In these days when we hear so much about the independence and self-support of the Indian Church, it is worth while studying how a comparatively small and completely isolated Church like the Syrian was able to live and prosper amid uncongenial surroundings, with fear of persecution always around it. Those of us who sometimes despair of attaining the great ideal of an Indian Church that shall be entirely free from foreign control and yet be strong and full of life…. (must) remember that there is in the Indian Church a strong germ of vitality".

The further development cannot be traced here in its individual stages. It is characterised by two tendencies: firstly, the rapidly increasing integration of the Syrian churches into the ecumenical movement in India, and secondly, the growing interest of the modern Christian elite in this ancient branch of Indian Christianity. As far as the first point is concerned, we need only refer to the constellation of the year 1912/13, when a 'Syrian Church Unity Conference' was held in Serampore in January 1913, parallel to the Indian Edinburgh succession conferences, including all important (non-Roman) groupings[278]. It also remained closely linked to the (initially inner-Protestant) church union movement in the subsequent period[279]. In the context of the global ecumenical movement, this early involvement of an Oriental Orthodox church is quite unique.– As far as the changed perception of the St. Thomas Christians by their Indian fellow Christians is concerned, the CP's reporting on the Kottayam Conference of 1911, which was dedicated to social issues and in which "Nestorian" Orthodox Christians took a leading position alongside Protestants and Catholics, is also revealing. The "wave of national self-confidence", we learn, has now also reached the south of the subcontinent and awakened the "old Christian community of Travancore" from its "centuries-long deep sleep". Without any financial support from outside and free from any "missionary control", it has asserted itself for more than one and a half millennia in the midst of a hostile environment and thus at the same time "refuted the oft-repeated claim (by missionary critics) that Indian Christians–once left to their own devices–relapse into paganism". The fact that they allowed themselves to be paralysed for a long time by the

278 Represented there were the Syrian Orthodox "Jacobites", the "Mar Thoma" Church, Anglicans from Tranvancore and Cochin as well as the most recent intra-"Jacobite" secession (J.R. MOTT, *Experiences and Impressions during a Tour in Asia on 1912–1913*…, n.d. n.d., p.10f ["Syrian Church Unity Conference"]). Already at the previous Madras Regional Conference (18–20 November 1912), V.P. Mamman ("Jacobite Syrian Church, Tranvancore"), Mar Dionysius ("Metropolitan of the Jacobite Syrian Church, Tranvancore"), J. Matthai ("Mar Thoma Syrian Church, Madras") and Rev. T. Varghese ("Mar Thoma Syrian Church, Tranvancorer") leading representatives of various Syrian churches were present (CCC–*Continuation Committee Conferences in Asia 1912–1913*; 39–41); cf. CP 30.11.1912 p. 5 (Text 35): "The Mar Thoma Syrian Church sent delegates for a first time to a [Protestant] Missionary Conference".

279 In 1921, for example, the Union Christian College was founded in Alwaye/ Kerala on the initiative of the Syrian Orthodox as a joint institution of the Syrian Orthodox, the Mar-Thoma and the Anglican Church. In 1935/36, the possibility of a merger of these three churches was very real. Partly due to the failure of these negotiations, the Mar-Thoma and the Syrian Orthodox Church did not participate in the epochal South Indian Church Union (CSI) of 1947, but were among the founding members of the World Council of Churches (WCC) in 1948.

customs and practices of the surrounding Hindu society of Kerala is regarded less serious than their current commitment to India's "social progress". Praised is their cross-denominational cooperation, which is considered exemplary for all Indian Christians[280].

As the St. Thomas Christians, previously categorised as backward, gradually moved now to the forefront of social and ecclesiastical progress in the internal Christian perception, they were also increasingly recognised as an independent force by India's non-Christian public. Vivekananda had already described them in an isolated statement as "the purest Christians in the world, older than all Anglo-Saxon civilisation"[281]. Gandhi and Nehru later referred to them as representatives of a non–and pre-colonial form of Christianity[282]. Outside India, too, the Indian St. Thomas Christians were now increasingly regarded as model also for other Asian Churches. In a 1920 memorandum, nationally-minded Christians from Ceylon drew attention to the example of the "Syrian Church of Malabar", which "despite disintegrating influences from outside [had] been able to preserve its identity" and was "regarded by a large section of Indian Christians as the basis of a [future] reunification". "Does this church not also give hope and encouragement for a national church of Ceylon?"[283].

Two other noteworthy aspects of the CP's reporting on Syrian Christians and churches: (1) the terminological distinction between the (traditional) "Syrian Christians" and the (modern) "Native Christians", which Syrian Orthodox readers' letter writers, for example, insist on and which the CP declares irrelevant, since the term "Native Christians" refers to all children in the country (and not only to members of one specific group)(CP 20.10.1900 p. 6).–The other observation concerns (2) the comments on intra-Syrian ("Jacobite") conflicts. In 1909, the Patriarch of Antioch had excommunicated Metropolitan Mar Dionysius, the head of the Syrian Orthodox Christians of Malabar. According to the CP, "the enlightened section of the Jacobite Syrian clergy and laity" should not put up with this and should stand up for the independence of the Indian community. Because: "Submission to an alien ecclesiastical yoke will only keep them in their past weakness" (CP 23.09.1911 p. 3). Thus the CP's criticism of the "alien ecclesiastical yoke" therefore did not only affect the European missionaries but also other non-Indian ecclesial authorities.

280 CP 20.05.1911 p. 4 (Text 91). The report speaks of "Nestorians, Catholics and Protestants" as the three Christian denominations of India. The former were represented by Dr Poonen and Mr E.V. John.–In addition, however, there is still sharp criticism of the continuing discrimination against the "untouchables" even in the Syrian Mar Thoma Church (considered the most progressive). "Let the Syrian Christians, the inheritors of an ancient Christian tradition, rise to the level of this noble Christian spirit (sc. of elevating the depressed classes)"–according to a vote reprinted in the CP of 18 September 1909 (p. 3) from the 'Young Liberal', a paper with a social reformist orientation.

281 "The purest Christians in the world were established in India by the Apostle Thomas about 25 years after the death of Jesus. This was while the Anglo-Saxons were still savages, painting their bodies and living in caves", lecture of 11 July 1895 in Thousand Island Park [New York], in: Vivekananda (1940), *Complete Works*. Vol. 8, 13.

282 Gandhi (1968), *Collected Works.* Vol. 28, 133f; Nehru (1936), *Autobiography,* 273f. 23.

283 "The Church in Ceylon and Her Worship", in: '*The Ceylon Churchman*' 1920/10, p. 160ff. 182ff. 212ff.

Forms of Self-Organisation: The 'Madras Native Christian Association' (*MNCA*/*MICA*)

Around the turn of the century, there existed a large number of organisations of Indian Christians in Madras. The 'Madras Native Christian Association' (MNCA), founded in 1888[284], which was renamed the 'Madras Indian Christian Association' (MICA) in 1905, is undoubtedly of particular importance. It saw itself as a model and example for analogous associations throughout India (and as an "object lesson to the whole of India") and gradually developed into the centre of a supra-regional network of Indian Christians beyond the borders of the subcontinent. According to a programmatic statement from 1897, the aim was "to weld together into a homogenous whole the varying elements that constitute the so-called Indian Christian Community"[285]. The aim was "to bring about a feeling of unity" and "to promote the communal consciousness" within the Indian Christian community, which–repeatedly lamented–was geographically dispersed and often fragmented by denominational and social differences[286].

The MNCA was a "socio-political" association of educated and primarily Protestant laymen[287], to which some Indian Catholics also belonged. The number of members was initially small (32)–comparable to that of other associations in colonial Madras, such as the Theosophists–and rose to 377 by 1899[288]. The MNCA published its own journal–the *'Christian Patriot'*, which however repeatedly emphasised its editorial independence from the MNCA[289]–and sought to represent the interests of indigenous Christians "in matters of importance affecting (their) social and legal status" vis-à-vis the local and all-India colonial government through memoranda and petitions. One such issue was the problem of discriminatory "Succession Duties" for Indian Christians, against which the MNCA's successfully campaigned in 1899–1901[290]. The MNCA organised numerous social activities, awarded scholarships to enable promising candidates to pursue higher

284 The CP contains two foundation dates: 1888 and 1889–apparently referring to different phases of the foundation.
285 CP 17.07.1897 p. 4 (Text 38).
286 CP 19.12.1903 ("Christmas edition") suppl. ("The Christian Patriot Calendar for the Year 1904"); CP 19.02.1916 p. 4 (Text 4).
287 Occasionally, this character as a lay association was emphatically emphasised over the role of Indian clerics in the MNCA, as in a letter to the editor dated 5 March 1898 p. 6: "I do not like to see much of religion and religious elements in the associations. We have enough of organisations for that purposes. The MNCA is a socio-political association and comprises within its folds members of all denominations and Roman Catholics too. It would be better if the number of clergymen in the MNCA is reduced and more independent laymen are returned at the next election of office bearers".–In 1910, the number of Indian pastors in the MNCA (or MICA) was "only" 20, out of a total number of 229 members of the society (for the city?) or 436 Indian pastors in South India (CP 16 July 1910 p. 4).–"Most of the educated Indian Christians in the Presidency" were members, according to the CP on 14 October 1910: "Graduates, Barristers, Professors, District Munsiffs and other Government officials, clergy men and other Mission workers are all represented on the list" (ibid.).
288 CP 07.01.1899 p. 3.
289 "Officially not connected": CP 23.12.1899 suppl. ("CP Calendar of the year 1900"); CP as a "private" company (CP 17.02.1912 p. 3).
290 CP 15.04.1899 p. 4; CP 21.12.1901 suppl. p. 3f; etc.; for details see chapter III p. 75ff.

education and supported Indian Christians in their search for suitable employment. It published numerous tracts on current issues and other publications. These included an annual calendar and an almanac "for the native Christian public", which included the addresses of all newspapers in Madras and Indian Christian associations throughout the country[291]. The association maintained various social and charitable funds (a 'Provident Fund', a 'Benefit Fund' and, in 1897, a fund to support Pundita Ramabai's relief work) and organised–in addition to its annual meetings–special events on special occasions. These included an "industrial exhibition" in December 1902 with products from Christian producers[292]. In 1899, a campaign was launched in favour of the 'Madras Christian Association's 20th Century Enterprise'. A building complex was planned (with a reading room, library, student hostel, orphanage, an industrial school and separate premises for the MNCA), in which–at the beginning of the new century–the Indian Christian community was to be appropriately visible as an independent entity in the cityscape[293].

The founding of the MNCA in 1888 was accompanied by conflicts within the Protestant Madras elite, which we have already learnt about in the genesis of the 'National Church of India' (NCI). These conflicts were an expression of different objectives on the path to the desired unity of Indian Christians. "Religious or social union first?" was the decisive question, with the MNCA voting in favour of the latter option. This resulted in structural competition between the NCI and the MNCA. "Thus the split was there"–as Pulney Andy put it when looking back on the controversies and the founding of competing organisations in 1887/88[294]. These differences of opinion persisted, as already discussed elsewhere. On the other hand, we often find the same actors active both in the NCI and MNCA in the period that followed. For example, Pulney Andy repeatedly presided over meetings of the MNCA (CP 29.04.1905 p.4), and representatives of the MNCA, as for example the Rev. J. Lazarus, also often supported national church positions.

The annual meetings of the MNCA often took place with prominent external participation[295]. They developed into a discussion forum for the Protestant intelligentsia of South India[296]. Their broad thematic spectrum can be seen from the titles of the MNCA's publications. A list from the year 1896 mentions a variety of topoi. They range from "1.

291 CP 14.11.1895 p. 4 Unfortunately, such an almanac has not survived.

292 ("Industrial Enterprise"–CP 19.12.1903 suppl. [Calendar 1904]); cf. Kumara Doss / Alexander (2012), "Protestant Elite", 121: "An exhibition of art and industry was conducted in order to encourage Indian Christians to take to industrial pursuits"; cf. CP 20.12.1902 p. 3.

293 CP 21.10.1899 p. 4; see above chapter I p. 56f. A self-portrayal of the MNCA with a list of its diverse activities can be found, for example, in CP 19 December 1903 ("Christmas edition"), in the appendix to "The Christian Patriot Calendar for the Year 1904"; cf. also: Kumara Doss / Alexander (2012), "Protestant Elite", 121f.

294 NCI–*Collection of Papers*, p. 19.

295 External speakers included Kali Chura Banerji (Calcutta), Prof Wellinkar (Bombay) and Dr Pentecost (Philippines). The appearance of Dr J. Barrows, President of the Parliament of Religions, Chicago 1893 (CP 11.02.1907 p. 4; CP 27.02.1897 p. 3) was particularly well advertised. The speeches of external speakers could also be commented on very critically in the CP, e.g. that of the North Indian Christian nationalist Alfred Nundy in CP 22 September 1900 suppl. 2 (Text 73): "imperfect knowledge of… Southern India".

296 At the annual meeting of the MNCA at the end of December 1898, for example, "about 300 ladies and gentlemen… were present" (CP 07.01.1899 p. 4).

Educational Progress of Native Christians", "2. Dress of Native Christians"; "5. Can a Native Christians marry his deceased wife's sister?"; "6. Caste in the Native Church"; "7. The Census of 1891 and the Native Christian Community"; to "12. The position of the Native Clergy" and "15. The position and disabilities of Native Christians in the Travancore State"[297]. A vivid picture of the course of such an annual meeting ("Conference of Indian Christians") can be found in the minutes of the December 1898 meeting[298]. The topic–on the threshold of the 20th century–was "The Indian Church of the future", on which a Mr Selva Joseph Nadar gave a lengthy presentation. From the ensuing discussion, the speeches of 12 participants were presented by name, including that of the guest of honour (and Christian National Congress delegate) Kali Chura Banerji from Calcutta. A broad spectrum of different positions were expressed. These ranged from the classic national church programme to a clear rejection of the model of a centralised Indian church organisation, but combined with the demand for a significantly higher and swiftly implemented participation of Indian Christians in the various mission churches[299]. Other voices argued in favour of an "elastic" transformation of missionary church structures.

Starting in Madras, similar associations were *also* formed *in other parts of the country*. "Years ago", it says in 1896, looking back on the first eight years of the MNCA's existence, "the Native Christians [sc. in India] were so isolated from each other that they did not properly recognise the existence of their own community. The old feeling of isolation is passing away, and there are unmistakable signs of a spirit of healthy self-recognition and self-assertion significant of newly acquired power" (CP 25.06.1896 p. 7). Overcoming this feeling of isolation was a central goal of the MNCA, which never saw itself as a merely local association, but as the centre of a supra-regional network of Indian Christians that was to be built up. The MNCA "served as a model… in various parts of the country", reads a report from 1899[300]. "The Association may not be confined to local needs but in cooperation with similar associations in existence and others yet to be brought into existence, its befits can be made felt throughout India, Burma and Ceylon", reads a corresponding statement from 1912[301].

A (first?) branch was formed in Tanjore in 1891 (with 15 members). However, this soon died down again (CP 25.06.1896 p. 7). In 1892 an 'Indian Christian Association'

297 CP 09.07.1896 p. 1: "Madras Native Christian Association Papers".
298 Reprinted in CP 18.02.1899 p. 3+4+6.
299 "But one united Church for India, independent of all foreign missions, is an impossibility, especially in this land of diversity of nations and languages and variety of habits and usages"–said the speaker Selva Joseph Nadar. Andy Pulney represented the opposing position of the national church. Other speakers included prominent personalities such as Kali Chura Banerjee, Rev. J. Lazarus, Mr E.S. Hensman and Rev. P.J. Ragaviah.
300 CP 28 January 1899 p. 6.
301 CP 23.03.1912 p. 7 An (incomplete) list of 'Indian Christian Associations' from the year 1911 or 1912 (published in: 'The Year Book of Missions in India, Burma and Ceylon 1912', p. 433–435) names (daughter) associations in Bangalore, Palamcottah, Coimbatore, Tanjore, Ootacamund, Bellary, Bengal, Bombay, Agra/ Oudh, Punjab, Rangoon.

(ICA) was founded in Poona, with Rao Sahab as president (CP 28.04.1898 p. 2), and in 1892 or 1893 such an ICA was also established in the Punjab. The latter described the dissemination of education among its members as its main task[302]. In 1895, a branch was founded in Bangalore[303]. The 1896 annual report states that the MNCA now had members in all 22 districts of the *Madras Presidency*, albeit in varying numbers. The aim was for "every educated Native Christian in this presidency" to join the association. The total number of members of the MNCA in 1896 was 261, not including the ICAs in Bangalore and Tanjore, which were referred to as "branch associations" of the MNCA. "Including the members of the branches our total number stands at 320 as against 268 in the previous year showing an increase of 52". However, the MNCA also had members outside the presidency, for example in Cochin, Mysore, Travancore, Burma, Hyderabad, Bombay, Ceylon and North India. These also reflected a broad denominational spectrum. "These facts show that the Association is becoming more and more representative"[304].

New associations continued to emerge within and outside the Madras Presidency. In 1896, ICAs were first mentioned in Nagpur, in the North-West Province and in Ouad, in 1897 in Chintadrepetta, Tranvancore and Trivandrum and in 1897–inspired by Poona[305]–in Bombay. The ICA in Ootacamund (Nilagiri) "came into existence in January 1897" (CP 02.04.1998 p. 6); and on 1 May 1890 a branch of the MNCA was established in Rangoon, which already had 100 members by the end of the year[306]. In 1899 a new ICA was mentioned in Allahabad (CP 11.01.1999) and in Cochin, and in 1900 an association "on the same lines as the Madras Native Christian Association" was founded in Chatrapur (17.11.1900 p. 2). With one exception, in 1899 there were associations of Indian Christians "in all the chief cities of India"[307]. In 1900 we learn for the first time of societies in Teynampet, Nacpur and–reactivated ("to be revived")–in Tinnevelly (CP 18.08.1900 p. 6). Mangalore had 95 members in 1905 (CP 01.04.1905 p. 3). In the United Provinces there were subsidiaries "all over the province" in 1905 (CP 15.08.1905 p. 4).

The associations of Indian Christians outside India and their connection to Madras will be dealt with in more detail in chapter VI[308]. In 1896–warmly welcomed and adver-

302 CP 11.06.1910 p.5; cf. CP 26.06.1902.
303 CP 25.06.1896 p. 7; CP 04.02.1911 p. 3; CP 27.02.1897 p. 5: Increase to 70 members.
304 CP 25.06.1896 p. 6f–For 1910, the 22nd annual report of the MNCA (or MICA) shows a membership of 229, which the CP comments as pleasing, but nevertheless as completely inadequate and as "out of proportion to the Protestant population of South India". The latter comprises 734,000 people, of whom only one in 3,000 is a member of the organisation. Of the 800 Indian Christians with a university degree, only one in four is a member of society. Of the 436 South Indian clergy, only 20 were members of the MNCA (CP 16.07.1910 p. 4).
305 CP 28.04.1898 p. 2; CP 29.02.1899 p. 6. Cf. CP 15.05.1915 p. 4 on "genesis, growth and probable development" of the ICA of Bombay.
306 CP 02.04.1898 p. 6; the CP of 08.04.1899 mentions 70 members.
307 CP 14.01.1899 p. 3. This exception was Bengal–according to Samuel Satthianadhan, the main speaker at the annual conference in Madras in 1898. However, another participant at this conference–Kali Banerjee from Calcutta–mentioned the 'Bengal Christian Association' there.
308 See chapter VI p. 210ff.

tised in the CP–such an association was formed in London, in 1897 in Rangoon, later also in Singapore (mentioned since 1910), in Penang (mentioned since 1913), in Ceylon and in South Africa. An organisational structure developed for the Indian associations, which was described as follows in 1902. There were a total of "five Indian Christian Associations", each with numerous local branches, in the Punjab, Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the United Provinces[309]. The idea of a confederation of the various regional ICA's also emerged early on. This idea was first put forward at the annual conference of the MNCA at the end of December 1898[310]. It was then discussed many times and led to the proposal of an association at national level. Such a "National Indian Christian Association" could not replace the existing churches, according to a voice from Bombay, but it could spread "the spirit of unrestricted religious freedom" among the country's Christians. This proposal was supported by reference to the national organisational forms of the missionaries on the one hand and the 'Indian National Congress' on the other, which brought together delegates from all parts of the country and thus also facilitated supra-regional contacts for Indian Christians. The demand for a national platform of Indian Christians was also voiced in other places. For example, in the form of an 'Indian Christian Congress', "with a view to the discussion of important questions affecting the community as a whole" (CP 02.06.1900 p. 4). However, this project of a national confederation of regional ICAs was not initially realised. It did, however, intensify cooperation between neighbouring associations, for example between Bombay and Poona (CP 28.01.1899 p. 5f.).

The model of the MNCA also had an inspiring effect on Catholics and Syrian Christians. In 1904, 'The Catholic Indian Association' was founded–"the latest addition to the ranks of Indian Christian Associations… We cordially congratulate the Catholic Indian Association on a good year's work" (CP 07.01.1905 p. 5). The Syrians had already undertaken similar endeavours in the past. The 'Mar Thoma Syrian Christian Evangelical Association' was founded in 1888. There is evidence of an offshoot in Madras in 1902[311].

309 See for example the list in CP 26.06.1902 "Coronation Supplement". p. 11; CP 08.19.1908 p.4.

310 The theme of this session was (introduced by a presentation by S. Sathianadhan): "Indian Christian Associations–How to promote a federations of them?" (CP 24.12.1898 p. 4; CP 07.01.1899 p. 4: CP 14.01.1899 p. 3; CP 08.04.1899 p. 3). Until then (and for a long time afterwards) the following was true: "Many of the Indian Christian Associations formed in different parts of the country were influenced by each other, and in some cases there was direct contact. But in most cases they learnt of each other's activities through newspaper and periodical reports" (SINGH [1980], *Ecumenical Bearings,* 111).

311 "Madras Syrian Christian Association"–mentioned in CP 03.01.1902 p. 6.

Other Indian-Christian Organisations

In addition to the MNCA/MICA, there were various other associations of Indian Christians in Madras, beyond missionary church structures[312]. We have already discussed the 'National Church of India' (NCI), founded in 1886. Like the MNCA, it pursued the goal of unity among all Indian Christians, but set its priorities differently. Unlike the MNCA, it sought to realise ecclesiastical union as first step (and as a prerequisite for the desired "social union" among Indian Christians).

The 'Tamil Christian Congress', founded around 1887, is regularly mentioned in the CP. It is characterised as a "unique movement well worthy of the support of all Indian Christians", for example on 1 September 1900. This was an interdenominational association of Tamil Christians, whose annual meetings brought together pastors and lay people from various denominations–Anglicans, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists and Congregationalists. One such event lasting several days–with Bible study, revivalist preaching, prayer and confession of sin–is described in detail in the CP of 28 September 1907 (p. 3f.). Around 300 participants came together during the day. The evening events were overcrowded with around 2000 visitors. Spiritual experience and less religious-political demands were obviously at the centre of the work. It attracted attention as a model of functioning interdenominational cooperation[313].

The 'Indian Ministers Conference' was founded in Madras in 1900 (or 1901) as a discussion forum and professional organisation for Indian clergy. It was initiated by the Rev. J. Lazarus, "to whose zeal for the welfare of his brethren the present conference is to be attributed". At the same time, it reflected the significant increase in the number of Indian pastors in the various mission churches and the spirit of optimism at the beginning of the new century. "Some years ago"–according to a comment in the CP–"the number of Indian clergymen could hardly be counted on the fingers. Now there are as many as 42; and it is by no means too soon that Mr Lazarus has thought of inaugurating this clerical movement at the commencement of the new century". The constitution of this new association was based in various respects on the conferences of missionaries working in Madras, "at whose meetings we fear Indian members seldom feel at home".

312 A list from 1916 names six Indian Christian societies, each with different fields of activity: Evangelism–'The Chintadripettah Christian Association', Music–'The Indian Christian Choral Union', Temperance–'The Indian Christian Temperance Association', Social Activities–'The Christo Samaj', Co-operation–'The Madras Christian League', Politics–'The Indian Christian Association' (CP 18.03.1916 p. 4). Another listing in CP 01.04.1916 p. 5–with a call for a "great mass meetings… of Indian Christians of all denominations" on a current occasion–names: 'Madras Christian League', 'Indian Christian Temperance Association', '[Madras] Indian Christian Association', 'All India Christian Conference Council', 'Christo Samaj', 'Madras Christian Teachers' Conference', 'Indian Ministers' Conference', 'Tamil Christian Congress', 'Editors of The Christian Patriot', Editors of 'United India and Native States'.–An (incomplete) list of the "Indian Christian Associations and other Bodies" by J. Lazarus can be found in: JONES (1912), *Year Book of Missions in India*, 433–435.

313 E.g. CP 20.03.1909 p. 3–At this time it seems to have been renamed 'Indian Christian Congress' (CP 11.09.1911 p. 5; CP 20.03.1909 p. 3; CP 09.10.1909 p. 4: "begun about 25 years ago").

That is why a certain scepticism seems to resonate in the CP's "congratulations" on this new organisation (CP 11.05.1901–p. 4).

An 'Indian Christian Central Council' (ICCC) is occasionally mentioned as a supra-regional organisation, combined with clear criticism of its ineffective working methods. For example, in an article from 24 October 1908 (p. 4), which–looking back on its seven-year existence–sarcastically poses the question: "What is the ICCC doing? Is it still in existence?… Writing today, after the lapse of nearly seven years, we can point to no single work that the Central Council has accomplished for the community". This ICCC is probably identical with the "Indian Christian National Council" mentioned on 21.02.1903 p. 4 and founded in the previous year as an initiative of mainly North Indian Christians. Its overloaded organisational structure the CP had already viewed with scepticism at the time and had urged it to cooperate more closely with the local associations (instead of acting unilaterally)[314]. In any case, precisely these points of criticism were now (1908) repeated again: "What we now urgently and badly want is, first, a strong local association, wherever there is a fairly numerous Indian Christian population, and, secondly, the affiliation of everyone of the local bodies to a strong, central, and highly representative working central association".

The various Indian Christian associations only came together effectively at a national level in the war year 1914, in the form of the 'All-India Conference of Indian Christians' (AICIC), which held its first conference in Calcutta in December. "With the holding of this conference", said one of the Bengali delegates and keynote speaker at this conference, "it may be said that various associations have been linked together, and for the first time the Indian Christian community has come forward as a united body"[315]. Other speakers pointed to India's "great awakening" in times of the "Great War" and, at the same time, to the urgency of increased Christian involvement in national reconstruction (as well as intensified co-operation with the other religious communities of the subcontinent). The leaders of the AICIC, according to M.K. Kuriakose, "counted among their number the most highly qualified and influential Indian Protestant leaders of the pre-Independence period"[316]. At the same time, Catholics were more involved in this endeavour than in previous initiatives[317]. The next annual meeting took place at the end of 1915 in Allahabad[318] and the following one a year later in Madras. In preparation

314 CP 21.02.1903 p. 4 The top management consisted of: Sir Harnam Singh, Mr H. David, "the Sub-Judge of Allahabad", and Prof Wellinkar from Bombay.

315 Thus the Rev. B. A. Nag from Calcutta (AICIC–*Report of the First All-India Conference of Indian Christians 1914*, p. xxi–xxviii.

316 Kyriakose (1982*), Source Materials,* 322f (there also excerpts from the resolutions of the 1920 session in Calcutta); Mallampalli (2004), *Christians and Public Life*, 115f; 126f; Baago (1965), *National Council of Churches*, 16f.

317 Cf. CP 29.04.1916 p. 2 on a preparatory meeting in Madras: "A representative meeting of Indian Christians (Catholics and Protestants) was held this week for the purpose of supporting the resolutions regarding the representation of Indian Christians in the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils".

318 See CP 29.04.1916 p. 2.

for this Madras meeting in December 1916, the CP launched a survey among its readers on the idea of an all-India Christian weekly as a communication platform for the AICIC. To a certain extent, this would have replaced the more regionally anchored CP. But like the latter, it would have been committed to the task of "promoting the communal consciousness of Indian Christians, so widely scattered over India and so sadly divided by denominational and other differences" (CP 15.04.1916 p. 4). Nothing came of this project, if only for reasons of war-related austerity. The restart of AICIC after the war then took place in a much more difficult environment, which is not the place to describe in this book (which covers the period up to around 1915)s[319].

319 The CP (which is only incompletely preserved during the war years) contains, among others, the following references: CP 15.04.1916 p. 4; CP 29.04.1916 p. 2; CP 08.07.1916 p. 4; CP 28.01.1922 p. 2; CP 15.12.1923 p. 2; repeated mentions of the AICIC, for example, also in '*The Guardian*' (Calcutta) 1923 (only incompletely preserved as well) p. 1. 2. 32. 44. 202. 255. 261. 278. 334. 337.–'*The Guardian*' (Calcutta) 05.01.1923 p. 1 on the 1922 Lucknow session of the AICIC: "Unfortunately, this conference is scarcely representative ". (due to the absence of Catholic and Syrian representatives); therefore the conference was primarily "a gathering of [sc. Indian] Christians from the north".–On organisations such as the YMCA and the regional branches of the WSCF, which were "Indianised" early on or functioned as a platform and "training field" for Indian leaders, cf. chapter VI p. 223ff.

The 'National Missionary Society of India' (NMS)

The first national organisation of Indian Christians, on the other hand, was the '*National Missionary Society of India*' (NMS). Founded in 1905, it was spread across the subcontinent in almost one hundred places just one year later[320]. It followed the principle of "Indian men, Indian money, Indian leadership" and represented a form of Asian-Christian nationalism that was characteristic of India, but also of other Asian countries. In contemporary debates, it was repeatedly cited as an example of the "spirit of *Swadeshism*" that was also effective among the country's Christians[321]. According to one of its first historiographers, the NMS emerged "both as a product of the Christian missionary enterprise and as a protest"[322]. "While the National Church Movement of the 19th century received a cold welcome and indeed discouragement from the missionary forces, the *National Missionary Society* was too strong for the missionaries to ignore it", judges the Indian historian George Thomas[323].

Neither the year (1905) nor the choice of location (Serampore) for the ceremonial founding of the NMS was a coincidence. 1905 was the year of the partition of Bengal, the victory of Japan over Russia and the enormous upswing in Indian national consciousness fuelled by both events. It was also the year that marked almost exactly the 200th anniversary of the arrival of the first Lutheran missionaries in Tranquebar in southern India in 1706. Serampore, on the other hand, was the place where the activities of the English Baptists around William Carey had heralded the modern phase of Protestant missionary presence in India around 1800. At this place, the dawn of a new age was now proclaimed as a counterpoint, so to speak–the evangelisation of the subcontinent by the Indian Christians themselves.

The NMS occupies a prominent place in the CP's reporting. There are detailed reports not only on the historic founding event in Serampore on 25 December 1905 heralded as–"a unique gathering of Indian Christian delegates from every province in India, Ceylon and Burma"[324]. It also received a broad echo in the Indian-Christian public, not only in missionary circles[325], but especially on the part of the "Indian leaders" (CP 20.01.1906

320 "Within a year's time NMS organised nearly a hundred branches spreading throughout India" (THOMAS [1979], *Christian Indians*, 150).

321 CP 29.09.1906 p. 4; similarly CP 16.02.1907 p. 7: "true Christian Swadeshism"; CP 21.08.1909 p. 5: Letter to the editor classifies the NMS among the 'Swadeshi movements': "India is for the Indians".

322 EBRIGHT (1944), *National Missionary Society*, 16–Further literature: ABRAHAM (1948), *Founders*; THOMAS (1979), *Indian Christians*, 72–77; HARPER (2000), *Shadow of the Mahatma,* 72ff. 85–88; HEDLUND (2000), *Indigenous Community*, 214–216–A more recent overall presentation of the NMS, which also addresses the pan-Asian context in particular, is an urgent desideratum.

323 THOMAS (1979), *Indian Christians*, 151.

324 CP 06.01.1906 p. 6; CP 13.01.1906 p. 4–6; CP 20.01.1906 p. 4–7.–Literature: EBRIGHT (1944), *National Missionary Society,* 84ff; there also the list of founding delegates.

325 Under the heading "The Opinion of Representative Missionaries", the CP lists supporting votes from 24 missionaries, including three regional missionary conferences (CP 13 January 1906 p. 5f). Remarkably, the names of German missionaries are missing from this list, although they may not have been requested at all (because: "Letters [sc. of invitation] were written to the principal missionary Societies in England and America"–

p. 6). Their list reads like a 'Who's Who' of India's Protestant intelligentsia and includes the names of prominent women and men such as Lilavati Singh (Lucknow), K. Krishna Rao (editor of the CP–Madras) or B.C. Ghose (Lahore)[326]. Supporting votes came from various cities and parts of the country (Bombay, Calcutta, Panjab, Allahabad, South India etc). The non-Christian press also covered this event, sometimes with friendly comments[327]. In the period that followed, the CP also reported extensively on the various regional follow-up events. In March, for example, it advertised a "mass meeting of the Indian Christian community of Madras" (CP 10.03.1906 p. 4) and reported on the founding of local branches of the NMS in Trichur, the Panjab and Salem[328].

The NMS saw itself as an emancipatory movement and an expression of *Christian patriotism*.

"To awaken in our people a national consciousness, to create in them a sense of true patriotism, and to unite in the cause of the evangelisation of our country the Indian Christians of all denominations and provinces, it has been placed in the hearts of many of our brethren to organise a National Missionary Society of India…"

This is how three of its initiators–Bahu K. Banurji from Calcutta, Rajah Harnam Singh from the Panjab and Samuel Satthianadan from Madras–described the goals and visions of the new movement in a letter to their fellow Christians[329]. Patriotic motives, the postulate of 'self-propagation'–as an important stage on the way to 'self-government'–were combined with the endeavour to overcome the existing denominational differences in an Indian initiative. The NMS did not seek to *replace* the existing Euro-American missions with its demand for "indigenous" evangelisation supported by the Indians themselves. Rather, it sent its people to carefully selected "unoccupied fields" in India (and neighbouring regions) where no "foreign missions" were yet active. Nevertheless, the intention was unmistakable (and was clearly expressed) to replace

according to a note in *'Harvest Field'* vol. 17, 1906, p. 245). Further missionary voices on the NMS can be found in: CP 10.03.1906 p. 5f ("An European Opinion"); CP 31.03.1906 p. 8; etc.–On the public response to the founding appeal cf. also EBRIGHT (1944), *National Missionary Society*, 99 (with reference to missionary critics).

326 Letters of support–according to the selection printed in CP 20.01.1906 p. 6–came from Row Cooroswamy, Chingleput District, S.I.; Miss Lilavathi Singh, Lucknow; John Malelu, Lalitpur, U.P.; Miss Jaikumari Misra, Allahabad; K. Krishan Rau, Madras; Rev. S.V. Karmakar, Bombay; V. Santiagu, Madura; M.N. Nath, Calcutta; K.N. Basu, Jabalpore, C.P.; Rev. P.B. Ragaviah, Madras; Prof. R. Siraj-Ud-Din, Lahore; Rev. D. Anantam, Bezvada, East Coast; S. Chandu Lal, Dalhousis; Rev. Francis Kingsbury, Pasumalai, S.I.; B.C. Ghose, Lahore; Prabhu Das, Allahabad; Rev. B.M. Mozumdar, Midnapur; Rev. J.M. Gulam Masih, Manipuni, U.P.; Rai Maya Das, R.B.; J. Fieldphraye, Allahabad.

327 Thus the Brahmo newspaper '*The Indian Messenger*', which emphasised the positive influence of Christianity on "the thought and life of the whole of educated India"–as quoted in CP 20.01.1906 p. 4. The constitution of the NMS is also printed there, in which, among other things, the listing of the individual provinces of the NMS is noteworthy.

328 CP 30.06.1906 p. 6; CP 07.07.1906 p. 2; CP 21.07.1906 p. 6.

329 Founding appeal of the NMS, printed in CP 13.01.1906 p. 5; NMS–*First Sexennium,* 1; cf. EBRIGHT (1944), *National Missionary Society*, 80; THOMAS (1979), *Indian Christians*, 147f.–Young, educated Indian Christians qualified for leadership tasks, noted a missionary observer (N. Farquhar, in: '*Harvest Field*' Vol. 17, 1906, 58–60), "are less and less willing to serve under existing missions". This was one of the reasons for the attractiveness of the NMS, which corresponded to the "rise of national feeling throughout India".

the dominance of Western missions with Indian initiatives. The 19th century, said the CP in 1901 in a programmatic statement, had been the century of the quite meritorious Euro-American missions whose time, however, was now coming to an end. In contrast, the 20th century was expected to become the century of the "native Christians" and would be characterised by "the self-support, the self-government and the self-extension of the native Churches"[330]. This expectation applied not only to India, but also to the churches and Christians of other Asian countries. Increasingly, the NMS saw itself as *part of a pan-Asian movement*[331]–which will be discussed in more detail chapter VI. The ultimate goal of all activities, as was stated at a meeting of the NMS in Vellore in 1910, was "the establishment in *every country* of an indigenous native Church, self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating" (CP 08.10.1910 p. 6).

After the ceremonial founding of the NMS in Serampore in 1905, the two travelling secretaries elected there–K.T. Paul and V.S. Azariah–undertook extensive trips to mobilise the scattered Christian congregations and establish local branches of the NMS. K.T. Paul undertook a tour of Bengal, and "V.S. Azariah went to Burma and Malaya in 1906 and established branches in Rangoon, Bassein, Henzada, Prome, Thanawasy, Mandalay, Tongoo and Moulmein"[332]. The steadily increasing number of local branches of the NMS can be seen in the annual reports of the NMS[333] on the one hand and in the reporting of the CP[334] on the other. At the same time, efforts were made to identify suitable "unoccupied fields" and the first Indian missionaries were sent out there. "Five fields"–according to the CP on 9 September 1911–"have been opened and the whole of India, Burma and Ceylon canvassed for interest and support". These five fields were in the Panjab (Montgomery District), in the United Provinces (Nukkar Thesil), in South India (Salem District), West India (Karjat Karmala Takuk) and–through co-operation with the Mar Thoma Syrian Christian Association–in the North Kanara District[335]. The NMS had its own publication, the '*National Missionary Intelligencer*' (NMI), which–according to the CP–"belongs in every home". In addition to the English-language NMI, which was "distributed in every province"[336] and reached a circulation of around 2,500

330 CP 28.09.1901 suppl. (Text 13).
331 NMS as an "Asiatic" movement–e.g. CP 24.10.1908 p. 5.
332 EBRIGHT (1944), *National Missionary Society*, 106f.
333 Available in 'Yale Divinity School Library (New Haven, CT 06511): The Day Missions Collection'.
334 Such reports can be found in: CP 17.03.1906 p. 6 ("many local branches" in North India); CP 12.07.1907 p. 6 (Bangalore); CP 21.09.1907 p. 6 (Tranvancore); CP 14.12.1907 p. 2 (Coimbatore–"well attended meeting", "Christians of all denominations", including Anglicans, Lutherans and Catholics); CP 08.10.1910 p. 6 (Vellore); CP 03.12.1910 p. 5 (Panjab); CP 12.06.1912 (Vizagapatam–"increase of membership"); CP 29.03.1913 p. 6 (Negapatam–"First anniversary", Methodists, SPG Anglicans, Lutherans–there reference to "the story of the African Negro Bishop Crowther"); CP 30.03.1912 (Mar Thoma Syrian Christian Evang. Assoc.: 23rd Report); CP 10.02.1912 (donations from the various regions: Madras, Panjab, United Provinces, Bombay, Bengal); etc.
335 For details see EBRIGHT (1944), *National Missionary Society*, 112ff. 121ff. 126ff. 128ff. 130ff. For the number of missionaries sent out see. NMS–*First Ten Years*, n° 6.
336 CP 16.03.1907 p. 6.

copies around 1915[337], there were also five regional-language editions. They circulated with a print run of up to approx. 1000 copies each[338].

In 1906, the CP had welcomed the founding of the NMS as "the dawn of an era among Indian Christians" (CP 17.03.1906 p. 6) and had supported its development favourably in the period that followed. This does not mean that there were not also quite critical votes on the NMS within the Indian-Christian community. As early as 1907, a letter to the editor in the CP expressed "some disappointment" that so far only one Indian missionary had been sent by the NMS[339]. Other voices criticised the low income from donations and the lack of approval of interested candidates by Western missions[340]. A fundamental criticism was expressed by an Indian Christian in 1908 in a letter that was printed in the '*National Missionary Intelligencer*'. The NMS, he critized, was completely "engineered on European lines and every turn shows the effects of so long Western guidance". Instead, the author recommended the example of "indigenous Hindu movements where there was 'no central organisation' and no officials"[341]. Different opinions were also expressed by Indian Christians in the context of the Edinburgh Conference of 1910 and the controversial role of Azariah. Some judged his appearance there as too "shy". Others saw him as a "young man of a newly formed missionary society" who lacked experience and authority[342]. Regional rivalries were evident in the vote of the North Indian Edinburgh delegate K.C. Chatterji. He lamented the dominance of the NMS headquarters in Madras and called for "more authority and confidence should be placed in its local boards" (CP 06.08.1910 p. 6). "The Society is still in its infancy"– according to a comment in the CP of 29 March 1912 (p. 6). Overall, however, the assessment of the NMS in the CP was consistently positive. "The Indian church continues to make progress towards self-government and self-propagation", was one of the comments in an article from 1915, citing the NMS with its increasing own funds and new mission fields (CP 10.04.1915 p. 4).

337 NMS–*First Ten Years, n°* 6. In 1912, the CP speaks of an "English journal with a monthly circulation of nearly 2000 copies. Five vernacular journals each reaching 1000 homes" (CP 29.03.1912 p. 6).

338 In Punjab, it was the journal *Qasid,* published in Persian-Urdu, which appeared quarterly with a circulation of 1,000 copies. "For the U.P. a similar number of copies of a Roman-Urdu quarterly journal called the *Akhbar* are circulated". The Hindi-speaking community "is reached by a thousand copies issue of a quarterly journal in that language called the *Patrika*" (NMS–*Third Year,* 12). There was also the *N.M.S. Deepika*, a periodical published in Tamil, and a periodical of the same name published in Malayalam (see the list in EBRIGHT [1944], *National Missionary Society*, 108ff).

339 CP 21.12.1907 p. 10.

340 So in Lahore–CP 01.12.1906 suppl. p. 1.

341 EBRIGHT (1944), *National Missionary Society*, 139, with reference to the letter to the editor printed in the *'National Missionary Intelligencer'* (January 1908, p. 40). Remarkably, it was a European–C.F. Andrews–who responded, pointing to the high degree of organisation of Hindu movements such as the National Congress, the 'Arya Samaj' or the Muslim League (*National Missionary Intelligencer'* February 1908, p. 48).–The question of indigenous methods and forms of organisation was always under discussion. In 1912, for example, C.T. Paul emphasised that the NMS was "not a copy of Western methods" and formulated the idea of Christian ashrams (CP 06.07.1912 p. 4–Text 72).

342 CP 23.07.1910 p. 5; CP 15.01.1910 p. 1.

The NMS was by no means the only or even the first indigenous missionary organisation on the Indian subcontinent. Rather, it was part of a *broad spectrum of similar initiatives by indigenous* Christians in Asia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, which are discussed in more detail elsewhere[343]. In the Indian context, however, the NMS was the most important, most widespread and most strongly organised enterprise of its kind at the beginning of the 20th century. It was significant both as a "training ground" for indigenous leaders (such as K.T. Paul and V.S. Azariah) and, above all, due to the numerous impulses it gave not only to similar activities in the neighbouring countries[344] and overseas[345], but also–through the practice of interdenominational cooperation–to the Indian and Asian ecumenical movement as a whole. The early cooperation with the Syrian Mar Thoma Christians[346] was already groundbreaking. At the Indian Edinburgh follow-up Conference in Madras in 1912, the NMS was represented by its own delegates[347]. Of the three programmatic demands of the "Three-Selves" formula, the demand for "self-propagation" seemed to be the quickest and most directly realisable in the India of the early 20th century.

343 Cf. chapter VI p. 188ff. 193.

344 This was the case in Sri Lanka, where a 'Ceylon Missionary Society' was founded in 1915, modelled on the NMS (CP 10.04.1915 p. 4). Later, a 'Lutheran National Missionary Society' was also formed in India.

345 In 1906, the CP quoted from the South African journal '*Christian Express*' (Lovedale): this "calls upon African Christians to start a similar society" (like the NMS). Other missionary journals referred to analogue initiatives in Burma (Ko San Ye) and China (Pastor Hsi) (CP 09.06.1906 p. 2).

346 The early co-operation with the Syrian Mar Thoma Christians (CP 05.10.1907 p. 6) was particularly important; cf. EBRIGHT (1944), *National Missionary Society*, 130ff.

347 Thus "K.T. Paul and E.S. Hensman of the National Missionary Society" were present at the Madras Conference (CP 30.11.1912 p. 5), and similarly at the National Continuation Conference of India (CP 25.01.1913 p. 5).

Expectations, the Mood around 1912

Around 1912, the mood in Christian India–as reflected in the CP's publications–continued to be characterised by sustained optimism, despite internal quarrels, external resistance and in the midst of India's political and religious "unrest". The numerical growth of the Indian-Christian community continued unabated, as the CP stated on 6 July 1912 with reference to the 1911 census, with growth rates of sometimes 100% in the last ten years:

> "This phenomenal growth speaks louder than any isolated revival. In this ratio continues we shall see a Christian India in less than 100 years…. Nothing like this progress has ever been seen on such a large scale in Christian history. Mass movements account for this rapid advance in some States, but the growth of Christianity as a whole is the result of individual soul-winning by faithful workers"[348].

The number of Christian institutions in India had also increased: "We also compute 47 colleges, 64 theological seminaries, 17 normal schools, 142 high schools, 26 technical schools, and 122 hospitals. Together with orphanages, asylums, hostels, sanitariums, etc., the total number of institutions reported is about 1,047", according to another article in the CP of 6 July 1912 (p. 5). The Christian influence was unmistakable in the education system, through social reform activities and in the midst of all social upheavals.

Above all, however, the Indian-Christian community had meanwhile achieved a high degree of independence and self-organisation, as the letter from "an Indian Christian" to the CP dated 23.03.1912 (p. 7) under the title "The Indian Christian Community" points out. It lists their diverse activities, emphasising in particular their broad missionary commitment and supra-regional networking:

> "The Indian Christian Community is a growing and a progressive community… That the I[ndian] M[ssionary] S[ociety], the N[ational] M[issionary] S[ociety] and the National Church of India exist among us is a good sign of healthy missionary spirit…Its influence can be felt all through India, Burma and Ceylon, and by [sc. intensified] mutual exchange of thought and effort [sc. between the various Indian Christian Associations] many things could be accomplished which otherwise could not be accomplished".

1912 is also the year in which V.S. Azariah, the first Indian and Asian, was consecrated bishop of the Anglican Church. In this he was comparable to his "great African predecessor S.A. Crowther", as the CP states on 7 September 1912 (p. 5–Text 94). This also

348 CP 06.07.1912 p. 5 ("India moving Christward"). The growth rates given here for the various denominations according to the 1911 census: Baptists: from 217,000 (1901) to 331,000 (1911); Anglicans 306,000 / 332,000, Congregationalists: 37,000 / 134,000; Presbyterians: 43,000 / 164,000; Methodists: 68,000 / 162,000; Lutherans: 154,000 / 217,000.

reveals the international perspective in which the CP places the conditions on the subcontinent–and in particular the developments within the Indian-Christian community. Azariah's rise was also one of the side effects of the Edinburgh 1910 World Missionary Conference, which strengthened the liberal and reform-oriented forces among both missionaries and indigenous Church leaders not only in India, but throughout Asia. Edinburgh's optimistic prognosis stimulated Christian activists in India as well as in Japan, China and Korea: "The next ten years"–according to the conference's final declaration–"will in all probability constitute a turning-point in human history". However, in addition to a possible triumphant march of Christianity, the conference also foresaw the real danger of its failure: "If those years are wasted, havic may be wrought that centuries are not able to repair"[349].

Then, in July 1914, the First World War broke out–the moral catastrophe of Western Christianity and the temporary end of the Christianity-Civilisation programme[350]. The latter had largely dominated the debates of Indian-Christian elites in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. With the news of the carnage on the battlefields of Europe between the "Christian" nations of the continent, the nimbus of the civilisational superiority of Western Christianity evaporated. At the same time, a new stage in the process of the independence of the churches of Asia and Africa was initiated.

349 *World Missionary Conference 1910*. vol. IX [Edinburgh, etc. 1911], 108.

350 On the First World War as a moral catastrophe of Western Christianity in the debates of Asian and African Christians cf. Koschorke (2019c), "First World War"; Koschorke (2024c), *Short History*, 190–195 ("The First World War as a Caesura and the end of the 'Christianity-Civilization-Model'"); Ludwig (2003), "First World War"; Greschat (2014), *Erster Weltkrieg,* 105ff. 131ff.

Chapter iv

IV International Perspectives–Overview

Sources

The CP contains a wealth of international news on all kinds of topics. As explained elsewhere, he obtained his information from a variety of different sources[1]. These included the British "telegram" services (or news agencies) with news from all over the world, the political press from India and the western metropolises, the non-Christian journalism of the subcontinent (such as the rival paper '*The Hindu*' published in Madras), the various missionary journals and church papers, but also indigenous Christian periodicals from India, China and other countries[2]. The CP covers a wide range of topics and offers detailed information from the fields of politics, social affairs, business and culture in addition to religious news. In particular, the "Telegram" services printed in each issue contained the latest short news items from various world regions[3]. As is specifically emphasised, the paper was often the only newspaper to which the large group of "poor Indian Christians" had access[4]. The CP was therefore keen to provide comprehensive–and international–reporting.

Of particular importance (for religious and church news) was the network of its own *correspondents* in India and increasingly also overseas. Between March 1899 and July 1900, for example, "Our Own China Correspondent" continuously reported as an eyewitness on the Boxer Rebellion (and the persecution of Chinese Christians and Western missionaries) in the Chinese province of Shandong. In 1907, "Our Straits Letter" reported on the situation of Indian migrants and contract labourers in what is now Malaysia. "Our own correspondents" in England reported regularly from various British cities (London, Hastings, Bude, etc.) on current developments or the bad weather in London. On 26 January 1907 (p. 6), for example, "Our Irish Letter" dealt with the British discussion about the "Home Rule Bill" for Ireland–a topic that must have aroused particular interest also in India. Detailed reports were also received from Singapore, for example[5].

1 For details see chapter II p. 35ff.

2 Examples from China, South Africa and London can be found in the 'Discourses' under Text 9.5–7; Text 107.

3 In its issue of 11 February 1899 (p. 2), the CP's "Telegrams" section contains reports on the following topics: "Affairs in China", "The Situation in the Philippines", "The European Situation", "The Crisis in Samoa", "The Plague in Mauritius", "Spain and The United States", "A New Bishop of Osaka", "The Irish Parliamentary Party", "The Situation in Cuba" and "Russian Troops in the Far East". We learn about the "ritualistic controversy" in the Church of England, the current interest rates on Chinese bonds, the London birthday reception for the German Emperor Wilhelm II and the Philippine revolutionary government's declaration of war on the USA, and so on. The restoration of the Wartburg in Germany is reported on (CP 21.04.1900 p. 4), as are Wilhelm II's comments on the Bible (CP 13.08.1910 p. 6: "Kaiser and the Bible") and the visit of the "Emperor of Germany in Jerusalem" (CP 14.01.1899 p. 6).

4 CP 19.02.1916 p. 4 (Text 4).

5 E.g. CP 18.02.1911 p. 5.

Letters to the editor from Indian Christians reached the CP from Singapore, South Africa or England. Indian travellers reported on their experiences overseas in the CP from afar or after their return. Samuel Satthianandhan, for example, one of the most prominent representatives of the Protestant Madras elite, described his experiences of racial discrimination in the USA in 1899 and contrasted them with his very different encounters in Europe and England[6]. *Travellers* from all over the world–Indian returnees from Natal, British merchants and colonial officials passing through or missionaries on a tour of Asia–stopped off in Madras and gave lectures in social clubs and associations, which were then reported on by the CP. In early 1907, for example, two missionaries from the London Missionary Society spoke at a public meeting of the 'Indian Christian Association' of Madras on "The Awakening of China" and "Impressions of Christian Work in the World" (CP 26.01.1907 p. 3). Indian delegates at the Edinburgh World Mission Conference in 1910 reported on their impressions of the Scottish metropolis at well-attended events in Madras after their return. "There was a large attendance", we learn in the CP of 19 November 1910 (p. 4)–"of Europeans and Indian Christians representing the various Churches in Madras". The Rev. C.H. Monahan, M.A., of Tiruvallur, "one of the delegates present at Edinburgh", gave a lecture. His topic included the "great importance of the raising of Native leaders"–one of the issues that played an important role at the Edinburgh conference.

Geographical Horizon of Newscovering

The geographical horizon of political reporting and commentary in the CP is initially–due to the sheer number of London-based sources of information–largely that of the British Empire. News from Great Britain and its overseas possessions clearly outweighs that from other parts of the world. Events on the European continent are viewed through an English lens. However, this "imperial" perspective can also be combined with comments criticising colonialism. After all, the reference to the "equal rights" of *all* "subjects of Her Majesty" Queen Victoria in the various British possessions–or the idea of an "imperial brotherhood"–played an important role in the debates on the fate of Indian compatriots in South Africa, for example[7].

The same applies to reporting on the global activities of the Western Protestant missionary movement. As might be expected, the CP contains far more news about those "mission fields" in Asia, Africa, Oceania (and Latin America) in which the various Anglo-Saxon missionary societies (from Great Britain and the USA) were active, com-

6 CP 11.09.1897 p. 3 (Text 119: "The Negro Problem in America"). CP 29.10.1896 contains two travelogues on page 3: "A five month trip to Europe and America" (Heidelberg is one of the stops); and "On the other side of the Atlantic".–In 1905/06 a series of travelogues from the USA appeared in CP, entitled "American notes–By an Indian visitor" (e.g. CP 20.01.1906 p. 6).

7 See for example CP 05.11.1896 p. 5 (Text 98); cf. Lake / Reynolds (2008), "Imperial Brotherhood", 114–133.

pared to those from the European continent[8]. At the same time, however, this implies that the yardstick for critically assessing their own situation in India was often derived precisely from such reports. This is especially true when they provide information about developments or the progress (for example towards "self-government") that are also perceived as exemplary for Indian Christians. We will discuss this in more detail using the example of the debates on the goal and implementation of the "Three Selves"[9].

There was a particular interest in the activities of "native" Christians and *native church organisations* in other missionary and/or colonial contexts. "It is well for us to look around and see what is being done in other parts of the world by the races newly brought into the fold of Christ"–said the CP in 1905 with regard to young Christianity in Uganda[10]. This sentence can be regarded as the leitmotif of numerous commentaries and statements in the CP on developments outside India. Different regions are focussed on to different degrees at different times. In Africa, Sierra Leone and (since around 1900) Uganda and–with regard to the Indians living there–South Africa were at the centre of attention. In Asia, Japan enjoyed a surge of interest from the turn of the century (and massively increased since 1904/05). Japan was seen as a model of successful modernisation through Asian appropriation and the high degree of independence of local churches and Christians. Korea, with its rapidly growing Christian community, was not presented as a model until much later, but China–at least with regard to the activities of Chinese Christians in individual regions–was also presented quite early (from 1899) and thus still during the Qing dynasty. After the fall of the Qing dynasty and the proclamation of the Republic in 1911/12, with numerous Chinese Christians now also in leading political positions, the Christian community in this country was seen as a beacon of hope anyway.

Parallel but Time-Shifted Developments

One of the main reasons for the explosive rise in interest in Japan was its victory in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904/05. For the first time–at the height of Western colonialism and imperialism–an Oriental (and "yellow") nation had defeated a European (and "white") power. This event fuelled national movements and pan-Asian aspirations across the continent. It was welcomed in India not only by the Hindu press and other nationalist papers, but also by the CP and other Christian journals, albeit with a very different rationale. A parallel event in the African context was the Battle of Adwa in 1896, in which the Christian Ethiopians defeated an invading Italian army. Ethiopia was the only African state (apart from Liberia) to retain its political (and ecclesiastical) independence. In the CP, this event in 1896 was noted with (still) detached interest: as

8 Mass conversions among the Batak in present-day Indonesia since the 1890s, for example–an important topic in contemporary German missionary journalism–are only mentioned very late in the CP (e.g. CP 24 February 1912 p. 4) and only in passing.
9 See chapter III p. 53ff; chapter V p. 153s.
10 CP 11.03.1905 p. 5 (Text 96).

the victory of a "semi-civilised nation" over the rather ailing Italy[11]. The enthusiastic reaction was quite different in the West African black press, for example, which celebrated the Ethiopians as either the "Prussians" or the "Japanese of Africa"[12].

Topics

As mentioned, there is news from all over the world on current political events. In its issue of 11 May 1901 (p. 1), for example, the CP reported on "The War in South Africa", "The Position in China", "Ministerial Crisis in Prussia" and "Russia and Persia". Certain topics dominate the headlines in the longer term. The second so-called "Boer War" in South Africa, for example, filled the front-page columns of the CP between 1899 and 1902, as did the military conflicts between Japan and Russia in 1904/05. Both events were accompanied by specific comments, in the first case in a pro-British tone and in the second with a clearly pro-Japanese accent. For: "The sympathy of the Protestant Churches [sc. in India] are entirely on the side of Japan in the present war", reported the CP on 9 April 1904. For unlike the only nominally Christian Tsarist Empire, modern Japan was regarded as deeply imbued with the spirit of Western Christian civilisation. Only in this way, it could have managed to make the leap from complete isolation to the front row of "civilised nations" in a very short space of time.

The "national awakening" of the peoples of Asia is another topic that is discussed again and again–depending on current developments. "This is a time of great awakening in Asia", says the CP of 1 November 1902 (p. 1) with reference to current events in Japan, China, India and Korea. Since 1904/05, such references have increased in leaps and bounds[13]. "The CP reports just as regularly on recent developments in the fields of *science, culture* and technology (such as the latest polar expedition) as it does on *religious and ideological topics*–not to mention news from the Christian world. The importance of religion in the modern era, the resurgence of traditional beliefs on the Asian continent, new challenges posed by secularism, biologism or the theories of Charles Darwin and Ernst Haeckel are just some of the topics on which the CP reprints (and comments on) articles from relevant magazines. "Death blow to materialism", for example, is the title of an article in CP from 9 April 1904 (p. 5) on recent discoveries in the field of atomic physics (and the immaterial nature of electrons). An article entitled "Tropics and Self-Government" takes a critical look at the attempt by a British specialist journal to justify the alleged inferiority of the "Oriental" races in climatological terms (CP 09.09.1905 p. 4f–Text 43). Writers of letters to the editor from Ceylon contradict the

11 CP 07.05.1896 p. 4, further reports in the CP of 14 and 21 May 1896.
12 Thus in 'The Lagos Weekly Record' 23 May 1896 (Discourses, Text 303); cf. also Discourses, Text n° 304 and 305 (on the perception of the Ethiopian ruler Menelik II in the West African press). Cf. Ludwig (2014), "'Japanese of Africa'", 227–238.
13 "Swadeshism is in the air": so the CP on 27 April 1907 (p. 4) with reference to developments in Japan, China and Persia.

theses of an English "Agnostic paper"–and urge an appropriate refutation in the CP in order to reach the readership not only in Ceylon but also in England (CP 22.03.1913 p. 5).

Christianity as a Global Movement

Christianity is perceived in the CP as a *global movement* and, despite all individual criticism, as a *motor of religious and social progress,* inside and outside India as well. Particular attention is paid to the role and growing importance of "native Christians" or "Native Churches" worldwide in the 20th century. This global perspective arises on the one hand from missionary journalism, which reports on the worldwide activities of the Protestant (and occasionally also the Catholic) missionary movement, and whose news is often reprinted in the CP. On 25.02.1905 (p. 4), for example, the CP reported in detail on the deliberations of an Anglican mission conference on the subject of the "Native Church" and gave a detailed account of the "answers from Indian, China, Japan, Africa and other Anglican Mission centres" received there. However, according to the conviction often expressed in the CP, the 20th century will be the century of *native Christians* and *native church organisations* in Asia (and Africa) in a completely new way (and will be shaped by their initiatives)[14]. Missionary globality and the "pan-indigenist" perspective (as Tolly Bradford has called this universal horizon of indigenous Christian activists in another context[15]) correspond to each other as interrelated and at the same time mutually replacing stages.

"The prevailing tendency now is to nationalise the Churches in Non-Christian lands", stated an article in 1905. At the same time, it placed the topic of "Christianity and Patriotism" in a pan-Asian context and referred to examples of the "patriotic" behaviour of Japanese and Chinese Christians, which in turn were intended to inspire their Indian counterparts to continue their commitment to their people and country. "Christianity and patriotism in a non-Christian country" are not a contradiction16. Not only the "new India", but the whole of Asia is "awakening" and is in a state of transition. Christian ideas and indigenous Christians–who have their own magazines, initiate social reforms and are committed to the universal ethos of the Christian faith–have an important role to play as "ferment" and "leaven" in this phase of transition. Christianity is perceived as a "civilising" force–whereby "civilisation" is not identical with the Christian faith, but is often understood as its natural consequence. At the same time, however, the question of a specifically Asian (and non-Western) appropriation of Christian progressiveness is also increasingly being discussed.

"Wherever Christianity has spread there the *emancipation of women* has followed"[17]. This sentence by an Indian lecturer at Madras Christian College–delivered at the annual

14 CP 28.09.1901 suppl. (Text 13); cf. chapter I p. 110ff.
15 Bradford (2010), "'Native Missionaries'", 311–339.
16 CP 14.10.1905 p. 4 ("Christianity and Patriotism").
17 CP 05.11.1898 suppl. p. 4. The entire annual conference was dedicated to the topic "Female Education with special reference to the Native Christian Community", with numerous contributions to the discussion.

meeting of the MNCA in 1898–expressed a conviction that was widespread not only among "educated" Christians in India, but also among the Christian elites of other Asian societies. The CP also reports frequently on the topic of "female education" in other countries–in Japan, Europe or the USA–and praisingly mentions a 'Society for the Promotion of Female Education in the East'[18]. In the debates with the Japanese delegates during their visit to India in 1906, the "education of women" was one of the central issues. And conversely, the Indian Tokyo delegate Lilivati Singh drew a sobering conclusion after her return from Japan in 1907 when comparing female educational institutions in both countries: "When in Japan… I felt discouraged over India"[19].–"In these days woman is receiving special attention all over the world", reads an optimistic article in CP from September 1908. "Her claims for better treatment and for equality with man are slowly acknowledged everywhere, except perhaps in parts of the world where savaged dwell; and in perfect contrast with days of old we see woman taking her place side by side with man in shops, public offices and among religious bodies"[20]. For the CP, unequal treatment of women is therefore a relic of civilisational backwardness, both in their own country and "where the savages dwell". In contrast, the emancipation of women–rather surprisingly for today's feminist discourse–is seen as a global sign of Christian progressiveness[21].

Hermeneutics of Missionary Newscovering

Most of the news about Christianity in other regions, especially in today's so-called global South, came from missionary sources. In the CP, one can observe almost exemplarily how these missionary reports were read and then related to one's own situation.

In the '*Church Missionary Intelligencer',* the official organ of the CMS, there was extensive news about the Pan-Anglican Lambeth Conference of 1897, in which three (respectively two) African (assistant) bishops from what is now *Nigeria caused* a great stir. They were even received by Queen Victoria at Windsor Palace. Under the headline "The Queen and the African Bishops", the CP printed a long extract from these reports verbatim, only to add a single commentary sentence at the end–thus articulating a long-cherished and repeatedly disappointed expectation of Indian Christians:

> "When is India to have her own native Bishops?"[22]

18 CP 14.11.1886 p. 6.
19 CP 24.03.1906 p. 3 (Text 112); CP 11.01.1908 p. 6 (Text 84).
20 CP 19.09.1908 p. 4; this is followed by an article about the Salvation Army as a "religious body" with a particularly high proportion of women.
21 The reality check with regard to India's Christian community is not to be carried out here; elsewhere in the CP there are very self-critical tones.–In other journals or regions of the Munich Journals research project (such as 'Inkanyiso yase Natal', South Africa, published in the 1890s), the self-image as a "progressive community" is by no means tied to the criterion of "female education".
22 CP 18.08.1898 p. 5 (Text 92). Detailed analysis in chapter VI p. 197 FN 1.

News from *China* also fuelled discussions within India early on. As mentioned elsewhere, the CP had its "own"–and probably missionary–"correspondent" in the northern Chinese province of Shangdon in 1899/1900, who initially reported mainly on the country and its people and customs (such as opium smoking) and later on the Boxer Rebellion as an eyewitness. "At our special request", according to the editors of the CP, his 'China letter' in the issue of 25 November 1899 (p. 6) was then dedicated to the topic of "The Christians in Shantung". The CP summarised its quintessence for the Indian reader in its own "Editorial" as follows:

> "We are particularly glad to hear of the self-supporting nature of the congregations in the province of Shantung. 'Missionaries have only been in Shantung', says our correspondent, 'thirty years or so. But were they all to retire the Church would live and grow'. In this respect of self-support *our Indian Christians have yet to learn a deal*. Accounts such as this of Christian brethren in heathen lands should serve as a stimulus to us to higher and better living"[23].

Due to the intensive CMS publicity, *Uganda was* also an early focus of CP reporting. As early as 1902, this led to the observation that the young Christians *of Uganda*–measured by the criteria of "self-extension", "self-support" and "self-government"–were "far ahead of the Indian Church". Subsequently, Uganda is repeatedly presented in the CP as a role model and "*object lesson to Indian Christians*". As an article in the CP of 11 March 1905, for example, diligently quoting reports by the Ugandan reform bishop A.R. Tucker, states, the recently established Church of Uganda had already taken "gigantic" steps "in the direction of self-support, self-extension, and self-government". Even if conservative missionaries in India themselves deny this, Uganda is presented as a direct model and incentive for Indian Christians striving for independence[24].

Finally, to give an example from *Manchuria*: there are now, the reader learns on 18 February 1911 (p. 4), the first churches in the local style, built "in harmony with the architecture of the country, and not to seem European". This, the CP comments, should be an impetus for similar endeavours in India: "let the proper and natural *swadeshi spirit show itself in archtecture as well as in theology and homiletics*". According to the CP, shouldn't the Indian Christians in Madras get to work immediately, commission suitable architects and also build "a model Indian Church", "in which the order of service shall have a national air"?

"Three-Selves" as a Search Criterion for Role Models for India

As these examples show, the Three-Self formula is widely used as a criterion in the search for role models for the development of the Indian Christian community. Because: "the

23 CP 25.11.1899 p. 5f (emphasis KK). For the reports of the CP's China correspondent, see chapter V p. 166ff.
24 CP 06.09.1902 p. 6 (Text 95); CP 11.03.1905 p. 5 (Text 96); for details see the section on Uganda in chapter V p. 155ff.

progress of the Indian Church will depend a great deal upon the efforts made by Indian Christians in the direction of self-support and self-extension" (CP 11.03.1905 p. 5). West Africa, Uganda and Japan are repeatedly mentioned as paradigms. But so is also the "awakening" China, even during the Ching dynasty and *before* the republican upheaval of 1911. "The cry of 'China for the Chinese' is heard everywhere", according to a 1908 report on the Shanghai missionary conference of that year, "there is a seething everywhere in the Middle Kingdom". This also applied to Chinese Christians:

> "The Christian Church in China will demand before long the establishment of a Chinese Christian Church which will become self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating and be largely independent of the control of the Christian Churches of the West."

Under the influence of Christianity, the "awakened China" could take its place among the world's leading nations. "Our deduction", according to the CP's commentary, "is that next to Japan China will become a mighty nation, both in morals and in good government, *long before India will come up to it*.[25] ". And while here and in other cases (West Africa, Uganda) it is still primarily missionary journalism that provides Indian Christians with news about possible role models and counter-models to the conditions on the home front, which are often perceived as deficient, the CP (and the *community* behind it) is increasingly endeavouring to establish its own communication channels and forms of direct contact with indigenous Christian elites in other countries, as the example of Japan shows[26].

Regional Overview

In the next chapter (chapter V), the CP's news on selected countries and regions–West Africa, Uganda, South Africa, Japan, Korea, China, Armenia–that play a special role in the CP's reporting and in the debates of its readers will be discussed paradigmatically. At this point, however, only a brief overview of the various regions that are the subject of the CP's international reporting will be given.

Africa is the subject of an ambivalent perception. On the one hand, the CP also repeatedly reproduced the cliché of the "dark continent". "The Needs of Darkest Africa", for example, is the title of an article taken from a missionary source that the CP reprinted on 8 February 1908 (p. 3)[27]. On the other hand, various developments and debates in the young churches of the continent are regarded as exemplary and almost as a "teaching lesson" for Indian Christians as well. These include, above all, *West Africa* and *Uganda,*

25 CP 18.02.1911 p. 4 ("China's Awakening"; emphasis KK).
26 On Japan, see chapter V.x; on the development of the country's own communication structures, see chapters VI.1 and VI.2; on the three-self formula in debates within India, see chapter III.3.
27 Similarly CP 09.06.1906 p. 2: Indians are "on a higher platform of civilisation than those [sc. people] of Africa"; CP 11.03.1905 p. 5 (Text 96): Uganda "taking a prominent place among the semi-civilised tribes of… Africa".

with their progress in terms of an "indigenous episcopate" and the advanced realisation of the Three-Selves, which are discussed in more detail elsewhere[28]. Christian *Ethiopia,* on the other hand, does not play a special role. It was not only since Adwa in 1896 that African and African-American critics of European colonial rule and missionary foreign domination regarded Ethiopia as a symbol of ecclesiastical (and political) independence and as the country of origin of authentic African Christianity. In the CP, however, the country of Ethiopia (or Abyssinia) is only mentioned occasionally, and the Ethiopian victory at Adwa in 1896 over an Italian invading army–as already discussed–does not find any particular resonance. Even the classic Ethiopian references in the Bible (Act 8; Ps 68:31; etc)–an important topic in Ethiopian discourse–are only mentioned very occasionally[29]. The "Negro Republic" of *Liberia*–the other independent (and "Christian") nation in sub-Saharan Africa at the turn of the century, which is at the centre of African-American and West African-Christian journalism–also receives no special attention in the CP[30]. *South Africa,* on the other hand, is given a lot of space in the CP's reporting, mainly because of the Indians living there. The African population, the black Christians and the missionary institutions in this region, on the other hand, receive less attention, but are mentioned time and again. Among other things, *East Africa is* of interest as a destination for Indian immigration[31].

Asia. Japan has been an important point of reference here since around 1900 (and increasingly so since 1904/05). Interest in the politically ascendant Asian "brother nation", which was widely perceived as autonomous by the church, led to intensified reporting, the visit of a delegation of Japanese Christians to India in 1906 and various forms of mutual exchange. From 1911 onwards, interest in Japan was increasingly replaced (or supplemented) by interest in *China*, whose Christians and churches–just like those in *Korea*–had already been the subject of numerous news items in the CP. Japan, China and Korea are among the paradigms analysed in more detail in chapter V.

The presence of Tamil (or Telugu-speaking) compatriots and the Indian-Christian diaspora in *Ceylon, Burma, Singapore* and what is now *Malaysia* alone meant that there were close ties with these countries, which were also reflected in the CP's reporting. The *Philippines* are mentioned frequently in the CP, but initially only in the form of regular news items about the Spanish-American War (1898/1899)[32] or scattered reports about the Spanish colonial church. There is hardly any news about relations with native Christians there or church independence endeavours in a Catholic context (such as the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente,* founded in 1902), at most about some American missionaries

28 See chapter V p. 153ff. 155ff.
29 CP 08.02.1908 p. 3.
30 Exception for example: CP 06.08.1919 p. 5 ("The Negro Republic").
31 E.g. CP 14.10.1905 p. 6 ("Indians in East Africa").
32 Regular "Telegram news" on "The war between Spain and America" can be found in CP 21.05.1898 p. 2; CP 06.08.1898 p. 2; etc.

who were (temporarily) active in India and the Philippines[33]. Of significance, however, are the increasing indications of the strengthening of *pan-Asian Christian movements* in various countries and churches on the continent since 1905. The "awakening of Asia" of India, Japan, China and Asia as a whole is increasingly addressed in the CP, as is the call for "self-propagation" and other emancipatory acts by the "awakening" Asian churches. And for the first time since the Japanese delegation's visit to the subcontinent in 1906, the CP reports refer to Christianity as a "purely Asiatic religion", which originally belonged to the Orientals and was only later appropriated by the West[34]. In 1907, the first ecumenical meeting in Asia took place in Tokyo at the conference of the World's Student Christian Federation (WSCF) with a majority of Asian delegates. The CP described the meeting as an event of "world-historical" significance: "The conference will bring together, for the first time in the history of the Church, the leaders of the forces of Christianity from all parts of Asia"[35].

News from the *Middle East* and the Christians and churches living there (Copts and others) are rather rare. There are reports by individual travellers (to the Holy Land and the surrounding regions), brief reports from the various missionary journals or–parallel to the increasing interest in the Thoma Christians in their own country since the turn of the century–also news about the Syrian Orthodox Patriarchate in Antioch (with which a branch of the same was connected). The *Armenians*, who are mentioned relatively frequently, represent a certain exception. This is not only because there were also Armenians in India (and Madras). The increasing number of pogroms in the Ottoman Empire from 1895 onwards triggered appeals for solidarity and fundraising campaigns, especially among Indian Christians, which in turn led to controversies with the Muslim or Hindu press in India. The latter instead called for greater solidarity with their Indian compatriots in South Africa[36].

Oceania. Certain islands or archipelagos in the South Seas (such as *Fiji)* or along busy shipping routes (such as Mauritius and Madagascar) are repeatedly mentioned in the CP. This is not only because they were the destination of Indian immigrants (contract labourers and settlers), but also because many Indian Christians ended up there. Noteworthy, for example, is an appeal in the CP on 18 June 1904 for the recruitment of Indian catechists for Fiji. In view of the declining native population, Fiji was said to be "practically an Indian colony" and an ideal field of activity for Indian evangelists. The Tamil or Telugu Christians living there did, as we learn elsewhere, cause many difficul-

33 Prominent American missionariesto the Philippines such as Dr George Pentecost (1842–1920) were also in demand as speakers in Madras (cf. CP 14.12.1903 "Calendar for the Year 1904"; CP 06.01.1900 p. 2; CP 12.9.1903 p. 2; CP 09.04.1904 p. 2; etc.). On the 'Iglesia Filipina Independiente' and its Indian connections see the monograph by Wei Jiang (2023), "True Catholicism".

34 CP 28.04.1906 p. 3; cf. chapter VI p. 227ff.

35 CP 09.03.1907 p. 5 (Text 114).

36 For details, see chapter V p. 177ff.

ties. However, in times of need and famine, they showed solidarity and sent donations to their old homeland[37].

Central and South America are not a focus of the CP's reporting. There are repeated references to individual *Caribbean* countries (such as Jamaica). News from or about *Great Britain* covers all journalistic fields (politics, business, social affairs, culture, military, churches, missions, etc.) and is analysed selectively in this study. The same applies to *continental Europe,* where there is a wealth of interesting news. On *Germany*, for example, the reader will find notes on "The Kaiser and the Bible" (CP 13.08.1910 p. 6), rivalries between the theological faculties in Erlangen and Göttingen, recent discoveries by the virologist Koch or the empire's imperial involvement in China. Switzerland, for example, is of interest as the country of origin of the Basel Mission. The CP also repeatedly echoes the Anglo-Saxon criticism of *Russia* as an imperial rival and stronghold of independence. This is "also our opinion", according to the CP, which describes the Tsarist Empire as only superficially characterised by "Christian civilisation".

The image of the USA in the CP's reporting is multifaceted. On the one hand, the country is seen as a source of Western (and Christian) modernity and numerous philanthropic activities. In education, with regard to the emancipation of women and in many other aspects of cultural and social life, the United States is seen as a leader and a source of inspiration for Asian elites[38]. On the other hand, the racial discrimination prevalent there is described very critically; and a travelogue entitled "The Negro Problem in America" by Samuel Satthianadan, the doyen of the Protestant Madras elite, from 1897 begins with a personal description of the shameful treatment he was subjected to in New York and other places in the USA due to his "dark skin". He had not had comparable experiences in England or continental Europe[39]. The Hampton Institute in Virginia and the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, two black educational institutions that were entirely dedicated to the "advancement" of African Americans and had developed into the "most successful institutions in the United States", are repeatedly mentioned in the CP and described as exemplary[40].

37 Fiji: CP 18.06.1904 p. 6 (Text 116); CP 06.01.1912 p. 5; CP 04.08.1900 p. 6; Mauritius: e.g. CP 16.05.1903 p. 3; cf. Sargant (1962), Dispersion of the Tamil Church, 96: Fiji became a "missionary centre".

38 In 1899, for example, there were already 75 'Ramabai Circles' in the USA, which supported the Indian social activist Pandita Ramabai in her fight against poverty and child marriages (Tyrell [2010], Reforming the World, 99). On Ramabai see see chapter III p. 110ff.

39 CP 11.09.1897 p. 3 (Text 119). A similar comment was made on 6 August 1910 (p. 5) by a letter to the editor about the "thick-skinned hypocrisy" of American Christians–with reference to the exclusion of "Christian Negro(es)" from church events in the USA.

40 CP 27.07.1901 p. 4f; CP 11.08.1898 p. 3 (Text 119); CP 24.11.1906 p. 5; CP 27.07.1912 p. 3; CP 11.12.1915 p. 2. On Hampton and Tuskegee, see the recent monograph by Edward Barnes (Barnes [2017], Black Atlantic; cf. also: Barnes [2018], "Christian Black Atlantic"); these sites of black reform education also play an important role as reference points in the South African journal 'Inkanyiso yase Natal' (also the subject of the Munich Journals project).

International Conferences

Numerous supra-regional news items can also be found in the CP in the context of reporting on international conferences. Mention is made of missionary and denominational meetings at a continental or global level[41] as well as, for example, the 'World Parliament of Religions' in Chicago in 1893[42], the 'National Arbitration Peace Congress' in New York in 1907[43] or the 'First Universal Races Congress' in London in 1911[44]. While the "ecumenical" World Missionary Conference in New York in 1900 was rather dutifully reported on[45] and the sensational appearance of the Indian-Christian reform pedagogue Lilivati Singh at this event initially escaped the attention of the CP[46], the Edinburgh 'World Missionary Conference' in 1910 ten years later already triggered high expectations among the Protestant intelligentsia of South India in the run-up to the event. Very different voices were heard. The CP then gave wide scope to these heated debates, as discussed in more detail elsewhere[47].

41 Such as the Anglican Lambeth Conferences.

42 E.g. CP 14.01.1897 p. 4; CP 28.01.1897 p. 5–In Madras, "Dr J. Barrows, the President of the Parliament of Religions, Chicago" gave a lecture at the MNCA in February 1897: CP 11.02.1907 p. 4; CP 27.02.1897 p. 3.

43 CP 15.06.1907 p. 6.

44 CP 06.05.1911 p. 4 ("An Appeal of the First Universal Races Congress").

45 CP 10.02.1900 p. 5; CP 17.02.1900 p. 6; CP 09.06.1900 p. 6; CP 16.06.1900 p. 4; CP 23.06.1900 p. 5; CP 07.07.1900 p. 5.

46 Mentioned in the CP only in 1909 in the obituary of Lilivati Singh (CP 03.07.1909 p. 3): Former US President Benjamin Harrison (r. 1889–1893) was so impressed by her speech in New Yew York that he is quoted as saying: "If I had given a million dollars to Missions, and the only result had been the euqipment of this Woman, I would consider the money well spent" (ibid.; on this episode cf. also: Montgomery [2005], Western Women in Eastern Lands, 227).

47 Cf. chapter V p. 188ff.

Chapter v

V International Perspectives – Specific Regions

West Africa: "Native Bishops"

West Africa, and Sierra Leone in particular, played an important role in the debates within India for a long time. It was here that Henry Venn's vision of an "independent" indigenous church (or the concept of the "Three Selves") was successfully realised for the first time in 1862, setting an example for the CMS missions. "From Africa, it found its way to India and many other parts of the world" (CP 28.09.1901 supp. p. 1–Text 93). Here–long before and therefore exemplary for India–there were already native bishops early on, which prompted the CP to impatiently comment in 1898: "When is India to have her own Native bishops?"[1]. The reference to the West African bishops (Crowther, Oluwole) described as "pioneers" also played an important role in the subsequent Indian debates on the programme of an Indian national church and an indigenous episcopate:

> "Let our Fathers in God consecrate Christian Indians as Co-adjutor Bishops; and let Missionary Dioceses like Chota Nagpur and Tinnevelly have Christian Indian Bishops of their own at the next consecration to one of those important sees. Bishops Crowther and Oluwole were the pioneers in this advance, and we never heard that European Clergy shrank from servive under them"[2].

And when V.S. Azariah, the first Indian in the Anglican Church, was finally elevated to episcopal dignity in 1912, the CP compared him to "his great African predecessor" in the episcopate, S. Ajayi Crowther (1808–1891): "The eyes of all Indian Christians will be turned towards the coming Bishop who we are sure with God's help and blessing will prove as great a gift to India as India. Ajayi Crowther (1808–1891): "The eyes of all Indian Christians will be turned towards the coming Bishop who we are sure with God's help and blessing will prove as great a gift to India as his great African predecessor, Bishop [S.A.] Crowther" (CP 07.09.1912 p. 5–Text 94).

But Sierra Leone was also a point of reference with regard to a fundamental prerequisite of this principle of self-government–the self-financing of the indigenous communities–which was repeatedly referred to. In 1898, for example, the CP commented on a

1 CP 18.06.1898 p. 5 (Text 92). For an analysis of this text and its source (probably CMI 49, 1898, p. 425), see chapter VI p. 197 FN 1. As a contrast, compare the statement by the CMS functionary Eugene Stock, also the author of a four-volume history of the CMS from 1799–1916 (Stock [1899–1916], *Church Missionary Society* I-IV): the successful Sierra Leone experiment had not yet been repeated in India–"probably because the conditions are not ripe" (quoted in CP 11.05.1901 p. 5: "Native Churches and the Episcopate").–For other references to Crowther, see chapter VII p. 237f.

2 CP 12.01.1907 p. 6 ("A National Church of India"). Isaac Oluwole (1852–1932), often mentioned in CMS publications, was a Nigerian bishop of Sierra Leone; on him, cf. Ayendele (1970), *Emmanuel "Holy" Johnson*, 153–155.

report on the status of the CMS missions "in India, Africa, Japan and China" with the self-critical words: "As regards self-support we must admit that we Native Christians [sc. in India] have been very slow to realise our responsibilities. We have depended too much on foreign support. We ought to be ashamed when we consider what has been done in the way of self-support by the poor ignorant Christians of that continent. In West Africa, the Churches in Sierra Leone, in Lagos, and in the delta of the Niger are self-supporting, with the exception of the support of the Bishop" (CP 08.10.1898 p. 4). Elsewhere, the CP reports on the recently deceased Indian pastor Samuel Paul from Sachiapuram and quotes from his posthumously published paper on "Self-support and its history": "The only two places, according to Mr Paul, where the Self-Supporting system has steadily grown and developed are Sierra Leone and Madras. In Tinnevelly, he thinks, the system is still not perfect" (CP 21.07.1900 p. 5). Other voices quoted in the CP also criticised the ecclesiastical conditions in Sierra Leone[3]. The self-governing "Negro republic" of Liberia is hardly mentioned in the CP–unlike, for example, in the contemporaneous publications of West African Christians.

3 For example, the report of the Methodist missionary W.H. Findley, excerpted in the CP of 07.06.1902 (suppl. p. 2).

Uganda: Land of Martyrs, "Great Progress" towards Independence

The Anglican Church Mission Society (CMS) was active in both Uganda and South India. This was probably an important prerequisite for the fact that the reference to Uganda as a role model played an important role in the emancipatory endeavours of Indian Christians.[4] Through CMS publications and the statements and writings of Bishop A.R. Tucker, who as an Anglican bishop in Uganda (1890–1911) emphatically campaigned for an indigenous church with an African face[5], Indian readers learnt a great deal about the conditions in the East African country.

Uganda was by no means only known to the "educated" Indian Christians. There was also a remarkable interest in (and commitment to) fellow Africans at congregational level early on. This was the case in 1887, when news of the persecution and martyrdom of numerous Ugandan Christians (Protestants and Catholics alike) also reached India. It triggered a wave of willingness to help and led to a considerable fundraising campaign and a "Letter of Solidarity from Indian Christians to the Christians of Uganda"[6]. This is a remarkably early example of transcontinental solidarity between Christians from different regions.

Uganda is mentioned many times in the CP. The young church in Uganda is described as "far ahead of the Tinnevelly Church" (in South India) in an article from

4 The most important *source* for the CP was the ongoing reporting on Uganda in the *'Church Missionary Intelligencer'* (CMI), the official organ of the CMS. Although there were also many direct contacts between Indians and the inhabitants of present-day Uganda, these do not play a role in the debates analysed here in the CP. The question of Indian immigration to East Africa is repeatedly reported in the CP, but without reference to the church situation (CP 24.05.1902 p. 4; CP 28.02.1902 p. 3; CP 14.10.1905 p. 6; etc.). Muslim soldiers from India, who were involved in the suppression of a local revolt in Uganda in 1899 (and other missions) and were impressed by the Christianity of the local inhabitants (cf. Stock [1899], *Church Missionary Society* III, 85), are mentioned on various occasions in the missionary press, but are also not mentioned in the CP. In missionary journalism, the Tamil evangelist David also played a notable role–unmentioned in the CP–whose treatise on the Holy Spirit (in translation) triggered a religious turnaround in the British CMS missionary Pilkington working in Uganda (cf. Stock [1899], Church *Missionary Society* III, 451). In two emails to the author dated 2 March and 21 May 2018, Angus Crichton (Cambridge) refers to a "very brief contact in 1885", when "Bishop Hannigton's ill-fated expedition to Buganda consisted of 50 African porters (mainly liberated slaves from the CMS village at Freretown) [sic]": "Hannington's cook, Pinto, was from Goa. Pinto, alongside the 50 African porters and Hannington himself were martyred in October 1885 before they reached Kampala". Other contacts had existed since 1900, "when South Asians came to Kampala which included Goan Catholics".–Jeyaraj (2002), "Missionary Attempts", 131–144, refers to early missionary activities by Tamil Lutherans from India in Moschi (in present-day Tanzania) in the years 1894ff.

5 Stock (1899), *Church Missionary Society* III, 98: "From the first, Bishop Tucker set himself to prepare the way for a self-supporting, self-governing, and self-extending Church".

6 Documented and analysed by: Ludwig (1998), "Ein Solidaritätsbrief indischer Christen", 187–196. This letter was written in 1887 on behalf of the Christians of Tinnevelly by Rev. Jesudason John, who had been ordained as the first Indian priest in the Anglican Church in 1836.–On the beginnings of Christianity in Uganda cf. Hastings (1994), *Church in Africa*, 371–385. 464–475; Ward (1998), "Creation of Ugandan Identities", 158–170; Stock (1899), *Church Missionary Society* III, 94–112, 428–454, 734–746; Stock (1916), *Church Missionary Society* IV, 83–104.

1898[7] In the following, we will focus on just two articles from 1902 and 1905, which present Uganda as a model for India and a prime example of the successful realisation of the principle of the 'Three Selves'.

"The progress of the Indian Church will depend a great deal upon the efforts made by Indian Christians in the direction of self-support and self-extension", reads a commentary dated 11 March 1905, entitled: "The Uganda Church–An Object Lesson to Indian Christians". "We do not say that of late years nothing has been done in this matter, but we fear all the same that the progress made is slow and that our brethren have not as yet realised their responsibilities… as fully as they should have done". The situation in the East African country is perceived as completely different, although Christianity has only recently found its way there:

> "The Uganda Church is of very recent origin. The first baptism took place in 1882, but the greatest increase in the number of converts dates from 1890. *The people have made great success in the direction of self-support, self-extension, and self-government*. The clergy over 24 in number, the lay-readers and teachers, numbering some 1,400 are supported entirely by native funds. The churches and schools are all built and repaired by the native Church. Not only do the Buganda support the whole of the home work of the Church, they also send out and maintain Buganda missionaries to many surrounding countries. The Church of Uganda has made gigantic strides towards self-government…"[8]

An article from 6 September 1902 on "Christianity in Uganda" is very similar. It is based on the current political debates in India–as well as the demand 'India for Indians'–and refers to the explosive growth of the church in Uganda. This was only possible because (unlike in India) all responsibility ('Self-extension, Self-support, Self-government') was placed in the hands of local actors from the outset:

> " 'India for Indians' is a political maxim urged upon the government in political circles. In the religious world of India, we mean among the missionaries who have in their power the moulding of churches in India, a similar opinion is current, namely that if India is to be won for Christ, it must be done by the Christians […] The Church of Uganda is a self-extending Church, because, from the very beginning, the line which has been adopted has been that of laying upon each individual convert the responsibility of handing on that truth which he himself has received…".[9]

7 CP 26.02.1898 p. 2 The article reports on debates in the 'Native Council' of the Anglican Church of Tinnevelly. Also in the 'Madras Diocesan Conference' of March 1898 on the topic "Priesthood of the Laity", a prominent Indian Christian (S. Satthianadan) referred to the successful experiments of Bishop A. Tucker in Uganda.
8 CP 11.03.1905 p. 5 (Text 96; emphasis KK).
9 CP 06.09.1902 p. 6 (Text 95). The excerpt is a reprint from CMI 52 (1901), p. 838–841, here: 839f.

This statement by the CP did not go unchallenged. A missionary magazine from Bombay, the *'Dnyanodaya'*, disputed the comparability of the conditions in both countries: "conditions there in the darkness of Africa are by no means the same as here in India". The CP does not accept this objection: "We should be greatly obliged if he would kindly point out the conditions which make India different". Behind such statements, the journal suspected European control-seeking and superiority arrogance: "the European missionary thinks he can do things indefinitely better than his Indian brother"[10]. Obviously, there was already a broader discussion about Uganda as a reference model in the Indian Christian community, which led to such controversial statements.

In fact, Uganda played an important role in the missionary journalism of the time. Edifying tracts such as "The Wonderful Story of Uganda"[11] achieved wide circulation and a broad audience. The phenomenal growth of the Christian communities in the East African country, the steadfastness of its martyrs, the self-Christianisation of its political elite, courageous steps towards the abolition of slavery and various forms of technical and civilisational progress made Uganda appear to be a model of success. On the streets, we learn in the CP, children were already playing with toy telephones[12]. Its inhabitants are even described as the "Japanese" of Africa and the "most highly civilised" representatives of the black race in a vote by a senior British colonial official quoted in the CP[13].

Bishop A. Tucker, to whom the CP repeatedly refers as an advocate of an independent path for the "native churches" in "other parts of the world", is often quoted in missionary organisations. His reports from Uganda were discussed at regional missionary conferences in India or at the Lambeth Conference in 1897. They also found their way into the publications of other missionary societies[14]. However, the conclusions drawn from his plea for a speedy implementation of the 'Three Selves' differed. While the CP deduced the necessity of accelerated steps towards the goal of 'self-government', mis-

10 CP 06.09.1902 p. 6 (Text 95).–Another example of Tucker's reception in the CP is the article "Development of Native Churches" of 12 March 1898 (p. 5). This emphasises the conclusions that Tucker had drawn from a comparison of the situation in Uganda in 1890 and 1897. The bishop's report ("Charge") was published in the CMI (vol. 49, 1898, p. 87–102, here: p. 99f.).–On 25 February 1905 (p. 4), the CP quotes Tucker's recommendation on the appointment of "native assistant bishops".–Selective criticism of Tucker can be found in CP 18 June 1898 p. 4 (Text 69–cf. CMI 49, 1898, p. 423).

11 Mullins (11904, 21908), *The Wonderful Story of Uganda*; other popular CMS publications were: Stock (11892, 21894, 31899), *The Story of Uganda and the Victoria Nyanza Mission*; Pilkington / Baskerville (1896), *The Gospel in Uganda*; Weatherhead (1911), *Uganda: A Chosen Vessel*.–Also successful was the autobiography by Bp. A. Tucker (1908), *Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa, was also successful*.

12 CP 11.03.1905 p. 5 (Text 96).

13 CP 02.11.1901 suppl. p. 2.

14 His reflections on the promotion of the 'Native Church' printed in the *CMI* (vol. 52, 1901, p. 838–841), for example, are not only quoted in the CP of 6 September 1902 p. 6 (Text 95), but also in the '*Chinese Recorder*' (vol. 33, 1902, p. 547ff), in '*The Missionary Review of the World*' (vol. 25/1, 1902, p. 374ff) or in *'The Baptist Missionary Review*' (vol. 17, 1908, p. 30).

sionary voices mostly focussed on the criterion of 'self-support'[15] (or 'self-extension') as an indispensable–but regrettably mostly not yet achieved–prerequisite for further independence of the existing indigenous communities.

Tucker also encountered increasing resistance in Uganda itself. This became particularly clear during the debates in 1907/08 about a new church constitution, which also provided for a regular synod. "Tucker wanted the white missionaries to be fully in, and therefore under, the local church. They were mostly reluctant to agree, arguing that would be 'like giving school children control of their master'. By 1908 a compromise was achieved which, if it did not go as far as Tucker had hoped, still did give the Church of Uganda a much stronger position and more self-government than almost any African Church had at that time. In practice, nevertheless, it left the missionary body largely outside, and therefore above, its control. This was symbolic of a missionary failure, perhaps basically a racialist failure…". [16]

However, the fascination that Uganda exerted on Indian Christians as a model of far-reaching autonomy for "indigenous churches" remained unaffected. In the run-up to the debates surrounding the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference, for example, a South Indian cleric wanted to use this opportunity to demand "absolute independence for Indian Christians"–"following the example of Japan and Uganda" (CP 30.04.1910 p. 4–Text 31)[17].

15 For example in the Anglican 'Madras Diocesan Church Record' (as quoted in CP 06.07.1901 p. 2): "We are yet a long way off from self-support"–in comparison to Uganda.
16 Hastings (1994), *Church in Africa*, 472.
17 CP 30.04.1910 p. 4 (Text 31); cf. chapter V p. 189f.

Japan: Western-Christian Modernity in Asian Appropriation

From the turn of the 19th/20th centuries onwards, Japan enjoyed growing interest in India and many other Asian countries as a future Asian superpower. After the Russo-Japanese War of 1904/05, this interest increased once again in leaps and bounds. For the first time–at the height of Western colonialism and imperialism–a "yellow" nation had defeated a European power. This event stimulated nationalist movements and pan-Asian endeavours throughout the continent. Tokyo became the favoured destination of progressive Asian elites. At the same time, contacts between Christian leaders in India and Japan intensified, as can be seen in the CP's newscovering[18].

Before 1900, the CP contained numerous scattered short news items about Japan's military and political rise based on agency reports (or "telegraphic news"). The "new Japan"–as a country that could now "demand international respect from all sides" due to its rapid modernisation–increasingly came to the fore in the CP's reporting from 1898 onwards[19]. At the same time, there was increasing evidence of a changed–and positive–attitude of the Japanese towards Christianity. "Prejudice is passing away"–an American official working in Japan was quoted as saying in 1900. "Christianity is coming to a permanent standing in the new empire of the East"–according to another voice quoted in the CP[20].

It was above all the Russo-Japanese War of 1904/05 (and thus the victory of an "oriental" nation over the "occidental" Tsarist Empire) that made Japan a much-discussed topic among the Indian public[21]. If the relatively small Japan–according to a frequently expressed opinion–with its 50 million inhabitants could inflict a devastating defeat on the Russian Empire, why shouldn't 320 million Indians be able to defend themselves against only 150,000 British? "The eyes of intelligent India are resting upon Japan", was how one observer described the prevailing mood. "'What Japan has done, we can do' is the refrain of India today'"[22]. "The Oriental sees that the East is not after all inferior to the West. Everyone is enquiring what is the secret of Japan's success"–according to

18 On this section cf.: Koschorke (2015a), "What can India learn from Japan?", 19–42.

19 For example CP 27.08.1898 p. 4f. The article (on "New Japan") emphasises, among other things, "the teaching of patriotism in schools" as a feature of the Japanese education system that is of particular interest to its readers.

20 CP 31.03.1900 p. 8; CP 05.05.1900 p. 7.

21 On the Russo-Japanese War in an *Asian and global perspective* cf. the anthology by: Steinberg et.al. (2005), *The Russo-Japanese War in Global Perspective* I; important contributions include those by: Marks (2005), "Rise of Nationalism", 609–628; Rodell, P., "Nationalist Aspirations", 629–654; furthermore: Wolff et.al. (2007), *The Russo-Japanese War in Global Perspective.* II; Sprotte et.al. (2007), *Der Russisch-Japanische Krieg*; Wendt / Baumann (1993), "Vorgeschichte der Dekolonisierung", 331–356.–Significance for the *Islamic world*: Aydin (2007), *Anti-Westernism in Asia*; Reiser (1981), "Der japanische Sieg über Rußland", 209–231.–Significance for *India*: Dharampal-Frick (2007), "The Russo-Japanese War", 259–276; Sarren (2007), "India and the war", 239–250; Dua, (1966), *Impact of the Russo-Japanese*; Datta (1969), "A Turning Point in Asian History", 317–321.–Still important: Romein (1958), *Jahrhundert Asiens,* 46ff. 130ff.

22 *'The Harvest Field'* 17, 1906, p. 107.

another contemporary voice[23]. A wave of national enthusiasm gripped not only the country's western-educated elite[24]. Even in the last villages of Bengal, the news from the Far East was the subject of lively discussion:

> "The air was full of electricity. The war between Russia and Japan had kept the surrounding peoples on the tip-toe of expectation. A stir of excitement passed over the North of India. Even the remote villagers talked over the victories of Japan as they sat in their circles and passed round the huqqa [= pipe] at night. One of the older men said to me, 'There has been nothing like it since the mutinity' (sc. of 1858)."[25]

For the first time, the myth of European invincibility appeared to be permanently shattered. The Japanese victory gave an enormous boost to national movements across the continent (in India, Ceylon, Burma, Indochina, etc.). "Asia is one" was the slogan of the hour in many places. In the Muslim world (Egypt, Turkey, French North Africa) and even in faraway West Africa[26], the reports from the Far East triggered heated debates. Increasingly, Asian students no longer went to Oxford or Yale, but to Tokyo, the "Great Britain of Asia"[27]. Chinese students in particular flocked to the neighbouring country in large numbers after the traditional Confucian examination system had been abolished in China itself in 1905.

In India, the events in the Far East were also intensively discussed in the country's *Christian press*. This was true for missionary papers as well as for the journals of the country's indigenous Christian elites. One of the points that was repeatedly discussed was the question of how Japan–a country that had completely cut itself off from the outside world for centuries–had managed to make the leap into modernity in such a short space of time–and to take its place among the world's "most civilised nations". And in significant contrast to the Hindu press, for example–which hailed Japan's victory as proof of the superiority of the "Oriental race" over Western civilisation and Christian Tsarist Russia–Indian Christians viewed Japan's successes as the result of the modernising influence of Christianity.

"We may safely claim that Christianity and Christian Civilisation played a great part in producing this momentous change"–said the CP in its issue of 30 April 1904. Western education–which had been flowing into the Empire of the Rising Sun since the opening of the country in 1854–"was the lever that moved the hitherto inert mind of Japan"[28].

23 CP 14.05.1904 p. 4 ("Japan, Russia and India").
24 Jawaharlal Nehru's autobiographical review of the years 1904/05 is characteristic: "Japanese victories stirred up my enthusiasm and I waited eagerly for the papers for fresh news daily.… Nationalistic ideas filled my mind. I mused of Indian freedom and Asiatic freedom…" (in: Nehru [1936], *An Autobiography*, 16).
25 Thus the missionary and later Gandhi friend C.F. Andrews (1912), *The Renaissance in India*, 4; in more detail, "The Effect of the Japanese Victories upon India", in: '*The East and West*', October 1905, p. 361–372).
26 See, for example, the texts (n° 307–311) from West African journals printed in *Discourses*.
27 So the CP already on 21.04.1900 p. 8.
28 CP 30.04.1904 p. 4 (Text 109).

This Western civilisation, however, was inextricably linked to Christianity. It is true that the Christian community in Japan was currently still a minority. However, it exerts an influence "disproportionate to the smallness of its numbers". "Christian influence is spread through a voluminous native literature, through philanthropical and social reform movements which unlike India are in the hands of Christians, and through various associations". There are Japanese magazines "owned, managed and edited by Christians…. There is still a larger number of journals whose conductors though not professedly Christian, distinctively favour Christianity"[29]. Religious freedom prevails in Japan. Churches could be founded without hindrance and the Bible could circulate freely. In significant contrast to earlier times of persecution, leading members of the government today expressed their approval of the Christian religion (CP 05.03.1904 p. 5). Even Japanese Buddhism was a "Buddhism leavened by Christian principles and ideals"[30]. Above all, however, universities and other modern educational institutions in Japan were often in the hands of Christian missionaries. Western–and thus also Christian–education was the channel that had made Japan's rise into the league of "civilised" nations considered equal by Europe and the USA possible in the first place.

Russia, however, was quite different. A Christian country in name only, the empire was sinking into superstition, ignorance and corruption. "Japan has imbibed more deeply the Christian spirit than Russia" (CP 14.05.1904 p. 4–Text 110). This was because it had opened itself up to the "civilising" influence of modern–and specifically Protestant–Christianity far more intensively than the feudal and backward Tsarist Empire.

"The sympathy of the Protestant Churches [sc. in India] are entirely on the side of Japan in the present war"–so reports the CP on 9 April 1904 (p. 5). Subsequently, a great deal of information about Christian Japan at the beginning of the 20th century is compiled. Most importantly, the Japanese churches were independent. The relationship with the Euro-American missionaries working there was certainly good. However, the independence of the Japanese Christians is decisive. "The great aim of these Christians is self-support, self-government and self-propagation"[31]. Prominent Japanese lay Christians are introduced[32]. Despite all the disruptions and occasional resistance in Japan–which are described as only temporary setbacks–the following statement applies: "The Christian religion was never in better standing in Japan than at the present"[33]. The future of Japan points to "amazing extension of Christian influence". In the foreseeable future, Japan will probably be a majority Christian nation. And this could not remain without consequences for the rest of Asia. "It is certain that the increase of Japanese

29 CP 30.04.1904 p. 4 (Text 109).
30 *'The Harvest Field'* 16, 1905, p. 203–205.
31 CP 05.05.1906 p. 3 ("A lecture on Japan").
32 For example, Joseph Hardy Neesima (Niijima Jô, 1843–1890), founder of Doshisha University, is presented as a "Japanese missionary statesman" (CP 31 March 1906 p. 7f).
33 CP 18.11.1905 p. 7 ("Christianity in Japan": report on speech by "Dr Kajinosuke Ibuka, president of the Meiji Gakuin").

in the Far East means the extension of Christian influence". "If China takes Japan as her example, she takes Christian civilisation as her ultimate goal" (CP 30.04.1904 p. 4–Text 109).

In the spring of 1906, a small *delegation of Japanese Christians* travelled to India. They came "at the special request and invitation" of the Indian YMCA (CP 21.04.1906 p. 4–Text 111). The YMCA was one of the organisations originally founded in the West, which had quickly achieved a high degree of autonomy and indigenous leadership in India and Asia. The delegation consisted of two prominent (and internationally experienced) personalities: Sakunoshin Motoda (1862–1928), principal of the 'Formosan Association College' in Tokyo (and later the first indigenous bishop of the Anglican Church of Japan), and Tasuku Harada (1863–1940), Congregationalist pastor and president of the YMCA in Kobe[34]. The seven-week tour through the entire subcontinent–the main stops were Calcutta, Lahore, Madras and Bombay–was a "great success". The Japanese spoke at crowded events in churches, universities and other educational institutions, in front of students, parishioners and (also religiously) mixed audiences. As requested by the organisers, the central theme of their highly acclaimed lectures was the question: "What can [Christian] India learn from [Christian] Japan?". In major cities, the Japanese guests were welcomed "officially and formally" by the local Indian Christian associations "on behalf of the [Indian Christian] community". In Madras, for example, "a general meeting of all Protestant Christians in the city" was arranged to welcome them (CP 28.04.1906 p. 4–Text 111). "Wherever they went they exited keen interest", summarises the CP at the end of the journey.[35] "To us [sc. Indian] Christians this visit has been of incalculable value", was his retrospective comment[36].

At the same time, the lecture tour of the Japanese found a considerable journalistic echo. The CP reported in detail on the various stages of the trip[37]. "An Interview with the Rev. T. Harada of Japan" was printed in full, as were the most important "sayings" of the Japanese delegates and the speeches given by "our Japanese visitors" to a prominent audience in Madras on 22 April[38]. The reporting in missionary journalism was

34 J. Sakusnoshin Motoda (1862–1928), ecumenical activist and later first president of Rikkyo University in Tokyo and from 1922–1928 first Japanese bishop of the 'Anglican Episcopal Church of Japan'; and Tasuku Harada (1863–1940), studied in Chicago and Yale, since 1907 president of Doshisha College and later, among other things, Japanese delegate to the Edinburgh Conference in 1910.On 7 January 1911 (p. 6) the CP reports on "The Harada Lecture at Hartford". On Harada cf. STANLEY (2009), *Edinburgh 1910*, 111–114; OTA / OSHIRO (1999), "Mediator Between Cultures", 171–201.

35 CP 28.04.1906 p. 5. Similarly '*The Harvest Field*' Vol. 17 (1906), p. 167: "… Rev. T. Harada and Dr. S. Motoda have been travelling through India, halting at many of the most important cities and delivering lectures to the educated community. Everywhere they have been cordially, almost enthusiastically, received, and they expressed their astonishment at the interest taken by India in Japan".

36 CP 21.04.1906 p. 4 (Text 111).

37 The most important CP texts: CP 10.03.1906 p. 5; CP 24.03.1906 p. 3; CP 31.03.1906 p. 7; CP 14.04.1906 p. 5; CP 21.04.1906 p. 4; CP 28.04.1906 p. 3.5f; CP 02.06.1906 p. 8; CP 04.08.1906 p. 6; CP 30.03.1907 p. 5.

38 CP 28.04.1906 p. 3 (Text 113); CP 24.03.1906 (Text 112); CP 28.04.1906 p. 5f.

also extensive, although somewhat more reserved in tone than the enthusiastic CP[39]. As was to be expected, criticism came from the Hindu press. The bone of contention was the positive role of Christianity in Japan's recent "progress" emphasised by the speakers. The CP firmly rejected this criticism[40].

The lectures focussed on the advanced independence of Japan's young churches and the social and patriotic commitment of Japanese Christians. The great importance of education for women and the overcoming of class barriers and a religious ghetto mentality was emphasised. "We want to take our place by the side of the most civilised nations of the West"–said Tasuku Harada–both in material and spiritual matters. However, adopting Christianity does not mean blindly adopting a Western model, but rather adapting it to specific Japanese circumstances. "So we take Christianity from the West and by means of it, we hope to make ourselves superiors Christians" (CP 24.03.1906 p. 3–Text 112). The "Three Selves" are mentioned again and again and the importance of "indigenous" leadership structures is repeatedly emphasised. This is combined with a criticism of the situation in India: "I was a little disappointed to see so prominently a part being taken by missionaries in all meetings. I expect to see more of the Indian Christians taking their places as leaders" (CP 28.04.1906 p. 3–Text 113). On the other hand, the interview also corrects the idealising ideas of Indian interlocutors about religious conditions in Japan. Important is the repeated reference to the importance of "self-support" and "self-propagation" for the Christian communities in Japan and India. Among the lessons that the Indians should learn from the Japanese was the principle "that the natives of a country are responsible to evangelise that country". "Japan by the Japanese, China by the Chinese, and India by the Indians" should therefore be the principle of future missionary work in Asia (CP 28.04.1906 p. 5).

The Japanese came with a "message" from their home country to the Indian Christians and returned to Japan with warm greetings from India. That the delegation's visit strengthened the bond between the Christians of both countries, was the unanimous conclusion. These contacts should now be *intensified and stabilised*[41]. A return visit by an Indian delegation to Japan was envisaged, as was a regular exchange of students and lecturers. North Indian Christians collected donations for fellow Japanese Christians in need. Letters were sent back and forth, prayer communities and mutual intercession

39 For example, D.G.M. LEITH, "The Delegates from Christian Japan in India" (in: '*The Harvest Field*' 17, 1906, p. 167–171). Repeated reports for example also in: '*The Indian Witness*' (e.g. March 15, 1906, p. 163; March 24, 1906, p. 3), in: '*Young Men of India*' (March 1906, p. 51: "A Japanese Deputation to India"; June 1906, p. 103: "The Japanese Deputation") or in the SPG journal '*The Mission Field*' (Vol. 51, 1906, p. 272–275: "Japanese Christians lecturing in India"); etc. Cf. also: HARPER (2000), *Shadow of the Mahatma*, 43.

40 CP 14.04.1906 p. 5 (Editorial "Christianity and Japanese Progress"), in response to an editorial with the same title in '*The Hindu*' of 10.04.1906. The subject of the controversy was the question "wether Christ and his Christianity had anything to do with the 'recent transformation' of Japan".–Similarly, the counter-criticism in '*The Harvest Field*' 17 (1906), p. 167: "The Indian press has steadily advocated the idea that Christianity has *not* been a factor in Japan's progress".

41 For details, see chapter VI p. 198ff.

were agreed, and the organisation of joint lectures by Japanese and Indian lecturers was considered. "The people of Japan and the people of India are one in the Lord Jesus Christ", it says in a letter from the congregation in Lahore to the Japanese visitors after their departure (CP 28.04.1906 p. 3). Along with the aspect of religious unity, the common Asian identity between the Christians of both "oriental" peoples was increasingly emphasised[42].

The 1907 *Tokyo Conference* of the World's Student Christian Federation (WSCF), which is discussed elsewhere, marked an important next stage in Indo-Japanese relations[43]. This meeting was already significant simply because it was the first ecumenical gathering in Asia with a majority of Asian delegates. Of the 627 participants, more than 500 came from Japan, China, India and other "oriental" countries "The conference… will bring together, for the first time in the history of the Church, the leaders of the forces of Christianity from all parts of Asia", according to the CP on 9 March 1907 (p.5–Text 114). In the list of delegates from India, the CP includes the names of prominent Indian Christians such as V.S. Azariah, N.J. Bose and *Lilivati Singh*, *before* the European representatives listed there in second place. Lilivathi Singh was principal of the renowned 'Isabella Thoburn College' in Lucknow and a leading Indian-Christian education activist. Her appearance in Tokyo[44] has attracted a great deal of attention in the CP. "When in Japan", according to her review printed in the CP, in which she compares the structures and conditions for *female education* in India and Japan, "I felt discouraged over India when I learned that 91,16 [%] is the percentage of the women in Japan who at least receive primary education": "Compulsory education for girls is impossible in India with its child-marriage, its pardah system, and its sacredly held opinion that girls have no brain". Lilivati Singh then systematically goes through the various levels of education (from elementary school to university studies) to conclude resignedly: "Slowly, very slowly, perhaps, the cause of higher education for women is spreading and getting ground in India". Only at the end does she manage an optimistic outlook: "Yes, India has a great future before her", referring, among other things, to pioneers of female education in India such as Pandita Ramabai and hopeful start-ups led by prominent Indian Christian women[45]. What is remarkable here is how the comparative view of Japan further reinforces the critical impression of Indian back-

42 For details, see also chapter VI p. 227ff ("Asian connections").–In contrast to the occasionally idealising image of Japan held by Indian Christians, Mira SONNTAG REFERS in her contribution to the comparative overall study on the Munich Journals project to the early connection between "Christian Patriotism and Japanese Expansionism" in the debates of Christian intellectuals in Japan such as Uchimura Kanzo (SONNTAG [2018], "Christian Patriotism", 285–298). This reference is an important and far-reaching corrective. In the context of the present study, the first aim is to work out the Japan-imagination of the Protestant Madras elite–in its relevance for their transregional activities and networking endeavours.

43 See Chap. VI.1.c (Tokyo 1907).

44 Her speech can be found in the English conference publication (WSCF–*Report Tokyo 1907*, 153–157.

45 CP 11.01.1908 p. 6–Text 84; this text is a reprint of an article by Lilivati Singh from 'The Student Movement'. On Lilivati Singh cf. p. 112f. 210.

wardness. At the same time, however, this comparison also implies a moment of hope: through the perception of what has been achieved elsewhere (in Japan) (and therefore also appears achievable in India)[46].

46 Another Indian delegate to Tokyo–V.S. Azariah–is reported in the CP 1912 (in connection with his consecration as Indian bishop) as follows: "When he returned from his tour in Japan (sc. in 1907), he came back with a new vision of a great future for the Indian Church" (CP 17.02.1912 p. 3). Japan played an important role already earlier in the debates of Indian Christians. As early as 1886, Pulney Andy, founder of the 'National Church of India' (NCI), referred to Japan as a role model: "If the missionary societies will see to the removal of these difficulties, a National Church is possible–*as it is in Japan*–, and not impractical and it will only add to their glory…" (NCI–*A Collection of Papers*, 20; emphasis KK).

China: Boxer Uprising and Republican Turnaround

Compared to Japan, China played a less prominent role in the debates of the CP. There are two significant exceptions of varying weight: the reporting and controversies surrounding the so-called Boxer Rebellion of 1899/1900 and the expectations and hopes in the face of the revolutionary upheaval in China in 1911/1912, which led to the proclamation of the republic under a "Christian" president. Also noteworthy are the repeated references to the example set by "native Christians" in the Middle Kingdom for their Indian co-religionists.

The 'China Letters' and Reports from "Our Own Correspondent"

In the years before 1898, the CP contains scattered messages about China from various sources. One particular source for the period between March 1899 and July 1900 is 'Our China letter(s)', written "from our own correspondent" in Shantung (North China). This was obviously one of those liberal "missionary friends" that the CP also counts among its authors elsewhere. His 22 reports printed in the CP[47] cover a wide range of topics such as the causes of "poverty in China", the consequences of opium consumption, the weather, famines, the "character" and social stratification of the Chinese, intrigues at the imperial court in Beijing and the role of rival European powers in the Middle Kingdom. Increasingly, the growing "anarchy" in the country and in particular the events surrounding the Boxer Rebellion became the dominant theme. "At our special request", the author commented in detail on the issues of particular concern to the editors of the CP. For example, he provided more detailed information about the local "fellow Christians in China" (CP 25.11.1899 p. 5). It is also evident that his articles were written "for the benefit of the readers of the 'Christian Patriot'" and were aimed specifically at this audience[48].

Who was the author of these "China letters" for the CP? "Our correspondent has been in Shantung, North China, for several years. And it is in Shantung that the anti-foreign movement had its start. He has been an eyewitness of the Boxer movement of which he gave our readers a most graphic account a few months ago", according to an editorial note in the CP of 28 July 1900 (p. 4). The following is the reprint of his last report from China, written in Shanghai before the author's departure to the USA, which was

47 CP 18.03.1899 p. 5f; CP 25.03.1899 p. 6; CP 03.06.1899 p. 3+6; CP 17.06.17 p. 3+6; CP 22.07.1899 p. 6; CP 12.08.1899 p. 3; CP 26.08.1899 p. 3+6; CP 09.09.1899 p. 6; CP 28.09.1899 p. 3+6; CP 28.10.1899 p. 6; CP 04.11.1899 p. 5f; CP 25.11.1899 p. 5f; CP 13.01.1900 p. 6; CP 20.01.1900 p. 5f; CP 03.03.1900 p. 5; CP 03.03.1900 p. 5f; CP 17.03.1900 p. 8; CP 21.04.1900 p. 5+8; CP 21.04.1900 p. 8; CP 19.05.1900 p. 3; CP 02.06.1900 p. 6f; CP 28.07.1900 p. 4f.

48 CP 28.07.1900 p. 4; CP 20.01.1900 p. 5 ("that the readers of the CP may be able to follow"); CP 10.03.1900 p. 6 ("Your readers will doubtless be looking for fuller particulars…"); CP 03.03.1900 p. 5 ("I heard a story.… and pass it on to the Christians of India"); etc.–In addition to the 'China letters', the CP also contains ongoing news about China in the 'Telegraphic Summaries' (agency short news items), which at the height of the crisis in 1900 were condensed into a weekly column entitled "War in China" (e.g. CP 30.06.1900 p. 2; CP 28.07.1900 p. 2; CP 11.08.1900 p. 2). However, they hardly play a role in the commentary of the CP.

planned for 30 June 1900 and forced by circumstances[49]. Based on these travel dates, the China historian Rudolf Gerhard Tiedemann identified him with the missionary of the English 'Baptist Missionary Society' (BMS) Charles Spurgeon Medhurst (1860–1927), who is listed on the passenger list of a ship (the S.S. India) that arrived in Vancouver, Canada, from Yokohoma on 18 July 1900[50]. One of the things we know about Medhurst, who was married to an American woman, is that he was also active in Sri Lanka (at least later). Earlier visits or a stopover in Madras are not unlikely and could explain his contacts with the CP. Ultimately, however, this question is of secondary importance. In the present context, the main point of interest is how his reports on China were received and commented on by Indian readers[51].

Self-Support, Chinese as a Role Model

"We are particularly glad to hear of the self-supporting nature of the congregations in the province of shantung… In this respect of self-support our Indian Christians have yet to learn a great deal". With these words, the CP commented on a report by its correspondent, who pointed out the rapid growth of the young congregations in this province, quite independently of the presence and activities of Euro-American missionaries. "Work in this province"–according to his report–"has from the beginning been conducted more on self-supporting lines than in the South of China". "During the long leisure months of the year", the converts–most of whom worked in agriculture–"went about among their relatives preaching Christ according to their light. Most

49 "I leave tomorrow for America", the author wrote from Shanghai on 29 June 1900 (CP 28.07.1900 p. 5). Four weeks passed before these lines were printed in the CP (usually two weeks). The other reports were written in Shandong–"where the writer resides" (CP 18.03.1899 p. 6)–in "Chingchoufu" (Ching-Chow-Fu, today Qingzhou) (CP 17.06.1899 p. 6; CP 25.3.1899 p. 6; CP 09.09.1899 p. 6), also the location of a missionary college (CP 25.11.1900 p. 5).

50 Emails from R.G. Tiedemann to the author dated 22 June 2018, 17 July 2018 and 1 August 2018 as well as oral communication.–From Vancouver, the journey continued to San Francisco, where the 'San Francisco Chronicle' reported on 6 August 1900 (p. 7): "Rev. C. Spurgeon Medhurst, a Methodist (sic!) missionary who returned recently from Shantung, spoke at the 10th–avenue Methodist Church this evening on the situation in China".

51 C.S. Medhurst was in the service of the English Baptists from 1884 to 1904 and–interrupted by repeated stays in England and the USA–had been working at the BMS mission station in Ching-Chow-Fu in Shantung in northern China since 1885. He also returned there in 1901 after the turbulences of 1900. In 1904, with "profound pain", he handed in his resignation from the BMS, as he was accused of having links to the Theosophists. He saw himself as a "Christian theosophist" and saw theosophy as a spiritual deepening of Christianity. The connecting element between his theosophical inclinations–which probably only became public in 1903–and his commitment to the CP was probably his rejection of a sterile missionary orthodoxy. After 1921, Medhurst lived in Sydney (Australia), where he was ordained a priest of the Liberal Catholic Church. At times there were close links between Theosophists and Roman Catholics.–For a biography of C.S. Medhurst, see Powles (2010), "Misguided or Misunderstood?", 347–364. His own published work is available: Medhurst, C.S. (1905), *The Tao Teh King.* A Short Study in Comparative Religion (Chicago). In the CP itself, his name is mentioned only once, as the author of an article on "The Tao The King, A Chinese Classic" (CP 05.05.1900 p. 6). The fact that here there is no identification with (or reference to) the author of the 'China letters' is quite peculiar. On the other hand, in other cases correspondents of the CP are not identified by name as well.

if not all have suffered bitter persecution for their faith"[52].–Sad news about the persecution and growing number of martyrs among both Western missionaries and native Christians increasingly filled the columns of the newspaper; "and our correspondent testifies personally to the courage and loyalty of our Christian brethren". His article reports in detail on the example of a young Chinese Christian who, despite great poverty and massive opposition by his clan, had finally won them over to the Christian faith. "Such men are all too few in China but there are others who are his counterparts. It is by such men rather than by the foreign missionary that China is to be saved, and the same applies to India"[53].

"Persecutions in Shantung": Reports on the Boxer Movement in the CP

The CP's 'China Letters' contain various previously unknown information about the so-called "Boxer" movement[54] during the period mentioned. As an "eyewitness", the author reports above all on the events in Shantung, where the unrest "began"[55]. The situation was very different in the various areas and it was becoming increasingly difficult to exchange news with other parts of the country. Even reading newspapers was prohibited by the Chinese authorities, who were becoming increasingly xenophobic[56]. While the activities of the secret societies of the "Boxers" were initially also directed against the government in Beijing, the responsibility of the imperial court was increasingly emphasised. "There is not the slightest doubt that the recent terrible persecution in Shantung… was the work of the Empress", the Empress Dowager Cixi[57]. The starting point for these events was her coup d'etat in 1898, which ended the brief period of reform under the then deposed Emperor Guangxu and dashed hopes for a positive

52 CP 25.11.1899 p. 5f ("The Christians in China"–CP commentary); CP 25.11.1899 p. 5 ("The Christians in Shantung / Our own correspondent"). Cf. CP 22.07.1899 p. 6 ("Our own correspondent"): "Although China is a poor, because undeveloped country, I am of the opinion that in the matter of self-support she is the most hopeful mission".

53 CP 03.03.1900 p. 5 ("Editorial notes"); CP 03.03.1900 p. 5 ("A Word from China / Our own correspondent").

54 On the secret society of the 'Yihetuan' ('Troupe of Righteousness and Concord') known in the West as the "Boxers" cf: Silbey (2012), *The Boxer Rebellion*; Bickers / Tiedemann (2007a), *The Boxers, China, and the World;* of particular importance are the articles by: Bickers (2007b), "Introduction"; ibid. 9–24; Tiedemann (2007), "The Church Militant", ibid. 59–78; Bayly (2007), "Boxer Uprising and India", ibid. 153–160. furthermore to note: Sharf / Harrington (2000), *China 1900*, passim; Fairbank (1989), *History*, 133ff. 146ff; Fairbank / Kwang-Ching Liu (1980), *Cambridge History of China.* Vol. XI, 115–130; Bays (2012), *A New History*, 84ff; Bays (1996), *Christianity in China*, 100ff. 110ff; Cohen (1997), *Boxers as Event, Experience and Myth*; Osterhammel (1989), *China und die Weltgesellschaft*, 202ff. 215ff.–The rebelling Boxers killed "around 250 foreigners (mainly missionaries) and thousands, perhaps tens of thousands of Chinese Christians" (Klein [2009], *Geschichte Chinas*, 42).

55 The focus of the massacres of Christians mentioned in the China Letters was in the neighbouring provinces of Chihli (Zhili; today Hebei) and Shansi (Shanxi).

56 "The reading of newspapers is forbidden" (CP 02.06.1900 p. 7).

57 CP 19.05.1900 p. 3–At the same time, the new alliance between the Boxers and the imperial court is emphasised in the 'China letters': "Missionaries are regarded as the emissaries of foreign countries who will step in and seize China as soon as they have won the hearts and confidence of sufficient number of converts to make an attack from without safe. Hence the motto of the Big Sword Society: 'Protect the Dynasty, Expel the Foreigners'" (CP 10.03.1900 p. 5+8).–The author of the 'China letters' was probably not yet aware of the difference between the 'Big Knife Society' and the Boxers at this time (reference R.G. Tiedemann).

development of the country[58].–In Shantung, many local Christians fell victim to the massacres and thousands lost their homes and all their possessions. Apart from a few exceptions, the steadfastness of Chinese Christians in the midst of all the persecution is praised[59].

Reactions of Indian Christians

In Christian India, the news from the Far East caused great consternation, both in the missionary *community* and among local Christians. "The Christians in the Celestial Empire–Protestant or Catholic–demand the sympathy of their brethren throughout the world", said a commentary in the CP on 11 August 1900, "Their present dangerous state should excite all Christians in India and elsewhere". Solidarity is also understood here as proof of belonging to a world wide community. "I am sure", the CP's China correspondent is also quoted as saying on 20 January this year, that "the native Christians in India will sympathetically remember in prayer their much tormented brethren in this unhappy land"[60] : Indian Christians demonstrated their solidarity not only in prayer, but also through donations. We repeatedly hear of such initiatives. On 4 August 1900 (p. 6), the CP reported on an action by the Christians of Jaignung (North India). They "have sent a contribution for the relief of those who suffered from the attacks of the Boxers at the Chi Chow in Northern China". Pandita Ramabai is repeatedly mentioned in the CP in connection with her own large social work (and her appeals for donations supported by the CP). She too sent a gift of solidarity to the Far East in 1903. "After the Boxer rising of 1901, acute distress was felt by thousands of Chinese Christians rendered homeless and penniless by persecution. To alleviate their suffering Pandita Ramabai sent Rs. 5000". At this time (in 1903), however, this amount was no longer needed locally and most of it was sent back "with thanks" in favour of the victims of an acute famine in India (CP 20.06.1903 p. 3). On 13 February 1904 (p. 5), the CP published an appeal for donations for the erection of a memorial in Shanghai for the victims of the Boxer Rebellion. "The Appeal is to Asiatic Churches in the first instance"–this is how the CP emphasises the urgency of this appeal.

Press Controversies

The Boxer Rebellion and the intervention of the Western eight-power military alliance (including Japan) in China in 1900/1901 caused a great stir internationally. When it came to the reasons for the rebellion, the Christian missionaries were often blamed, especially by the European and American public. This was also the case with the American writer Mark Twain, who is therefore mentioned critically in the CP[61]. Above all,

58 CP 28.07.1900 p. 4f.
59 CP 19.03.1900 p. 5f; CP 21.3.1900 p. 8; CP 25.10.1899 p. 6.
60 CP 11.08.1900 p. 5; CP 20.01.1900 p. 6.
61 CP 04.05.1901 p. 2: Criticism in America of Mark Twain "for publishing groundless slanders on an American missionary in China".

however, this topic played a significant role in the inner-Indian press controversies[62]. For example, in an article in the Allahabad-based newspaper 'The Pioneer', to which the CP reacted strongly. "The writer in the 'Pioneer' took it for granted that the missionary was the head and the front of offending in China; he was the 'real firebrand' who brought about political complications; and missionary efforts in China resulted only in 'the most formidable harvest of blood-shed and bitter feeling'"[63]. A fierce debate followed, in which missionary papers such as '*The Harvest Field*' or the Methodist '*Indian Witness*' (Calcutta) also spoke out at length. Indian readers' letters to the editor defended "our American missionary friends" against the "malicious reports" of the 'Pioneer' (CP 11.08.1900 p. 3). According to the CP's most recent reports from travellers to China, the Boxer Rebellion was not primarily an anti-Christian movement, but one directed against all "foreigners, simply as such". "It is ridiculous therefore to make out the presence of missionaries in China is the sole cause of the present political complications" (CP 21.07.1900 p. 5).

The Boxer Rebellion was present in the Indian public discourse also simply because of the participation of Indian regiments in its suppression–as well as the discussions about the costs of this deployment[64]. There is an autobiographical report in vernacular language by one of the North Indian soldiers deployed in China ("Thirteen month's in China"), which Anang A. Yang has analysed in detail[65]. The CP contains a short report on the ecclesiastical farewell of an Indian doctor for military service in China, without further comment (CP 21.07.1900 p. 6).

Developments after 1900

"Ironically, the undoubted tragedy of the Boxer events in 1900 ushered in a period of more than two decades during which both the foreign mission enterprise in China and Chinese Christian communities seemed to flourish"–this is how Daniel H. Bays describes the development in China after 1900[66]. This is also reflected in the reporting and commentary of the CP, which on the one hand printed articles about the improved "missionary situation in China" (e.g. CP 09.04.1904 p. 6) and on the other registered with interest the reforms of the Qing dynasty and the changed religious-political and social climate in the Middle Kingdom after 1900[67]. This was particularly true after

62 On the debates in the Indian press, see Bayly (2007), "The Boxer Uprising and India", 153–160: "Almost universally too, English-language and vernacular papers blamed European missionaries 'Who ridiculed the religion of the Chinese and offend them in many ways'" (ibid., 155).

63 CP 25.08.1900 p. 5 ("The 'Harvest Field' and the 'Pioneer'"); CP 04.08.1900 p. 5 ("The 'Pioneer' on American Missionaries in China").

64 CP 23.06.1900 p. 5; CP 21.07.1900 p. 6.

65 Yang (2007), "An Indian Soldiers Account of China", 59–78. The author, Gadhahar Singh, belonged to the Bengali infantry and was close to the Hindu reform movement of the 'Arja Samaj'.

66 Bays (2012), *A New History*, 93.

67 Bays (2012), *A New History*, 93f: "many reform projects were ones where Protestant missionaries and Chinese Christians had a long-established track record of advocacy and competence, such as a modern school system including schools for girls".

Japan's victory over Russia in 1904/05 and the resulting acceleration of the modernisation processes in China.

"China's Awakening", for example, was the subject of a lecture by an "experienced" China missionary "to educated Hindus", which the CP reports on in detail in its issue of 17 November 1906. The country, we learn, was changing dramatically. "The influence of western civilisation" was unmistakable, "and anti-foreign and anti-Christian feeling are dying out". There has been great progress in education, we learn, the opium trade is being combated and degrading practices (such as binding women's feet) are being abolished. "Railways are being opened; steamers ply in their rivers;… complete postal systems have been introduced; telegraph lines laid…". "The influence of Japan after the Japanese-Russian war is very much to be felt; they [sc. the Chinese] begin to open book shops, and large numbers of Chinese students go to Japan. In Tokyo alone there are 5,000 Chinese students. They begin to travel to foreign lands"[68]. The CP had already reported on these Chinese students in Tokyo in many of its other reports on Japan. A number of them came into contact with the Christian faith there for the first time and later returned to China as baptised Christians. "If Japan", wrote the CP in an "Editorial note" of 8 December 1906 (p. 4), "had its victories of war, China seems likely to have its victories of peace… China will surprise the world by showing greater progress [sc. than Japan] in much shorter time". The CP thus represents a point of view that can also be found in the country's nationalist discourse at the same time. According to the CP in an article published in 1908, the "Indian national movement" was increasingly looking not only to Japan, but also to China. However, the "Indian people" still had to make great efforts "before India can become like Japan *or what China is going to* be"[69].

At missionary conferences in China, the question of the 'Three-Selves' was discussed with renewed urgency. This was the case at the conference in Shanghai in April 1907, which the CP reported on 27 July 1907 (p. 5f). The conference report notes an astonishing growth of the Chinese church "after the terrible Boxer outbreak". This made the training of qualified native pastors and teachers all the more urgent. "The establishment of self-supporting Chinese churches under the direct control of Chinese converts should be encouraged. The very legitimate cry of 'China for the Chinese' can now be heard in every direction, and, as in Japan so in China, we must expect that the Christian converts will demand before long that a Christian Church in China which will become… independent of the control of the Christian organisation from the West"[70]. "China's awakening", according to the CP in a post-conference report, can also be seen in the increased Christian influence. "There is a strenuous opposition to the existing order and methods of government". At the same time, "The Christian Church in China will demand before long the establishment of a Chinese Christian Church which will

68 CP 17.11.1906 p. 3.
69 CP 14.03.1908 p. 4 (emphasis KK).
70 CP 14.03.1908 p. 7.

become self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating and be largely independent of the control of the Christian Churches of the West". According to the conclusion of the CP ("our deduction"), "that next to Japan China will become a mighty nation, both in morals and good government, long before India will come up to it" (CP 21.03.1908 p. 3).

There were direct contacts with leading Chinese Christians at the Tokyo conference of the WSCF in 1907, for example, although we do not find any specific details about them in the CP. Eighteen Asian delegates took part in the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910. One of them was the 28-year-old (and at that time not yet ordained) pastor Cheng Ching Yi from Beijing, whose short "seven-minute speech " on the question of a Chinese church union left a lasting impression. "Why do we want a union?" was his initial question. "We want it", according to the summary of his speech as quoted in the CP, "(a) for the things that really help forward the growing movement of the self-support and the self-government of the Church. (b) Denominationalism has never entered the Chinese mind, nor are they interested in it"[71]. The latter was a topic that played a central role also in the inner-Indian debates of the time[72].

Republican China

The Chinese revolution of 1911 and the proclamation of a republic were unanimously welcomed in missionary circles. At the same time, it gave an enormous boost to the process of indigenisation in the country's Protestant churches–now that an "unprecedented opportunity" to evangelise the country had presented itself after the fall of the old order. This was the conclusion of the national post-Edinburgh 'Continuation Committee Conference' in Shanghai in 1913[73]. The CP's reporting–often based on missionary sources–is also largely characterised by this optimistic perspective.

While the missionaries encountered growing resistance in central India–according to the CP in an article of 1 June 1912 (p. 2)–China, which had become a republic, represented "the great surprise of the year". With the recent election of Sun-Yat Sen as (provisional) President of the Chinese Republic, a baptised Christian was for the first time at the head of the giant empire. "The Kingdom which claimed an antiquity of 80'000 [sic] years has a Christian as its head… He is now the President of the new and largest of all republics. Christianity has thus triumphed in China" (CP 15.06.1912 p. 3). According to a voice quoted in the CP, China could even assume a leading role in Asia ahead

71 CP 10.09.1910 p. 7–Text 108 ("Seven minutes speech on Chinese union"). On Cheng Ching Yi in Edinburgh (and his later career) cf. BAYS (2012), A *New History*, 99, 101ff. 110ff. 145f; STANLEY (2009), *Edinburgh 2010*, 107–111.
72 This was also the case, for example, in the 1907/08 debates on the founding of the South Indian Union of Churches (SIUC). Chinese slogans–"One Church for China, which shall be neither Romish, English, American, nor Lutheran… but be Church of Christ in China"–also inspired the discussions in India (CP 27.04.1907 p. 5).
73 CCC–*Continuation Committee Conferences in Asia 1912–1913*, 319–367. 331. 324ff. One of the topics of the deliberations at the Chinese National Conference in Shanghai (11–14 March 1913) was "III: The Chinese Church". It called for: 1. "The Unity of the Church of Christ in China"; 2. "Freedom of development in Form and Organisation"; 8. "Developing the Indigenous Character of the Churches"; 9. "Chinese Christian Leadership" etc. (ibid., 319–367).

of Japan. "Till yesterday it was the hour of Japan, but Japan's day was quickly passing, and the long day of China, awoke with capacity and resources beyond all calculations, had dawned. China was going to speak to the whole world and it would do so soon." China, the article concludes, was thus "a powerful incitement for India to cast of her fetters and mingle with the world" (CP 01.06.1912 p. 2).

Direct links between Indian and Chinese Christians existed, among other things, through the network of Asian YMCAs. CP had repeatedly referred to the Chinese YMCA and its publications as an exemplary platform for exchange between indigenous leaders[74]. The report in CP on the national convention of the Chinese YMCAs in December 1913 reveals the euphoria and high expectations that were also directed at the regime change in the Middle Kingdom in Christian India. The President of the Chinese Republic (now Yuan Shih Kai [or Yuan Shikai]) gave the welcoming address; another cabinet member, himself a Christian, also spoke. The delegates were prominent Christians from the various parts of the country: "they all represented organised Christianity in the Republic… all showing that the leaders of the Christian Church in China stand in the very front rank of the citizens of the Republic". According to the concluding remark, this convention "marks a milestone in the progress of Christianity in China"[75].

74 For example CP 11.08.1906 p. 6 (Text 107).

75 CP 27.03.1913 p. 5; cf. also CP 05.07.1913 p. 7: "In the present Chinese Cabinet there are several sincerely Christian men… The above shows how the Republic is moving religiously".

Korea: "Spirit of Self-Help", Growth under Japanese Occupation

Korea only became the subject of more intensive debate in the CP at a relatively late stage. For a long time, the North-East Asian country was overshadowed by (missionary or personal) reporting on Japan and its growing influence in the region. Since 1904, however, there have been more and more reports in the CP about the "phenomenal growth" of the Korean churches. The country and its Christians received increased attention around 1910–in the context of the Edinburgh 'World Missionary Conference'. The missionary spirit of the Korean Christians is now particularly emphasised. As a "lesson to the Indian Church" (CP 06.08.1910 p. 4) and "most noble example to the Indian Christians" (CP 20.08.1910 p. 2), the unprecedented commitment and independence of the Korean fellow believers is now being honoured.

In the CP, numerous scattered news items about Korea originate from the news agencies ("Telegraphic summary") or the missionary press. The creeping occupation (since 1905) and formal annexation (1910) of the country by the Japanese is mostly recognised as a given reality. "Japan's preponderance in Korea is recognised", reads an agency report quoted in the CP on 2 September 1905 (p. 4); and the reader is informed about the formal annexation in 1910 as follows: "We gather the following from the latest mail. It is stated that Korea has been annexed to Japan to promote the common welfare of the two nations and to ensure the permanent peace of the extreme East" (CP 01.10.1910 p. 6). Despite all the sympathy for Japan, there are also critical voices in the CP. "All eyes are turned today in eager admiration towards Japan", reads a detailed report by the American evangelist Sherwood Eddy in 1907, which the CP reprints. "But it is not generally known in India that Japan… is far more bitterly hated by the Koreans than are the English in Bengal itself…. The fact remains, however, that Korea under the Japanese rule is improving…" (CP 15.06.1907 p. 5). The "assimilation of the country by the Japanese" and the progress of the Christian mission in Korea are mentioned in the CP in the same context (CP 21.09.1907 p. 2). The preaching of the Gospel there–as emphasised by the CP on 4 February 1911 (p. 6)–was not hindered by the new Japanese rulers.

When asked about the reasons for the enormous church growth in Korea, the principles of Three-Selves and the successful application of the so-called Nevius method are referred to early on. "The native Christians are showing the same spirit of self-help that has characterised them from the beginning", reads a note from 1902. "Three hundred self-supporting Presbyterian churches to-day bear witness to the worth of that idea"[76]. In 1904, the 20th anniversary of the beginning of Protestant missionary activity in the previously hermetically sealed kingdom was commemorated. This had led to the "creation of the nucleus of a strong self-supporting and self-propagating church".

76 CP 21.06.1902 p. 5; CP 12.07.1902 p. 6.

"There are now 40,000 Christians [sc. in Korea]"[77]. Corresponding reports of success multiplied in the period that followed. In 1907, there was a "wonderful religious awakening" in the Christian communities of Korea, which the CP reported on prominently and recognised as a "Korean Pentecost". "That revival swept throughout the Christian Churches of the Empire, until fully 50,000 of the converts then in the Church came under its regenerating influence"[78].

In 1907, as discussed elsewhere, a conference of the 'World's Student Christian Federation' (WSCF) was held in Tokyo, and for the first time with majority Asian participation. The CP emphasises in particular the presence of "prominent" Asian Christians at the meeting and also briefly mentions the participation of Korean delegates[79]. In the same year, a "peace" conference was held in The Hague at which the rival superpowers defined their spheres of influence in the Far East. The Koreans were not invited, even though they were massively affected. "A Korean Deputation has arrived at The Hague, to protest against the non-invitation of Korea to the Conference and the Japanese violation of Korean sovereignty"–this is how the CP quotes an agency report on this event (CP 06.07.1907 p. 1). A general mood of awakening ("great revival") among the Christians of East Asia–"in Korea, Manchuria, China and Japan"–is noted in the CP in a note on 24 October 1908 (p. 4–5). In 1910 the World Missionary Conference, discussed in more detail below, took place in Edinburgh. Korea was represented there by Yun Ch'iho (1865–1945), in the judgement of Brian Stanley "without doubt the most politically significant of the Asian delegates"[80]. In his speech, Yun emphasised the necessity "of taking the Native Church into full confidence" (CP 16.07.1910 p. 6), with the approval of several missionaries.

In the debates in Edinburgh in 1910, Korea was repeatedly referred to as an example of grandiose self-Christianisation and rapid opening to Western modernity[81]. This also increased interest in the North-East Asian nation in Christian India. Under the title "The Voice from Korea", the Methodist press published the reports of a missionary Korea veteran in English and various regional languages (Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam etc) in order to publicise "God's wonderful work in Korea" in India as well. The CP in turn

77 Thus a summarising message in the CP of 28 January 1905 p. 2; more detailed, for example, CP 07.05.1904 p. 6, where the CP reprints a condensed review of 20 years of work in the country by the Presbyterian pioneer missionary Horace G. Underwood under the title "The Christian Church in Korea". The self-help activities of the emerging Korean congregations are particularly emphasised (on Underwood, see KIM / KIM [2014], *History of Korean Christianity,* 64ff; in general, the comments p. 70–127 on the events mentioned in the CP should be compared).

78 CP 13.08.1910 p. 6, quote from a missionary report (by Dr Heber Jones–see below).

79 CP 09.03.1907 p. 5: "Perhaps the most significant delegations besides that from India will be 100 of the most eminent Japanese Christians and 65 from China, Korea and Hong Kong".

80 STANLEY (2009), *Edinburgh 1910*, 118–121. Among other things, Yun was the editor of the first Korean newspaper to be printed entirely in Korean script and the author of the lyrics to the South Korean national anthem.

81 For example in MOTT (1911), *The Decisive Hour of Christian Mission*, a popularising dissemination of important conference results: "Today (Korea) is vibrating with the spirit of the modern world, and the age-long isolation of the hermit nation has ceased" (ibid. p. 5[ff]).

printed key passages from it and was not only impressed by the numerical growth of the Korean churches[82], but especially by the "missionary enthusiasm" of the local Christians: "Every convert seems to be a missionary who, without waiting for any missionary appointment, begins at once to endeavour to win others". Indian Christians could learn one thing from this role model: the absolute necessity of evangelisation of the country by the Indians themselves. "The Indian Church, with its generations of Christian privilege behind it, may well be 'provoked to jealousy by these young recruits in the army of the Lord'"[83]. Korea, the CP comments elsewhere, "is setting a most noble example to the India regarding the responsibility of every Indian Christian. More actions than talk is needed"[84].

Direct contacts between Korean and Indian Christians seem not be documented in the CP in the period (before 1914) analysed in this book. The increased interest in the Far Eastern nation was probably primarily conveyed through missionary communication channels and other media.

82 The report mentions the figure of a quarter of a million Korean creditors.
83 CP 13.08.1910 p. 4 ("The Voice from Korea"); CP 13.08.1910 p. 6 ("The Voice from Korea"); CP 29.08.1910 p. 6 ("The Voice from Korea"); CP 30.07.1910 p. 5 ("The Voice from Korea"); CP 06.08. 1910 p. 4. The report came from Dr Heber Jones and appeared as an offprint (?) in the paper *'Life of Faith'* (June 29th, 1910).
84 CP 20.8.1910 p. 2 ("Christian Convention").

South Africa: Black Christians and Indian Compatriots

Southern Africa, which is also the subject of intensive reporting in the CP, represents a completely different context to Asia. Political events such as the so-called Boer War (1899–1902) are reported on relatively widely[85]. "Is Great Britain justified in going to war with the Boers?" is the title of an article on 24 February 1900 (p. 6). This question was ultimately answered in the affirmative–with reference to ecclesiastical voices from the British colonies in South Africa, in the spirit of imperial ideology ("unity of the British empire") and, remarkably, in the hope of a just post-war order. According to the CP, this should not only serve the interests of the whites, but must also include "the humane treatment of the natives".

On the whole, however, interest in the "black" Christians of South Africa is rather limited. Benevolent judgements by Europeans about the moral qualities of the "Native Christians in South Africa" are quoted approvingly in the CP[86]. A report on "Missions in South Africa", the southern part of the "dark continent", follows the presentation of a missionary magazine. Ethiopianist endeavours are noted selectively[87]. In contrast, an article on the Boer War in Transvaal refers with particular interest to the late Rev. G. David, who was the first and so far only member of the Betchuana people to attain the dignity of an Anglican priest[88]. The example of a Zulu student at St Augustine's College in Canterbury–"the first Zulu who ever passed the Universities Preliminary Examination…. for holy orders"–is also praised, as is that of a "young Christian Zulu" who won a high distinction in the USA and subsequently planned to study at Oxford[89].–An article in the CP from 17 February 1906 deserves special attention, reporting on an initiative by black South Africans who were planning to establish a central 'Inter State Native College' in Lovedale (Cape Province)–"in order to afford opportunities for Higher Education for Native Students". This project is to be realised in cooperation with the government and the missions, but above all with the strong participation of African sponsors, who intend to raise the purchase price of around 60,000 pounds. "It may be noticed that what Indian educational course is wanting, in South Africa soon will be provided–a Theological course for instance. This has become possible in the Negro world, but not in India". The commitment of African Christians to this project is particularly emphasised. "What a contrast this presents to the baby cry often heard in our

85 For months in 1900/1901, "The War in South Africa" was the subject of a regular column in the CP's "telegraphic news".

86 CP 06.12.1902 p. 5.

87 CP 09.06.1900 p. 8: "Another interesting feature about this field is that within the past ten years that remarkable body commonly called the 'Ethiopian Church' has sprung into existence, being a secession along racial lines of some 10,000 or 12,000 African Members from many of these minor missions"; also mentioned in CP 28.07.1900 p. 5.

88 CP 28.10.1899 p. 4.

89 CP 21.05.1898 p. 2; CP 14.07.1906 p. 5 (Text 101).

country, calling upon either the Government or some Mission… How different things would be if… we learn to help ourselves rather than lean upon others!"[90].

However, the dominant theme in the reporting on South Africa is the situation of the Indian compatriots, most of whom came to the country as "coolies" (indentured labourers) from 1860 onwards or later remained there as free settlers. From the beginning, they included a considerable number of Indian Christians[91]. "Grievances of the British Indians in South Africa"–this is the title of an article from 5 November 1896, which lists the complaints of the Indians in the various colonies of South Africa (and in Natal in particular) in line with Gandhi's journalism. These included the curtailment of voting rights for Indians, stricter immigration and labour conditions for contract workers, night curfews, compulsory passports and discriminatory bans on the use of trains (1st and 2nd class) and various public facilities. The aim of the article was "to enlist the sympathy of the natives of India on behalf of their brethren across the ocean"[92].

In the years that followed, the fate of the countrymen living in South Africa continued to be the subject of numerous articles and appeals in the CP[93]. This applies to an even greater extent to the Hindu press or the 'Indian National Congress', which

90 CP 17.02.1906 p. 5–Conversely, Indian initiatives are also perceived as exemplary in South Africa–such as the indigenous 'National Missionary Society of India' (NMS), as the readers of the CP (CP 09.06.1906 p. 2) learn from a reprinted article in the 'Christian Express' published in Lovedale (South Africa): the NMS "deserves commendation to the native Christians of Africa".

91 The first 350 Indian immigrants in 1860 included 50 Catholics and 4 Protestants. Over time, the number of Protestants (Methodists, Anglicans, Lutherans and also Baptists) increased significantly–partly due to the fact that for a long time, schooling for Indians in South Africa was only provided by the Christian missionary schools. Compared to their commitment, the colonial government's contributions to schooling were negligible. Night schools with adult classes and informal "chapel schools" for children were also the starting point for the Methodists' community organisation. The first schools for Indian girls were run by the Anglicans from 1883, with teaching staff from India. The medical care provided to the Indian community by the Anglican Indian Mission was held in high regard across religious boundaries, as evidenced by an annual donation of 80 British pounds from the Natal Indian Congress, which was founded in 1894. In 1900, Gandhi sent a tribute in his name to the responsible missionary doctor (L.P. Booth). The overwhelming majority of the indentured labourers from 1860 to 1911 were Hindus (approx. 80%), the proportion of Christians was 1.4%; by the 1980s their share of the Indian population in South Africa had increased to over 13%.–On Indian immigration in South Africa cf.: Bhana / Pachai (1984), *Indian South Africans*; Bhana / Brain (1990), *Setting down roots*; Desai / Vahed (2010), *Inside Indian indenture*; Henning (1993), *Indentured Indians in Natal*.–On the history of Christianity among the South African Indians cf.: Brain (1983), *Christian Indians in Natal*; Pillay (1997), "Christianity among Indian South Africans", 286–296; Pillay (2002), "'Leaders and Followers'", 145–163; Arkin et.al. (1989), *The Indian South Africans*, 143–170 ("Religious Profile"); *Centenary Brochure Souvenir 1862–1962:* Natal Methodist Indian Mission (n.p. n.d. [= 1962]).–On India–South Africa in general cf.: Hofmeyr / Williams (2009), "South Africa–India", 5–17; with references).

92 CP 05.11.1896 p. 5 (Text 98). The text is partly a verbatim excerpt (or based on information) from Gandhi's writing "The Grievances of the British Indians in South Africa. An Appeal to the Indian Public" / "Notes on the Grievances of the British Indians in South Africa" of 14 August 1896 and 22 September 1896 (Gandhi [1896], *Grievances of the British Indians*; also reprinted in: Gandhi, *Collected Works.* Vol. I), extracts of which also circulated in the colonial and metropolitan press (e.g. 'Times' [London] 10 September 1895 p. 6 ["Indian Affairs"]).

93 Important texts and news before 1909: CP 21.01.1897 p. 3 (Text 99); CP 23.07.1904 p. 5: "The boast of the pax Britannica is apparently intended only for the white man"; CP 16.06.1906 p. 5 ("Imperial Responsibility"); CP 29.09.1906 p. 6 ("Indians in Natal"): "It is a surprise to most to learn how many Indians there are in Natal"; CP

regularly addressed the situation of South African Indians at its annual conferences[94]. In the case of the CP, however, in addition to the aspect of national solidarity, there is also the idea of a special religious connection (with the Indian-Christian emigrants) or missionary commitment. The endeavours and networks of Indian Christians on both sides of the Indian Ocean thus become visible.

Thus we learn of evangelistic activities by Christian Tamils from Jaffna or South Indian Telugus among their compatriots in southern Africa–in each case on their own initiative. In 1900, for example, a "correspondent" of the CP reported enthusiastically from Jaffna, where the 'Jaffna Student Foreign Missionary Society' had been founded shortly before. This new movement "has been set on foot to send the Gospel to Tamil-speaking people in neglected districts of other lands, such as South India, the Strait Settlements, and South Africa". This indigenous society is unique "in the history of modern missions", according to the CP commentary, as it sends its own evangelists to other countries, "supported by their own native churches, and controlled exclusively by a thoroughly organised Native Christian Foreign Missionary Society"[95].–The Baptist mission among the Telugu-speaking contract labourers in Natal also owed its existence to an Indian initiative. "The [sc. Baptist Telugu] mission in South Africa had its origin in this way: Some years ago the Telugu Christians in South India thought that it was about time that they began to do some mission work on their own… The object was to send native evangelists to a number of isolated tribes not reached by the missionaries"[96]. The Baptist Telugu activist John Rangiah, who later–not mentioned in the CP–also took part in the Edinburgh 1910 World Missionary Conference and whose family still plays a prominent role in the Indian community in KwaZulu Natal today, is particularly emphasised[97]. Rangiah endeavoured "to do something for the thousands of Telugus that had immigrated to Natal who were as 'sheep without a shepherd'". There-

06.10.1906 p. 3 (Text 102): "A training college for Indian teachers" in Durban; CP 06.10.1906 p. 4 ("Indian Rights in South Africa"); CP 03.11.1906 p. 3 (Text 103); CP 18.01.1908 p. 4 ("Indians in South Africa"); CP 21.03.1908 p. 6 ("Indians in the Transvaal"); etc.

94 See ZAIDI (1987), *The Glorious Tradition*. Vol. I; esp. p. 111 (Session of 1894); p. 206 (Session of 1901); p. 219 (Session of 1902); p. 234 (Session of 1903); p. 249 (Session of 1904); p. 265f (Session of 1905); cf. in general: TIRMIZI (1989), *Congress and Africa 1892–1947*.

95 CP 28.07.1900 p. 3 (Text 40). At the same time, this initiative of the Jaffna Tamils is also presented as a model for Indian Christians in matters of "self-suport, self-government and self-sacrifice" (ibid.; cf. also CP 22.09.1900 p. 6).

96 CP 13.08.1910 p. 6 (title: "Our Natal Telugu Mission").

97 During a visit of the author in Durban on 03.03.2015, Dr G.K. Nair and Pastor Noah Israel, a direct descendant of John Rangiah, provided me with various documents on the history of the Rangiah family and the 'Natal Telugu Baptist Mission' (forerunner of today's 'Baptist Association of South Africa'), which require separate analysis. On John Rangiah cf. BRAIN (1983), *Christian Indians in Natal*, 222; on his participation in the Edinburgh Conference of 1910, where he was present as a delegate of the 'American Baptist Mission Society', cf. STANLEY (2009), *Edinburgh 1910,* 91. 100. 147, and 'Thepattas.blogspot.ch/2009/08/rev-john-rangiah-unsung-hero-of-world.htlm' (accessed 31 December 2015). In the private possession of the Rangiah family is a (previously unedited) diary in Telugu about his trip to Great Britain and participation in the 1910 conference.

fore, within a few years of his arrival in 1903, he organised "six self-supporting churches in Natal" (ibid)[98].

Indian teachers or pastors are recruited by the established missionary societies to serve in Natal or Transvaal[99] and do so for both patriotic and Christian motives. Letters to the editor from South Africa reach the CP, which in turn quotes a number of South African journals[100] and is reprinted in Gandhi's journal Indian Opinion[101]. In the CP, an Indian pastor corrects critically a missionary's colourful reports on the working conditions of Indian coolies in South African Natal[102]. Visitors from the south of Africa are interviewed or–as in July 1910 an "Indian Christian born in Natal"–turn to the CP on their first visit to the Indian country of origin to call for solidarity among Indian Christians in the struggle against the "anti-Indian legislation" in Transvaal[103].

Mohandas K. Gandhi and his work in South Africa (1893–1914) are only occasionally mentioned in the CP before 1908. It was only from 1909 onwards that more and more references were made to Gandhi as "one of the most eminent and self-sacrificing men that modern India has produced"[104]. The visit to India by his fellow campaigner Henry S. Polak in 1909/1910 was particularly important for the debates in South India. Polak, editor of Gandhi's Natal-based weekly 'Indian Opinion', had come to India to present the grievances of Indians living in South Africa to the Indian colonial government and to mobilise the Indian public. A reception was organised in his honour at the YMCA in Madras, which the CP reported on in a separate correspondent's report. This interfaith solidarity meeting–attended by "representatives of the Hindu, Mohammedan, Christian and Parsee communities"–was organised by the 'Indian South Africa League', which the CP also supported in other ways[105]. On 9 October 1909, a detailed interview

98 *Ibid. According* to the report, "our Indian Christians in Natal… are much better able… than those in India" to finance their own pastors to such an extent.

99 Cf. e.g. CP 06.10.1910 p. 3 (Text 102) on the first Anglican Indian pastors in Natal since 1883 (Rev. S.P. Vedamuthu and Rev. Joseph Nallathamby) as well as the 'Training College for Indian teachers' opened in Sydenham in 1904 in the colony itself. Graduates from India (including from Madras University) were recruited as teachers for this college.

100 The '*Christian Express*' from Lovedale (Cape Town), for example, referred to Gandhi as a Christian in an article quoted by the CP on 9 May 1908 (p. 5).

101 '*The Indian Opinion*' 03.04.1909 p. 157.

102 So in the CP 03.11.1906 p. 3 (Text 103). His letter to the CP, signed "An Indian Minister", contradicts in detail the account of a certain Rev. G. Thomssen, who in an article in the CP of 27 October 1906 (p. 3) had denied the manifold "hardships" among the Indians in Natal: "I must confess that I have found few of them". His assertions are refuted by a meticulous 'fact check' by the letter to the editor: "Compared with the wages and food available in their country [sc. India] and village this is anything but attractive to Natal Emigrants. Clothes are not given to these coolies…", etc.

103 CP 02.07.1910 p. 5: "I am an Indian Christian born in Natal, and this is the first time I have ever set foot on Indian soil. I was married in South Africa and all my children were born there. Our future and that of the Colonial born Indians lies in South Africa. We… are fighting in the Transvaal… (the) Anti-Indian Legislation […] This is… a life and death struggle for us. We accordingly remind the people of India that the colonial born Indians have a special claim to their consideration…".

104 CP 17.06.1911 p. 6; cf. CP 27.11.1909 p. 6 (Text 105).

105 CP 23.10.1909 p. 7 (Text 104); cf. CP 30.10.1909 p. 6.

with Polak on the situation of Indians in the Transvaal appeared in the CP[106]. In Madras, Polak also met with the prominent Anglican bishop Henry Whitehead. Whitehead who supported the demand for an end to the system of indentured labour in South Africa[107]. In 1911, the Indian colonial government stopped sending Indian contract labourers to South Africa. On 17 August 1910, the CP printed an exchange of letters between Whitehead and the deportees from the Transvaal. In it, the bishop expressed his sympathy to "the Indian Christians who were deported from South Africa". In their reply, the latter assured him that they wanted to preserve the "dignity of Indians as Christians and as lovers of the Motherland". Only in this way could their children be guaranteed a dignified future "in the eye of our fellow Christians in South Africa of European descent"[108].

Since 1908, other votes and attempts at intervention by church circles in favour of the South African Indians have also increased. On 18 January 1908, the CP reports on a corresponding initiative by Christian bishops and church leaders in South Africa itself[109]. On 11 June 1910 (p. 2), the CP records the Anglican "Bishop of Lahore's timely and weighty protest against the policy of the Transvaal in regard to exclusion of Indians". A more far-reaching initiative by George A. Lefroy–until 1913 Bishop of Lahore and since 1913 as Metropolitan of Calcutta a leading figure in the Anglican Church on the subcontinent–failed in 1914. This initiative was launched by C.F. Andrews, then still a missionary of the Anglican SPG and later a close confidant and companion of Gandhi. Lefroy circulated a draft by Andrews for a joint statement by the Anglican bishops of India among his colleagues. However, no consensus could be reached on the wording, so Leroy finally left it at a private letter to the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, "to which he got a rather frosty reply"[110]. Andrews himself had met Polak during his trip to India in 1909/10[111]. In 1910, we learn from another source about a debate in the South India Missionary Association (SIMA) about a letter of solidarity in favour of the South

106 CP 09.10.1909 p. 6 (taken from the *'Madras Mail'*).

107 CP 11.06.1910 p. 2: Whitehead's position (according to his report on this meeting on 27 October 1909): "The one practical solution seems to be that the Government of India should put a stop to the system of indentured labour in Natal. If the people of South Africa have decided upon treating Indians as undesirable aliens, there is no reason why the Government of India should in any way facilitate their importation into Natal, and the obvious remedy for their harsh treatment is to raise their market value".

108 CP 17.08.1910 p. 5 (Text 106): "The Lord Bishop and the Indian Christian Deportees from the Transvaal".

109 CP 18.01.1908 p. 2: "A memorial signed by the Catholic Bp. of Kimberley, the Anglican Clergymen and a number of Nonconformist Ministers (sc. in South Africa), has been forwarded to Mr Smuts urging him to reconsider the objectionable features of the Registration act.".

110 O'Connor (1990), *Gospel, Raj and Swaraj*, 244ff. here: 246; cf. Tinker (1979), *C.F. Andrew and India*, 77ff; Chaturvedi / Sykes (1949), *Charles Freer Andrews*, 70 (ff).–As early as 1909, the conservative Lefroy had publicly criticised the constantly worsening situation of the South African Indians in an article ("British Indians in the Transvaal: An Empire Problem", in: 'The East and the West', January 1909). "His 'brave words' were noted among the Indian nationalists" (O'Connor [1990], *Gospel, Raj and Swaraj*, 245).

111 There is no information about C.F. Andrews' numerous interventions with political dignitaries in India (such as the Viceroys Lord Minto in 1908 and Lord Hardinge in 1913) or in South Africa (Gandhi-Smuts Agreement in 1914) in the available issues of the CP. The 1914 volume of the CP has, of course, not survived. Andrews is mentioned in the CP before 1915 primarily as a liberal writer, less because of his close connection to Gandhi (and Polak).

African Indians to the "Christian Ministers of South Africa". However, this initiative did not find a majority there[112] :

Another South Indian initiative from 1913/14 is particularly noteworthy, when the South Indian United Church (SIUC)–an association of Presbyterian and Congregationalist churches in the region–sent a *letter to the sister Christian churches in South Africa.* The subject was the pressing "South African question". Despite all understanding for the country's acute economic difficulties, the letter states that it is "India's right to demand that her sons and daughters who go to other parts of the British Empire, shall be treated with justice. *As a Christian Church,* it is our duty that the Christian Churches of South Africa shall regard this matter not simply from an economic standpoint… but the whole question should be *considered from a Christian standpoint*. It is hoped that our Church and other Churches in India will not hesitate to bring this point of view before their fellow Christians in South Africa, so that a fair and honourable settlement of the whole difficulty may be arrived at". As far as our source can tell, there was only a response to this letter from the Baptists of South Africa[113]. However, as an attempt at inter-church intervention between "the" churches of India and South Africa, this process deserves attention. Even if no concrete results are recognisable, this initiative was by no means in vain. In addition to the exchange of letters, special intercession and special collections for the South African Indians were also called for "in all churches" of the SIUC. This marked a further step in the mobilisation of the Christian public in South India in favour of the South African Indians.

There is no information in the CP about *direct contacts* between African and Indian Christians in South Africa. Such contacts undoubtedly existed. They also played a certain role in the genesis of African independend churches (AIC's) flourishing at that period, which repeatedly found favour among Indian indentured workers[114].–As far as the debates on the legal status of Indians in South Africa are concerned, on the other hand, there is a journal published in Natal, *'Inkanyiso yase Natal'*, which represents the

112 '*The Harvest Field*' (February 1911, p. 77f) quotes from the "Minutes of the Meeting of the SIMA General Committee, Dec. 1910" as follows: "Proposal sent in by Mr Popley and others re Drafting a Letter to the Christian Ministers of South Africa.–Voted, That this committee is of opinion that it is not necessary to take the action suggested in the letter referred to". The initiator of this resolution, Rev. H.A. Popley, belonged to the 'London Mission Society', "and his work has been chiefly evangelistic" ('*The Harvest Field*' 1910, p. 45).

113 This correspondence is documented in '*The United Church Herald*', the organ of the SIUC (Vol. V/10, January 1914, p. 325ff; Vol. V/11, February 1914, p. 364). Other sources were not available to the author. Of particular interest would be the reaction of the non-Baptist churches in South Africa. The SIUC letter also refers to the negative consequences of the repression of the Indians in South Africa for the Christian mission in India.

114 For Mangena Mokone's "Ethiopian" church, this can be seen from a note in '*Inkanyiso yase Natal*', a journal of Natal's Christian Intelligentsia, dated 15 March 1895 (p. 3–Text 141): "Their Church (sc. of the Ethiopianists) is even welcomed by *Kula* [Indians] who say they want to be members too. This is one of the miracles".–Andreas Heuser has demonstrated this in detail for the church of the African prophet Shembe: "Since the beginning of the (19)20s, Indian members have belonged to Shembe's African church" (HEUSER [2003], *Shembe, Gandhi and the Soldiers of God*, 81).

views of African Christians on this issue[115]. A great deal of scepticism can be felt here towards the demands of the Indians. This scepticism is based on the preferential treatment that the Natal colonial authorities gave to Indian immigrants–although many of them, compared to the elite of "educated" African Christians, were illiterate. The latter noted with growing indignation the loss of their traditional rights. The main issue was restrictions on voting rights. "The Indian has his vote while the Native has not"–was the bitter summary in *Inkanyiso*[116]. Gandhi's campaign, which demanded the same rights for Indians in South Africa as in the Indian motherland, was also viewed critically by Africans[117]. This was because the demand for better status for Indians threatened to further entrench discrimination against Africans[118]. It was only later in *Inkanysiso that* the 'Natal Indian Congress' founded by Gandhi in 1894 was seen as a model of self-organisation for Africans too

One of the main aims of the CP was to bring together the diversely fragmented Indian Christian community not only in India itself, but also in the diaspora. In its masthead of 4 March 1916 (p. 1), the CP presented itself for the first time as "The leading Organ of the Christian Community in India, Burma, Ceylon, Straits and South Africa".

115 This newspaper, the mouthpiece of Natal's Christian intelligentsia, was also the subject of the Munich Journals project. A selection of representative articles can be found in: Koschorke et.al. (2016), *Discourses,* p. 139–232. On the relationship to the South African Indians, see there the Texts n° 160–165. 201–203.

116 *'Inkanyiso yase Natal'* 17.01.1893 p. 5 (Text 162); cf. '*Inkanyiso yase Natal'* 05 May 1891 p. 6 (Text 158): "We Natives are not admitted to franchise"; etc.

117 Cf. *'Inkanyiso yase Natal'* 06.09.1895 p. 3 (Text 163); *'Inkanyiso yase Natal'* 07.09.1894 p. 3 (Text 203).

118 Conversely, the Indians defended themselves against being reduced to the status of simple "Kaffirs"–according to various documents cited in the CP ("to degrade the Indian to the level of the Kaffir"–CP 05.11.1896 p. 5 (Text 98); "placing of Indians along with Kaffirs and other aborigional Africans"–CP 06.10.1906 p. 4.

Armenia: Solidarity with the "Suffering Brothers in Faith"

Armenia and Armenians are a recurring theme in the CP. However, it is not the Armenian community in India–only sporadically mentioned in the CP[119]–that was at the centre of interest, but the news about the "Armenian atrocities" and the periodic massacres of Armenian Christians in the Ottoman Empire. They triggered a variety of reactions and led to intensive debates both within the Indian Christian community and with the country's non-Christian press.

The massacres of 1895/1896 represent an initial high point in the CP's reporting. The periodically occurring persecutions are then a permanent topic in the CP until the end of the period analysed here–even after the Young Turk revolt of 1908, which had temporarily raised hopes of a permanent end to the pogroms. The genocide of 1915/1916 is described as the "worst massacre of Christians… in the last 1000 years" in an article from 1 July 1916 (p. 7)[120].

"The Christians everywhere in Armenia are in the greatest danger. There has been a terrible massacre of Christians at Kharput, in Armenia, the victims numbering 800", it says on 21 November 1895 (p. 2) in a note taken from the 'Telegraphische Nachrichten'. A detailed article published in the CP on 2 July 1896 (p. 4f) on "The Armenian atrocities", based on various sources such as the London Times and CMS journalism, begins with the words: "The horrors… during the last twelve months… have filled the whole world with consternation". The systematic atrocities to which 70,000 "innocent and helpless" Armenian Christians have so far fallen victim are described in detail. The Ottoman ruler Abdul Hamid II (r. 1876–1909) (widely dubbed the "blood sultan" in the Western press) bears responsibility for this. The CP also criticises the indifference of the European (and nominally "Christian") powers.[121]

However, it is not only the restraint of the European powers that is criticised, but also the role of the Indian Christians (and of the CP) themselves. The latter is the subject of a remarkable controversy in the CP of 22 October 1896 (p. 5–Text 117). In an editorial, the CP comments on the sharp criticism of one of its "correspondents". In an open letter to the editor, the latter had criticised the hesitant commitment of "us native

119 CP 02.10.1897 p. 2 (short note on the "Armenian community in Madras"); CP 18.06.1898 p. 5 ("Armenian community in Calcutta"); CP 30.04.1904 p. 2 (statistical overview of the churches in India).

120 On the Armenian genocide of 1915/16 and its prehistory cf.: Kévorkian (2011), *The Armenian Genocide*; Hofmann (2007), *Verfolgung, Vertreibung und Vernichtung*; Hovannisian (2007), *The Armenian genocide*; Kieser / Plozza (2006), *Völkermord an den Armeniern*; on the Armenian massacres in American (and British) missionary journalism at the end of the 19th/beginning of the 20th century cf. / cf. Tyrell (2010), *Reforming the World,* 104–111, 116, 33, 45, 57, 100; cf. Koschorke (2024c), "Indische Christen in Solidarität mit Armenien", 345–356.

121 According to T. Hofmann ([1997], *Annäherung an Armenien*, 86f), the massacres of 1895/96 totalled approximately 300,000 victims. "Another 100,000 Armenians fled…, reducing the number of Armenians in the Ottoman Sultanate by at least 400,000 in 1896. 568 churches and monasteries were plundered and destroyed, 2500 villages devastated…".

Christians in South India" and in particular the editors of the CP. At the same time, he called for a stronger commitment to the Armenian brothers in faith:

> A Correspondent writes to us:–"Dear Editor of the '[Christian] Patriot'! "While the Christian people of various countries are vying with one another as to who should relieve the suffering Armenians soonest, *we Native Christians of Southern India have hitherto remained quite indifferent* [emphasis KK], nay, very unfeeling towards them. Now the Lord's voice is ringing in my ears:–'Go and awake the Editor of the *Christian Patriot* to sense of his duty with regard to those suffering brethren. Let him collect money from his brethren here and send it to Armenia in *time*. 'Will you not respond?–Respond in time? Faith without works is dead. Mark the money you will collect will go to clothing thousands of naked brethren. (2) To feeding numberless widows and orphans. (3) To nursing many wounded and dying men. Up and be doing !!!"

The editor of the CP rejects these accusations: "We have not been sleeping over the Armenian question…. We have been with our words and pen attempting to excite the sympathy of our [Indian Christian] brethren for our persecuted co-religionists in Armenia". At the same time, he intensified his appeal for donations in favour of an 'Armenian Relief Fund', which he repeatedly referred to in the following issues. Some Indian Christians had already made donations. According to the CP, it is important to further strengthen the sense of duty and solidarity "in the heart of every one of our brethren in this part of India".

Equally noteworthy are the controversies with the Hindu press over the Armenian question. In an editorial of 12.12.1895 (p. 6), the CP sharply criticised the attitude of 'The Hindu', also published in Madras, which had sided with the Turkish government and, on the basis of dubious sources, had blamed the Armenian victims for the recent massacres and "inhuman and diabolic cruelties". "We do strongly protest against this [sc. 'The Hindu's'] distortion of facts", declares the CP. On 28 January 1897 (p. 7), the CP printed a longer article from 'The Hindu' without further comment, which, under the heading "The Treatment of Indians in Natal", contrasts the commitment of Christian circles to the Armenians with their (alleged) lack of commitment to the Indians in Natal: "Have the champions of the Armenians", the 'Hindu' says,"no sympathy left in their hearts for the Indians in British South Africa? Does not mobbing in Natal excite the same indignation as mobbing in the streets of Constantinople, in their breasts?". The journal seems to be aiming primarily at the British Christian public or the Indian colonial government, which should stop Indian emigration to South Africa. However, the polemic of the 'Hindu' also includes campaigns such as that of the CP in favour of the Armenian "brothers" and "co-religionists".

Debates with Hindu nationalist circles on the Armenian question can also be found in other contexts. In 1907, the CP reported on Bengali Swadeshi agitators in Bengal and the appearance there of the British Labour MP Keir Hardie, who compared the oppres-

sion of the Armenians with the conditions in East Bengal[122]. He was harshly criticised for this by the colonial press, while the Bengali newspapers expressed their "deepest gratitude" to him.

A military coup took place in Turkey in 1908. Sultan Abdul Hamid II was overthrown and the constitutional monarchy was restored[123]. This development was unanimously welcomed in the articles printed in the CP. "Now Turkey is free", according to a report from 16 January 1909 (p. 5). For the first time there was freedom of the press and freedom of religion for Armenian Christians. The "triumph" of the Young Turk Reform Party, which was supported by a group of "liberal minded and highly educated young Turks", was therefore emphatically honoured and the new government was wished "a long and glorious rule for centuries to come"–provided it succeeded in permanently preventing the fatal legacy of "race hatred and religious massacres" in the Ottoman Empire (CP 01.05.1909 p. 4). The revolt of 1908, according to a commentary in the CP, "was the necessary outcome of the universal movement in Turkey towards parliamentary institutions and constitutional monarchy". At the same time, the recent past showed that Turkish Muslims still had a lot to learn from their Indian co-religionists, for example, when it came to religious tolerance:

> To us in India… the lesson will come home. We have some impending changes in our political system, but fortunately they are unaccompanied with violence or bloodshed… Can it be that Islam works best in a non-Islamic country? The most pronounced Indian Mussulman will, we feel sure, shrink at the description of the Armenian massacres… Perhaps after all, India may teach the headquarters of Islam, the one lesson that Turkish Islamism has never yet learnt–that of religious toleration[124].

Initially, there was hope that in "modern Turkey" the unfortunate tradition of persecution of minorities and religious oppression had been overcome forever. "The proclamation of the new constitution", according to a news item in the CP of 26 June 1909 (p. 5), "was joyfully received in Jerusalem by a vast crowd, in which Muslims, Jews and Christians fraternised on equal terms". This hope was not realised. Within the Young Turk movement, the group of nationalists (or representatives of an ethnically homogeneous 'Turkishness') increasingly gained the upper hand over the liberal constitutionalists. During another military coup in April 1909, there were further Armenian pogroms in Cilicia (with 30,000 victims), in which the army units that had actually been deployed to protect the Armenians took part. The CP reports on this in detail (CP

122 CP 26.10.1907 p. 3: "These papers ascribe to him statements to the effect that the condition of Eastern Bengal is worse than that of Russia, and that the atrocities committed by officials would, if they were known, evoke more horror in England than the Turkish outrages in Armenia".
123 For details, see Kévorkian (2011), *The Armenian Genocide*, 51–140 (Part II: "Young Turks and Armenians Facing the Test of Power [1908–12]); Hofmann (1997), *Annäherung an Armenien*, 88ff.
124 CP 08.05.1909 p. 4.

10.07.1909 p. 4); and at a week of prayer organised by the Indian YWCA in the autumn of that year, an appeal was made for intercession for "our persecuted and sorrowing fellow Christians in Turkey" (CP 13.11.1909 p. 6). The horror stories continued in the following years. "Renewal of Armenian outrages", for example, is the title of a report in the CP of 7 September 1912 (p. 2). Finally, the genocide of 1915/16 is described in the CP as "the worst massacre of Christians" in the past millennium. At the same time, the "complicity" of the Germans in these "crimes" is discussed [125].

125 CP 01.07.1916 p. 7; CP 11.03.1916 p. 4.

The Edinburgh 1910 World Missionary Conference in Indian Debates

International conferences and movements are followed with interest in the CP. For example, the various missionary conferences and church gatherings (regional, continental, international), but also–as mentioned elsewhere–the 'Parliament of the World's Religions' in Chicago in 1893, the 'International Congress of Women in London in 1899[126] or the 'First Universal Races Congress' in 1911, also in the British metropolis[127]. The Edinburgh 1910 'World Missionary Conference' was of particular interest, as–unlike the 1900 World Missionary Conference in New York[128]–it had a direct history in India, was the subject of intense debate there and was subsequently intensively received by the country's Protestant churches. This took the form of the so-called Edinburgh 'Continuation Committee Conferences', in which the Indian ecumenical movement took structural shape (and about which the CP reported in detail). The CP makes the local debates in South India about this global event of world Protestantism tangible.

High Expectations

Edinburgh has often been described as the peak of the Protestant missionary movement of the 19th century and the starting point of the Western ecumenical movement of the 20th century[129]. High expectations also characterised the advance reporting in the CP. This conference–attended by representatives "from all missionary fields" and the "various branches of the Christian churches"–was intended "to dwarf all other problems of the 20th century", according to the CP on 15 January 1910 (p. 3–Text 29). The increased exchange between East and West as well as "the national spirit which is awakening among the non-Christian people" made intensified co-operation between the different churches and denominations indispensable. Edinburgh is recognised as a *universal event* ("Every race represented"). National differences or differences of race played no role in the Scottish capital–where you could find a "Negro pastor" next to a German professor and Korean delegates talking to Japanese delegates, together with Punjabis, Sinhalese, Dutch or Swiss–[130]. With participants from all over the world–attended by

126 36CP 22.07.1899 p. 5.
127 37CP 06.05.1911 p. 4.
128 The grandiose performance of Lilivati Sing at the New York Conference in 1900 was also not recognised in the CP for a long time, as discussed elsewhere.
129 Rouse / Neill / Fey (1993), *Ecumenical Movement I*, 362: "birthplace of the modern ecumenical movement"; cf. ibid. 353ff. 362ff ("From Edinburgh to Amsterdam"). On the organisation, the participants and the course of the conference, which took place from 14 to 23 June 1910 in the Scottish capital, see Stanley (2009), *Edinburgh 1910*; on the pre–and post-history in the debates of Asian and African Christians cf. Koschorke (2002b), "Edinburgh 1910"; Koschorke (2012b), "Relaisstation"; Weber (1966), *Asia,* 69–164. On the reporting of the CP and the inner-Indian discussions about Edinburgh, see Koschorke (2016e), 'Absolute independence for Indian Christians'; 277–288; English in: Koschorke (2016d), "Debates", 37–52.
130 CP 01.10.1910 p. 4 (Text 30).

missionaries as well as "native Christians" from the various mission fields–the conference had the potential to become "something of an interdenominational congress of the nations of the world" (CP 16.10.1909 p. 6).

"Racial difference was absolutely lost in a glowing sense of brotherhood of aim and spirit", said the CP looking back on the meeting (CP 01.10.1910 p. 4–Text 30). This statement stood in drastic contrast to the everyday experiences of Indian Christians at home. However, it corresponded to the spirit of other Christian organisations perceived as progressive (such as the Asian YMCAs) and regional ecumenical conferences (such as the Tokyo Conference of the 'World Students Christian Federation' of 1907, from which a direct line leads to the Edinburgh Conference). It makes the appeal of the young ecumenical movement as a forum for equal exchange and "international friendship" for the country's indigenous Christian elites understandable.

"Absolute Independence to Indian Christians"

The high expectations of Edinburgh, at least in parts of the ecclesiastical public in South India, are particularly evident in a press debate in Madras at the end of April 1910. In a detailed article in the 'Madras Mail', to which the CP refers in its issue of 30 April 1910 (p. 4–Text 31), an obviously Indian cleric from the lower church wing of the Anglican Church had commented on the "great importance" of the forthcoming Edinburgh Conference. He took it as an opportunity to call for "speedy autonomy" and "complete independence" for the "Indian section of the Anglican Communion in South India". Despite considerable progress in recent times, all reform efforts in the mission churches "in… giving Indian Christians more control over their own affairs" have so far only made slow progress. This also reduces the attractiveness of church involvement for talented young Indian Christians. The author therefore called for decisive intervention by the Edinburgh Conference: "Therefore a 'bold step' ought to be taken once for all by the Anglican Church, and independence granted to the Indian church". In an "authoritative" manner, the coming assembly should therefore–"following the example of Japan and Uganda"–decree "absolute independence to Indian Christians of whatever denomination". The reference to Japan and Uganda is particularly noteworthy in this context. After all, both countries were regarded as shining examples of indigenous Christian emancipation also in other CP articles. In the discourse of the Christian elite in South India, this reference has become a fixed topos. In the present case, however, the CP itself is rather reticent. Before ecclesiastical independence–according to his maxim expressed elsewhere–the urgently needed "social union" among Indian Christians should first be realised (CP 30.04.1910 p. 4–Text 31).

The missionaries working in India also had many expectations of the Edinburgh Conference. For example, the CP published an "Appeal" from the Calcutta Missionary Conference (CP 11.06.1910 p. 6). In addition to the urgency of increased missionary cooperation, this particularly emphasised the great importance of India's "indigenous church" and underlined "the significance of its existence, the determination of its pres-

ent strength and equipment, the absolute importance of its spiritual and intellectual training, and its present day potentiality… in the wider problem of India's non-Christian millions". What is remarkable about this document is, on the one hand, the central importance of the "indigenous church", especially in the debates of missionary circles. On the other hand, its publication (among other media) deserves attention, especially in the CP as the organ of the Protestant Madras elite.

Asian Delegates

As is well known, only 17 Asian delegates were present in Edinburgh[131]–a very small number compared to the total of 1215 official conference participants. However, the Asians were given a prominent place in the conference programme by the conference management (J.R. Mott / J.H. Oldham) and later took up central leadership positions in their respective home churches. Despite the joy about the universal representation of the event, the CP criticised the small number of Asian delegates. "It is a pity that Indian Christians were not more fully represented", it says in an article from 16 July 1910, but the "oriental speakers" from India, China and Japan made "a deep impression on the Conference". The article concludes by expressing the hope that the conference "may prove an epoch in the rise and growth of many indigenous churches in Asia and Africa"[132].

At the meeting on 16 June, the reader learns, the Japanese delegates spoke about "the strong feeling in Japan in favour of one 'national' Church". "The same feeling"–according to the same reporter–"was growing in China"; and the Korean speaker *Yun Chi Ho*, "and several missionaries followed, insist[ed] on the need of taking the Native Church in full consideration". The report concludes with the statement: "The indigenous Church, wether in Asia or Africa, should have a correct idea as to what were essentials" (and thus indispensable)–and what were only cultural (and thus interchangeable) variants of the Christian faith (CP 16.07.1910 p. 6).

One of the highlights of the conference was the short speech by the Chinese delegate *Cheng Ching-Yi* (1881–1939), which the CP reports on by reprinting an article from the 'London Missionary Intelligencer'. Ching-Yi–then a 28-year-old pastor of the Mi-shih Hutung Church in Beijing and later General Secretary of the Chinese 'National Christian Council' (1922–1933)–argued in favour of a union of all Chinese Christians: "Denominationalism has never entered the Chinese mind, nor are they interested in it". It is true that "Western friends have difficulties" with such an idea. But Ching-Yi places his programme in a global context: "The Church of Christ is universal, not only irrespective of denominations, but also irrespective of nationalities… Let us go up, with our Divine Master, on the top of Mount Olives, and there obtain a wider, broader and larger

131 Eight came from India (V.S. Azariah, K.C. Chatterji, J.R. Chitambar, S. Ghose, Shivram Masoji, John Rangiah, R.K. Sorabji), three from China (C.Y. Cheng, T.E. Tong, S.T. Tang), one from Korea (T.H. Yun). From Japan came Y. Chiba, T. Harada, Y. Honda, K. Ibuka). Cf. Weber (1966), *Asia*, 130ff; Stanley (2009), *Edinburgh 1910*, 91–131.

132 CP 16.07.1910 p. 6 ("Our Foreign Letter").

view of the world's need" (CP 10.09.1910 p. 7–Text 108). China was also seen as representative of other oriental nations. "The ideal of a united Chinese National Church", it says elsewhere about the Chinese pastor, "had to be recognised and accepted. The responsibilities imposed by independence were recognised by Mr Cheng Ching Yi". If such words were widely heard in India, China and Japan, "a new era is about to dawn in the Eastern World" (CP 09.07.1910–p. 5).

Controversies around Azariah

In retrospect, V.S. Azariah (1874–1945) was the most important representative of India at the Edinburgh Conference. The son of a village pastor from a poor background was elevated to the position of the first Indian bishop of the Anglican Church in 1912 and thus (and as the leading figure of the later Asian ecumenical movement) assumed a similarly prominent position in the Asian context as the first black African bishop S.A. Crowther had done fifty years earlier in West Africa. That is why, in a remarkable comparison, he was described "as great a gift to India as his African predecessor [sc. Crowther to Africa]", as the CP had already formulated it in 1912 on the occasion of his appointment as Bishop of Dornakal[133].

However, his participation in Edinburgh itself was anything but uncontroversial. From the perspective of some Indian critics, he was too "young and inexperienced", and the native 'Indian Missionary Society' he had initiated in 1903 "has yet to stand the test of time". These were the words of a "layman" in a letter to the CP on 6 January 1910, which also listed the names of numerous "other more experienced and much abler" Indian clerics and lay Christians who would have been more deserving of participation[134]. Other voices, however, criticised his appearance as too "shy". Azariah–according to a comment in the CP of 23 July 1910–should have been much more emphatic in representing the concerns of India's 'National Missionary Society', which he co-founded in 1905, before the representatives of global missionary Protestantism at the conference. This followed the motto: "Indian men, Indian money, Indian leadership" and sought to place missionary responsibility entirely in the hands of Indian Christians. "If he [sc. Azariah] had… in a fitting way told of what that new organisation has already accomplished in its brief infancy and given some really statesmanlike suggestions as to how such independent efforts toward united national efforts might

133 CP 07.09.1912 p. 5.

134 CP 15.01.1910 p. 4 (Text 32): "Sir, there is a rumour that a Native missionary of the 'Indian Missionary Society' [V.S. Azariah] is to go as a delegate to the great Missionary Conference to be held this June at Edinburgh…". As better alternatives, the names of Rev. J. Lazarus (Madras), Rev. Mr D. Anantham (Telugu Missions), Archdeacon Chandy of Travancore, Rev. Mr P.G. Simeon (CMS Tinnevelly), Canon Gnanakan (SPG Tinnevelly) or Fr. Cotelingam ("President of the South Indian Presbyterian Church") and E.S. Hensman ("an Honoured Member of the C.M.S. Committee"), "who have greater experiences than the one in question".–This letter from a "layman of Palmacotta" was met with strong opposition from two other readers' letter writers (signed "Another Layman" and "Jealousy and Prejudice") in CP 22.01.1910 p. 4f. The latter, on the contrary, labelled Azariah "a prophet of the 20th century").

be helped and facilitated, he would have struck a note which would have called forth generous response…". The summary of the letter to the editor: "The Rev. V.S. Azariah missed a great opportunity"[135].

At the Edinburgh conference itself, Azariah's famous second speech almost caused a scandal. It dealt with the "relationship between the European missionaries and the Indian workers" and called on the missionaries to become equal "friends" instead of showing patriarchal benevolence. According to an eyewitness, his words hit the audience "'like a bomb', with half of the audience being delighted 'and the other half very angry". The speech "caused such a sensation that an informal meeting was called to discuss what should be done. Some pressed for 'something in the nature of a public protest'"[136]. Azariah's speech also met with a critical response in parts of the Indian missionary press. In '*Harvest Field*'–the most important mouthpiece of the missionary *community* in South India–a Mr Newham, for example, complained about this "unfortunate address from an Indian minister", which he described as "most unfair"[137]. A glance at the Indian-Christian press around 1910 reveals a broad spectrum of different opinions in the country's Christian community regarding Azariah's appearance in Edinburgh.

Among the Indian delegates, K.C. Chatterji (1839–1916) was mentioned in more detail by the CP, alongside V.S. Azariah. This was not only because of his seniority and prominence, but also because of other events during his stay in Great Britain. He received an honorary doctorate from the University of Edinburgh and preached in various churches in the country following the conference. We learn something about the conversations held there from the reports of a letter to the editor from Hastings. In "private conversations", he, who came from Lahore in northern India (now Pakistan), criticised the 'National Missionary Society', which he had co-founded as an initiative of Indian Christians. Its Madras centre exercised too much control, "more authority and confidence should be placed in its local boards" (CP 06.08.1910 p. 6).

Edinburgh in India

Edinburgh reached India through the press, through reports by returnees and through numerous events at which the "message" of the conference was discussed in terms of its relevance to the Indian context. The CP reported on one such event in Madras on

135 CP 23.07.1910 p. 5 (Text 33). The author appears to be a former missionary to India residing in Hastings, England, who, despite his disappointment with Azariah, has high expectations of the new generation of Christian leaders from Asia: "Meanwhile let us rejoice in the new spirit of heroic independent effort which is arising and which is typified in President Ibuka of Japan, Rev. Cheng Ching Yi of China and, let us hope also, in Mr Azariah of India, and perhaps still more in other workers behind the scenes…"

136 Stanley (2009), *Edinburgh 1910*, 127. The text of this speech can be found in: WMC–*World Missionary Conference 1910,* Vol. IX, 306–315.

137 "… There was one unfortunate address from an Indian minister [V.S. Azariah], which, in regard to the impression produced, was most unfair. Facts regarding the unbrotherliness of missionaries towards Indian Christians were adduced without any reference to those circumstances, which all on the field know might considerably modify the meaning of the facts…" (H.H. Newham, "The World Missionary Conference", in: '*The Harvest Field*' 30, September 1910, p. 336–345, here: p. 345).

19 November 1910: "There was a large attendance of Europeans and Indian Christians representing the various Churches in Madras". The Rev. C.H. Monahan, M.A., of Tiruvallur, "one of the delegates present at Edinburgh", gave a lecture. One of the topics of his speech was "the great importance of the raising of Native leaders", which the World Missionary Conference had emphasised (CP 19.11.1910 p. 4). In another article on the Edinburgh resolutions, reference is made to the fact that the word 'Native' is no longer appropriate–due to its "offensive application" (CP 15.10.1910 p. 6).

The 21 Edinburgh 'Continuation Committee Conferences', which were held in various Asian countries in 1912/13, were particularly important in the long term. They led to the formation of first national missionary and later national Christian councils and thus to structures for the self-administration of Asian churches, which still exist in a more developed form today. Seven such events took place in India in the autumn of 1912. The CP reported on the Madras conference from 18–20 November in its issue of 30 November 1912, highlighting, among other things, the first participation of the Indian Thoma Christians (in the form of the Mar Thoma Church) at such a meeting. Among the delegates was also J. Lazarus, the editor of the CP at the time. "No distinction was made", we learn, "between Indians and Europeans in accordance with the privileges on the floor". The draft resolution by V.S. Azariah, which called for "*complete equality* as to status and responsibility with Europeans in the Councils of the churches and the Missions", was adopted[138].

138 CP 30.11.1912 p. 5 (Text 35). Accordingly, the resolution of the 1912 Madras Conference read: "… the time has come for Churches and Missions to make a real and unmistakable advance, by placing Indians on a footing of complete equality, in status and responsibility, with Europeans…" (in: CCC–*The Continuation Committee Conferences in Asia 1912–1913*, 31).–On the country's 'National Christian Council' (which emerged from the Continuation Conferences in 1924) as an emancipatory movement of Indian Christians, cf. the study by the otherwise very mission-critical author Kaj Baago (1967), *A History of the National Christian Council of India, 1914–1964*.

Chapter vi

VI From Cognitive Interaction to Direct Contacts and Transregional Networking

Levels of Contact (as Documented in the *'Christian Patriot'*)

As mentioned, there is a wealth of international news in the CP. At the same time, different levels of contact between Indian Christians and fellow believers from other regions and cultural contexts can be observed here. Three of these–quasi ideal-typical–variants will be briefly outlined below. They are of considerable importance for understanding both the emerging transregional indigenous-Christian public sphere–which can be clearly observed in the CP–and the resulting networks between indigenous-Christian elites from different missionary and/or colonial contexts.

1. Cognitive Interaction: West Africa

On 18 June 1898, the CP reprints verbatim a lengthy article from a missionary journal on the attendance of three West African (assistant) bishops at the Fourth Lambeth Conference in 1897 (and the great sympathy they received there, including a reception by Queen Victoria). This reprint is followed by a single short sentence with which the CP comments on this news: "When is India to have her own native Bishops"? In the background, as discussed elsewhere, are the decades-long disputes about the 'Three-Selves' programme and in particular the demand for an own Indian bishop. This issue had been repeatedly raised by prominent Indian Christians and again and again rejected or delayed by parts of the missionary establishment ("Not yet"–"the time is not yet ripe", etc.).

In a way, this text[1] was at the beginning of the entire Munich Journals project. It documents a mutual perception of Christians from different regions as well as missionary or colonial contexts which, at the same time, increasingly resultetd also in concrete actions. Referring to the African example, demands for a "native bishop" became louder now also in India. This mutual perception thus represents what I–following Dietmar Rothermund[2]–would like to call "cognitive interaction". At the same time, it forms an

1 CP 18.06.1898 p. 5 (Text 92). Probably quoted from the conference report in the '*Church Missionary Intelligencer*' (CMI) (vol. 49, 1898, p. 425) or a related source (the CP report contains slight excesses compared to the CMI article). The two (not three, as stated in the CP) African *Assistant Bishops* (see Lambeth Conference 1897–*Resolutions*, 11) are Rev. Philipps and Rev. Isaac Oluwole. The latter in particular was a well-known figure in CMS circles and a wider missionary public and is mentioned over seventy times in *CMI* 48 (1897), for example, either alone or together with his African colleague Philipps. In *CMI 48* (1897) p. 890, the London bishop characterises him as a universally known and "cultivated" personality who–starting from an "absolute" cultural zero of his people–had reached "the position of an educated Englishman" in a very short time: "That is the result of Christianity". On Oluwole cf: Ayendele (1970), *Emmanuel "Holy" Johnson*, 153–155–In an article on "A National Church of India" on 12 January 1907 (p. 6), the CP refers to the African bishops Crowther and Oluwole as models for the necessity of "Christian Indian Bishops". See also chapter III p. 58ff; chapter VII p. 237ff.

2 DFG Research Programme: "Transformations of European Expansion from the 15th to the 20th Century. Research on the cognitive interaction of European and non-European societies"; partially published in: Rothermund, D. (1999) (ed.), *Aneignung und Selbstbehauptung.* Answers to European Expansion (Munich).

essential prerequisite for the emergence of early forms of Christian South-South solidarity or the development of a Christian "panindigenism", as Tolly-Bradfort[3] has called it in another context. This is without any direct contact having taken place at this stage. Rather, knowledge of the fate of indigenous Christians in other so-called "mission fields" conveyed by the press or other media was sufficient. To use the terminology of the CP: "it is well for us to look around and see what is being done in other parts of the world by the races recently brought into the fold of Christ"[4].

Remarkably, in the debate about a "native bishop", Christian Africa was still seen as a role model for Christian India (and Christian Asia). Later, the situation would be reversed and developments in the "young churches" of Asia would now be regarded as paradigmatic for African Christians. Initially, however, Western Africa still set the standards; and when V.S. Azariah, the first Indian (and Asian) Christian to become a bishop in the Anglican Church in 1912, the CP recognised him as "as great a gift to India as his African predecessor" Bishop S.A. Crowther (CP 07.09 1912 p. 5–Text 94).

2. Direct Contacts: Japan

Relations with Japan were of a completely different nature. Direct connections with this country and its Christians had existed at least since the Russo-Japanese War of 1904/05– which strengthened nationalist movements and pan-Asian endeavours throughout the continent. Of special importance had been the visit of a delegation of Japanese Christians that came to the country in 1906 "at the special request and invitation" of the Indian YMCA[5]. Their seven-week lecture tour took the Japanese guests through the subcontinent, from the north (Calcutta, Lahore) to the south (Madras) and west (Bombay). They spoke, often to great acclaim, in packed lecture theatres and churches and conveyed a "message" from Japan to their fellow Christians in India. In many larger cities, they were "officially and formally" welcomed by the local Indian Christian associations "on behalf of the [Indian Christian] community". In Madras, for example, "a general meeting of all Protestant Christians in the city" was arranged to welcome them (CP 28.04.1906 p. 5). "To us [Indian] Christians this visit has been of incalculable value", summarised the CP at the end of the trip[6]. This was associated with great hopes for the future: "Their visit will unite the churches of India and Japan in the bonds of mutual understanding and sympathy" (CP 21.04.1906 p. 4–Text 111).

3 Bradford (2010), "Native Missionaries", 311 ("pan-Indigeneity").–For the CP, for example, the West African Bishop S.A. Crowther, together with a prominent black Christian from the Caribbean, illustrates "the power of the spirit and of the capabilities of the coloured race" (CP 07.12.1901 p. 2).

4 CP 11.03.1905 p. 5 (Text 96), referring to Uganda. The same applies to Uganda, which is mentioned repeatedly in the CP–although there were early attempts to establish contact here, as the example of a donation and a letter of solidarity from Indian Christians to the Uganda Christians in 1887 shows (see chapter V p. 155ff. below).

5 CP 21.04.1906 p. 4 (Text 111). On the journey of the Japanese delegates (Motoda, Harada), see also chapter V p. 159ff and: Koschorke (2015a), "What can India learn from Japan?", 19–42; *Discourses,* Text 111–114.

6 CP 02.06.1906 p. 8; similarly CP 21.04.1906 p. 4 (Text 111).

Both sides–guests and hosts–emphasised not only the common Christian faith, but also the unifying Asian heritage. "The people of Japan and the people of India are one in the Lord Jesus Christ," reads a letter from the church in Lahore to the Japanese visitors after their departure. The latter were to be thanked for trying to give Christ–himself an Oriental, but who was later taken over by the "West"–back to the "East" (CP 28.04.1906 p. 3). The Japanese, on the other hand, emphasised the special relationship between India and Japan as "Asian" brother nations. "We have an especial regard for India. For one thing, we entertain a kindly feeling towards it because we are indebted to it for some of our former civilisation. Besides, the people of this country and ourselves are Asiatics, and that forms another bond of union between us; and we shall always remember the warm reception we have had in this city; and carry home with us affectionate recollections of the manner we were received by our Indian brethren" (CP 24.03.1906 p. 3–Text 112). The guests from the Far East expressed their "sympathy with Indian aspirations" (CP 28.04.1906 p. 4). Conversely, the Indians even assigned the Japanese a special responsibility for the Christianisation of their own country and the entire "Orient": "The responsibility of Japanese Christians towards India and the oriental countries has been… strikingly emphasised by a letter received from the Indian Y.M.C.A Union" (CP 03.03.1906 p. 7).

The Japanese visit was intended to be repeated and reciprocal: "Wishes were expressed that such visits should be repeated" (CP 28.04.1906 p. 4). It led to the expansion of existing and the development of completely new connections between individual congregations and leading Christians in both countries. Letters were sent back and forth, collections were collected for fellow Christians in the Far East[7], prayer fellowships and mutual intercession were agreed[8], and a return visit by an Indian delegation to Japan was envisaged[9]. In Japan, the reports of the returning delegates met with great interest, which in turn was noted with satisfaction in the CP[10]. Concrete plans were developed both for an intensified student exchange and for sending Indian lecturers to Christian educational institutions in Japan[11].

3. Network-Building: the 1907 Tokyo Conference

The 1907 Tokyo Conference of the 'World's Student Christian Federation' (WSCF) marked a new stage[12]. In contemporary newscovering and reporting on the part of Japa-

7 In Lahore and various cities in northern India, for example, to alleviate a regional famine. "In various Indian Churches, particularly in North India, offertories have been forwarded to Japan,… on account of famine. This was keenly appreciated by the delegates" (CP 28.04.1906 p. 4).

8 "You Indian Christians and we Japanese Christians can help each other in sympathy and prayer for one another" (CP 24.04.1906 p. 6–Speech Harada).

9 CP 21.04.1906 p. 4.

10 CP 04.08.1906 p. 6.

11 CP 28.04.1906 p. 3–Text 113; cf. CP 28.04.1906 p. 5: idea of a joint "Indo-Japanese lectureship"; CP 02.06.1906 p. 8: "appointment of a Japamnese university graduate to India as a college YMCA secretary".

12 Conference minutes in English: WSCF–*Report Tokyo 1907*; in Japanese: KASHIWI (1907), *Bankoku seinen taikai kôenshû* 万国青年大会講演集; in German: DEUTSCHE CHRISTLICHE STUDENTENVEREINIGUNG (1907), *Bericht.*–Extensive archival holdings can be found in the Yale Divinity School / Dale Library / Record Group

nese conference participants, the meeting was honoured as "the first meeting of an international character ever held in our country"[13]. In any case, it was the first ecumenical conference in Asia with a majority of Asian delegates. Of the 627 participants, more than 500 came from "oriental" countries, including 443 from Japan, 74 from China, 15 from India and smaller delegations from other Asian nations (Burma, Formosa, Korea, Siam, the Philippines). Representatives from the USA (J.R. Mott was a prominent speaker), Europe, Russia (including the Russian Orthodox Archbishop in Japan) and Australia also spoke. The conference was organised by the Japanese branch of the WSCF, one of the organisations originally founded in the West (in 1895), but which–like the YMCA–soon developed into a platform for Asian Christian elites. The invitation to Tokyo had already been extended and accepted by the Japanese at the previous conference in 1902[14]. The majority of the planning and realisation was in Japanese (and Chinese) hands[15].

The Japanese and international missionary public took great notice. Telegrams were received from the American President Theodore Roosevelt and the British King Edward VII. Greetings were spoken or receptions held by the Mayor of Tokyo Y. Ozaki and the Japanese foreign and education ministers. Letters of congratulations came from various representatives of the political, academic and religious life in Japan–including an assembly of Shinto priests and the Association of Buddhists. However, the latter also took the opportunity to establish a rival organisation respectively a World Buddhist conference[16]. The broad response in the Japanese press was also remarkable. East and West have met in a unique way–was the tenor of the reporting[17]. The harmony and the "terms of equality" under which the Asian, European and American delegates interacted were particularly emphasised[18].

In contemporary journalism and in the Indian-Christian press, the conference was honoured as the first meeting of Asian leaders, an event of "world-historical" significance, according to the CP. "The conference will bring together, for the first time in the history of the Church, the leaders of the forces of Christianity from all parts of Asia"[19].

46–Contemporary report: EDDY, G.S. (1907) "The Japan Conference" (*Young Men of India* XVIII/7, July 1907, 87–91).–Literature: WEBER (1966), *Asia*, 69–77; HARPER (2000), *Shadow of the Mahatma*, 41–46; HOPKINS (1979), *John R. Mott,* 314–320; ROUSE / NEILL / FEY (1993), *Ecumenical Movement* I, 341ff; II, 68; ROUSE (1948), *World's Student Christian Federation;* HOWE (2009), *Century of Influence,* 95–97; KOSHY (2004), *Ecumenical Movement in Asia*, 45.48–A monographic account of this conference, which particularly emphasises its pan-Asian perspective, is urgently needed.

13 WSCF–*Report Tokyo 1907*, 185; cf. WEBER (1966), *Asia,* 69.

14 HOPKINS (1979), *John R. Mott,* 314; cf. WSCF–*Report Tokyo 1907*, 176.

15 HOPKINS (1979), *John R. Mott,* 316: "One of the hopes of the Chinese and Japanese planners of the Conference (*most of the planning was done in the Orient*) had been to 'give the Occidental leaders definite knowledge of the status, needs, and success of the Oriental movements', to afford them 'immediate contact with some of the organisations', and to conduct evangelistic campaigns in Tokyo and other places in Japan" (emphasis KK).

16 WSCF–*Report Tokyo 1907*, 195 (Speech N. Farquhar).

17 A detailed documentation of the echo in the Japanese, international and missionary press can be found in the Yale Divinity School / Dale Library / Record 46 Box 225.

18 WSCF–*Report Tokyo 1907*, 200.

19 CP 09.03.1907 p. 5 (Text 114); cf. also CP 09.02.1907 p. 4f.

This point had already been emphasised in the missionary reporting. In the perspective of Indian readers, however, it was combined with the frequently expressed conviction that the 20th century would no longer be dominated by Western missions, but become the era of "indigenous churches" and "indigenous Christians". In any case, the conference developed into a contact zone for future Asian-Christian leaders, who would subsequently enter into an increasingly close relationship with each other. The prominent presence of Asian women at the conference should also be emphasised. The CP reports in detail on 9 March 1907 on the sending of the Indian-Ceylonese delegation to Japan, with the European missionary representatives (active in India) listed only in second place.

The theme of the conference was "the evangelisation of the educated classes in all parts of the world". Particular attention was paid to the evangelisation of Asia "by its own sons and daughters"–India by Indians, China by Chinese, Japan by Japanese, as V.S. Azariah put it, referring to the model of the indigenous 'National Missionary Society of India' (NMS)[20]. Other delegates, such as the Chinese C.T. Wang, also emphasised the responsibility of Asian Christians for the evangelisation of their own continent[21]. "The chief responsibility", said another voice, "for its evangelisation rests upon the Christian orient itself"[22]. The votes of the Japanese conference participants were particularly emphatic in this respect. "The prestige of Japan throughout Asia places upon us a heavy obligation, particularly with regards to the Korean, Chinese, Indian and Philippine students who flock to our schools and open themselves to Christian influence". Japanese Christians therefore have the task of confessing Christ "in all Japan, and in Korea and Manchuria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth wheresoever the men of Japan are found"[23]. Japanese missionaries, we learn, were already active in many regions of North-East Asia. The Japanese delegation's successful visit to India in 1906 in particular had stimulated "the ambition of Japanese students to see Japan become a missionary to all the peoples in the Far East"[24]. The Chinese students, who had flocked to Tokyo in large numbers after the abolition of the Confucian examination system in 1905, received special attention at the conference. In Japan they encountered not only the modern world, but also Christian influences in many cases. Accordingly, there was active Japanese support for the YMCA founded in Tokyo the following year specifically for students from the Middle Kingdom[25].

"Asia began to discover itself" is how Hans-Ruedi Weber[26] describes the effects of Tokyo 1907 in his (still important) account of the early Asian ecumenical movement.

20 WSCF–*Report Tokyo 1907*, 124.
21 WSCF–*Report Tokyo 1907*, 138.
22 WSCF–*Report Tokyo 1907*, 142.
23 WSCF–*Report Tokyo 1907*, 152.
24 WSCF–*Report Tokyo 1907*, 224f.
25 See below p. 255. Documents on the Chinese YMCA in Tokyo can be found in the Yale Divinity School / Dale Library / Record Group 46 / Box 227 / Folder 1768–1769.
26 WEBER (1966), *Asia*, 73.

The conference not only served, as often emphasised by the participants, the–equal–exchange between "East" and "West", whereby both sides were to be both teaching and learning partners[27]. It also helped to overcome inner-Asian prejudices and thus create the conditions for an in-depth exchange between different churches and Christian groups on the continent. Tokyo marked an important stage both for the development of intra-Asian communication structures and for the beginnings of a Christian Pan-Asianism. What emerged from the debates at the conference was–still very cautiously–the vision quasi of a post-colonial order and partnership between independent Asian churches. The focus was now less on the traditional and denominationally separate mission churches and more on "national indigenous church organisations", i.e. the union of a country's Christians, as the desired form of organisation for the future.

The "equality" of delegates from Asia, Europe and the USA–as repeatedly emphasised in Japanese and missionary reports on the conference–also influenced the climate of other ecumenical gatherings in the period that followed.

Also in other respects, Tokyo marked a significant turning point for the Indian conference participants. V.S. Azariah, for example, who was elected Vice President at the conference, "returned from his tour in Japan"–according to his biographer Susan Harper–"… with a new vision of a great future for the Indian Church"[28]. The Sri Lankan Methodist pastor John Simon de Silva, also a member of the Indian delegation, was also inspired and impressed[29]. Lilivathi Singh, on the other hand, who spoke in Tokyo as a representative of the Indian 'Young Women's Christian Association' (YMCA) about the situation of 'Women Students in India' and made a great impression, was initially shocked by the comparative perspective gained in Japan: "When in Japan… I felt discouraged over India". Nevertheless, her outlook ultimately remained optimistic. "Slowly, very slowly, perhaps, the cause of higher education for women is… gaining ground in India… Yes, India has a great future before her"[30].

27 WSCF–*Report Tokyo 1907,* 188: "both East and West must be both teachers and learners".
28 Harper (2000), *Shadow of the Mahatma,* 44. The CP already made the same statement on 17 February 1912 (p. 3): "he came back with a new vision of a great future for the Indian Church".
29 "When I was in *Japan* I was surprised to find how far ahead of us they are in the matter of [sc. Christian vernacular] literature… I visited the Methodist Publishing House in Tokyo… and I learnt that they had already translated into Japanese… well-known works as… [follows list]": J. S. de Silva, "Sinhalese Literature Notes" (in: 'Ceylon Methodist Church Record' 1907, p. 155f).–Incidentally, Tokyo exerted a great attraction not only on Asian nationalists in general, but also on progressive clerics from the various churches and countries of the continent. On the revolutionary clergy in Vietnam and their connections with Japan around 1906, see: Keith (2012), *Catholic Vietnam,* 1; on the Japanese connections of the Filipino revolutionary and church founder Isabelo de los Reyes cf. Hermann (in: Koschorke/Hermann [2018a], *To give publicity,* 58).
30 CP 11.01.1906 p. 6 (Text 115 and 84).

Diverse Forms of Contact and Networking

This is a schematised overview. In general, the CP reveals diverse forms of trans-regional contacts and networking among Indian Christians. These were mostly simply the result of the cosmopolitan character of the city and region of Madras as the most important economic, cultural and missionary centre of South India. In many cases, however, they were also the result of targeted initiatives or the publicising activities of the Indian Christian elite.

1. Mutual Visits, Letters, Exchange of Students and Lecturers

This category includes (as discussed using the example of a Japanese delegation's visit to India in 1906),

- *reciprocal visits*, with an invitation from the Indians[31] and a return invitation from the Japanese[32];
- the subsequent *correspondence* also at local level, for example from Lahore to 'The Christian Brethren in Japan'[33];
- the planned *exchange of lecturers and the sending of Indian students* to Japan, which was now being discussed in the CP columns[34];
- other platforms for bilateral exchange such as the idea of an "*Indo-Japanese lectureship*" (CP 28.04.1906 p. 5).

Mutual collections were particularly noteworthy as an expression of solidarity with fellow believers in other countries. For example, the Christians in northern India collected money for the victims of a famine in Japan and set up a "Famine Relief Fund for Northern Japan"[35] (more details below).

2. Intercessions

Intercessions in prayer and worship were another important expressions of a trans-regional awareness. As such, they corresponded to traditional Christian practice. But,

31 CP 21.04.1906 p. 4 (Text 111): "at the special request and invitation of the Indian National Council of the Y.M.C.As".

32 CP 21.04.1906 p. 4 (Text 111): "to send a delegation from India to Japan as return compliment".

33 For example, from the members of the Holy Trinity Church in Lahore to 'The Christian Brethren in Japan' (CP 26 March 1906 p. 3). This letter–which was given to the Rev. S. Motoda together with the collection (see below)–not only emphasises the unity of Christians in India and Japan, but also thanks the latter for their efforts to return the Oriental Christ to the "people of the East".

34 CP 28.04.1906 p. 3 (Text 113–Interview T. Harada): "send young men to study in Japan". Indian lecturers in Japan "would be a very great help" and "serve to bind the Christians of the two countries closer". In this context, Harada referred to the example of Dr S. Sathianadan from Madras (Indian president of the 'National Council' of the Indian YMCA since 1891), who died in Yokohama on 4 April 1906 on his way to the USA (Yale, Harvard) without being able to give his planned lectures in Japan (see the obituary in the CP of 7 April 1906 p. 6 and 26 March 1910 p. 6).

35 CP 28.04.1906 p. 3 and 5 (see below for details).

at the same time, they were a place where the–often only local–horizon of thought of simple believers became broadened across borders. "We hope that you will remember us in your prayers", wrote the parishioners in Lahore to their "Christian brothers" in Japan (CP 28.04.1906 p. 3). For their part, Indian Christians were asked to remember in prayer their Chinese co-religionists–martyrs during the so-called Boxer Rebellion (1900/1901)–or the persecuted Christians in Armenia[36] or to pray or give thanks for the progress of the Gospel in distant countries[37].

Such intercessions took on a more political flavour when they had a public character (as part of the congregational prayer in the church service) or were accompanied by additional activities. This was the case, for example, with an initiative of the 'South Indian United Church' (SIUC) in 1913/14, which was reported in 'The United Church Herald' in January 1914. At that time, it was decided not only to organise a "special prayer" in the churches of the SIUC in favour of the Indians living in South Africa. But also a special collection was organised and an official intervention started by the Christian churches of India with the churches of South Africa[38].

3. Inter-Church Interventions

Direct church policy interventions in other countries were naturally less frequent and as such were initially a matter for the respective church hierarchies.

a. The correspondence of the SIUC in 1913/1914, which–in an endeavour to cooperate with the other churches of the subcontinent–campaigned with the partner churches of South Africa for better treatment of the Indians living there (not only guided by economic constraints, but also by "Christian" motives), has already been mentioned[39].

36 E.g. CP 13.11.1909 p. 6: Intercessions for "our persecuted and sorrowing fellow Christians in Turkey".

37 Such appeals for prayers of thanksgiving or intercession were, incidentally, a fixed topos in many missionary journals and at the same time always opened up a view of world events. For example in 'The Mission Field', the organ of the Anglican SPG, which in its November 1906 issue (p. 351f) called for intercession for the church and mission in numerous areas–Canada, the West Indies, India, Burma, Borneo, Japan, China, etc.–for example. Prayers were to be offered "for the native Christians in Natal and Zululand" as well as "for the (sc. missionary) work that is being done among the Chinese, Indians, and other races in the diocese of British Guiana". The latter was linked to the hope "that the converts who return (sc. from the West Indies) to their own country may exert a Christian influence upon many of their fellow-countrymen".–The special importance of *public* prayer ("growing recognition of the value of the public prayer for foreign mission") is emphasised in the CMS '*Church Missionary Gleaner*' (Vol. 29, 1902/1, p. 1).–CP 17.02.1900 p. 6 reports on a "day of prayer throughout the world for students", with reports from England, Japan, India and China, among others. Many Hindus were among the participants in the day of prayer.

38 '*The United Church Herald*' V/10 (January 1914) p. 325f: "The South African question is an absorbing one. It is hoped that *our Church and other Churches* in India will not hesitate to bring this point of view before *their fellow Christians in S. Africa*, so that a fair and honourable settlement of the whole difficulty may be arrived at. We would suggest that *special prayer* be offered for this in all the Churches…. We hope that a *collection* will be taken in every Church. The amount thus collected may be forwarded to the editor of this paper. The money is urgently needed now".

39 The text of the letter ("The Christian Churches of South Africa, Greetings from the South India United Church") can be found in January 1910 in the organ of the SIUC, the '*United Church Herald*' (Vol. V/10, January 1914, p. 325f). "We are impelled to address you on this subject, however, not simply because we share in the deep feeling of our non-Christian brethren in India, but particularly because of certain considerations affect-

b. There were several similar initiatives, which of course repeatedly met with resistance from within the church. In December 1910, for example, the 'South India Missionary Association' rejected a motion by the Rev. H.A. Popley and other missionaries who had proposed to send a "Letter to the Christian Ministers of South Africa" with the same objective [40]
c. On 16 January 1909 (p. 6), the CP reported on the Anglican "Bishop of Lahore's timely and weighty protest against the policy of the Transvaal in regard to exclusion of Indians";
d. In June 1910, the CP reported on a meeting between the Anglican Bishop Henry Whitehead and Gandhi's comrade-in-arms Henry S. Polak in Madras, at which Whitehead supported the demand for an end to the system of indentured labour (CP 11.06.1910 p. 2). Later, the CP published an exchange of letters between Whitehead and a group of deported South African Indians, in which the bishop assured the 'Indian Christian Deportees from the Transvaal' of his support (CP 17.08.1910 p. 5–Text 106).

4. Circulation of News

In general, Madras was a single contact exchange. In addition to the various domestic and foreign journals with different political, religious or missionary orientations, the readers of the CP also received a wide range of other news. Spontaneous and unplanned contacts (for example with travelling merchants, missionaries or military personnel), often mentioned in passing, were nevertheless reflected in the columns of the CP and led to many enquiries and queries. Renowned visitors from other regions of India or overseas are invited to give lectures in Madras, which are then reported on in detail in the CP[41]. Indian Christians from South Africa, travelling home to their old homeland for the first time, provide information about conditions in Natal[42]. Returnees from the Edinburgh 1910 World Missionary Conference (such as the Rev. C.H. Monahan from Tiruvallur) reported on their experiences in Scotland at an event in Madras to great public acclaim: "the meeting was well attended both by Indian and English gentlemen"[43]. Indian travellers abroad describe their experiences in the UK, Europe and the USA in the CP. For example, S. Satthianadan, a prominent representative of the Protestant Madras elite, who contrasted his experiences in the USA with those in Europe in an article in

ing our Christian work in this land," the letter reads. A reply was received from the Baptists of South Africa and the 'Witwatersrand Church Council' ('*The United Church Herald*' V/11, February 1914, p. 364); cf. above chapter V p. 177ff.

40 '*The Harvest Field*' 1911, p. 77f.

41 For example, the Bengali Christian leader Babu Kali C. Bannerjee or the prominent American missionary Dr Pentecost, whom the MNCA lists among its "distinguished visitors" in its calendar for 1904 (CP 24.12.1903 suppl).

42 CP 02.07.1910 p. 5: Letter to the editor from an "Indian Christian born in Natal" on his first visit to his Indian homeland.

43 CP 19.11.1910 p. 4.

1897[44], or the Rev. J. Lazarus (also from Madras), whose lecture on "Some impressions of a visit to Europe" on 29 April 1905 (p. 4) is also reproduced in detail in the CP.

Letters to the editor from other areas brought local controversies (for example in Singapore) to the attention of the Indian-Christian community in the mother country. This discussion was carried on in the columns of the CP for weeks, until the CP cancelled the debate on "the alleged grievances at Singapore" in October 1909[45]. An "Indian Christian" from Mauritius thanks the CP for the way in which the journal "puts forward before the proper authorities our grievances and… suggests the manner in which they might be redressed" (CP 27 February 1897 p. 5). Letters to the editor also arrived from South Africa, Ceylon, China, England, Australia and the USA, sparking lively debates in some cases[46].

As already discussed elsewhere, the CP's *own network of foreign correspondents*, who sent reports from London, Belfast, China (Shandong) or Boston, for example, on a temporary or regular basis, was particularly important. They were then usually printed within a very short period of time (between one and three weeks). Journals by local Christians from other countries were not only often quoted and presented in the CP[47], but were also occasionally available to interested parties in the editorial offices of the CP (CP 30 April 1896 p. 4–Text 9.7). The growing number of Indian-Christian students overseas, initially in England and the USA, also led to special foreign relations. Later, other destinations–and since 1905 Japan in particular–also became more attractive. "Year after year an increasing number of Indian Christian students proceed to Great Britain for their studies" (and require special care there), mentioned the CP on 30 April 1896 (p. 4) in a report on the 'Indian Christian Association of Great Britain', which had just been founded in London[48]. This association also published its own journal–'The Indian Christian'–which sought to strengthen the exchange between Indian Christians in the mother country and the colonial metropolis and which the CP strongly recommended its own readers to read.

5. International Expression of Solidarity through Collections

Expressing solidarity through donations for brothers and sisters in other parts of the world was another aspect of indigenous Christian networking. This already had a cer-

44 CP 11.09.1897 p. 3 (Text 119–"The Negro Problem"): "An Indian visitor, who sets foot on American soil, after a sojourn in Europe…".

45 The debate was conducted in the CP from 24 July 1909 (p. 5) to 2 October 1909 (p. 4); see above all CP 21.08.1909 p. 5 (Text 12).

46 Details in chapter II p. 32ff.

47 See for example CP 11.08.1906 p. 6 (Text 107: "A Chinese Magazine").

48 Cf also: CP 21.06.1902 p. 5 ("Indian Christian Students in Great Britain"), with figures (10–15 from Madras, 30–40 from all over India); CP 11.06.1904 p. 6 ("Indian Students in England").–Literature on Indian students in England: Perraton (2014), *History of Foreign Students in Britain*; Lahiri (2000), *Indians in Britain*; Mukherjee (2010), *The England-Returned*, esp. 13–29 (p. 18 on the religious affiliation of Indian foreign students at the beginning of the 20th century); Nasta (2013), *India in Britain*; Visram (1986), *Indians in Britain*; Schneer (1999), *London 1900*.

tain tradition in India. In 1887, indigenous Christians from Tinnevelli in southern India had collected a collection for the persecuted "young church in Uganda" and forwarded it to the East African Christians via the CMS headquarters in London. "The people everywhere"–said the Indian pastor John Jesudason at the time in an accompanying letter, which he wrote on behalf of "all Christian brothers in Tinnevelly"–"felt deep sympathy with you, many were moved even to tears, and the result has been that we are now able to send you a small sum (L-80) which you will accept… as token demonstrative of our sympathy with you". Similar collections for the persecuted Ugandan Christians also took place in individual missionary congregations in China and Melanesia[49]. Frieder Ludwig, who has edited and commented on this document, rightly remarks: "The solidarity was expressed through donations–this is also a remarkable process, as such flows of money had previously flowed almost exclusively from north to south" :[50]

Such events are documented many times in the CP. For example, in connection with the repeatedly mentioned journey of a Japanese delegation to India in 1906: "In various Indian Churches, particularly in North India, offertories have been forwarded to Japan,… on account of famine. This was deeply appreciated by the delegates"–according to the CP in its issue of 28 April 1906 (p. 5). It reports in more detail on a fundraising campaign by local Christians from the Holy Trinity Church in Lahore. They sent the proceeds–together with a letter addressed to the 'Christian Brethren in *Japan*'–to their fellow believers in the Far East. In his reply, the Japanese delegate S. Motoda referred to the poverty that still exists in many parts of Japan–despite all the progress made–and thanked them with the words: "I deeply appreciate the Christian spirit of your Indian brethren in sending the offertory of last Sunday for the relief of our famine sufferers in Japan"[51].

Even before this, there had been donation activities by Indian Christians for *China* in connection with the so-called Boxer Rebellion, in which numerous Chinese Christians in particular fell victim alongside Euro-American missionaries. On 4 August 1900 (p. 5), the CP reported (under "News and notes") on an action by the "Christians of Jaignung, northern India (who) have sent a contribution for the relief of those who suffered from the attacks of the Boxers at the Chi Chow in Northern China. Such is the effect of Christianity". Chinese Christians, according to the CP on 11 August 1900 (p. 5), "demand the sympathy of their brethren throughout the world…, and… should excite all Christians in India".–On 13 February 1904 p. 5, the CP published an appeal for donations in favour of a memorial in Shanghai for the victims of the Boxer Rebellion. "The Appeal is to Asiatic Churches in the first instance… We shall gladly receive and transmit all moneys…".–On 20 June 1903 p. 3: we learn of a donation from Pan-

49 Ludwig (1998), "Ein Solidaritätsbrief indischer Christen", 194.
50 Ludwig (1998), "Ein Solidaritätsbrief indischer Christen", 1 95.
51 CP 28.04.1906 p. 3. The collection from Lahore was forwarded to the CMS in Tokyo: "The offertory at Holy Trinity, with subsequent gifts, Rs 75, and at the Cathedral, was given to the Famine Relief Fund for Northern Japan" (ibid.).

dita Ramabai: "After the Boxer rising of 1901, acute distress was felt by thousands of Chinese Christians rendered homeless and penniless by persecution. To alleviate their suffering Pandita Ramabai sent Rs. 5000. Of this amount Rs. 1'000 were entrusted to the C.M.S missionaries in China", but sent back by Bishop Moule (from "Mid China") because of the compensation payments from the Chinese government, "together with a thank-offering of his own towards the Pandita's work".–Conversely, there were also donations from Chinese Christians for their Indian co-religionists. "Some Christian farmers in China", said the CP on 12 May 1900 (p. 5), "have sent a liberal contribution out of their poverty to help Indian sufferers".

Perhaps most notable are the controversies that accompanied Indian aid to the victims of the *Armenian pogroms* in the Ottoman Empire. On 22 October 1896 p. 5 (Text 117), the CP published a letter to the editor which vehemently lamented the alleged indifference of Indian Christians in general and the CP in particular towards the suffering of their fellow Armenians. "We Native Christians of Southern India have hitherto remained quite indifferent" to the latest massacre reports. The CP, in particular, had neglected its duties. Hence the appeal: "Go and awaken the Editor of the Christian Patriot to sense of his duty to those suffering brethren. Let him collect money from his brethren here and send it to Armenia in time". The CP did not take this accusation lying down and referred not only to his regular reporting, but also to his repeated appeals for donations: "We have not been sleeping… Some of our brethren have already sent in their mite. We have been with our words and pen attempting to excite the sympathy of our brethren for our persecuted co-religionists in Armenia, thus preparing the way for an appeal for funds on their behalf… We shall be very glad to receive any sum that our brethren may send to the towards the Armenian Relief Fund and have it remitted through the proper channel". Other readers' letters pointed out the considerable willingness to donate, especially among the poor "local Christians"[52].

These fundraising campaigns also led to a controversy with the Hindu press. On 28 January 1897 p. 7, the CP printed a commentary from 'The Hindu' in which it contrasted the Armenian commitment of the Madras Christians with their–allegedly inadequate–commitment to the Indians living in South Africa: "Have the champions of the Armenians no sympathy left in their hearts for the Indians in British South Africa? Does not the mobbing in Natal excite the same indignation as mobbing in the streets in Constantinople, in their breasts? Today it is mobbing and tomorrow it is murder"–an accusation that the CP rejects. Earlier, the CP had already resolutely defended itself against the 'Hindu' taking sides with the Turks in the Armenian crisis: "we do strongly protest against his" distortions of facts" (CP 12.12.1895 p. 6).

However, donations from Indian Christians did not only go to needy fellow believers in other regions (or in their own country, as special aid campaigns, for example on

52 CP 05.11.1896 (p. 7): 350 of the 1500 rupees collected by the Baptist Mission for the Armenians "was contributed by the Native Christians of the Baptist Mission–most of them Telugus".

the occasion of the great famine of 1896/97 or in favour of the Ramabai Fund, show). They also came from the Indian-Christian diaspora in *Fiji,* for example, as can be seen from a note dated 4 August 1900 p. 6 (in: "News and notes"): "Now we learn that the Christians of Figi [sic] have sent donations for the Indian famine"[53]. There were special relations with *South Africa in* particular, as explained elsewhere. The Indian compatriots and fellow believers living there were supported from India not only by sending their own catechists and pastors, intercessory services, political solidarity campaigns and attempts at church intervention, but also through their own fundraising campaigns, as we learn elsewhere[54].

Such supra-regional fundraising campaigns by local Christians are also seen in the CP as a sign of universal brotherhood and transcontinental solidarity. "The congregation of Hastings Chapel, Calcutta"–according to a note in the CP of 30 June 1900 (p. 6)– "recently sent £ 14.10s to relieve the stress of famine in Molepolole, South Africa; the native Christians of China have sent a considerable sum to the famine stricken in India. India helping Africa, and China India is refreshing".

53 Donations from the Indian diaspora in South Asia are also repeatedly mentioned in other contexts, such as for the 'Consecration Representation Fund' on the occasion of Azariah's inauguration in Calcutta on 29 Dec. 1912. Donations came from Burma, Malaysia (Penang) and Ceylon, among others (cf. CP 23.11.1912 p. 7; CP 07.12.1912 p. 7; CP 14.12.1912 p. 7; CP 21.12.1912 p. 7).

54 '*The United Church Herald*' V/10 (Jan 1914) p. 325f (see below).–There are similar reports from other regions: Thus we learn from a Catholic Church magazine that Sinhalese Catholics in the diocese of Colombo collected money in 1915 for the Catholics in Belgium who had become victims of the German invasion (or 'German atrocities') at the beginning of the First World War. The "scouts" of the Protestant Richmond College in colonial Sri Lanka also organised such collections around this time: "Our collections helped to feed 800 Belgian children for one day" (Mendis [1968], *Maturing Ceylon*, 48).–In an email dated 20 October 2017, Mira Sonntag (Tokyo) refers to the collections of Japanese Christians (around Kanzo Uchimura) for the benefit of Albert Schweitzer's Lambarene Hospital (mentioned in: Nakamura, S. [2011], *Nihon purotesutanto kaigai senkyôshi*. Norimatsu Masayuki kara genzai made [Tokyo]), as well as–vice versa–already in 1876 to the donations of Sri Lankan Christians in the amount of 10 yen in favour of the 'Doshisha College' in Kyoto (mentioned in: '*Shichi'ichi Zappô*', 19.05.1876 p. 2; '*Shichi'ichi Zappô*', 23.03.1877 p. 4).–Japanese philanthropists such as a certain "Mr Ishu" in turn were inspired by the example of Pandita Ramabai and founded orphanages for 825 children in times of famine (as noted in the CP of 21.09.1907 p. 2).

Individual Transregional Networks (as Reflected in the *'Christian Patriot'*)

1. International Conferences

International conferences (and the corresponding organisations) are frequently mentioned in the CP. They met with particular interest when Indians took part–as in Tokyo in 1907 or Edinburgh in 1910[55]–or when questions were dealt with that were also intensively and controversially discussed in Christian India. This applies above all to the conferences (at regional, continental or international level) of the various missions active in India or the events of the denominational world alliances (such as the Lambeth Conferences). An Anglican mission conference in England, for example, which dealt with the "Problems of Native Church Organisation" and had requested statements from "China, Japan, Africa, and other Anglican Mission centres", is discussed and commented on in detail in the CP (CP 25.02.1905 p. 4). But events with a completely different orientation–such as the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893 (which made Swami Vivekananda an internationally known personality) or the 'First Universal Races Congress 1911' in London–also find their way into the columns of the CP[56]. Not all relevant information about Indian-Christian participation in major international events was available to the CP. Although it repeatedly reported on the Third ("ecumenical") World Missionary Conference in New York in 1900, the deep impression left by the appearance of the Indian educator and women's rights activist Lilivati Singh there[57] was not initially mentioned in the CP.

2. 'Indian Christian Associations'

Of central importance in this context was the supra-regional network of associations, which gradually sought to connect Indian Christians in the country itself and in the diaspora. After all, one of the most important goals of the MNCA and the other ICAs was to bring together the scattered and–regionally, socially and denominationally–often fragmented Indian Christian community and to strengthen the awareness of their unity. They saw their task, as repeatedly emphasised, "to weld together into a homogenous whole… the Indian Christian community" and "bringing the isolated members of the community into close touch with one another and uniting them in one common Christian fellowship"[58].

As already noted elsewhere, the gradual expansion of the ICA's took place in parallel with the growing circulation of the CP, which initially found its readers in South India,

55 On Edinburgh 1910 cf. p. 188ff, on Tokyo 1907 p. 199ff.
56 Cf. p. 150. 188. 280.
57 Pronounced in the comment of the American ex-President Benjamin Harrison at the conference; see above chapter IV p. 113 and CP 03.07.1909 p. 3.
58 CP 17.07.1897 p. 4 (Text 38); CP 27.03.1897 p. 4f (Text 39).

then in other provinces and finally throughout India[59]. The number of ICAs, which were either newly founded in various regions along the lines of the MNCA or–when they emerged independently–increasingly merged with it, also grew in the same way. They were quite successful in this expansion policy. The successive vintages of the CP also clearly show the gradual expansion of the 'Indian Christian Associations', both within India and outside the country. In its programmatic review of 19 February 1916 p. 4 (Text 4) on 25 years of its existence, the CP not only counted it among its aims "to promote the communal consciousness of Indian Christians, so widely scattered over India and so sadly divided over other differences". Its central tasks also include, in particular, "to bring the various Christian organisations throughout India, Burma, Ceylon, Straits and South Africa in close touch with each other, and, by recording their activities, help to stimulate and coordinate their efforts". The fact that this happened to a considerable extent can be seen from the changed masthead of the CP of 4 March 1916. From now on, the CP presented itself as "The Leading Organ of the (sc. Indian) Christian Community in India, Burma, Ceylon, Straits and South Africa"[60].

In Rangoon–which had been under British rule since 1852–an ICA was founded in May 1897. By the end of that year, it already had 100 members, although their number later declined and levelled off at between 50 and 70–partly due to the high fluctuation of its Tamil members. It was open to "all local Christians", theoretically including the local Burmese or Chinese, but called itself "Indian", "as the province is now under the Government of India". Like the other ICA's, it maintained a "Friends-in-Need Society which affords relief to the poor and needy Christians of all denominations" from the very beginning. The planned establishment of a library had not yet been realised in 1899. In organisational terms, the Rangoon ICA was affiliated to Madras"[61].

The ICA of Singapore–the date of foundation is not clear–has been mentioned many times in the CP since 1909 at the latest, including a report on an event on abstinence that was "very well attended" by Christians, Hindus, Chinese and Muslims (CP 18.12.1909 p. 6). In the same year, Singapore was the scene of a fierce controversy within the Tamil community there, which was also fought out at length in the letters to the editor columns of the CP and finally cancelled by its editors[62]. In 1910, the Singapore ICA appeared before the colonial authorities as the spokesperson of the 'Indian Christian community of Singapore' (CP 02.07.1910 p. 6).

On 13 August 1913, the CP reports in more detail on a meeting of the ICA in Penang (in present-day Malaysia), at which the association's 1912/13 annual report was adopted. The Association had 45 regular members at this time. Letters of congratulations were sent to prominent members of the Indian community: to V.S. Azariah (on the occasion

59 See chapter II p. 30f.
60 CP 04.03.1916 p. 1 (Text 6.6).
61 CP 02.04.1898 p. 6; CP 12.03.1898 p. 5 ("entered upon an era of great activity"); CP 14.01.1899 p. 3; CP 19.04.1900 p. 3; CP 19.05.1900 p. 3; CP 07.11.1908 p. 4.
62 Cf. CP 21.08.1909 p. 5 (Text 12) and various issues of the CP between 24 July and 2 October of that year.

of his consecration as the first Indian bishop) and to a Mr Cathiraveloo, who had been appointed by the government as the "first Indian Justice of the Peace in the Settlement of Penang". It is specifically mentioned that "the Association during the year received three daily papers and one weekly paper" and thus provided its members with news.

Some associations (e.g. in Ceylon) are repeatedly mentioned briefly in the CP without further specification. Other ICA's are not specifically mentioned (although they do exist, as the example of South Africa shows). Many annual reports and other news from the various places reached the CP only irregularly, which the CP strongly lamented–which does not change the importance of these associations as a contact exchange and contact point for local or travelling Indian Christians in the diaspora.

The idea of a supra-regional "Federation of the existing Indian Christian Associations" was discussed as early as 1899. It was to have its own journal as a mouthpiece and initially be realised, as it were, in a trial run between Bombay and Poona, but then also on a national level (for example as the 'National Indian Christian Association'). This was not to replace the existing churches, but rather to demonstrate unity among Indian Christians "in a spirit of religious freedom" and interdenominational solidarity[63]. This idea was subsequently taken up again and again, modified and placed in a wider geographical context. It could–as suggested by "an Indian Christian" in the CP of 23.03.1912 (p. 7)–also integrate the country's other indigenous Christian organisations (such as NCI, IMS and NMS). Above all, however, it was to be supra-regional in its orientation: "The Association may not be confined to local needs but in cooperation with similar associations in existence and others yet to be brought into existence, its benefits can be felt throughout India, Burma and Ceylon…" (ibid.).

Probably the earliest example of an Indian Christian association outside India is the 'Indian Christian Association of Great Britain', the founding of which was reported in detail in the CP issue of 30 April 1896 (p. 4)[64]. This step was warmly welcomed not only because of the "increasing number of Indian Christian students" who flocked to the United Kingdom year after year and needed the support of their compatriots there, as well as the existence of a sympathising public–"not necessarily connected with Missions"–which showed "a deep interest in Indian Christians". London is also the place where representatives of Indian Christians can intervene in parliament or with the authorities in favour of their community with a chance of success. The objectives of the new organisation are described as follows:

> "1. to bring together the Indian Christians residing in Great Britain, and to cement the relations between Indians and Europeans" […]

63 CP 14.01.1899 p. 3+4; CP 28.01.1899 p. 5 +6.
64 A further report, with names mentioned, is available in CP 22 October 1896 p. 5.

> "3. to expose the evil of race prejudice, whenever and wherever practised, and to encourage the brotherhood of mankind";
>
> "4. to bear the interest of the Indian Christian community, and, through periodical papers of the Association etc., to help the interchange of thought between India and England, and between the Indian Christians of all parts of India and the colonies, promoting spirituality, brotherliness and love among them" […].

The CP warmly recommends "all patriotic Indian Christians" as well as the Indian associations to support this new association and also advertises its new journal 'The Indian Christian' (which can be viewed by interested parties in the editorial offices of the CP in Madras). This journal in turn emphasises the supra-denominational character of the new association in a special way and, from a distance in the British metropolis, takes a glorifying view of Indian Thoma Christianity, whose church–'the ancient Christian Church of India'–is older than all Western missions. It had long existed, the "beloved mother church of India", "before Rome and England sent out their missionaries", and was free from the "curse of denominationalism" and the "sectarianism" of the Euro-American missionaries. It still exists today–it is claimed somewhat unsuspectingly–"in its original simplicity", which is why it is described as a model for a future interdenominational union of Indian Christians[65].

3. Indigenous Missionary Societies and Activities

A large number of transregional contacts also resulted from the activities of indigenous Christian missionary societies in India and neighbouring regions.

a. The 'National Missionary Society of India' (NMS)–the first nationwide self-organisation of Indian Christians–has already been discussed elsewhere[66]. It was deliberately founded in 1905 in Serampore (the starting point of the western-modern mission on the subcontinent) as an initiative of indigenous Christians and followed the motto "Indian men, Indian money, Indian leadership". The founding members also included participants from Burma and Ceylon. The NMS was propagated by its founders as an expression of Indian-Christian patriotism and was welcomed by many followers as a sign of Christian "Swadeshism". The NMS took great care not to be perceived as a competitor to the Protestant missionary organisations already active in the country. The aim was to evangelise the 'unoccupied fields'–i.e. regions with little or no Western missionary presence–in India and neighbouring countries. At the same time, the aim was "to lay on Indian Christians the burden of responsibility for the evangelization of their own country and neighbouring lands"[67].

65 '*Indian Christian Guardian*' I (1897) 2ff. 29f. 48ff. 65ff; II (1898) 9ff. 11ff. 46ff. 60ff. 69; III (1899) 7ff.
66 See chapter III p. 130ff.
67 "Constitution" of the NMS, according to CP 20.01.1906 p. 4 (Text 42).–A map with an overview of the most important "mission fields" of the NMS can be found in: EBRIGHT (1944), *National Missionary Society*, p. 0 (inside cover page). The Indian NMS still exists today.

Nevertheless, the emphasis on the Indian initiative repeatedly turned into a latent independentism ("India is for the Indians"), combined with the demand "(that) foreigners should retreat"[68].

b. The NMS was by no means the only indigenous Christian missionary organisation. Around the turn of the century, similar initiatives by indigenous Christians were multiplying in various regions of Asia, which then mutually reinforced each other. As early as 1880, the vision of an evangelisation of the entire continent by Indian Christians was published in an Indian magazine[69]. However, such activities experienced an enormous upswing from 1900 (and even more so from 1905). In contrast to the 19th century–as the "century of missions"–the 20th century, as the CP programmatically noted at its beginning, opened the era of "native Christians" and "native churches", characterised by "the self-support, the self-government and the self-extension of the native churches"[70]. And of these 'three selves', the goal of self-extension was obviously the quickest and most direct to realise.

c. In July 1900, the CP reports on the founding of the 'Jaffna Student Foreign Missionary Society'. It is described as a historic event and strongly recommended for Christian India to emulate. Because "for the first time" in modern history, a society financed and controlled "exclusively" by indigenous Christians had sent its own "indigenous missionaries" to foreign countries[71]. The aim of this indigenous initiative was "to send the Gospel to Tamil-speaking people in neglected districts of other lands, such as South India, the Strait Settlements, and South Africa". A first volunteer has already been selected for Tondi on the east coast of India–supported by the new organisation, which already has over one hundred members and is also supported by numerous female sponsors. "If the Native Church in Ceylon can send men to save India, what are the Christians of India going to do for the evangelisation of their own land?" the report concludes. "If after thorough trial Native Christians of the same race and character as the Tamils of South India prove themselves worthy and competent for self-support, self-government, and self-sacrifice for missionary activity, has not the time come for an advance in these respects on the part of our Indian Christians?"[72].

68 Thus in a letter to the editor to the CP of 21 August 1909 p. 5 (under the heading "Swedesism" [sic]).
69 "The day will come when the Indian Church will send the Gospel to the different countries of Asia" ('*Indian Christian Herald*' 05.11.1880).
70 CP 28.09.1901 suppl. 1 (Text 13).
71 CP 28.07.1900 p. 3 (Text 40): "We believe it is the first time in the history of modern missions in any church or in any country where mission churches have organised a Society for Foreign missions to *send to another country their own native missionaries, supported by their own native churches, and controlled exclusively by a thoroughly organised Native Christian Foreign Missionary Society*. Jaffna sets an example to the Christian communities of India in its missionary spirit" (emphasis KK).
72 The 'Jaffna Student Foreign Missionary Society' attracted a great deal of attention from the missionary public. It is mentioned, for example, in: MOTT (1910), *Decisive Hour,* 207; MOTT (1917), in: *International Review of Mission* VI, 271ff; PAUL (1974), *Thondi Mission;* ABCFM–*Report* 1901, 88.

d. One of the people who were inspired by the Jaffna students' experiment was V.S. Azariah, the first Indian YMCA secretary, who was later also one of the driving forces behind the founding of the NMS. In 1903, the 'Indian Missionary Society of Tinnevelly' (IMS) was founded in Tinnevelly in southern India with his active involvement, which, among other things, initiated an indigenous mission among the Telugus. "The society", reported the CP in April 1904, "is managed entirely by Indians", although it was under the patronage of the Anglican bishop of the diocese. It was a first step towards the declared goal of self-Christianisation of India, in accordance with the motto that was later modified many times: "If India is to be won for Christ, it is to be by her sons and daughters"[73]. It is true that Indian missionaries from this region had already been active in other areas, for example among the hill tribes in the Kurnool District and the Nilgiris or among the Telugus and Tamils in Natal in South Africa. However, this was done on behalf of a Western organisation (in this case the American Baptists), whereas the IMS as an Indian initiative marks a new stage. "Azariah's Indian Christian movements at the turn of the century took a new step by establishing autonomous missionary societies with self-governing and self-supporting organisational structures for sending Indian missionaries throughout India and abroad to evangelize 'foreigners'"[74].
e. Other indigenous Christian endeavours followed. In 1904, the CP reported on the 'Indian Baptist Missionary Society', which had been founded six years earlier, around 1898. "This Society is not financially connected with the Baptist Missionary Society, but it is entirely dependent upon the Christians themselves". Its area of operation was in Ramgar (Chittagong), and in Angul (Orissa) (CP 02.04.1904 p. 2).– An article in the CP of 8 June 1912 (p. 2) gives an overview of 'the indigenous missions in India' and mentions–in addition to the 'National Church of India' (NCI), the NMS and the Tinnevelly Mission (IMS)–a 'Madras Tamil Mission'. In the same year, the CP reports on the evangelistic activities of the 'Malabar Mar Thoma Syrian Christian Association', founded in 1888, under the heading "The Indigenous Mission Field". The thrust of the report was that the account showed "what a purely Indian Church could do when left to itself" (CP 30 March 1912 p. 4).
f. The Indian NMS also inspired similar endeavours in other countries. In 1915, the CP reported on the 'Ceylon National Missionary Society'. Its aim was "to work among the submergent classes in unoccupied fields" (CP 10.04.1915 p. 5). In India itself, a 'Lutheran National Missionary Society' was also founded in 1916[75]. Even in distant South Africa, reference was made to the example of the Indian NMS in order to promote similar endeavours among black Christians (CP 09.06.1906 p. 2). The CP,

73 CP 09.04.1904 p. 2; CP 27.10.1906 p. 3.
74 HARPER (2000), *Shadow of the Mahatma*, 74f.; cf. the entire section p. 72–90 ("From Foreign to Indigenous Mission"). The IMS differed from the later founded NMS, among other things, in its different social background (Nadar caste–Brahmin caste): HARPER (2000), *Shadow of the Mahatma,* 88.
75 EBRIGHT (1944), *National Missionary Society*, 172–178.

for its part, repeatedly reported on corresponding endeavours by Indian (or Tamil) Christians in South Africa. Thus, as mentioned, in 1900 on the part of the Jaffna Students Foreign Mission Society, in 1906 about three "Indian missionries" in the service of the Indian Missionary Society of Tinnevelly[76] or about the work of the Indian pioneer missionary John Rangiah, who was sent to South Africa in 1903 by the Telugu Baptist Home Missionary Society. He built a total of 10 churches in Pietermaritzburg, Durban and Natal and established a strong Indian Baptist community[77].

g. We also learn of the widespread activities of Indian evangelists from a report to the Edinburgh World Mission Conference in 1910: "There has been a movement among our Indian Christian workers", according to a note by the American Presbyterian W.J. Wanless, "to leave India and go and work among the Indian people who have gone to the Fiji islands. A few have already gone, and I learned from the secretary of the movement that there have been volunteers from among the Hindustani Christians to go to the Fiji islands, far beyond the possibilities of taking them. There are also large numbers of the people of India who have gone to Africa, and there are a number of Christians who are anxious and desirous to go to Africa to take up Mission work among their countrymen who are in that great continent. This I hope, before long, will be undertaken, and India will be doing its evangelistic work among its own people in Burmah, Malaysia, Borneo, Java, Fiji Islands, and the great African continent"[78]. How many of these evangelists went on behalf of established societies or as part of an Indian initiative remains an open question. But even in the case of the evangelists sent by a Western mission, the motivation to make themselves available for this task was probably decisive.

h. Among the various indigenous initiatives, the S.C.K. Rutnam project deserves special attention, as it is closely linked to a controversy about the "racism" of Euro-American missionaries. This debate was also carried out in the letters columns of the CP[79]. S.C. Kanaga Rutnam (1869–1929), who came from a respected Tamil pastor's family in the Jaffna region, had received an excellent education in India ('Christian Madras College'), Great Britain and the USA ('Princeton Theological Seminary'), where he also met his future wife–a Canadian missionary who

76 CP 27.10.1906 p. 3 ("Mission work among the Indians" (see chapter V p. 177ff. 179ff.).

77 CP 13.08.1910 p. 6 (about John Rangiah): "The mission in South Africa had its origin in this way: Some years ago the Telugu Christians in South India thought that it was about time that they began some mission work on their own account and so they organised what is known as the Home mission society. The object was to send native evangelists to a number of isolated tribes not reached by the missionaries. […] Since his arrival in Natal some seven years ago, John has organised six churches […] All these six churches are self-supporting… highly respected".–On John Rangiah, see p. 179ff; as well as: thepattas.blogspot.ch/2009/08/rev-john-rangiah-unsung-hero-of world.html (accessed 23 January 2018). Rangiah was also one of the Asian delegates at the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference in 1910.

78 WMC–*Questionnaire Replies (Microfiche)*: W.J. WANLESS, Commission I, Question IX:

79 CP 30.10.1897 p. 3 ("The Case of Mr S.C. Rutnam"); CP 21.08.1897 p. 4.

worked in Sri Lanka. Despite his academic and other qualifications, he was refused equal employment as a missionary by the American Congregationalists (ABCFM), whereupon he opened his own–"independent"–mission in a remote district of Sri Lanka, which in turn met with missionary criticism (also because of the associated fundraising activities in the USA). In a pamphlet "Race agonism in Christian missions" published in 1899, he attacked the "suicidal policy" of many (by no means all) Euro-American missions, which refused "to appoint native Christians, however qualified they might be, to the status, position and responsibility [sc. and salary] of foreign missionary". What is also remarkable about this controversy, which dragged on for years, is the international or pan-Asian horizon of the dispute: "The minds of leading native Christians, throughout India and Ceylon in regard to this policy"–the unequal treatment of native Christians and Western missionaries–"is well-known; and they have no hesitation in denouncing it as unjust, uncharitable and unchristian. We know of leading native Christians of Japan, China, India, Syria, Armenia, Bulgaria, etc., and they are also of the same conviction"[80].

4. Connections Within the Indian Diaspora

According to a participant at the Edinburgh Conference in 1910, Indian evangelists were active in the diaspora among their compatriots "in Burmah, Malaysia, Borneo, Java, Fiji Islands, and the great African continent"[81]. It is well known that there was a widespread Indian diaspora in South Asia and other regions, accelerated by the system of indentured labour, among other things. This allowed Indian labour to circulate between the colonies of the British Empire (as well as outside it)[82]. That it was an important factor in both the controlled and spontaneous spread of Christianity among Indians is equally obvious, although it has not yet been systematically researched to any extent.

80 RUTNAM (1899), *Race Antagonism in Christian missions*, 72ff. 75f (in it also in p. 86 quotations from the CP of 23 April 1898); by the same author and with an analogous thrust, the later published work "An Oriental study of Foreign Missions" (London 1920), which was already completed in 1908. On Rutnam cf. STRONG (1910), *Story of the American Board;* KUMARI (1993), *Sr. Mary Rutnam*, 10–Mention should also be made of the '*India Christian Mission*', an independentist Anglo-Indian initiative founded in 1897. It set itself the goal of "the evangelisation of hitherto unmissioned parts of India" through "cooperation with able and spiritual Indian native workers" and was active not only in India, but also in Nepal and Tibet. Details on this based on autobiographical reports in: DARLING (1991), *Story of a Christian Mission*, 41. 67ff.–References to various local initiatives (mostly from later times) can be found in the anthology by: HEDLUND (2000a), *Christianity is Indian* (e.g. p. 208–220 [overview]; p. 225–262 [Catholic Thoma Christians]; p. 270–287 ['Savara Tribal Church of Srikakulam']).

81 WMC–*Questionnaire Replies (Microfiche)*: W.J. WANLESSE: Commission I, Question IX.

82 On the system of 'indentured labour' cf. TINKER (1974), *A New System of Slavery*; on migration and the formation of an Indian diaspora in the 19th and early 20th centuries in general cf. MARKOVITS / POUCHEPADASS et.al. (2003), *Society and Circulation* (on South Asia); PEARSON (1998), "Indians in East Africa"; etc. On the one hand, this migration led to a Hindu presence in regions such as the Caribbean or East Africa, where it was previously unknown (for details see VERTOVEC [2000], *The Hindu Diaspora;* BAUMANN [2003], *Alte Götter in neuer Heimat*; etc.). At the same time, however, it was a prerequisite for various forms of spontaneous (and often non-missionary) spread of Christianity among the "coolies" and other Indian migrants outside the motherland (cf. also: JACOBSEN/RAJ [2008], *South Asian Christian Diaspora*).

In his booklet "The Dispersion of the Tamil Church", first published in 1940, N.C. Sargant lists numerous places and regions where congregations were formed among Tamil migrants, often without prior activities by Western missionaries[83]. In any case, there were numerous connections between the Christian community in South India and the Indian diaspora abroad, which are also reflected in the columns of the CP.

"Many thousands of Indian coolies have emigrated to the estates of the hills in Ceylon–to the tea gardens of Natal-to the sugar plantations of West Indies and British Guiana–and to various islands of the South Seas", notes the CP in a report dated CP 18 June 1904 (p. 6). At the same time, it refers to the evangelising potential of these migrant communities.–An article in the CP of 24 May 1902 (p. 4) reports on the state-sponsored "emigration of natives of India to the waste lands of East and central Africa". It mentions Fiji, "the Straits", Mauritius and Madagascar as regions "to all of which Indians emigrate yearly".–"Away from India"–an article in the CP of 28 August 1909 (p. 7)–summarises the 'Annual Report on Emigration'; it quantifies the proportion of Indians in British and other colonies[84]. The CP repeatedly refers to the exemplary political conditions in Mauritius. The island was the only British crown colony, according to the CP on 3 November 1900 (p. 4), "in which Indians possess equal political rights and privileges with the European and other inhabitants of the island".–In a reprinted article under the heading "Indians in East Africa", East Africa is described as a country that was eminently suitable for colonisation by Indians due to its climate and fertile soil. There is already a 'Hindu Union' there (CP 14.10.05 p. 6).

There were also many Christians among the Indians living overseas. "There are 15,000 Indian coolies in Jamaica", according to a note in the CP of 19 July 1902 (p. 1). "A large number of them are baptised Christians". This could lead to some very peculiar connections. On 16 May 1903 (p. 3), for example, the CP printed a letter or a wanted ad ("Information wanted") from the Caribbean island in which an Indian Christian living there searched for his brother, with whom he had had no contact since childhood. "We parted from each other in our infancy. I grew up in the West Indies and subsequently embraced the Christian religion. I have often thought of my brother's spiritual need and if he is still living and can be successfully traced out by some Christian friends in India".

83 Sargant (2nd edition 1962), *Dispersion of the Tamil Church*. For the period 1830–1920, he deals with their expansion within India (p. 23ff) as well as to Ceylon (p. 57ff), Burma (p. 68ff), the Nicobar Islands (p. 74ff), "Malaya" (Singapore, Penang, Perak) (p. 81ff), Malabar (p. 93ff), Mauritius (important as a stopover on the way to India: p. 96ff), South Africa (p. 104ff), British Guiana (p. 112ff), Trinidad and Fiji (p. 120ff) and Uganda (p. 121ff). In most of these areas, an Indian-Christian presence had existed since the 1850s or 1860s at the latest, which began repeatedly before (or independently of) the arrival of European missionaries (cf. e.g. p. 64. 74. 98. 126).–For individual case studies see: Jeyaraj (2002), "Missionary Attempts of Tamil Protestant Christians", 131–144 (especially on East Africa); Jeyaraj (2014), "Claiming Indian Values", 153–172 (Indian Christians in British Guiana); Moffett (2005), *Christianity in Asia* II, 609 (Singapore); Hunt / Hing / Roxborough (1992), *Christianity in Malaysia,* 39f.

84 CP 28.08.1909 p. 7. The following figures are given for 1907: 264,000 for Mauritius, 133,000 in Demerara, approx. 100,000 each in Trinidad and Natal, totalling 668,000. It is unclear from this list whether these figures refer only to migrants embarked from Calcutta or to all Indian ports.

This letter was initially addressed to a Christian magazine, probably in the Caribbean (the 'Gyan Patrika'), from where it was forwarded to the CP.–On 12 June 1909 (p. 5), the CP informs about the rich book production of the Madras branch of the British Bible Society in the various Indian languages and then reports on its dispatch to "Ceylon, Burma and the Strait settlements and to Natal, West Indies, South Sea islands and other parts where Indian emigrants are settled".–Tamil pastors from India are engaged to serve in the diaspora communities. This was the case in Singapore at the Anglican St Andrew's Tamil Mission there, at the urging of the local Tamil community, as we can see from a note in the CP of 19 February 1910 (p. 7)[85].

The relationship between South Indian Christians and their compatriots and co-religionists living in South Africa has already been discussed elsewhere[86]. Another interesting example is Fiji–the island in the Pacific Ocean, which became the destination of intensive Indian labour migration from 1879[87]. On 18 June 1904, the CP printed an appeal from the English Methodist Mission, which was looking for two married Indian catechists who spoke Hindi or Urdu to work in Fiji. The reason given by the CP in support of this call is particularly noteworthy: There are already a large number of free Indians in Fiji who have settled there permanently. "If the present decrease in the native population of Fiji continues and the importation of Indians continues at anything like the same rate as it now does, it is absolutely certain that Fiji will become practically an Indian colony"–and thus offers the best conditions for evangelisation work among the Indians living there.–There are scattered reports in the CP about the religious life of the Christian Indians on the island. In December 1911, the Rev. Arthur T. Milgrew of the Anglican 'Cooli Mission' in Fiji sent a letter to the CP, which the latter printed on 6 January 1912 (p. 5). In it, he complains about the lack of church and social ties of many Tamil and Telugu-speaking Christians from India ("They claim to be Christians but never come except when in trouble") and recommends better church care for them even before they leave Madras: "May a suggestion be made to Madras Christian workers? Why not regularly visit the Emigration Depot? Thousands leave Madras every year many of whom claim to be baptised". Moreover, they should not leave without their wives.–On the other hand, we learn of signs of lasting solidarity and a lively exchange. These include the news of donations from Indian Christians in Fiji for the victims of "the Indian famine" (CP 04.08.1900 p. 6).

85 Cf also CP 08.10.1898 p. 1: "A Church for the Tamil Christian congregation at Taipeng, Penang".–Indian Christians and students in Great Britain represent a separate topic. See chapter VI p. 212f. and CP 30.01.1912 p. 6.
86 See chapter p. 177ff.
87 On the beginnings of Indian labour migration to Fiji (from 1879) and Christian missionary work among Indians there (initially by Methodists from 1892) cf.: LANGE (2005), *Island Missionaries*, 138; BARRETT (2001), *World Christian Encyclopedia* I, 274–277 ("Work among Indians began in 1897"); individual references to Anglican activities, for example in: '*The Mission Field*' (SPG) 1908 p. 32. 121f.

5. Revivals within and outside India, Transnational Prayer Communities

Pentecostal networks (and in particular connections to the American Azusa Street Revival movement that emerged in 1906) are still largely outside the CP's horizon or do not play a major role there.

This applies to the period under investigation up to around 1914, although the journal reports extensively and regularly on the various revival movements of 1905/07 (in a separate section entitled "The Revival"), both within the mission churches of India and outside the country. The focus here is initially (from January 1905) on the revival movement in Wales, with analogue movements in China, Madagascar, "Africa" (Congo) and Jamaica coming much later[88]. As far as developments in India itself were concerned, the revival in the Khassia Mountains in Assam initially dominated the headlines of the CP from March/April 1905. Later, there were more and more reports from other parts of the country[89]. "Is the Revival Coming to India", asked the CP on 3 June 1905 (p. 4), with reference to reports "reaching us incessantly from Assam". In Michael Bergunder's judgement, however, this Khassia Revival of 1905 had "no relation to the Pentecostal movement"[90]. The same applies to the first missionary endeavours of Euro-American Pentecostal activists in India since 1907, which at best reached a few Western missionaries to India and hardly any Indians. According to Bergunder, they should therefore be seen less as "starting points" and more as "forerunners" of the later Indian Pentecostal movement[91]. In the CP itself, the activities of Pentecostal evangelists in India were not recognised at all for a long time.

Instead, the CP (or the widely quoted reports by Welsh missionaries and indigenous actors from north-east India) emphasises the close connection between the revival movement in Wales and that in Assam. "The revival which is doing so much good in Wales is influencing the Khassia Christians"[92]. From Assam, the spark then spread to other "mission stations" in India[93]. The Welsh revival is primarily described as an "ethical revival" (CP 04.02.1907 p. 4f). As such, however, a spiritual awakening was also urgently needed among Indian Christians[94]. A critical examination of the central importance of speaking in tongues–one of the prominent features of the American Azusa movement–

88 CP 01.09.1906 p. 3 ("The Revival in China"–"A Missionary writes"); CP 22.09.1906 p. 3 ("The Revival in Madagascar"–report by a French missionary); CP 27.01.1906 p. 3 ("The Revival–An African Revival", with news from the Catholic 'Congo Balolo Mission'); Jamaica: CP 07.04.1906 p. 3 (report by a "Correspondent").

89 See, for example, the list of Indian places in CP 15/09/1906 p. 3: "It is just 12 months since we began to hear of the great revival in Wales…. All over India the Revival is [sc. now] spreading", according to a comment in CP 06.01.1906 p. 4.

90 Bergunder (1999), *Die südindische Pfingstbewegung*, 11 note 4; also: Downs (1992), *North East India*, 95f.

91 Bergunder (1999), *The South Indian Pentecostal Movement*, 13.

92 CP 11.03.1905 p. 2; similarly: CP 15.04.1905 p. 6; CP 17.06.1905 p. 3; etc.–"The God of Wales is surely our God [sc. in India] also": CP 06.01.1906 p. 4.

93 CP 14.03.1908 p. 6: "Two and three years ago God used the Revival in the Khassia hills to kindle a Revival in many a mission station in India"–according to the Assamite pastor J. Pengwern Jones.

94 "Such a revival, we need scarcely say, is badly needed in this city [sc. of Madras], wether among Tamil or English speaking Christians" (CP 13.07.1907 p. 4).

can be found in the CP of 28 February 1908, for example, where glossolalia is described as an indispensable proof of possession of the Spirit for "every believer" and is rejected as unbiblical[95]. In the CP, an indigenous protagonist of the Assam Revival also critically distances himself from the exaggerated enthusiasm of some contemporaries: "The word 'Pentecost' is used these days very freely by certain Christians. We read of Pentecostal baptism, Pentecostal blessings, etc." (CP 14.03.1908 p. 6).

Around 1907, Pandita Ramabai had long been an internationally recognised personality. In the CP, however, she is primarily perceived as a social reformer and model of an emancipated (and educated) Indian Christian[96]–and less as a charismatic, despite repeated mention of the Mukti revival of the years 1905 to 1907 in the CP[97]. The Mukti Mission, which she founded, did not see itself "as a Pentecostal revival in retrospect of the events of 1905–07". In this respect, popular Pentecostal historiography, according to Michael Bergunder, "wrongly sees the Mukti Mission as the beginning of the Indian Pentecostal movement"[98]. However, this instrumentalisation already began during Pandita's lifetime, as Yan Suarsana has shown in detail in his study on "Pandita Ramabai and the Invention of Pentecostalism". Only after–according to his analysis–the Mukti revival in the Pentecostal press had been "freed from its historical, personal and theological 'ballast'" could "this narrative now be placed at the service of the Pentecostal narrative in any way"[99].

For the CP itself, the swelling news flow of revivals inside and outside India is largely understood in the categories of a transnational prayer movement (which had been largely inspired by the 'Keswick Convention' of 1902) that was particularly widespread in evangelical circles[100]. This movement expected the united prayer of Christians in different countries to bring about the worldwide outpouring of the Holy Spirit in accordance with the biblical prophecy of Joel. "Let us", according to an article in the CP on 27 January 1906 (p. 5), "here in the East blend our supplications with our fellow-believers… in the West, that so in answer to these united prayers, offered up at the same time, there may come a still wider opening of the windows of heaven". This community of prayer

95 CP 28.02.1908 p. 5 ("The Gift of Tongues"); however, this debate was not directly related to India, but to California and the "tongue movement" or "Los Angeles movement" there.

96 "One of the most distinguished women and benefactresses in India"–so her characterisation in CP 15.09.1906 (p. 3), developed above all in contrast to the traditional image of women in Hinduism. Similarly, Pandita was also honoured by progressive non-Christian voices such as the 'Indian Social Reformer', who described her as "one of the most remarkable women that India has ever produced" (quoted in CP 31.08.1907 p. 3).–On the numerous 'Ramabai Circles' in the USA, which supported the Pandita's fight against poverty and child marriages as early as the 1890s, cf. Tyrell (2010), *Reforming the World*, 99.

97 E.g. CP 03.03.1906 p. 3 ("The Revival").

98 Bergunder (1999), *Die südindische Pfingstbewegung,* **12.**

99 Suarsana(2013), *Pandita Ramabai*, 313; cf. in particular chapter 4.6: "The Mukti Revival in the Pentecostal Press" (p. 253–281); chapter 5.2: "Narratives about the Mukti Revival" (p. 296–313); and chapter 6.2: "The Mukti Revival in Pentecostal Historiography" (p. 339–362).–On the early Pentecostal movement as a transnational phenomenon cf. Stanley (2018), *Twentieth Century*, 289ff.

100 Important here is the paper *'Life of Faith'* repeatedly quoted in the CP (e.g. in CP 14.02.1903 p. 6: "The Circle of Prayer for World Wide Revival"; CP 01.04.1905 p. 4: CP 27.01.1906 p. 1; etc.).

between Christians in East and West was to a certain extent based on *reciprocity*. The prayers of English (and other) Christians *for India* have, according to the same article, already found a visible answer in the current signs of an Indian revival. Now it is time to look in the opposite direction and, conversely, to hold a week of prayer *for England* in India ("India prays for England"). "The expectation of a world-wide Revival is no vain and empty dream" (CP 14.04.1906 p. 3).

The *YMCA* as a Pan-Asian Network

The YMCA also played a particularly important role as a supra-regional contact network for Indian Christians. Although originally founded in the West, the 'Young Men's Christian Associations' gained a considerable degree of independence relatively early on, especially in Asia. They developed into a training ground for future indigenous leaders and a platform for exchange between Christian elites from different parts of the continent. This is particularly true of India, where numerous Christian leaders–in church and politics–have emerged from the ranks of the YMCA. These include Kali Charan Banerji, professor at Calcutta University and high court lawyer, delegate of the Indian National Congress (INC) and recognised spokesman of the Christian community in Bengal; Samuel Satthianadhan, professor of philosophy at Presidency College in Madras and first president of the National Council of Indian YMCAs formed in 1891; V.S. Azariah, the first Indian secretary of the YMCA and later the first Indian bishop of the country's Anglican Church; K.T. Paul, who succeeded Azariah as secretary and was the Christian delegate to the Joint Committee of the British Parliament on the regulation of voting rights for religious minorities in India in 1931; and S.K. Datta, who became general secretary and eventually president of the Indian YMCA and was the Protestant representative at the second Round Table Conference in London in 1931.

The Indian YMCA, according to Chandra Mallampali, "with its extensive network throughout India had become a training centre for Indian Christian leadership". This was linked to a global-ecumenical perspective. The commitment of the early Indian leaders in the YMCA "led them to integrate their concern for Indian conditions with their participation in a worldwide Protestant *ecumene.*"[101] At the same time, the Indian YMCAs developed into a meeting place for modern urban elites, especially in the big cities. It is true that the beginnings of the Indian YMCA were quite difficult. Individual regional associations (which were isolated from each other for a long time) had existed since 1854. But a turning point came in 1890 when the association, which had previously been reserved primarily for European members, was opened up to *all* Indians, regardless of race and religion[102]. As was to be expected, this liberalism was also criticised by conservative circles[103]. Overall, however, according to the CP in 1898, looking back on

101 Mallampali (2004), *Christians and Public Life*, 100. 88; similarly David (1992), *YMCA and the Making of Modern India,* 106: "The (sc. Indian) YMCA had become an institution that trained Christian leaders"; Weber (1966), *Asia,* 92.98: "training ground for indigenous leadership,… opportunities for lay initiative and manifestation of Christian unity".–Literature on the Indian YMCA: David (1992), *The YMCA and the Making of Modern India,* passim; David, "National Movement", 317–341; Weber (1966), Asia, 91–114; Mallampali (2004), *Christians and Public Life*, 88ff. 98–102; Koschorke (2024d), "YMCA as a Platform of Encounter and Transregional Network", 60–84.

102 David (1992), *The YMCA and the Making of Modern India,* 17ff. 24ff.

103 Thus the High Church SPG in Calcutta: "more an institution for social and physical benefits that for spiritual results" (CP 18.06.1898 p. 5).

eight years of the YMCA in Madras, the "cosmopolitan" character of the association was emphatically welcomed "by people of all classes and creeds in the city of Madras":

> "We do not think that there is any organisation that has, in such a short time, compelled recognition and support from Hindus, Mohammedan and Christians–from Europeans and natives of all classes–and from communities representing varied and even conflicting interests (…) Of the 424 young men that are members of the association and its branches, as many as 162 are Hindus, and every day one them is aware that the institution to which they belong is a Young Men's Christian Association, and that the one main object of its founders is to led men to Christ"[104].

Attractive to urban, western-educated elites from different backgrounds, the YMCA played an important role in the city's public life. Lectures on a variety of topics[105] attracted a wide audience. An interfaith solidarity meeting of the 'Indian South Africa League', for example, to support fellow Indians in Natal took place in Madras in October 1909 in the YMCA building there (CP 23.10.1909 p. 7–Text 104). The contacts surrounding the Japanese delegation's visit to India in 1906 were also essentially mediated through YMCA channels, both in terms of the invitation of the Japanese guests by the Indians and the implementation of the visit in its individual stations (by local YMCA committees) and the planned return visits by Indian representatives to Japan[106]. News about the Japanese YMCA as reflected in Japanese newspapers was published in the CP, as was the condolence telegram from the Japanese YMCA on the death of the Grand Seigneur of the Madras Protestants, Dr S. Satthianadhan[107].–Contacts with representatives of the Chinese YMCA, for example, were initially literary–through the exchange of journals and their mutual commentary[108] and translation[109] (and later through events such as Tokyo 1907).–Articles in the CP on the YMCA as an international movement emphasised both its presence in numerous countries in the Orient (and Latin America) and its "power of adaptation", which had proved relevant in "the complex life of the young men of other races and religions".[110]

The YMCA also appears to be a movement essentially supported by the local indigenous elites *outside of the Indian context*–particularly in North East Asia. In *Japan,* the YMCA there has recently been characterised as a "homegrown movement" among mem-

104 CP 19.02.1898 p. 4–italics in original.
105 See for example CP 12.05.1898 p. 7: CP 16.04.1898 p. 3; CP 30.07.1898 p. 3; CP 17.09.1898 p. 1; CP 19.11.1898 p. 3.
106 See above chapter VI p. 198f. 199ff.
107 CP 16.06.1906 p. 8; CP 07.07.1906 p. 6.
108 E.g. CP 11.08.1906 p. 6 (Text 107): "A Chinese Magazine" (about an issue of 'Chinese Young Man') is characterised as exemplary because "all the original articles in the issue before us are written by Chinese gentlemen".
109 Mutual translation: see p. 225f.
110 For example, in the (reprinted) article "The Y.M.C.A. in Mission Lands" in the CP of 11 June 1904 p. 6, with detailed statistical data for the year 1903.

bers of the educated upper class, which was often based on local initiatives, "and its leadership was Japanese rather than foreign"[111]. In *Korea,* on the other hand, the YMCA was mainly recruited from the ranks of Korean Christians with a university education. On the other hand, it also spread rapidly in the countryside from 1904/05. Local and "unauthorised" foundations played an important role in this development. The Korean YMCA was a link to the small Christian elite in Japan, the country which, on the one hand, was admired as a modernising role model and, on the other, was increasingly perceived as an occupying threat. At the same time, it built up a wide range of international contacts. "In Korea, YMCA education helped link Korean Christian students to both the publics of imperial Japan and global Protestantism"[112]. In *China*, the YMCA played an increasingly important role in both the Christianisation and networking of Chinese students abroad and other diaspora elites at the beginning of the 20th century.

There were between 15,000 and 16,000 Chinese students from all parts of the empire in Tokyo, the CP reported on 9 March 1907 (p. 5–Text 114) on the basis of missionary sources. The 'Chinese YMCA' was founded in the Japanese capital in 1908 to look after them, moving into a magnificent building there in 1912 and publishing its own newsletter ('The Chinese Student in Japan' / 生學東留國中) from 1908[113]. One of its great significance lies in the fact that numerous later functionaries in China, which became a republic in 1911, underwent Christian conversion and socialisation there[114]. In addition to the Chinese (and Japanese) YMCA, there was also a Korean YMCA in Tokyo. This became famous above all because the (failed) Korean Declaration of Independence was proclaimed there on 1 March 1919.

Ian Tyrell has described the YMCA as a "thoroughly transnational" movement.[115] As already mentioned, this is particularly true for Asia, as Hans-Ruedi Weber observed in his classic study on the beginnings of the Asian ecumenical movement.[116] The local associations in the various countries–increasingly under local leadership and increasingly acting autonomously–communicated more and more directly with each other. As was to be expected, journals played an important role in the first stage of contact. They were exchanged, quoted and, where possible, translated. The CP, for example, praises the periodical '*China's Young Men*', the organ of the Chinese YMCA, by emphasising that "all the original articles… are written by Chinese gentlemen" in this issue.[117] For its part,

111 Shapiro (n.d.), "Imperial Japan", 5; cf. Shapiro (2010), *Christian Culture and Military Rule*.
112 Shapiro (2018), "Korean Christianity", 318.
113 Detailed archival material on the Chinese YMCA in Tokyo can be found in: Yale University, Dale Mission Library / Record 46, Box 227, Folder 1769; cf. also: Dwight (1912), "Chinese YMCA", 109–123; Ng (2014), "Role of Chinese YMCA", 131–140.
114 Cf. CP 27.03.1913 p. 5.
115 Tyrell (2010), *Reforming the World*, 86f.; cf. also Robert (2016), "Christian Transnationalists", 141–156); as well as the institutional history of Shedd et.al. (1955), *History of the World Alliance of YMCAs*; Weber (1966), *Asia*, 91–112.
116 Weber, *Asia and the Ecumenical Movement*, 91–112.
117 CP 11.08.1906 p. 6 (Text 107).

the Chinese magazine contains Chinese translations of texts from its Indian equivalent, the '*Young Men of India*'.[118]. In 1905, the previously bilingual publication '*China's Young Men*' *was* split into a Chinese and an English edition, the former for communication within China and the sinophone community, the latter for exchange with sister organisations in Europe and America and in particular with "our English-reading friends in all parts of Asia".[119] In the English edition of the paper from February 1906, a certain Mr S.K. Tao reports on his experiences on a journey that took him from China to Yokohama and Hawaii to San Francisco. Nowhere had he encountered racial prejudice, and everywhere he had found support and accommodation with YMCA friends. "This world wide movement and great brotherhood link together the East and the West, and served as an introduction everywhere I went".[120].

The broad–and *interreligious*–appeal of the Asian YMCAs can also be seen in the fact that they inspired the formation of Buddhist, Hindu and Muslim rival organisations (as YMBA's, YMHA's, YMMA's) in many countries. A considerable number of the Asian delegates to the League of Nations, founded in 1919/20, came from YMCA circles[121]–another clear indication of the enormous importance of the YMCA's pan-Asian contact networks.

118 For example in '*China's Young Men*' VIII/8 (December 1905), 19.
119 '*China's Young Men*' VIII/8 (December 1905), 24f.
120 *China's Young Men* IX/1 (February 1906), 26–28, here: 28.
121 Gollwitzer (1983), "League of Nations and Afro-Asian Emancipation", 113ff.

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In all of these circles, the signs of a growing pan-Asian consciousness could be observed. The "*awakening of Asia*" is an often repeated topos in the reporting and commentary of the CP[122]; and its frequent references to role models outside India–to be found initially in Africa, but then increasingly in Christian Asia–reveal a growing tendency towards self-localisation within a wider pan-Asian horizon. As repeatedly mentioned, Japan became an important point of reference. What made this "oriental" brother nation so attractive in the eyes of progressive Indian Christians was the combination of Western Christian modernity with Asian traditions.

The *Japanese delegation's visit to India* in 1906 marked an important turning point: "The people of Japan and the people of India are one in the Lord Jesus Christ", according to a letter from the church in Lahore to the Japanese visitors after their departure[123]. They in turn declared on behalf of the churches they represented and the Christian community of their country: "We have an especial regard for India… The people of this country and ourselves are Asiatics, and that forms another bond of union between us"[124]. According to a summary in the CP, the Japanese visit "will unite the churches of India and Japan in the bonds of mutual understanding and sympathy"[125]. Both "oriental" peoples are also united by their common participation in the "oriental" Christ. The Lord Jesus, according to the Japanese in a sermon quoted with approval, "has been taken away by the people of the West, though originally He belonged to us, the people of the East". The Indian listeners welcomed the Japanese attempt to return Him to the "peoples of the East"[126].

The visitors from the Far East explain that Japan takes a critical and selective approach to Western innovations. This also applies to its relationship with Christianity. "We want to take our place by the side of the most civilised nations of the West, not only in material things but also in moral and spiritual things…. So we take Christianity from the West and by means of it, we hope to make ourselves superior Christians to the Westerners"[127]. They also encouraged their Indian hosts to develop a "superior"–and at the same time "Eastern"–form of Christianity. Both "oriental nations", said Motoda in his concluding lecture in Lahore, should join forces: "Let the East rise and stay side by side with the West. Let Indians and Japanese stand and rise in the matter of social and intellectual progress. We should make it *equal if not higher to that of the* West"[128].

122 E.g. CP 01.11.1902 p. 4: "This is a time of great wakening in Asia. Japan, China, India, Korea are all passing through a crisis…"; CP 27.04.1907 p. 4 (Text 50); CP 24.10.1908 p. 4 ("dawn of a new era" in Asia); etc.
123 CP 28.04.1906 p. 3.
124 CP 24.03.1906 p. 3 (Text 112).
125 CP 21.04.1906 p. 4 (Text 111).
126 CP 28.04.1906 p. 3.
127 CP 24.03.1906 p. 3 (Text 112).
128 CP 19.05.1906 p. 5 (emphasis KK).

The *Tokyo Conference of the* WSCF *in 1907*[129], discussed in more detail elsewhere, naturally reinforced the sense of intra-Asian solidarity and connection between Christian leaders from across the continent–especially as in the vast majority of cases they met in person for the first time. As the first ecumenical assembly in Asia with a majority of Asian delegates–in which "for the first time in the history of the Church the leaders of the forces of Christianity from all parts of Asia" met–this event was accorded a "world-historical" significance. The Indian participants in particular had the opportunity to meet a large number of the "most eminent Japanese Christians" and fellow believers from other Asian countries (CP 09.03.1907 p. 5–Text 114). Especially since, as mentioned, the Asian delegates were confronted with a common challenge–the evangelisation of the entire continent "by its own sons". This was emphasised not only by the Indian V.S. Azariah or the Japanese delegates, who intended to send their own missionaries "to every oriental country", but also by the Chinese C.T. Wang, for example. For him, the "students from the Orient" were responsible for the evangelisation of the world "because our Lord (himself) was an Oriental"[130]. Japan was also particularly suitable as an illustration of this programme, as it was a meeting place for numerous students from many parts of the continent–Korea, India, the Philippines, but above all in large numbers and most recently from China–many of whom came into contact with the Christian faith here for the first time. Both Japanese delegates during the conference and the Indian reports in the run-up to the conference pointed this out[131]

In the Tokyo debates on the goal of self-evangelisation in Asia, Azariah had referred to the example of the *Indian* NMS. As an initiative of Indian Christians, the NMS tended to see itself *as part of a larger movement* anyway; and the vision of a "great national missionary organisation among all Asiatic Christians of whom the NMS of India is only a part" was discussed in the columns of the CP (CP 24.10.1908 p.5). A regional "vernacular missionary meeting" in Vellore, India, in 1910, for example, affirmed as "the greatest end of missions… the establishment *in every country* of an indigenous native church, self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating" (CP 08.10.1910 p.6).

The short-lived experiment of an 'East Asian Christian Association', which was intended to bring together representatives from Japan, China and Korea, shows just how much the idea of self-networking among Asian elites was in the air. It was founded in Tokyo in 1908 or 1909 and its founders included various Japanese actors as well as a Chinese Christian who was a member of the Chinese United Church in Tokyo. So far, we only know about this company from a commentary in the Korean newspaper *'Taehan maeil sinbo*' from 12 October 1909, which sharply criticised the project. It saw it as an attempt to undermine the patriotism of Korean Christians and to Japanise Korean

129 See chapter VI p. 199ff.
130 WSCF–*Report Tokyo 1907*, 124. 128. 138. 47.
131 WSCF–*Report Tokyo 1907*, 152; CP 09.03.1907 p. 5 (Text 114).

Christianity[132]. This attempt at a supra-regional organisation of Asian Christians from the east of the continent thus failed due to the growing tensions between Korea and Japan, which then formally occupied the 'Land of Dawn' in 1910. Nevertheless, this initiative remains remarkable as an experiment.

As is well known, only 17 Asian delegates took part in the 'Edinburgh 1910 World Missionary Conference', which played an important role in the debates within India. However, they quickly attained leadership positions in their respective home churches and became motors of the Asian ecumenical movement, which subsequently developed dynamically–and much faster than in the churches of the West. The columns of the CP emphasised both the universal (and cross-racial) character of the Edinburgh Conference and–occasionally–expressed the hope that it would accelerate the emancipation of the churches on the mission fields of Asia and contribute to the "complete independence" of the Indian church (following the example of Japan and Uganda). An important stage in the development of trans-Asian communication structures was then initiated with the Asian 'Continuation Committee Conferences' of 1912/13 (from which first National Missionary *Councils* and later National *Christian Councils* emerged in the various Asian countries). In the CP's report–on the continuation conference in Madras in November 1912–the Indian initiative and demand for "complete equality" between Indians and Europeans was emphasised in particular[133].

132 I owe all information on the 'East Asian Christian Association' to Dr Michael Shapiro, Kyoto (email of 25.10.2016, as well as various conversations in Kyoto in November 2016).

133 CP 30.11.1912 p. 5 (Text 63).–On the topic of the 'beginnings of a Christian Pan-Asianism' cf. also: Koschorke (2018f), "Christliche Internationalismen", 275ff; an Indian-Christian voice from a later period is represented by Datta (1932), *Asiatic Asia*.

CHAPTER VII

VII Perspectives

The 'Christian Patriot' and the Concept of a 'Transregional Indigenous-Christian Public Sphere'

Journals as a "Mouthpiece" of Indigenous Christians in Colonial Public Discourses

"To give publicity to our thoughts" was the lead quote of the concluding comparative study presenting the main results of the Munich-Hermannsburg research project on indigenous Christian journals from Asia and Africa around 1900[1]. This quote has been taken from the journal '*Inkanyso yase Natal*', which was published in Pietermaritzburg (South Africa) between 1889 and 1896. It was proud to be "the first Native Journal in Natal and the second of its kind in South Africa" and aimed to make the "thoughts and opinions" of Africans heard by the government, colonists and missionaries in Natal's colonial society. Because: "It is the general feeling among Natives that their grievances are frequently not heard"[2].

Other indigenous Christian periodicals in Asia and Africa at the turn of the century also saw themselves as "mouthpieces" for their respective communities, whose voices were not recognised in the respective colonial societies. Towards the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, the number of such journals in various regions of what is now known as the Global South increased dramatically. Some existed only briefly, others were of long duration. Some–like the 'Christian Patriot'–were started, from the very beginning, as a purely "indigenous" enterprise of local Christians. Others were initially founded under the umbrella of a missionary institution before they later became–like '*Inkanyiso yase* Natal' in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa–the "sole" property of African Christians. Prominent examples of these journals were the subject of the research project mentioned at the beginning, which was limited to exemplary case studies in India, South Africa, West Africa and the Philippines. In addition, paradigms from other Asian countries (Japan, Korea, China, Taiwan) and from the so-called 'Black Atlantic' were also discussed in the final overall study.

Being recognised as an independent actor was a central concern of these magazines and the communities they represented. This was especially true for India and the 'Christian Patriot'. Its aim was to express the "sentiments and aspirations of Native Christians" to the Indian public (CP 02.01.1896 p. 4) and to serve as a mouthpiece for the emerging

1 Koschorke, K. / Hermann, A. / Ludwig, F. / Burlacioiu, C. (2018a) (eds.), "*To give publicity to our thoughts*". Journals of Asian and African Christians around 1900 and the Making of a Transregional Indigenous Christian 'Public Sphere'/ "*To give publicity to our thoughts*". Journale asiatischer und afrikanischer Christen um 1900 und die Entstehung einer transregionalen indigen-christlichen (Wiesbaden). On the Munich-Hermannsburg research project, see p. 26 FN 9.

2 '*Inkanyiso yase Natal*' 12 March 1891 p. 3 (Text 120).

"Indian Christian community", in contrast to the paternalism of the missionaries on the one hand and the exclusivism and dominance of Hindu nationalist circles on the other. But even within the small Indian Christian community, controversial views were often aired via print media. This can be seen, for example, in the debates between the CP and protagonists of the the national church movement or its disputes with parts of the missionary (and colonial) press[3]. Letters to the editor in the 'Madras Mail' could be answered by sending a reply to the CP and vice versa.

In general, editing or possessing an own journal was seen as an act of emancipation and proof of progressiveness. The act of founding a newspaper could be celebrated as an epochal event and the dawn of a new era "in the history of any people"[4]. After all, it opened up independent access to a world that was increasingly experienced as globalised. "We are… tired of continually asking Europeans about the news of other nations" was how African Christians in what is now Botswana welcomed the first magazine published in local Setswana in 1883. "Enthusiastically, thirsty and hungry" is how black parishioners in South Africa awaited the latest issue of the journal of the African-American AME church[5] in 1895. "The Native"–according to the '*Sierra Leone Weekly* News' published by Africans in West Africa in 1890–"is anxious for information conveyed to him through his own people"[6]. In India, the educational and emancipatory progress among converts from lower castes was also linked to the fact that they now "read newspapers and thus take an interest in public affairs"[7]. And according to the CP, the progressiveness of Japan's small but disproportionately influential Christian community was not only evident in its numerous philanthropic, social reform and literary activities. The CP highlights especially that various Japanese magazines were "owned, managed and edited by Christians…".[8]

It is particularly true for India that the use of its own press was considered as one, if not *the* decisive means of bringing together the "Indian Christian Community"–which did not yet exist in reality and was rather envisaged as a project of the future–into a visible and communicatively connected entity. It was therefore no coincidence that the expansion of the network of 'Indian Christian Associations' largely ran parallel to the circulation of the CP, both in India itself and in the Indian-Christian diaspora of South Asia and South Africa[9]. The CP was thus able to present itself as the "Leading Organ of

3 See above chapter II p. 39f. 41ff; chapter III p. 71ff. 84f.

4 In 1870, for example, the *'Kaffir Express'* in Lovedale (Cape Province), South Africa, quickly developed into the "first independent paper in Southern Africa" under the name *'Isigimini Sama Xosa'* ('The Xhosa Messenger') (Switzer / Switzer [1979], *Black Press in South Africa*, 45f); Switzer (2023), *God's Interpreters.*

5 Individual references in: Koschorke / Hermann (2018e), "*To give publicity to our thoughts*", 230ff.

6 '*Sierra Leone Weekly News*' 06.08.1890 p. 5 (Text 222).

7 CP 14.10.1905 p. 7: "The Indian is a better-educated man, with a wider outlook than he was 20 years ago. He reads the newspapers and so takes an interest in public affairs…. He has even plans and schemes of his own for the welfare of his church".

8 CP 30.04.1904 p. 4.

9 Cf. chapter II p. 30ff; III p. 124ff; VI p. 210ff.

the Christian Community in India, Burma, Ceylon, Straits and South Africa" for the first time in its header of 4 March 1916 (p. 1).

Transregional and Transcontinental Connections

Already through missionary journalism, but even more so through the various indigenous Christian journals, "native" Christians from different regions and missionary or colonial contexts learnt about each other, and got in contact with each other. On the one hand, this was an inevitable consequence of the missionary presentation of Christianity as a global movement, with detailed news from the various "mission fields" in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Above all, however, it was the guiding question and specific perspective of many indigenous Christian periodicals.

"It is well for us to look around and see what it being done in other parts of the world by the races recently brought into the flock of Christ"–this is how the CP in India, for example, introduces its detailed report on the situation of African Christians in Uganda. The Ugandan church–although only recently established–is already presented to Indian readers in many ways as an example ("object lesson") and model of successful realisation of the concept of the "Three-Self".[10]. This broadening geographical horizon then increasingly determines the debates within India. It is therefore no coincidence that Uganda, along with Japan, later became the reference model used by writers of letters to the editor in the CP in the run-up to the debates about Edinburgh in 1910 to demand "complete independence" for the Christians of South India as well–following the model of "Japan and Uganda"[11].

Analogue references can also be found in the journals from other regions. In *South Africa*, for example, '*Inkanyso yase Natal*' refers not only to exemplary African-American initiatives in the USA, but also to Jamaica as a reference model. The remarkable progress made by the black population there in recent times is being traced back in this paper to a very specific educational concept of the missionaries–"industrial training, coupled with Christianity". It should therefore be maintained, demanded '*Inkanyso yase Natal*', and further developed also in South Africa, despite all the attacks from the settler press. Summary: "The industrial training of the Natives must not… be neglected. This surely is the lesson to be learnt from Jamaica"[12].–In the *West African* press, it was not only the reference to African-American educational reform projects in the USA (such as the 'Hampton Institute' or the 'Tuskegee School') that played an important role. Equally important was the reference for example to Liberia (as proof of "the Negro's capacity for self-government"), or the Christianity of the Ethiopians (who are honoured as the "Japanese of Africa") independent of Europe, or the victory of Japan as an "oriental nation" in the war against occidental Russia, or the example of

10 CP 11.03.1905 p. 5 (Text 96).
11 CP 30.04.1910 p. 4 (Text 31).
12 *'Inkanyiso yase Natal'* 31.12.1891 p. 6 (Text 206).

prominent Japanese theologians such as Kanzo Uchimura, who defended themselves against the *western form* of Christianity propagated by the missionaries. Uchimura is quoted in the West African press as saying: "we also like to have no Americanity and Anglicanity [sic] imposed upon us as Christianity"[13]. In the *Philippines,* journals of the 'Iglesia Filipina Independiente' (IFI) were the subject of the Munich research project. They saw the IFI's break with Rome confirmed by the fact that there were also Rome-free churches in India, Sri Lanka, other Asian countries and all over the world[14]. The IFI was thus seen as part of an international movement of Catholics independent of Rome.

As discussed elsewhere[15], this mutual perception of indigenous Christian elites from different regions mediated by the media led to the first direct contacts and early South-South connections. A trans-regional sense of solidarity and a feeling of cross-border solidarity developed. Tolly Bradfort speaks of "pan-Indigenism" in a similar context[16]. Such a "global consciousness" of indigenous Christian elites as such was not a new phenomenon. Analogue examples can be observed as early as the 16th century–as a result of missionary journalism, but also through liturgical practices such as the cultic veneration of the Japanese martyrs of Nagasaki in 1597 by local Christians in Asia or in colonial America[17]. In the mid-18th century, for example, Jacobus E. Capitein, a black pastor at the Dutch Reformed Colonial Church in Elmina, West Africa, complained about ongoing discrimination. In contrast, he pointed to the much better working conditions enjoyed by his Indian colleagues from the Danish-Halle Mission in Tranquebar in southern India[18]. In 1851, the first Indian pastor from the Indian Cree Nation in what is now Canada learnt of the ordination of native missionaries in faraway India through the CMS newspaper 'The Missionary Intelligencer'. "It rejoiceth my heart," he wrote to his Indian counterparts, "to hear of the two ordinations… which has recently taken place in Bombay, and of the five catechists in… (Tinnevelly). I feel a true brotherhood with them…"[19]. Indian Christians in Tinnevelly, in turn, who learnt of the suffering of the Ugandan martyrs from the same CMS newspaper, sent a letter of solidarity to the East African country in 1887, accompanied by local donations[20].

13 *Discourses*, Text 302. 304f. 307.
14 See *Discourses*, Text 427–433; for details see the dissertation by Wei JIANG (2023),"*True Catholicism*".
15 See chapter VI p. 197ff.
16 BRADFORD, T. (2010), "Native Missionaries", 318. While Bradford discusses examples of transregional solidarity of local Christians in the struggle for a common Christian-civilising mission, in other cases one could also–somewhat anachronistically–speak of early beginnings of a Third World consciousness. "We know of leading native Christians of Japan, China, India, Syria, Armenia, Bulgaria, etc., and they are also of the same conviction". Thus, for example, the Ceylonese Christian activist S.C.K. Rutnam in Colombo in 1899–here: in protest against the "racism" of the missionaries (RUTNAM [1899], *Race Antagonism in Christian Missions*, 75f).
17 See STEINER (2012), "Japanese Martyrs", 135–156; PREISINGER (2024b), "Martyrs of Japan in the Andean Highlands", 141–164; KOSCHORKE et.al. (2024b), *Early South-South Links,* 14f. 113–164. 217ff.
18 Cf. KOSCHORKE (2002a), *Transkontinentale Beziehungen*, 9f.
19 BRADFORD (2010),"Native Missionaries", 318.
20 For details see: LUDWIG (1998), "Solidaritätsbrief indischer Christen".

What was new in these examples was not the cognitive connection between native Christians in different 'mission fields' and continents as such, but its intensity. This increased enormously around the turn of 19th and 20th centuries, due to the rapidly growing number and widening circulation of indigenous Christian journals in particular.

International Debates: the Controversies around Bishop S.A. Crowther

The *debates surrounding Samuel A. Crowther* (ca. 1806–1891) are a particularly impressive example of the constantly expanding space of communication and interaction between indigenous Christians from different regions in the 19th century. Crowther was the first black bishop from subsahran Africa in modern times. "The slave boy who became Bishop" from what is now Nigeria, as he was often dubbed in the press, soon became an internationally recognised figure. His story sparked intense debate in various missionary and colonial contexts. In 1864, he was consecrated in Canterbury head of the Anglican Church in British 'West Africa in regions beyond the Queen's dominions'. This remarkable career not only became a visible symbol of the aspirations and prospects of the educated African elite in the west of the continent. It also stimulated debates in other regions about "indigenous leadership" and the status of "native Christians" in the respective colonial societies and missionary churches. In *South Africa,* for example, the '*Kaffir Express*' (and thus one of the earliest black newspapers in the country) referred to Crowther in its first issue of October 1870 as "living proof of what can be done by the Gospel and education on a poor slave boy captured by one of our own cruisers on the West coast of Africa". This was done in response to the racism of white settlers, who disputed the Africans' "capacity for civilisation" and therefore declared all educational activities of the missionaries to be useless. As early as the beginning of the 1870s, voices were raised in the *Indian press* calling for a "native" bishop for Tinnevelly in southern India, referring to the successful work of the West African. There were people–according to the *Madras Mail* in its issue of 24 March 1873–"who believe that a native bishop is just now the want of the missionary cause. Bishop Crowther, they think, has done well in Africa, and a Bishop of a portion of Tinnevelly would do equally well". Concrete considerations about a Sinhalese and a Tamil bishop–also with reference to Crowther's consecration, which was generally regarded "as a perfect success"–are also attested for colonial *Sri Lanka* at the end of the 1870s.[21]. Discussions about a Maori bishop characterise the situation in the *New Zealand* missionary communities of the

21 All individual references to this section can be found in: Koschorke (2011a), "Native Bishops", 315–324. The CP repeatedly refers to Crowther and other West African bishops as evidence for the possibility and necessity of "Christian Indian Bishops" (CP 12.01.1907 p. 6; CP 18.06.1898 p. 5–Text 92) and assumes Crowther to be a well-known personality among his readers (CP 07.12.1901 p. 2), who–just like other prominent coloured Christians–proved "the power of the Spirit and of the capabilities of the coloured race" (ibid.). Azariah is later described as the successor to his African "predecessor" Crowther (CP 07.09 1912 p. 5–Text 94). Cf. chapter III p. 58ff; VI p. 197 FN1.

1870s. In *Canada,* it was the aforementioned Indian pastor Henry Budd–ordained by the CMS around 1850 as the "first native missionary" of the Kree people–who was soon compared to Crowther in missionary journalism[22]. Crowther was also a well-known name in *British Guiana* and was honoured as one of two bishops of colour in the global Anglican Communion (together with a counterpart in Haiti).

Later, after his gradual removal from power in 1890/91 and the appointment of a white (instead of a black) successor, Crowther's fate was understood in the West African press as an attack on the rights of the African "race" as a whole and "all" educated Africans. "It is the question of a cause in which *all* Africans are concerned. It is felt so all along the [sc. West African] coast"–according to the '*Sierra Leone Weekly News*' on 12 September 1891. And conversely, when V.S. Azariah, the first Asian in India, was finally elevated to bishop in the Anglican Church in 1912, the CP placed him in a row with his "great African predecessor, Bishop [S.A.] Crowther"[23].

The Concept of a 'Transregional Indigenous-Christian Public Sphere'

Observations such as those mentioned above led to the formulation of the concept of a 'Transregional Indigenous Christian Public Sphere' as the aim of the Munich-Hermannsburg journal project[24]. "This term refers to the communication space–established through the rapid spread of newspapers and magazines and constantly expanding since the second half of the 19th century–that enables mutual perception and diverse forms of interaction between (previously communicatively unconnected) indigenous Christian actors and groups from different regions and continents and different missionary or colonial contexts. As a communicative horizon of a stabilising supra-regional indigenous-Christian consciousness and an emerging space of diverse exchange, it forms… an independent entity within the emerging global public sphere in the colonial age"[25].

Remarkably, the concept of the "public sphere" itself often plays an important role in the sources analysed as part of the research project[26]. The current political, social science and historiographical discourse is essentially determined by the discussions surrounding Habermas' famous 1962 essay "Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit" (Structural Change of the Public Sphere), which has triggered a broad international debate, especially since its translation into English (1989)[27]. A particularly relevant aspect in

22 Bradford (2010), "Native Missionaries", 311–339.

23 CP 07.09.1912 p. 5 (Text 94).

24 Discussed in detail in: Koschorke / Hermann (2023),"Beyond their own dwellings", 177–221; Koschorke / Hermann (2018d), "Indigen-christliche Öffentlichkeit", 225–260, as well as in: Koschorke (2014d), "New maps"; Koschorke (2012c), "Global communication structures". For the Munich based journal project see above p. 26 FN 26.

25 This is the definition of the term in: Koschorke / Hermann (2018d), "Indigen-christliche Öffentlichkeit", 234; Koschorke / Hermann (2023a), *"Beyond their own dwellings"*.

26 Thus in its various derivatives: "To give publicity to our thoughts and ideas" ('*Inkanyiso yase Natal*' 12.03.1891 p. 2 (Text 120); '*Inkanyiso yase Natal*' 11.01.1891 p. 3 (Text 126); "Is there such a thing as public opinion in India?" (CP 20.02.1896 p. 4 Text 47); etc.

27 Habermas (1989), *Transformation of the Public Sphere*.

the present context is the question of the extent to which Habermas' model of the public sphere as a space for dialogue and rational debate, developed in Central Europe in the 18th and early 19th centuries, can also be applied to the colonial societies at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, which were characterised by asymmetrical power relations. Nancy Fraser, for example, pointed out that "the bourgeois public sphere was never *the* [sc. only] public sphere". Rather, the public sphere should always be described on the basis of the simultaneous development of a "multiplicity of competing public spheres"[28]. Sandria B. Freitag posed the question of "the nature of 'the public' in colonial South Asia" and pointed to "important cultural differences in the ways 'public' is conceived".[29]In his detailed discussion of "publics" and "counter-publics", Michael Warner argues that a public does not precede its address as a *specific public sphere*, but is rather constituted by this act itself: "A public is a space of discourse organised by nothing other than discourse itself…. It exists *by virtue of being addressed*."[30]. According to Africa historian S. Newell, the "colonial public sphere" should be understood as a space that enabled a "plurality of encounters *between* colonizer and colonised".[31] Such an "inclusive" understanding of the colonial public sphere understands the social conditions in colonial societies as being decisively characterised by asymmetrical power relations on the one hand, but also points to the critical and emancipatory significance of such indigenous periodicals on the other.[32].

In line with the "plurality of encounters" emphasised in this way, *'Inkanyis yase Natal'*–to take up the example mentioned at the beginning of this chapter–was also aimed at three different addressees: 1. its African readership ("it is published chiefly for the benefits of the Natives"); 2. a missionary audience (as potential supporters); 3. the colonial administration and white settler society in Natal ("our English friends"). In India, it was the CP that–in addition to the "Indian Christian community" as its main audience–addresses the missionary community, the colonial administration and, in particular, the educated Hindu elite and the non-Christian public in the country. CP (and other journals) held central debates and defined their own positions precisely in dialogue with the press of other religious communities[33]. The colonial public sphere, as Neeladri Battacharya notes in another context, should be seen as a space in which "communities are forced to come together… to reconstitute themselves as a public".

28 Fraser (1996), "Rethinking the Public Sphere", 158.

29 Freitag (1991), "Introduction", 3. 6.

30 Warner (2002b), "Publics and Counterpublics (Abbreviated Version)", 413. In detail: Warner (2002a), *Publics and Counterpublics*, passim.

31 Newell (2013), *The Power to Name*, 37.

32 Newell (2013), *The Power to Name*, 36.

33 What exactly was the attitude of the Native Christians *as a* community"–and not just with regard to individual committed members–"towards the [Indian] National Congress", was the question that the *CP* addressed on 9 January 1896 (p. 4f–Text 46: emphasis KK) in a very fundamental and detailed statement. It did so in response to a corresponding enquiry from The *Hindu,* the rival religious newspaper from Madras and organ of the educated Hindu elite of South India.

Through interaction, a transformation of "community matters into public issues" takes place in public space[34].

Around 1900, global consciousness was no longer a privilege of the colonial class, as Alan Lester, for example, demonstrated on the basis of the English settler press with regard to a "trans-global British settler identity"[35]). Rather, by 1900 at the latest, this also applied to other communities in the various colonial societies, not least to the indigenous Christian elites, who increasingly emerged as public actors and were the subject of the research project. Around 1900, a transregional "print culture" had developed in various regions of the world. This encompassed the indigenous Christian press, but also went far beyond it. For the inner-Asian maritime region, Mark R. Frost already refers to the emergence of networks of "Asian literati" in the later 19th century, which were able to address cross-regional audiences of "likeminded scholars, progressives or co-religionists" from the Asian harbour cities. According to Frost, these communities–"scattered across and yet united by the seas"–were primarily connected through the medium of the journal.[36]. Modern print media also played an important role in the development of Buddhist or Hindu modernism in other ways, which we will not go into here.–In Japan, the early Protestant movement–according to an analysis by Mira Sonntag–showed a global consciousness from the very beginning (from the 1880s), coupled with a Japanese patriotism of a Christian character. "Early sources show the Protestant movement in Japan as cosmopolitan in character, while at the same time stressing… patriotic sentiments"[37]. In Korea, too, the beginnings of an indigenous press were often due to the activities of Christian pioneers. At the same time, their journalism established a connection "to both the publics of imperial Japan and global Protestantism"[38].

34 Bhattacharya (2005), "Conception of the Colonial Public", 139. 140.
35 Lester (2002), "British Settler Discourse", 24–48.
36 Frost (2004), "Asia's Maritime Networks", 87.
37 Sonntag (2018), "Christian Patriotism and Japanese Expansionism", 291.
38 Shapiro (2018), "Korean Christianity", 318.

Christian Internationalisms around 1910

Chapter VI of this study discussed various examples of transregional networking among Indian and Asian Christians as documented in the CP or as generated or reinforced by its reporting. A much broader spectrum of indigenous Christian networks is visible in the other journals analysed in the Munich-Hermannsburg Journal Research Project. This broader spectrum ranges from the Missionary International (in the context of the Edinburgh 1910 World Missionary Conference) to decidedly anti-missionary networks of Ethiopian groups on both sides of the Atlantic. It also includes diverse movements *between* these two poles. It also encompasses a multitude of indigenous Christian networks of varying scope and density. They are all essential for a deeper understanding of Christian globality around 1910–the year of the Edinburgh Conference and, at the same time, a peak of worldwide globalisation processes on the eve of the First World War[39].

Missionary Internationals, Edinburgh Ecumenism

Edinburgh 1910–the peak of the Protestant missionary movement of the 19th century and often described as the starting point of the Western ecumenical movement of the 20th century–is in many ways comparable to the significance of the Second Vatican Council fifty years later for Catholic Asia in terms of its impact on the emerging Protestant churches in Asia. Unlike the Second Vatican Council, however, Edinburgh not only experienced a significant *reception* in Asia, but also had an identifiable *pre-history* in the debates and controversies of Asian Christians. These had repeatedly called for the overcoming of missionary confessionalism and the development of a "national form" and "indigenous shape" of the continent's emerging churches. These were concerns that were taken up in Edinburgh and returned to Asia in a reinforced form. They determined the agenda of the Edinburgh 'Continuation Committee Conferences' of 1912/13 (as well as the national missionary and Christian councils in the various countries that developed from them). By strengthening ecumenical impulses, the World Missionary Conference thus increasingly functioned as a kind of 'relay station' between the churches of the South and the West. In India itself, Edinburgh–as documented in

39 Detailed individual references to this section can be found in: Koschorke (2018e), "Christliche Internationalismen", passim; cf. also: Koschorke (2019b), "Transkontinentale Netzwerke", 195–217–In this article, the term "internationalism" *does not* refer to different forms of cooperation *between* states. Rather, it serves to describe various supra-regional or transcontinental networks that were an *expression of a global consciousness* and could achieve different degrees of consolidation, analogous to the use of the term in, for example Iriye (1997), *Cultural Internationalism*. Iriye speaks of (cultural) internationalism as "global consciousness" (p. 9), "as state of mind and as an institutional expression" (p. 18), "the sense of global community in which all nations and people shared certain interests and commitments" (p. 18) and "exchange of ideas, cultures and persons [that] served to develop an international community" (p. 191). Analogue considerations in: Sluga (2013), *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*; Robert (2016), "Christian Transnationalists", 141–156; cf. also: Schirbel (1991), *Strukturen des Internationalismus*.

the CP–accelerated the disputes and controversies about the goal of a self-governing "native" church.

At the same time, Edinburgh 1910 ushered in a totally new phase of co-operation between the Protestant missions and churches of the West. Remarkably, the indigenous Christian elites of Asia and Africa also increasingly utilised the communication channels established by Edinburgh for their own purposes. This development reached its first high point at the 1938 World Missionary Conference in Tambaram, India. On the eve of the Second World War, this event–programmatically held on Indian soil–saw a majority of delegates from Asia, Africa and Latin America for the first time. Particularly noteworthy was the initiative of West African participants, who also attempted to put specifically African topics on the agenda of an ecumenical assembly for the first time[40].

Ethiopianism, Anti-Missionary Networks –"Without any Missionary Agency"

On the other hand, around 1910, alongside the missionary international (or the developing Edinburgh ecumenism), we have a large number of *non-missionary networks*, some of which deliberately defined themselves in opposition to the structures of the Western missionary movement dominated by Euro-Americans. They can be found above all in the context of so-called *Ethiopianism*–that broad emancipation movement of African and African-American Christians on *both* sides of the Atlantic, which sought independence from Western missionary control and which, depending on the circumstances, existed in a more ecclesiastical or more political variant. In many cases, reference was made to Christian Ethiopia as a model of ecclesiastical *and* political independence and of freedom from European-colonial rule. Due to the efforts of African-American Christians to repatriate and the fluctuation of Ethiopian ideas, numerous transcontinental connections were also formed in the 19th and early 20th centuries within the framework of the so-called 'Black Atlantic'.

Black "independent" churches emerged simultaneously in West and Southern Africa from the 1890s onwards, breaking away from the white mission churches. In some cases, they formed new regional alliances and gave important impetus to the emerging pan-African movement. Of particular importance on the other side of the Atlantic were African-American churches such as the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME), founded in Philaldelphia in 1816, which also had branches in West Africa from the 1870s. In 1896, the AME merged with the 'Ethiopian Church' in South Africa founded there shortly before by the former Methodist preacher Mangena Mokone. The first links between the two movements came about through the black press. This applies

40 On Edinburgh see: STANLEY (2009), *Edinburgh 1910*; KOSCHORKE (2012b), "Relay Station"; KOSCHORKE (2002b), "Edinburgh 1910". On the Tambaram 1938 World Mission Conference–a Christian mini-'United Nations' on the eve of the Second World War, as it were–see LUDWIG (2000), *Tambaram 1938* (esp. 36ff. 49–68); LUDWIG (2012), "Südwärtsbewegung". Particularly noteworthy in Tambaram was an initiative by West African delegates on the issue of the biblical right of polygamy. This was the first time that a specifically African topic was put on the agenda of a global ecumenical assembly (albeit unsuccessfully).

also to a greater extent to other black churches operating transatlantically, such as the 'African Orthodox Church' (AOC), which was founded in New York in 1921. By 1924, it was already present in South Africa and a few years later in East Africa. In both cases, both the initial contacts and, for a long time, the ongoing connections came about primarily through black journals. "Within three years", according to a self-promotion of the AOC in 1924, "the East and the West have met each other in the AOC. *Without any direct missionary* agency, the glad tidings have bridged the Atlantic through the press."[41] The AOC still exists today in a variety of ramifications and changing alliances in around eight countries.

West African journals, which experienced a boom from the 1890s onwards, were often closely linked to ecclesiastical independentism in terms of personnel and ideology. At the same time, they propagated various forms of supra-regional co-operation between African leaders[42]. Other journals such as the '*African League',* published in Liberia, circulated on both sides of the Atlantic. This paper, according to David Daniels in an instructive case study, "spotlighted the linkages between Christian communities of people of African descent in Liberia and United States. These translocal networks criss-crossed the Black Atlantic which was constituted by linkages where people, goods, ideas, and Christian practices were exchanged"[43]. African and African American journals towards the end of the 19th century, as analysed by Andrew Barnes, "connected diasporic African Christians in the New World across the Atlantic with African Christians in Africa […] These African American Christian networks created what Paul Gilroy called the 'Black Atlantic', that is, the idea of a shared (imagined) community that stretched across the ocean from North America to Africa and Europe". In contrast to Paul Gilroy, however, who primarily thematised the secular version of the 'Black Atlantic' in his classic 1993 study, Barnes refers to its earlier religious predecessors. He therefore speaks of a "*Christian* Black Atlantic"–"facilitated by newspapers, and the sharing of information and ideas across the Atlantic, a Christian version of the community appeared first"[44].

Diasporas, Indigenous Missions, Transregional Associations, Asian YMCA's

For *Korea*, 1910 was a year of national catastrophe. The country was annexed by Japan and lost its independence. In the same year, however, Korean evangelists were already travelling among their compatriots in Siberia, Manchuria, Japan, Hawaii, California, Mexico and Cuba. Even in the early days of Korean Protestantism (from 1884) and even

41 Burlacioiu (2015), '*Within three years*', 36ff; the full quote can be found in *Discourses*, Text 434 (emphasis kk).

42 Something through the project of a "Conference of prominent West African Natives" (see: *Discourses*, Text 259. 261).

43 David (2018), 'The *African League* of Liberia', 331–344, 331.

44 Barnes (2018), "The Christian Black Atlantic", 345f; Barnes (2017), *Global Christianity and the Black Atlantic*, passim. Cf. Gilroy (1993), *The Black Atlantic,* passim.

more so in the period that followed (after 1910), the *overseas diaspora* was a key factor in the explosive growth of the Korean Christian community both within and outside the country[45].–The history of *Chinese* Protestantism–both in terms of its beginnings in the early 19th century and its rapid development in the final phase and after the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1911–cannot be described without adequate consideration of the Chinese diaspora outside the empire.–Not only were the Christian 'coolies' or 'indentured labourers' from *India* circulating in the British Empire (as discussed elsewhere) active as evangelisers in various regions. African migrant workers in the early industrial centres of *southern Africa,* for example, were also far more significant in terms of numbers and could become actors in the non-Western missionary spread of Christianity. In general, a future global history of Christianity in the 20th century cannot be written without adequate consideration of the topics of 'migration' and 'diasporas'.

Exchange relationships within ethnic diasporas were also an important source of inspiration for the *beginnings of transregional indigenous missions,* which experienced a considerable upswing in various regions of Asia and Africa from 1900 onwards. In the example of Korea mentioned above or–in the Indian context–in the form of India's 'National Missionary Society' (NMS), founded in 1905, and the 'Jaffna Student Foreign Missionary Society', established in 1900, which sought to work among the Tamils of South India, South Asia and South Africa[46]. Since 1900, Asian Christians have also sought to become active in transcultural missionary work. Of the three characteristics of the 'Three-Selves' formula, the demand for "self-propagation" appeared to be the easiest and most directly realisable. "The recognition of the responsibility of the Christians of Japan for the evangelisation of Formosa, Korea, Manchuria and North China… has been strengthened by the developments of the last year, until now it is shared by all intelligent Christians (sc. of Japan)", proclaimed Japanese delegates at the 1907 Tokyo WSCF Conference[47]; and as early as 1913, Korean evangelists began missionary activity not only among their compatriots, but also among Chinese in Shangdon Province[48]. This motif was central also to the various branches of the Ethiopian movement. This is illustrated by the intensified transatlantic activities of African-American missionaries from the USA in Africa since the 1870s, as well as the claim proclaimed by the Ethiopian ruler Menelik II that he–and *not* the Europeans–was responsible for the Christianisation of Africa. This was laid down in a letter from the victor of Adwa to "a European missionary", which was printed in the West African press in 1896 and thus reached a wide audience[49]. Regardless of whether this text is genuine or not, it also expresses the

45 Kim / Kim (2015), *Korean Christianity*, 5: "There was a reciprocal relationship between the [sc. Korean] Churches inside and outside Korea".
46 *Discourses*, Text 41f. 40.
47 WSCF–*Report Tokyo 1907*, 224f
48 See Choi Young-Woong (2002), "The Mission of the Presbyterian Church of Korea", 117–130.
49 *'The Lagos Standard'* 17 June 1896 (Text 305 and 304).

conviction of many African Christians who looked to Ethiopia as a symbol of ecclesiastical and political independence.

Supra-regional forms of self-organisation of Asian Christians such as the network of *'Indian Christian Associations'* (ICA's), with branches in Burma, Ceylon, Singapore, Penang and South Africa, among others, represent another important paradigm. The aforementioned Indian example was analysed in Chapters III and VI of this study[50]. Analogue associations of Asian (and African) Christians in other regions have often neither been investigated nor even recorded. They represent a worthwhile field for future research. Even failed initiatives of this kind–such as the short-lived 'East Asian Christian Association', which was founded around 1908 and aimed to bring together prominent Christians from Japan, China and Korea[51]–deserve attention. A regionally differentiated analysis of organisations such as the Asian YMCAs or the regional sections of the WSCF, which–originally founded in the West–quickly developed into contact exchanges and "training fields" for Asian Christian leaders, is of the utmost importance. This was discussed above for India in Chapter VI[52]. The Japanese, Korean and Chinese branches of the YMCA are further remarkable examples of the transformation process of these organisations into a "home-grown movement", as Michael Shapiro has shown using the example of the Japanese YMCA. The latter was repeatedly based on local initiatives, "and its leadership was Japanese rather than foreign"[53]. The Korean YMCAs were also often formed spontaneously, often through "unauthorised" foundations in the countryside. At the same time, they established a connection to the Protestant ecumenical movement and, in particular, to the Japanese YMCAs. In doing so, they had a special dual function. On the one hand, Japan was initially seen as a model of Asian progressiveness in the eyes of the Korean elite. On the other hand, this country was increasingly perceived as a colonial oppressor. Korean YMCAs thus increasingly developed into vehicles of Korean national consciousness. It was no coincidence that the (failed) 'Declaration of Independence' of 1919 was proclaimed in the Korean YMCA building in Tokyo.

Catholicisms Independent of Rome, Early Pentecostal Networks, Christian Pan-Africanism and Panasianism

Church independentism in the "mission fields" of colonial Africa and Asia has been widely perceived as a primarily Protestant phenomenon. The fact that there were also a large number of analogue movements in Catholic Asia is an important result of

50 See chapter III p. 122ff; VI p. 210f.
51 See above p. 228f.
52 See chapter VI p. 164f.
53 SHAPIRO, M., "Imperial Japan, Late Qing China and the Young Men's Christian Association, 1889–1907" (unpublished manuscript, p. 1.). In detail: SHAPIRO (2010), *Christian Culture and Military Rule,* passim; SHAPIRO (2018), "Korean Christianity", 317–330. IAN TYRELL (2010, *Reforming the World*) also described the YMCA network as "thoroughly transnational".

the sub-project on the Philippines, which dealt with the early journalism of the 'Iglesia Filipina Independiente'. This independent Filipino church, which separated from Rome in 1902 in the wake of the country's anti-Spanish liberation struggle, at times comprised more than 20% of the nation's Catholic population and still exists today as a small minority. It quickly sought to establish contact with other Rome-free churches in Asia (such as in Goa and Sri Lanka) and other countries (USA, Switzerland, Costa Rica) and saw itself as the representative of a liberal and modern global Catholicism[54].

The early beginnings of the Pentecostal movement–which quickly found followers among African Christians and led to the founding of the 'Madras Pentecostal Assembly' in India in 1913–were only mentioned in passing in the journals of the Munich research project (or under other headings[55]) and were therefore not specifically addressed. Pentecostalism was indisputably one of the movements that broadened the global horizon of African and Asian Christianity at the beginning of the 20th century.–The close connection between church and political Pan-Africanism in the 19th and early 20th centuries was mentioned above in connection with the Ethiopian movement. The fact that there was also a developing Christian Pan-Asianism in parallel was discussed in this study in the context of the intensive contacts between India and Japan (since 1906)[56]. Detailed studies on this from other regions and in the context of the Asian ecumenical movement, which accelerated dynamically in the first half of the 20th century, are desirable.

Experiences of Globality

The world had "become much smaller" than it had been fifty years ago, said the Japanese Kajinosuke Ibuku in 1907 in his speech at the Tokyo Congress of the World Student Christian Federation (WSCF), referring to the drastic improvement in travel and communication opportunities in recent times[57]. There were now completely new opportunities for mutual familiarisation and equal exchange between "East" and "West".–As mentioned elsewhere, Tokyo 1907 also belongs to the immediate prehistory of Edinburgh 1910, in which Asian observers were fascinated by the principle of universality,

54 For details see: JIANG (2023),"*True Catholicism*".

55 Pandita Ramabai from India, for example, is primarily seen in the CP as a social reformer and model of an emancipated Indian Christian woman (and less as a charismatic). Pentecostal networks (and in particular connections to the American Azusa movement) are still largely outside the horizon of the CP; see chapter VI.4.e.

56 "The people of Japan and the people of India are one in the Lord Jesus Christ", it says in a letter from the Lahore congregation to the Japanese delegates in 1906 (CP 28.04.1906 p. 3). On the "beginnings of a Christian Panasianism" as reflected in the CP, see above chapter VI p. 27.

57 "Europeans still speak of the Far East, and we of the East still speak of the Far West; but really the Orient and the Occident are no longer so far apart. Fifty years ago when the first Protestant missionaries landed on these shores it was no less than six long months after they sailed from New York. Now it takes the missionary but three weeks to cover the same distance; and when the Trans-Siberian Railroad is complete, one I think will be able to travel around the world in less than fifty days. The world is much smaller than it was once" (in: WSCF–*Report Tokyo 1907*, 140).

among other things. "Every race [was] represented"–under this heading, also the CP informed its readers about this global assembly of world Protestantism[58].

Edinburgh marked a high point of intra-Christian globalisation before the outbreak of the First World War and led to the accelerated expansion of the communication structures of the Protestant missionary and ecumenical movement in the Western world. At the same time, however, as outlined above, numerous other indigenous Christian networks of varying scope and density can also be observed around 1910, which–such as the 'African Independent Churches'–became the starting point for far-reaching lines of development in the next decades. Without this multitude of early transregional networks and "Christian internationalisms" at the beginning of the 20th century, the dynamic development and further pluralisation of world Christianity in the subsequent period cannot be adequately described.

58 CP 01.10.1910 p. 4 (Text 30).

The 'Christian Patriot' and the Program of a Polycentric History of World Christianity

The programme of a polycentric history of world Christianity–as developed at the Munich Chair of 'Early and World History of Christianity' and discussed internationally in a series of Munich-Freising conferences–has been presented in various publications[59]. It is essentially based on two basic assumptions:

1. From the very beginning, Christianity has seen itself as a global movement that transcends the boundaries of language, ethnicity and culture–within the framework of the known 'world'. However, it has defined and rediscovered its globality differently at different stages in its history.
2. The "globalisation" of Christianity is *not* identical to the process of "Europeanisation". Rather, there have always been a large number of regional centres of expansion, indigenous initiatives, different cultural expressions and denominational variants of Christianity, also from the very beginning.

As mentioned, this concept does not apply only to the more recent phase *after* the end of the Second World War, which is often referred to as "post-colonial" or "post-missionary". The topic of the Fifth Munich-Freising Conference (published in 2012), for example, which addressed various paradigms from the period of the European Middle Ages to the 20th century, was to analyse it for successive epochs in the history of Christianity worldwide[60].

The Munich-Hermannsburg journal research project, which was limited to a relatively narrow time window–the years between 1890 and around 1915–was also developed in the context of these debates and provides relevant new insights. This alone is due to the fact that an important group of sources–the journals of indigenous Christian elites from different regions of Asia and Africa around 1900, which have so far hardly been recognised or at best in isolated regional contexts–have now been examined for the first time in a comparative analysis. The *search for non-missionary sources* for the history of Christianity in what is now known as the Global South has been a central issue in numerous historiographical and archival projects since the 1960s. In 1969, for example, Kaj Baago's groundbreaking study "Pioneers of Indigenous Christianity" initiated a new stage in the professional study of the history of Christianity on the subcontinent[61]. Analogue initiatives followed in other Asian countries, Latin America and Africa. In these diverse projects (and the associated search for non-Western sources),

59 See in detail: Koschorke (2014b), "Polycentric Structures"; Koschorke (2014c), "Munich-Freising Conferences"; Koschorke / Burlacioiu / Kuster (2024b), *Early South-South Links*; Burlacioiu / Hermann (2013), *Changed Maps*; Hermann / Burlacioiu / Phan (2016), *Munich School of World Christianity*.
60 Published in: Koschorke (2012a), *Phases of Globalisation*.
61 Baago (1969), *Pioneers of Indigenous Christianity*.

however, the category of indigenous Christian journals–which sought to "publicise" the voice of local Christians in the respective colonial societies–remained largely unnoticed. Their existence is often unknown even among missionary historians and other insiders. This is all the more astonishing given that missionary journalism has recently experienced a veritable boom in overseas and globalisation historians and among representatives of various regional and cultural studies. One of the aims of the present study (as well as the other publications in the context of the journal project) has been to stimulate or connect with analogue studies of other journals of Asian, African or African-American Christians at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Many of these still lie undiscovered and gathering dust in scattered missionary, regional or colonial archives[62].

Some of the journals analysed in the research project originate from very heterogeneous colonial, missionary and cultural contexts. It is therefore all the more astonishing to see the *large number of analogue topics* and positions that are discussed in these journals[63]. The same applies to the broad spectrum of emancipatory movements that have their say in these journals. At the same time, this lead to multiple forms of relationship with the actors in the missionary church. Individual movements–especially those in the field of Ethiopianism and African independentists–very quickly broke with the established Euro-American mission churches. Others–such as the 'National Church of India' analysed in this study[64]–aimed more for a gradual transition to a union of all 'indigenous' Christians under indigenous leadership. At the same time, however, the national church movement in India, for example, also had a strong influence on the Asian ecumenical movement, which developed dynamically after 1910. Overall, the various indigenous Christian elites in different regions at the beginning of the 20th century often saw themselves as the protagonists of a "new era" in which it was no longer the Euro-American dominated mission churches but increasingly self-governed "national churches" (according to a formulation in the CP) that were to call the shots.

The *plurality of regional centres of expansion* is also illuminated in a new way by the journals analysed (and others not examined here). This applies both to the diversity and intensity of exchange relations within the "Christian Black Atlantic" (Andrew Barnes) and to the communication, migration and remigration as well as missionary activities of black Christians on both sides of the Atlantic. The same applies to various programmatic initiatives in Asia at the turn of the century within the framework of the "Three-Selves" concept. This formula, originally a missionary concept, increasingly

62 Various West African journals, for example, which had been analyzed in the context of the Munich-Hermannsburg research project (such as the 'Gold Coast Leader', 1902–1929) are now easily available online as result of a digitization project at Stanfort University, https://history.genie.stanford.edu/ject (accessed 30 July 2025). See also the recently published monograph on South African Christian periodicals by Switzer (2023), *God's Interpreters*.

63 See Koschorke et.al. (2016), *Discourses*, 21f ("General Structure of the Sourcebook"), 23–445.

64 See chapter III p. 67ff.

developed into an emancipatory slogan of indigenous elites in Asia (and Africa) from the end of the 19th century onwards, as evidenced not only by the CP. It gave rise to a variety of initiatives for indigenous missionary work ("self-extension") both among their own countrymen and in neighbouring regions.

The indigenisation push that the analysed journals document for the period before 1914 (and which was later massively intensified by the enormous loss of prestige of European Christianity as a result of the moral catastrophe of the First World War) was not always associated with a broadening global horizon and supra-regional networking of local Christians. In various places, there was also the counter-example of an almost xenophobic self-segregation of newly formed indigenous Christian communities. In China, for example, there was the 'True Jesus Church' (Zhen Yesu jiahui), "the first durable indigenous Protestant sect in China"[65], which was founded locally and gained enormous popularity after the war years of 1917ff. Such examples are also part of the pluriformity of developing Asian and African Christianity in the early 20th century.

Also noteworthy is the *cooperation of indigenous Christian elites with other*–political and social–*emancipation movements* in the respective colonial societies as documented in the research project (which, although very different in their goals, was usually quite close). What is most important, however, is that the indigenous Christian reform movements discussed here did not act in isolation. They articulated their demands in growing mutual awareness, as can be seen from their journalism. The journals thus document a *growing number of South-South connections*, a growing "pan-indigenist" sense of solidarity and multiple forms of multidirectional exchange. This expanding space of medially mediated mutual perception has been conceptualised as a "*transregional indigenous-Christian public sphere*" in the course of the research project. At the same time, this term is likely to characterise a central element of a future global history of Christianity as a transregional and transcontinental history of interaction.

Indian Christians point to the example of "native bishops" in West Africa, admire the rapid progress made by the only recently established Ugandan church, on the road to independence, and are fascinated by Japan as a model of Western Christian modernity in Asian appropriation. South African activists are inspired by alternative reform education projects of their African-American co-religionists and fellow sufferers in the US and by the upswing of former slave communities in Jamaica. West African journals refer with appreciation to the simple lifestyle of the first Indian bishop (V.S. Azariah) and portray the Indian Christian and social activist Pandita Ramabai as the "morning star of reformed conditions for women"[66]. At the same time, they gave the Japanese theologian Kanzo Uchimura, an outspoken critic of Western missionary Christianity, a

65 Liang Xi (2010), *Redeemed by fire*, 9; cf. Bays (1995), "Indigenous Protestant Churches", 132–137. There are various analogous examples from Africa, especially since the 1920s. Cf. also the case study by Gloria Tseng, who uses the example of Christian journals in China in the 1920s to examine the occasionally contradictory "relationship between global networks and indigenisation" (Tseng [2018], "Indigenous Christian Journals").
66 *'The Gold Coast Nation'* 02.04.1914 (Text 314); *'The Sierra Leone Weekly News'* 04.05.1889 p. 3 (Text 312).

forum for his thoughts. However, his perception of Christianity as a dynamic force for change in a dramatically intercommected world was not affected by this criticism. For, as Uchimura was quoted in the Nigerian *Lagos Standard* on 15 April 1896: "We need Christianity to intensify us… The world is growing and we with the world. Christianity is getting to be a necessity with all of us"[67].

67 '*The Lagos Standard*' 15.04.1896 (Text 307).

Abbreviations (Organisations, Movements, Journals)

ABCFM: 'American Board of the Commissioners for Foreign Mission' (congregationalist, founded in 1810, active in India since about 1812)
AICIC: 'All-India Conference of Indian Christians' (founded in 1914)
CCC: '[Edinburgh] Continuation Committee Conferences in Asia', 1912–1913
CMI: 'The Church Missionary Intelligencer' (organ of the CMS; New Series: London 1876ff)
CMS: 'Church Mission[ary] Society' (Anglican, founded in 1799, active in India since 1813)
CP: 'The Christian Patriot. A Journal of Social and Religious Progress' (Madras/Chennai), 1890–1929)
CSI: 'Church of South India' (founded in 1947)
ICA: 'Indian Christian Association'
INC: 'Indian National Congress' (founded in 1885)
MICA: 'Madras Indian Christian Association' (since 1905, previously: MNCA)
MNCA: 'Madras Native Christian Association' (founded in Madras in 1888)
NCI: 'National Church of India, Madras' (founded in Madras in 1886)
NMI: 'National Missionary Intelligencer' (organ of the NMS, founded in 1906)
NMS: 'National Missionary Society of India' (founded in Serampore in 1905)
SIUC: 'South Indian United Church' (founded in 1908)
SPG: 'Society for the Propagation of the Gospel' (Anglican, founded in 1701, active in India since 1820)
WCC: 'World Council of Churches' (founded in 1948)
WSCF: 'World's Student Christian Federation' (founded in 1895, active in India since 1896)
YMCA: 'Young Men's Christian Association' (founded in 1844, active in India since 1854 and at national level since 1890)
'YMWA': Young Women's Christian Association (founded in 1855, active in India since 1892)

Sources

(A) The Christian Patriot. A Journal of Social and Religious Reform' (Madras/ Chennai, 1890–1929)

Single issues of the *Christian Patriot* can be found in scattered missionary or private archives in India, Europe, UK and US. The journal is now easily accessible in a digital edition, edited by Klaus Koschorke, in cooperation with the Digitizing team of the Munich University Library (LMU), under https://discover.ub.uni-muenchen.de/chrispat. This digital edition is based on two sets of microfilms from the 'Day Missions Collection' (Yale Divinity School Library New Haven, CT 06511–Film S613).

The first set–more or less complete between 1895 and 1912–covers the years 1895–1913, 1915–1916, 1918 and 1921–1929. This first set (8 reels) was made at Yale in 1980. It had been digitized in the 1990s at the Munich Chair of 'Early and Global History of Christianity' (LMU), in the context of a DFG funded research project on "Indigenous Christian Journals from Asia and Africa around 1900", and is now fully included in this digital edition. In addition, a few single issues of the *Christian Patriot* from its initial years 1890–1894 (CP 22.01.1890; CP 28.04.1892; CP 15.09.1892; CP 09.02.1893; CP 01.02.1894) have been obtained from the Kautz Family YMCA Archives: University of Minnesota Libraries (Minneapolis, MN 55455). They are included in this digital edition as well.

The second–and very fragmentary–set of the Yale microfilms (4 reels) was made in 1998 and contains various issues of the *Christian Patriot* between 1913 (Jan 4) and 1928 (Dec 23). The first two reels (with copies between 1913 and 1918) have been digitized in 2024 and are now also part of this digital edition. The paper prints from the years 1913 till 1918–originals for the microfilms–had been given to Munich in the 1990s (private collection Klaus Koschorke) and are now being kept and made available at the Munich University Library (LMU) (https://zdb-katalog.de/title.xhtml?idn=1366335902&view=brief&direct=true#DE-19).

The last two reels of the second set of the Yale microfilms are currently (September 2025) in the process of being digitized and will later be included in an updated version of this digital edition as well. It is hoped that this updated version should also show other improvements, e.g. for better readibilty of the texts, thanks to new technologies. Reel 3 and 4 contain various issues of the *Christian Patriot* between 1919 (Mar 15) and 1928 (Dec 15) that are missing in the first set of the Yale microfilms.

A selection of texts from the *Christian Patriot* has been published in: Koschorke, K. / Hermann, A. / Burlacioiu, C. / Mogase, p. (2016a) (Eds.), *Discourses of Indigenous Christian Elites in Colonial Societies in Asia and Africa around 1900*. A Documentary Sourcebook from Selected Journals (Documents on the History of Christianity in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Vol. 4; Wiesbaden), 37–137 (Text 1–119). Citation is by text number ("Text"), *not* by page number.–A choice of this selection of transcribed texts (n° 1–4. 13. 23. 28. 35. 50. 53. 58. 59. 70. 74. 80. 90. 92. 94. 96. 104. 111) has been reprinted in APPENDIX III ("Reprint of Transcribed Texts") of the digital edition.

(B) Other Journals

Other journals cited in the study are indicated in the text. Reference should also be made to the above-mentioned documentation volume (Koschorke / Hermann et. al. [2016a], Discourses), which also contains extensive excerpts from the other journals of indigenous Christian elites from South Africa, West Africa and the Philippines that have been analysed as part of the Munich-Hermannburg research project.

(C) Abbreviated Sources Cited in this Book

Contemporary publications are listed in the table of contents. The following sources are cited in abbreviated form:

ABCFM–Annual Report 1888: Annual Report of the American Board of the Commissioners for Foreign Mission (Boston 1888).
ABCFM–Annual Report 1890: Annual Report of the American Board of the Commissioners for Foreign Mission (Boston 1890).
AICIC–Report of the First All-India Conference of Indian Christians 1914:
The Report of the First All-India Conference of Indian Christians held in Calcutta, December 1914 (UTC Archive Bangalore).
Basel Mission in South Western India–Report 1890: Report of the Basel German Evangelical Mission in South-Western India for the year 1890 (Mangalore 1891).
CCC–Continuation Committee Conferences in Asia, 1912–1913:
The [Edinburgh] Continuation Committee Conferences in Asia, 1912–1913. Published by the Chairman of the Continuation Committee (New York 1913).
Census of India, 1891–General Report:
Census of India, 1891: General Report (London 1893).
Census of India, 1901–Madras:
Census of India, 1901. Vol. XI: Madras. Part I: Report (Madras 1902).
Census of India, 1901–Tables:
Census of India, 1901. Vol. I-A: India. Part II: Tables (Calcutta 1903).
Census of India, 1911–Tables:
Census of India, 1911. Vol. I: India. Part II: Tables (Calcutta 1913).
Christo Samaj–Memorandum 1921:
The Memorandum on the "Further Development and Expansion of Christianity in India, Presented by the 'Christo Samaj" to J.H. Oldham Esq, Secretary of the international Missionary Conference, on the 3rd December 1921 (n.p. [Madras] n.d. [1922]).
INC–Report of the Indian National Congress 1887:
"Report of the Third Indian National Congress Held at Madras, 27th–30th December, 1887 (London 1888).
INC–Report of the Indian National Congress 1906:

Report of the Twenty-Second Indian National Congress Held at Calcutta on the 26th, 27th, 28th and 29th December 1906 (Calcutta 1907).
Decennial Missionary Conference Madras 1902–Report:
Report of the Fourth Decennial Indian Missionary Conference Held in Madras December 11–18thth, 1902 (Madras [1903]).

Discourses:

Koschorke, K./ Hermann, A. / Burlacioiu, C. / Mogase, p. (2016a) (Eds.), *Discourses of Indigenous Christian Elites in Colonial Societies in Asia and Africa around 1900*. A Documentary Sourcebook from Selected Journals (Documents on the History of Christianity in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Vol. 4; Wiesbaden). Citation is by text, not by page number.
Lambeth Conference 1897–Resolutions: Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion. Holden at Lambeth Palace, in July 1897 (London 1897).
nci–*Collection of Papers*: A Collection of Papers Connected with the Movement of the National Church of India, Madras: Cosmopolitan Press 1893 (utc Archive Bangalore).
nms–*Third Year:* The National Missionary Society. Third Year (n.p. n.d. [1909]).
nms–*First Sexennium*: The First Sexennium of the n.m.s, 1905–1911 (Rajahmundry 1912).
nms–*First Ten Years:* The first ten years of the n.m.s. (1905–1915), published by the National Missionary Society of India (Salem n.d [1916?]) (rh-uspg 934.0266).
nms–*Twenty-Five Years*: The First 25 Years of the National Missionary Society of India (Bharat Khristiya Sevak Samaj) 1905–1930 (Madras 1931).
Oxford Mission to Calcutta–*Annual Report 1891*: Oxford Mission to Calcutta. Annual Report for 1891 (London n.d. [1892]).
South India Protestant Missions–*Progress:* South India Protestant Missions (s.i.m.a.)–The Progress and Triumph of a Century (Pasumalai/ Madura 1900).
spg–*Report* 1889: Reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (London 1890).
Statistical tables of Protestant Missions in India, Burma and Ceylon 1890: Statistical Tables of Protestant Missions in India, Burma and Ceylon. Prepared on information collected at the close of 1890, at the request of the Calcutta Missionary Conference (Calcutta 1892).
wmc–*World Missionary Conference 1910:* World Missionary Conference 1910. Vol i–ix (Edinburgh / London / New York etc. [1911]).
wmc–*Questionnaire Replies (Microfiche):* World Missionary Conference 1910. Vol i–viii: Questionnaire Replies (International Missionary Council Archives: 1910–1961; Series ii: World Missionary Conference, 1910; Questionnaires; Box 260002; Leiden: idc Publishers, 2000).
wscf–*Report Tokyo* 1907: Report of the Conference of the World's Student Christian Federation Held at Tokyo, Japan, April 3–7, 1907 (New York n.d. [1907?]).

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The 'Christian Patriot' (Madras / Chennai 1890–1929) – a journal "owned and conducted entirely" by Indian Christians – opens new perspectives on the history of Christianity in India. At the same time, it represents a new class of documents for the study of World Christianity "from the other side of history". This weekly understood itself as mouth piece of the South Indian Protestant community "as a whole" and tried to assert their independent voice in the colonial public sphere. "Christian in tone and patriotic in its aims", it criticized both missionary paternalism and Hindu fundamentalism. The journal commented critically on the religious and social developments of the country and sought to connect the Indian Christian communities in India, South Asia and South Africa. At the same time, the 'Christian Patriot' reflects a wide range of transregional networks between different indigenous Christian elites from Asia and the global South (such as Japan or West Africa). Thus, this study contributes significantly to a new understanding of Christian globality around 1910, beyond Western missionary endeavours.

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