

# Discourses of Indigenous Christian Elites in Colonial Societies in Asia and Africa around 1900

A Documentary Sourcebook from Selected Journals

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## Preface

This documentary sourcebook presents a selection of articles from indigenous Christian journals from four regions in Asia and Africa around 1900. It highlights the voices of local Christian elites and their contributions to the public discourses in different colonial societies on both continents in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. At the same time, it also intends to create an awareness of the various links and transregional (or even transcontinental) networks among indigenous Christian elites established through these (and related) journals. It is the first compilation of such texts in a comparative perspective.

The present volume is the result of a close cooperation – not only between the research teams in Munich (Klaus Koschorke, Adrian Hermann, André Saenger, Ciprian Burlacoiu) and Hermannsburg (Frieder Ludwig, E. Phuti Mogase), where the research project “Indigenous Christian elites in Asia and Africa around 1900 and their journals and periodicals” has been carried out from 2012 to 2015, but also with colleagues and scholars worldwide.

The completion of this volume would not have been possible without the contributions and support of many other associates and staff members. In *Munich* (at the Chair of Early and Global History of Christianity, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München) Tanja Posch-Tepelmann, M.A., as well as the student assistants Senta-Victoria Burger, Friederike Hoffmann, and Sara Linda Huber, helped in the analysis of the journals or made significant technical and other contributions. As “native speakers”, Paolo Aranha, M.Res., and Rev. Meredith Forssman, M.Div., took care to smooth out the English and remove most Germanisms from the accompanying texts. – In *Hermannsburg* (University of Applied Sciences for Intercultural Theology) the student assistants Benson Matawana, Mamedupi Mogase, and Jayabalan Murthy provided significant support. – The final editorial work on the volume was completed by Adrian Hermann in Hamburg with the help of Andrea Ehlers, Johanna Paatz, and Philipp Kuster. – For the translation of Zulu texts into English, our thanks go to Gloria Cube (Cape Town, South Africa) and Mpendulo Bongani Mdziniso (Manzini, Swaziland), as well as to Myume Dandala (Seth Mokitimi Methodist Seminary in Pietermaritzburg). The translation of the bulk of the texts in the Philippine section from Spanish to English was prepared in multiple stages, during which Andrea Ehlers and Beatriz González Mellídez (Hamburg) were especially helpful. Megan C. Thomas (University of California, Santa Cruz) provided many highly useful comments on the final draft of the translations.

Our thanks also go to Martha Smalley (Yale Divinity School Library), Lize Kriel (University of Pretoria), Hannah Highfill (Stanford University), Herschel Miller (National Library of South Africa, Pretoria), Barbara Pitkin (Stanford University), and Regalado Trota José (University of Santo Tomas) for their help in acquiring important resources from overseas archives.

Close contacts with international colleagues and experts in various area studies have been very helpful and inspiring. Some of them served as “external advisers” for the regional sections of the research project. Others commented on different aspects of our work. Quite a

number attended various internal workshops and the Seventh International Munich-Freising Conference in December 2014. The proceedings of this conference, which will also contain the concluding comparative study of the entire research project, will hopefully be published in late 2016 or early 2017.

Thanks here are due to: Afe Adogame (University of Edinburgh / Princeton Theological Seminary), Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu (Trinity Theological Seminary, Legon, Ghana), James T. Campbell (Stanford University), David Daniels (McCormick Theological Seminary), Mark R. Frost (University of Essex), Audrey Gadzekpo (University of Ghana), Francis A. Gealogo (Ateneo de Manila University, Quezon City, Philippines), Andreas Heuser (University of Basel), Daniel Jeyaraj (Liverpool Hope University), Christoph Marx (University of Duisburg-Essen), Terry Revollido (Aglipay Central Theological Seminary, Urdaneta City, Philippines), Peter-Ben Smit (Utrecht University), Mira Sonntag (Rikkyo University, Tokyo, Japan), Megan C. Thomas (University of California, Santa Cruz), Kevin Ward (University of Leeds).

When established in 2010, the new series *Documents on the History of Christianity in Asia, Africa and Latin America* (of which this collection comprises volume 4) defined as its goal to diminish the dependency on missionary or colonial sources and to make accessible the voices and documents of those “pioneers of indigenous Christianity” in the Global South, whose voices seldom have been heard. We are confident that this volume fills a significant gap. Important developments in the history of Christianity in Asia and Africa around 1900 cannot be understood without proper knowledge of these local Christian elites, as documented here. Their journals, which are made available to a wider audience in this volume mostly for the first time, cast a new light on the history of Christian communities in India, South Africa, West Africa and the Philippines.

The editors  
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## **A. General Introduction**



## General Introduction: Goals of the Entire Research Project and the Present Text Selection

KLAUS KOSCHORKE

This documentary volume is the first major publication of a larger research project on journals published by indigenous Christian elites in Asia and Africa around 1900.<sup>1</sup> The project aims to cast light on the debates undertaken by Asian and African Christians in various colonial societies and missionary contexts at the beginning of the 20th century. The sources used in our research are media that have been underestimated for a long time, namely the journals and periodicals published by indigenous Christians from both continents. Whereas recently missionary journals have enjoyed a dramatic increase of interest by historians of globalization and scholars in the field of cultural studies, the journals published by local Christians have often been studied only in isolated regional settings and never in a systematic way or comparative perspective. These sources, however, constitute a singularly important tool in order to gain access to the voice of the “educated natives” or “educated Christians”, as they were labeled in the colonial jargon of the time. Lack of knowledge of these indigenous Christian elites makes it very difficult for us to properly understand Asian and African Christianity in the early 20th century.

This project considers journals and periodicals from four regions: India, South Africa, West Africa, and the Philippines between 1890 and 1915. These regions represent societies very different in terms of their colonial, religious and missionary history. This is true especially if we consider the Philippines, a country with a Catholic majority and for centuries a Spanish colony, in comparison with the other three selected regions, subject to British domination and with a strong Protestant missionary presence. Differences of another type can be observed when looking, for example, at the multireligious landscapes of India and South Africa around 1900. All the more remarkable then are the many concordances in the topics debated in these journals and introduced by native Christians in the discourse of their respective colonial societies. They did so in order “to give publicity to our thoughts”, as stated by *Inkanyiso yase Natal*, a black journal founded in South African Natal in 1889.

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1 The complete title of the research project is “Indigenous Christian elites in Asia and Africa around 1900 and their journals and periodicals. Patterns of cognitive interaction and early forms of transregional networking” (“Indigen-christliche Eliten Asiens und Afrikas um 1900 im Spiegel ihrer Journale und Periodika. Muster kognitiver Interaktion und Frühformen transregionaler Vernetzung”). The project is hosted at Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (with the sub-projects on India, South Africa, and the Philippines; project leader: Prof. Dr. Klaus Koschorke) and the University of Applied Sciences for Intercultural Theology at Hermannsburg (sub-project on West Africa; project leader: Prof. Dr. Dr. Frieder Ludwig). It has been sponsored by the German Research Foundation (DFG) and the Fritz Thyssen Foundation (FTS) from 2012 to 2015.



Among these common topics we can find:

- the demand for “indigenous leadership”;
- the position of the “native clergy” in relation to foreign missionaries or religious orders from Europe;
- the quest for church independency and national church movements;
- the relationship with contemporary national and other emancipation movements;
- debates about the concept of the “Three Selves”;
- access to modern education and the role of the missionary schools;
- the relation to the non-Christian religions and pre-colonial culture.

Special attention is being paid in the research project to the question of what could be called ‘cognitive interaction’. What did the native Christians in the various colonial societies and “missionary fields” learn through these journals about each other? To which extent did this lead to a reciprocal perception, to an incipient solidarity, and eventually to direct contacts? How far did these contacts result in the emergence of transregional and transcontinental networks among leading Christian personalities from different regions, as well in the construction of a ‘transregional indigenous Christian public sphere’? Multiple connections between Christians in Asia and Africa become thus visible, often independently from existing missionary networks. Such links could include the exchange of letters, repeated mutual visits, indigenous evangelistic ventures in other regions, the participation of Christians in pan-Asian and pan-African movements, the development of diasporic networks as well as the beginnings of transregional and transcontinental communication structures. Hence, multiple forms of “Christian internationalisms” around 1910 came to the fore.

Four regional studies are planned as the result of this research project, as well as a comprehensive concluding study. The present documentation volume offers for the first time a comparative selection of articles from such journals, often very difficult to access. It is meant not only for scholars interested in the History of Christianity and Religious Studies, but also for students of the History of the Press, of Global History, as well as for specialists on the aforementioned regions. We hope that this documentary sourcebook will provide a useful scholarly basis and inspire further research in these fields.<sup>2</sup>

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2 In addition to the sourcebook presented here, early results of the project have been published as: K. KOSCHORKE, “‘When is India to have her own native bishops?’ Der schwarzafrikanische Bischof Samuel Ajayi Crowther (ca. 1806–1891) in der christlichen Publizistik Asiens und Afrikas im 19. Jahrhundert”, in: M. DELGADO / M. STEVERNICH (Eds.), *Mission und Prophetie in Zeiten der Interkulturalität* (St. Ottilien 2011, 315–324); ID., “Weltmission, globale Kommunikationsstrukturen und die Vernetzung der indigen-christlichen Eliten Asiens und Afrikas im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert”, in: U. VAN DER HEYDEN / A. FELDTKELLER (Eds.), *Missionsgeschichte als Geschichte der Globalisierung von Wissen* (Stuttgart 2012, 193–212); ID., “New Maps in the History of World Christianity: Current Challenges and Future Perspectives” (*Theology Today* 71/2, 2014; 178–191); ID., “‘What can India learn from Japan?’ Netzwerke indigen-christlicher Eliten in Asien und christliche Internationalismen um 1910”, in: J.G. NAGEL / M. MANN (Eds.), *Jenseits der Grenze. Europa in der Welt in Zeiten der Globalisierung*. FS R. Wendt (Heidelberg 2015, 19–42); ID., “‘How may India profit from Japan?’ Die Stellung der Frau und weibliche Erziehung in den Debatten indigen-christlicher Eliten in Asien um 1910”, in: C. RAMMELT ET AL. (Eds.), *Begegnungen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*. FS M. Tamcke (Münster 2015, 217–227). – F. LUDWIG, “Are the Ethiopians ‘the Prussians of Africa’ or ‘the Japanese of Africa’? Transatlantic and Transcontinental Networks in the West African Press of the 1890s”, in: K. KOSCHORKE / A. HERMANN (Eds.), *Polycentric Structures in the History of World Christianity* (Wiesbaden 2014, 227–238); ID., “‘Carpe Diem!’ Aushandlungsprozesse in den kirchlichen und politischen Emanzipationsbewegungen Nigerias zwischen den Kriegen”, in: C. RAMMELT ET AL. (Eds.), *Begegnungen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*. FS Martin Tamcke (Münster 2015, 228–242); ID., “Religion und Geschichte in der afrikanischen und afro-

### 1. *The Journals and Their Programs*

The journals presented in this volume are very heterogeneous in their characteristics. They differ in terms of ownership, circulation, period of publishing, and language. Some of them were long-lasting, whereas others existed only for few months or years. Some were established from the very outset as a “purely indigenous venture ... owned and conducted entirely by members of the native Christian community” (*Christian Patriot* 02.01.1896 – text 1). Other journals were at first under the umbrella of a missionary institution before they passed, also in official terms, “into the hands of the natives” (*Inkanyiso* 04.01.1895 – text 124). Certain journals had only a regional diffusion, whereas others attained a national one and occasionally even circulated abroad. In this collection, India and South Africa are represented by one journal for each country, whereas several publications have been considered in the case of West Africa and the Philippines. In addition to journals that were primarily church-related (as in the case of the Philippines), also secular journals have been analyzed whose authors and editors, however, were engaged in varied religious activities, or were members of the black clergy (West Africa). Notwithstanding their many differences, all these journals allow new insights into the debates and the thinking of indigenous Christian elites between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries.

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amerikanischen Historiographie: Skizzierung einflussreicher Positionierungen in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts” (forthcoming in: *Geschichte und Gott* [XV. Europäischer Kongress für Theologie], 2016). – E.P. MOGASE / F. LUDWIG, “Women in Mission and Media in English-Speaking West Africa, c. 1890–1930. A Tentative Outline of Developments and Trajectories”, in: C. BURLACIOIU / A. HERMANN (Eds.), *Veränderte Landkarten. Auf dem Weg zu einer polyzentrischen Geschichte des Weltchristentums*. FS K. Koschorke (Wiesbaden 2013, 151–160). – E.P. MOGASE, “Mission in Controversy: A revision of Adelaide Casely-Hayford’s Approach”, in: J. RELLER (Ed.), *Frauen und Zeiten*. Frauen in der Hermannsburger Mission und ihren Partnerkirchen (Berlin/Münster 2014, 43–72). – A. HERMANN, “Transregional Contacts Between Independent Catholic Churches in Asia Around 1900: The Case of the Iglesia Filipina Independiente and the Independent Catholics of Ceylon”, in: C. BURLACIOIU / A. HERMANN (Eds.), *Veränderte Landkarten. Auf dem Weg zu einer polyzentrischen Geschichte des Weltchristentums*. FS K. Koschorke (Wiesbaden 2013, 139–150); ID., “Transnational Networks of Philippine Christian Intellectuals and the Emergence of an Indigenous-Christian Public Sphere around 1900”, in: K. KOSCHORKE / A. HERMANN (Eds.), *Polycentric Structures in the History of World Christianity* (Wiesbaden 2014, 193–203); ID., “The Early Periodicals of the Iglesia Filipina Independiente (1903–1904) and the Emergence of a Transregional and Transcontinental Indigenous-Christian Public Sphere” (*Philippine Studies. Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints* 62/3–4, 2014, 549–565); ID., “Publicizing Independence. The Filipino *Ilustrado* Isabelo de los Reyes and the ‘Iglesia Filipina Independiente’ in a Colonial Public Sphere” (forthcoming in: *Journal of World Christianity*, Special Issue “Munich School of World Christianity”, 2016). – A. HERMANN / C. BURLACIOIU, “Die Publizistik und transkontinentale Vernetzung indigen-christlicher Eliten um 1910: Zwei Fallstudien”, in: K. KOSCHORKE (Ed.), *Phases of Globalization in the History of Christianity* (Wiesbaden 2012, 315–335). – C. BURLACIOIU, “Orthodoxie zwischen New York und Ostafrika. Die Geschichte einer transatlantischen schwarzen Kirche im frühen 20. Jahrhundert”, in: *CAS-Aviso* [Center for Advanced Studies, LMU], 3 (2013), 12–15; ID., “The Role of the Religious and Secular Black Press in the Forging of the Transatlantic Black Community at the Turn of the 20th Century”, in: C. BURLACIOIU / A. HERMANN (Eds.), *Veränderte Landkarten. Auf dem Weg zu einer polyzentrischen Geschichte des Weltchristentums*. FS K. Koschorke (Wiesbaden 2013, 169–188); ID., “Die African Orthodox Church als transkontinentale Bewegung in den 1920er und 1930er Jahren. Von einer ‘imaginierten’ zur ‘realen’ Orthodoxie”, in: K. KOSCHORKE / A. HERMANN (Eds.), *Polycentric Structures in the History of World Christianity* (Wiesbaden 2014, 359–375); ID., “Transatlantische Vernetzung indigener christlichen Eliten am Beispiel der ‘African Orthodox Church’ 1920–1930”, in: U. VAN DER HEYDEN / A. FELDTKELLER (Eds.), *Missionsgeschichte als Geschichte der Globalisierung von Wissen* (Stuttgart 2012, 97–109).

These are the journals selected for our research:

*India: The Christian Patriot (CP)* – launched in Madras/Chennai in 1890, this weekly publication continued until 1929. It served as mouthpiece of the South Indian Protestant intelligentsia and aimed at the “moral, social, intellectual and spiritual progress” of India. “Christian in tone and Patriotic in its aims”, it criticized both missionary paternalism and Hindu exclusivism and sought to represent the Indian Christian community “as a whole”.

*South Africa: Inkanyiso yase Natal* (“The Enlightener of Natal”) – established in Pietermaritzburg in 1889, it was published until 1896. It claimed to be “the first native journal in Natal, and the second of its kind in South Africa” (text 120). It addressed a wide range of issues and published regularly “Native Thoughts” on the social, political and religious developments in the colony.

*West Africa:* here four journals from three regions have been considered: *The Sierra Leone Weekly News* (established in 1884), *The Gold Coast Leader* (started in 1902), *The Lagos Weekly Record* (established in 1891) and *The Lagos Standard* (founded in 1895). West Africa had a long tradition of a black press, and West Indian connections played an important role in its genesis. In general, the founders of these journals were also sympathetic to the emancipation of African Christianity from European control.

*The Philippines:* here two journals have been considered that were launched in connection with the establishment of the “Iglesia Filipina Independiente” (*IFI*) in 1902 – a church that temporarily included about 25% of the Filipino population and exists till today. These short-lived periodicals were *La Verdad* (published from January 21 to August 5, 1903) and *La Iglesia Filipina Independiente: Revista Católica (IFIRC)* (October 11, 1903, to December 15, 1904). Some additional texts have been taken from *La Redención del Obrero* (October 8, 1903, to February 18, 1904). The latter was a trade unions’s publication being distributed jointly with *IFIRC* “in the whole Philippines” (*en todo Filipinas*, as stated in the journal’s header) – a sign of the close connection between movements of religious and social emancipation in the Filipino society at that time.

An *Appendix* provides a selection of publications produced by the “African Orthodox Church” (AOC). Established in New York in 1921, this black church quickly spread also to Southern and Eastern Africa. As its transcontinental diffusion was carried out primarily through journals, it has a particular importance in the context of the entire research project.

Although the journals presented here differ in many details, they are all important if only as expressions of the growing self-consciousness of these indigenous elites and their proud presence in the public space. “The present age is notably an age of Negro magazines”, stated for instance the *Lagos Standard* on October 4, 1905. “At no time have there been so many magazines published by the [African] race” (text 228). Already in 1870 the *Kaffir Express* – a black journal published in South African Lovedale (and not included in our edition) – had hailed the dawn of a new epoch, as “now” for the first time the Africans published their own journals: “The period when newspapers begin to live in the history of any people is an important era” (01.10.1870). *Inkanyiso*, founded in Natal in 1889, reiterated the claim to be the “mouthpiece” of the Africans in the colony, whose voices previously had not been heard:

“We wish to give publicity to our thoughts” (*Inkanyiso* 12.03.1891 – text 119). What *Inkanyiso* strove for was the “advancement of our people politically, industrially, religiously and otherwise” (*Inkanyiso* 13.01.1893 – text 121).

Such *programmatic statements* are collected in *Section A.1* of this sourcebook. In the Philippines, *La Verdad* sought to defend the principles of religious independence and the rights of the Filipino believers against the claims of the former colonial Catholic Church, still dominated by the Spaniards: “Down with the privileges of race! That is our maxim” (*La Verdad* 21.01.1903 – text 316). Similarly in India, the *Christian Patriot* presented itself as the mouthpiece of the Indian Christians, describing themselves as a “progressive community”: “We firmly believe that the Indian Christian community has a very important part to play in the regeneration of India” (*CP* 07.01.1905 – text 3). The *CP* not only sought “to represent the views and promote the interests of the Indian Christian community as a whole” (*CP* 10.01.1903 – text 2). It was also concerned “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, the *CP* intended “to bring the various Christian organisations throughout India, Burma, Ceylon, Straits and South Africa [as well as in Great Britain] in close touch with one another” (*CP* 19.02.1916 – text 4). Thus, the journal aimed at “bring[ing] about greater unity and solidarity” within the Indian Christian diaspora. Here we find indeed an instructive illustration of the role played by the press in building “imagined communities” as analyzed by Benedict Anderson.

Not only noble objectives and sweeping visions are being presented in the journals documented in this volume. They constantly deal also with the difficulties encountered in daily management (see *Section A.2: “Realities of Publishing”*). Permanent financial difficulties and technical problems (such as the lack of available printing paper) are some of the major problems, together with the repeated complaints about the unreliability of the subscribers. Belated payers were even threatened to be exposed by name in the following issue. This was for example the case of the *CP* in its edition of July 6, 1912 (text 10 [3]). Problems of a very different sort were raised by the restrictive press legislation in certain colonies (as for example in West Africa: see text 234), by the polemic waged by the Hindu press in India (“attacked and misrepresented by Hindu journalists”: *CP* 24.09.1896, p. 4), or by the attacks by the white settler’s press in South Africa (see text 131). Another problem was posed by repeated attempts at obstruction and sabotage. *Inkanyiso*, for example, had to complain about the mysterious disappearance of newspapers on the mailing route (see text 130). In South African Natal, all these difficulties contributed to the closing down of the paper in 1896 (see texts 190f). All the more remarkable – and, at the same time, sign of the significance of the present sourcebook – is the fact that, despite such difficulties, numerous examples of the indigenous Christian press lasted for a relatively long time. By their readers they could be appreciated as an important “power in the country [Natal]” (text 134) or even as a “world-wide paper” (*CP* 21.08.1909 – text 12).

## 2. *The Topics Dealt With by the Journals*

“It is the general feeling amongst Natives that their grievances are frequently not heard”, complained *Inkanyiso*. Hence, from then on the journal was published not only in Zulu language, but also in English, so that “our English friends become more acquainted with ‘Native

Opinion” (*Inkanyiso* 12.03.1891 – text 120). Thus the concerns and grievances of the Africans should be perceived in the colonial public sphere. Elsewhere, it was religious issues and ecclesiastical controversies that were intensively debated in the journals presented in our sourcebook. This happened frequently by engaging in discussions with other periodicals: with the non-Christian press (in India, for instance), with political journals and missionary bulletins, as well as with different voices from within the “native Christian community”.

A selection of the topics discussed in the aforementioned journals is presented in our sourcebook in a comparative perspective. A *general analytical scheme* according to which the topics are arranged in each regional section is placed at the beginning of the volume (p. 21). This scheme was initially developed in relation to the *Christian Patriot* (Madras/Chennai 1890ff.), which was the starting point for the project team at the University of Munich. Later on, the scheme was refined so as to be adjusted to the plurality of regional contexts represented in the journals. With this comprehensive structure, both analogous and diverging (as well as asynchronous) developments in the different colonial societies and “mission fields” should become visible.

A common theme in all the journals and regions here considered is the complaint against the growing racism (or paternalism) of the Europeans, as well as the critique of the alleged “inequality of races” (see *Sections C.1* and *B.3*). Other topics are stressed differently in various regional contexts. “Church Independency” (*Section B.1*), for instance, was a central issue both in West Africa and in the Philippines. In the former region, the disempowerment of the black Anglican Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther\* triggered a wave of newly founded churches independent from white control in the 1890s. In the latter context, the *IFIRC* served as the official organ of the newly established “independent church” (the *IFI*) that, following the Philippine Revolution of 1898, had separated itself in 1902 from the former colonial and still Spanish-dominated Roman Catholic Church. In India there existed an analogous conflict between the emancipatory efforts of the local Christian elites and the paternalism (if not plain racism) of the Euro-American Protestant missionaries. Here, however, the result was a different one: the project of an ‘Indian National Church’. It should be open to all Indian Christians “irrespective of their denominational affiliations”, but without immediately cutting ties with the missionary organizations. This idea was discussed intensively in the *CP*, weighing its pros and cons, together with the question whether a “religious or social union [should come] first” among the Indian Christians (text 24).

*Education* is finally to be mentioned as a third example of a theme that was discussed intensively in all the four regional contexts, although in each case with a different focus (*Section E*). In South India, for example, we find the self-perception of the Protestant elite as a “progressive community” defined essentially by the criterion of their high literacy rate and the “educational progress of Native Christians” (*CP* 30.07.1898 – text 74). In that context a problem was presented by the heterogeneous composition of the Christian community, with its high percentage of low caste people. In Natal, the debate was mostly focused on a specific form of education, namely the demand for “industrial education”. It was propagated as a means to give Africans access to the modern forms of employment in the colonial society. Various experiments of “industrial education” in Jamaica and in the USA were presented as examples to be followed (texts 206, 216). The West African journals referred proudly to the numerous modern educational institutions in the region. These were presented not only as enterprises undertaken by the missionaries and the colonial government, but also the result of local initiatives (text 280). So, for instance, the Liberia College, “the first African Seminary [= college] of learning launched forth with all the equipments”, was described as purely

African from the outset: “Its Faculty are Africans, its Professors Africans, its Tutors Africans, its Students Africans” (text 279). Finally, in the Philippines the journals we are examining pleaded for a liberal education, which alone “can elevate our nation”. For this reason the new Church endeavored to establish colleges “in all the provinces” of the country (text 342). Such an effort was undertaken to break the former monopoly of the “Romanists”, who were accused of “hate[ing] progress and liberty” (text 391).

In any case, the topics dealt with by the journals were mostly also the object of *public debates and media controversies*. In India, for instance, the *CP* discussed in a foundational article the relation between the “The [Indian] National Congress and the Native Christian Community”. This essay was a direct response to a request made by the journal *The Hindu* that wanted to know “what exactly was the attitude of the Native Christians, as a community, towards the [Indian] National Congress” (*CP* 09.01.1896 – text 46). In South Africa, *Inkanyiso* was engaged in a constant discussion with the settlers’ press and especially with the *Times of Natal* that contested the educational progress and “advance in civilization of the Native population” in the colony and opposed the native aspirations to political participation. *Inkanyiso* confronted this attitude in a public and decided way: “We have as much right to make matters, affecting us as a people, public as the *Times* has [to make public] those matters which affect the class it represents” (*Inkanyiso* 13.01.1893 – text 122). In West Africa, black journals like the *Lagos Weekly Record* (from nowadays Nigeria) and *The Gold Coast Leader* (from current Ghana) backed one another against the attacks launched by the London-based *West Africa* that qualified as groundless the protests of the Gold Coast inhabitants against the curtailment of their rights (*Lagos Weekly Record* 04.10.1902 – text 227). In the Philippines, the journals *La Verdad* and *IFIRC* defended the right to religious independency and the much desired international recognition of their new church against the furious attacks by the Roman Catholic press.

### 3. Different Profiles and Asynchronous Developments

The perception of both analogous and different developments in the four regions under consideration is an important goal of our comparative analysis. Naturally, the different length of publication of the journals presented here has to be taken into account. Within the time span documented in our sourcebook, namely the years 1890–1915, the *CP* (launched in 1890) covers a quarter of a century and the West African journals (established between 1884 and 1902) encompass around 20 years. On the other hand, *Inkanyiso* (1889–1896) existed only for seven years and the Filipino journals considered here lasted two years only. Hence, different timelines and development stages become visible. Notwithstanding this asynchronicity, the journals presented here allow for a better understanding of the various regional developments, while they provide new important building blocks for the construction of a comprehensive history of Christianity in Asia and Africa between the late 19th and the early 20th centuries.

A significant example is the issue of “Church Independency”. As mentioned before, this was the central theme both in the West African journals, as well as in the Philippines, albeit in a totally different colonial and missionary context. Quite remarkably, however, “Church Independency” was not crucial in the case of *Inkanyiso*, although very soon South Africa became known in missionary circles as the motherland of Ethiopianism (i.e. of African churches independent from missionaries). In *Inkanyiso* we find the Ethiopian movement



mentioned only in one single passage, in a letter to the editor written in Zulu (*Inkanyiso* 15.03.1895 – text 141; the supplementary article on Ethiopianism contained in this collection [text 142] has been taken from another journal). On the other hand, it is quite remarkable that the founder of the first Ethiopian Church in South Africa in 1892, Mangena Maaka Mokone, was among the subscribers of *Inkanyiso*, together with other initiators and leaders of later African Independent Churches. Also mentioned are Joseph Kanyane Napo, Jacob Xaba, Gardiner B. Mvuyana or Simungu Shibe. Other future leaders, like Isaac Caluza, Thomas Sibizi and Joel Msimang, stood out as correspondents or even (as in the case of Solomon Kumalo) as editors of the periodical. Detailed information can be found in the introduction to the South Africa section. Thus, *Inkanyiso* casts light on the “pre-Ethiopian phase” of South African Christianity and allows insights into the conceptual world and the discourses of those who later established African Independent Churches.

A similar observation applies to topics such as “indigenous clergy” and “native episcopate”. The latter does not appear at all in *Inkanyiso*, and African clerics are seldom portrayed here as role models or beacons of civilizational progress. On the contrary, various references presented in *Section C.1* (texts 154–165) express a clear skepticism against the “laxity of native preachers” (e.g. text 137). Attention is rather paid to the legal and social status of the class of “educated” (and mostly Christian) Africans as a whole, understood as those who fought for their rights as “exempted natives” (vis-à-vis the “raw natives” subject to traditional law). They experienced increasing frustration and disappointment about the denial of promised participation rights in the settlers’ society, notwithstanding all the educational progress achieved: “As ... we are beginning to rise to a higher life, prejudice rises against us” (*Inkanyiso* 03.12.1891 – text 184).

Another example of varied profiles is offered by *Section F*, “Women, Family, Gender Relations”. In most journals this issue plays an important role, although in different ways. In India the question of female education and women literacy is absolutely central for the self-perception of the Indian Christian elite as a “progressive community”. West African journals such as the *Lagos Standard* could publish detailed articles like “Husband or Wife? Which should be the head of the House?” (*Lagos Standard* 03.07.1907 – text 295). However, the topic plays only a subordinate role in *Inkanyiso*’s representation of Natal’s Christianity. Debates here are often limited to the training of female home servants or the establishment of “Homes for the protection of Native Girls” (19.10.1894 – text 198). A very different perspective, again, is to be found in the *IFIRC*, which in an article on “Filipina Deaconesses” presented them as a new model of Christian womanhood, in contrast to the traditional Catholic religious orders, with women secluded “in a convent behind walls of stone”. The journal thus extolled the ideal of socially engaged women, “who live among the people and do Christian work there” (17.10.1904 – text 408).

#### 4. Cognitive Interaction, Direct Contacts, Transregional Networking

To what extent were these journals instrumental in creating a mutual awareness and establishing links between Christians from different regions and colonial or missionary contexts? It was through the press – first missionary and secular journals, but also increasingly through indigenous periodicals like those presented in our sourcebook for the first time – that Christian communities and activists in Asia and Africa learned about and eventually interacted with each other. Readers in West and South Africa looked at Christian Ethiopia as a symbol

of political *and* ecclesial independence (e.g. text 304f). News about West African bishops inspired debates in India about a native episcopacy: “When is India to have her own native bishops?” (*CP* 18.06.1898 – text 92). Already in the 1870s S.A. Crowther\* (ca. 1806–1891), the first African bishop in modern times, had become an international figure and fueled discussions about “native agency” and “indigenous leadership” in India, Ceylon and South Africa. – It was through the press that the “Independent Catholics of Ceylon” learned about the existence of the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente* in the far away Philippines, to which they sent letters of congratulations asking, at the same time, for support and for Filipino clergy to be dispatched to nowadays Sri Lanka. These letters, in turn, were printed in the *IFIRC* (texts 430, 431). In India, the progress in the realization in different regions of the concept of the “Three-Selves” – the ideal of self-supporting, self-extending and self-governing Churches – was a key theme in the *CP*. News from Sierra Leone, Uganda or Japan were used to present the local churches in these countries as a “model” and a “teaching lesson” for the “native Indian Christian community” (e.g. in texts 93, 96, 113). So Africa served as a model for Asia, and, in other instances, Asia for Africa.

In the case of Japan, successive stages of communication can be distinguished in the news coverage of the *CP*: from a mere awareness of developments in the Far East, to direct contacts (visit of a delegation of Japanese Christians to India in 1906), and to the Tokyo Conference of 1907 as a gathering of Christians “from all parts of Asia”, with strong Indian participation and a majority of Asian delegates – “unique in the history of the World” (texts 109–115). But also West African journals paid considerable attention to the “splendid results” achieved by the Japanese – “a coloured race” (texts 311, 307ff). A most remarkable example of the establishment of transcontinental networks through the press is presented by the publications of the ‘African Orthodox Church’ (AOC). As mentioned above, this black Church, established in New York in 1921, had branches in South Africa already in 1924 and in East Africa (Kenya, Uganda) only a few years later. These were not the results of evangelistic activities by the AOC center in New York but a spontaneous response by African Christians to news about the AOC disseminated through black media: “Within three years the East and the West have met each other in the African Orthodox Church ... through the press” (text 434). These varied examples enable us to discuss in a new way the concept of a transregional “indigenous Christian public sphere” and to pay proper attention to the broad spectrum of “Christian internationalisms” in the early 20th century.

### 5. Technical Aspects

*Language:* The journals presented in this collection were published mainly in the respective colonial language – in order to “give publicity to our thoughts” in the wider colonial public, and, in addition, to enable communication among indigenous Christian elites from different regions and language backgrounds. The four West African journals were written in English. *Inkanyiso* (Natal) was bilingual (English and Zulu). The *Christian Patriot* (South India) was published predominantly in English, with sporadic insertions in Tamil. The IFI publications contained articles in Spanish, partly also in English, and to some extent also in Tagalog and other Filipino languages (see text 385). All selected articles are presented in this collection in the original English, or in an English translation as in the case of two Zulu texts (texts 130, 141) and of the articles from the IFI publications (if not indicated otherwise).



The original spelling of the English texts in the different journals has been mostly retained. Spelling has been standardized in the editor's headlines of the individual articles (in bold). Some forms of punctuation and typography in common usage in newspapers and journals around 1900 have been removed or standardized (for example “:-“, which has been replaced by “:.”)

*Original pagination of articles:* Below each text we have generally attempted to indicate the original page numbers from our sources. In some cases, for example when the respective journal did not print page numbers on individual pages, only the date of the issue has been given.

*Supplementary texts:* In addition to articles from the journals mentioned above, a few texts from external sources have been included. They are marked by boxes with a light grey background (e.g. text 24).

*Editorial signs:*

- Each text has two headlines: the first one – in bold – chosen by the editor(s), the second one – in small caps – being the original headline from the respective article. A standardized headline style has been used for both of these and the capitalization of the original headlines has been adjusted accordingly.
- Square brackets ([ ]) are used for all editorial comments, explanations and the spelling out of abbreviations used in the original text. Omissions within a sentence are indicated by three dots (...) or, if a full sentence or more has been left out, by three dots within square brackets ([...]).
- Journals and periodicals quoted in our journals are italicized.
- Some non-essential line breaks in the original articles were removed and replaced by “/” in order to save space.

*Annotations:* We have provided some short annotations on important historical persons, movements, organizations, conferences, events, terms, and journals for each regional section (see p. 459ff). These are indicated by an asterisk (\*) after the annotated term. In case of organizations like the Indian National Congress, the Madras Native Christian Association or the Natal Indian Congress, which are referred to in the journals under different designations (e.g. as “Congress”, “National Congress” or “Indian National Congress”), an abbreviation has been added in the text for clarification (in the first case: “INC”), under which the respective explanation can be found in the list of annotations.

## General Structure of the Sourcebook

### **A. Programs and Realities**

- A.1 Programmatic Texts
- A.2 Realities of Publishing

### **B. National Church Movements, Church Independency, Indigenous Clergy – Christian Movements of Emancipation**

- B.1 Indigenous Clergy, Native Episcopacy, Ideal of the Three-Selves
- B.2 National Church Movements, Church Independency, Ecumenical Horizons
- B.3 Relations Between Natives and Europeans, Position of Foreign Missionaries and Religious Orders, Indigenous Christian Associations and Organizations

### **C. Nationalism, Political and Social Movements of Emancipation**

- C.1 Self-Assertion, Anti-Racism, Demands for Political Participation
- C.2 Political Analyses, Relations with Political, Social, and National Movements and Organizations

### **D. Interreligious Relations, Traditional Culture, Indigenization**

- D.1 Other Religions, Pre-Colonial Culture, Representations of History
- D.2 Christianity and Local Cultures, Debates About Languages and Bible Translations

### **E. Education, Progress, Modern Indigenous Christian Elites**

### **F. Women, Family, Gender Relations**

### **G. Local and Regional Topics**

### **H. Transregional and Transcontinental Perspectives**



## **B. Selected Journals From Four Regions**



## **I. India**

*The Christian Patriot*

Edited by Klaus Koschorke



## Introduction to *The Christian Patriot*

KLAUS KOSCHORKE

During the last quarter of the 19th century Madras (modern Chennai) became the center of a small, but influential elite of South Indian Protestant Christians. This group included lawyers, teachers, bureaucrats and other socially high-ranking and financially independent persons. They formed their own associations (such as the ‘Madras Native Christian Association’ [MNCA\*], founded in 1888) and established links with societies of Indian Christians in other parts of the country and overseas (for example in South Africa and Great Britain). They started various initiatives (such as the trans-denominational ‘National Church of India’ [NCI\*], established in Madras in 1886) and issued their own journals and periodicals which commented critically on the religious, social and political development of the country.

The most important of these periodicals was *The Christian Patriot: A Journal of Social and Religious Progress*. It was launched in 1890 and existed till 1929. The journal’s name signified its agenda: as Christians to be engaged in the uplift of the nation, in times of a growing Indian nationalism and increased charges of “denationalization” raised against the Indian Christians. At the same time, it intended to promote the “moral, social, intellectual and spiritual progress” of the country’s Christian community. Differently from other journals presented in this collection – which began as a missionary enterprise before being taken over by local Christians –, the *Christian Patriot* was started as a “purely indigenous venture” from its very beginnings (CP 10.01.1903 – text 2). “Owned and conducted entirely by members of the Native Christian community the *Christian Patriot* will give expression to the sentiments and aspirations of Native Christians” (CP 01.02.1896 – text 1). In doing so, it claimed to speak for the Indian Protestant community “as a whole”. The *Christian Patriot* criticized missionary paternalism (and racism), on the one hand, and, on the other hand, tendencies in parts of the “Indian National Congress” to equate the national cause with Hindu revivalism, and to demand only political (and not also social) reforms. While campaigning against caste and arranged marriages, the journal presented India’s Christian community as a “progressive community” leading, among other issues, in the field of female education. “We firmly believe that the Indian Christian community has a very important part to play in the regeneration of India” (CP 07.01.1905 – text 3). The *Christian Patriot* stimulated manifold debates within South India’s Protestant elite, and wide publicity was given to the pros and cons of the project of a ‘National Church of India’. Close links existed to the ‘Madras Native Christian Association’ (established in 1888), the ‘National Missionary Society of India’ (since 1905), the (Madras) ‘Christo Samaj’ (since 1916) and other emancipatory movements and forms of self-organization among South Indian Protestant Christians. At the same time, this English-speaking weekly sought to address the “educated” public in the Madras presidency at large, and was also read in Hindu circles.



Though published in Madras and circulating primarily in South India, the journal intended “to represent the views and promote the interests of the Indian Christian community as a whole” scattered all over the subcontinent (CP 10.01.1903 – text 2). It was regularly “delivered in India, Burma and Ceylon” and was proud to have a “very large constituency not only in this country but also in Great Britain and in America” (CP 10.01.1903 – text 2). The exact number of its subscribers is unknown. Y.V. Kumara Doss and E.S. Alexander give, for an unspecified date, the figure of 800<sup>1</sup> – which would imply a readership somewhere between 8,000 and 18,000 at that time. The *Christian Patriot* addressed a broad range of issues and contained religious, political and general news from India and all over the world. It used and reproduced very different sources – telegraphic summaries, political journals, church magazines, missionary reports, Indian newspapers, the Hindu press, but also indigenous Christian journals from other countries (such as South Africa, Hong Kong or the ‘Indian Christian Association in Great Britain’). Important was the network of local “correspondents” (often identical with subscribers, and recurrently not personally known to the editor). Their reports and contributions were received not only from varied districts and cities in India, but also from places such as London, Boston, Shantung (China) or Cape Town (South Africa). Letters to the Editor came for example from Singapore. They dealt with problems within the Indian Christian diaspora community of that city, and reacted to other letters sent from Singapore to the “world-wide paper ‘the *Christian Patriot*’” (CP 21.08.09 – text 12). One prominent subscriber in far away New York was John R. Mott (CP 29.01.1910, p. 7). In South African Durban the *Christian Patriot* was quoted by Gandhi’s journal *Indian Opinion* (03.04.1909).

The *Christian Patriot* contained all sorts of *international news* and reported, among others, about wars in Europe, the “Negro problem” in the United States or the “grievances” of Indian indentured laborers in South Africa. Special attention was being paid to developments and the fate of Christian co-religionists in other regions and “mission fields”. This mutual awareness and emerging feelings of solidarity between indigenous Christian elites in different colonial societies and missionary contexts led also to direct contacts and early forms of transregional (and even transcontinental) networking. One of the issues controversially debated in Christian India toward the end of the 19th century was, for example, the question of a native episcopate. It had been promised by the missionaries for a long time, in the context of the concept of the “Three Selves” (i.e. the ideal of self-extending, self-supporting and self-governing “native Churches”). But increasingly the issue was postponed – because, according to European opinion, “the time has not yet come”. Then there was a report in the missionary press about three *West African* bishops present at the Fourth Lambeth Conference of 1898. This article the *Christian Patriot* reproduced extensively and verbatim, adding only one sentence of comment: “*When is India to have her own native Bishops?*” (CP 18.06.1898 – text 92). Not only West Africa, but also the Church in *Uganda* was repeatedly presented to the Indian readers as a model and as an “object lesson to Indian Christians” – because in Uganda, differently from India, the “people have made great progress in the direction of self-support, self-extension, and self-government” (CP 11.03.1905 – text 96). *Japan*, the rising

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1 Y.V. KUMARA DOSS/E.S. ALEXANDER, “Lives and Times of the Protestant Elite in Madras at the turn of the Nineteenth Century”, in: O.L. SNAITANG/G. MENACHERY (Eds.), *India’s Christian Heritage* (Bangalore 2012, 114–128), 122. This number is based on: P.J. JONES, *A Volume in Commemoration of the Opening of the 20th Century by South Indian Protestant Missions* (Pasumalai, Madura 1900), 63: „It [the CP] has more than 800 subscribers“. – Detailed information about the *Christian Patriot* will be found in my forthcoming monograph (preliminary title: K. KOSCHORKE, “*Owned and Conducted entirely by the Native Christian Community*”. Der ‘Christian Patriot’ und die indigen-christliche Presse im kolonialen Indien um 1900 [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz]).

Asian power and victorious over a “white” European nation in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904/05, attracted huge interest in the Indian public, both Hindu and Christian. Many articles in the *Christian Patriot* were devoted to the question how this oriental nation – which for centuries had existed in complete isolation – had managed to jump in such a short time into modernity and to take its place among the “most civilized nations in the world”. The answer: “We may safely claim that Christianity and Christian civilisation played a great part in producing this momentous change” (*CP* 30.04.1904 – text 109). Consequently, much information was given to the Indian readers about Christians and Churches in Japan, and in 1906 a delegation of two prominent Japanese Christians visited the subcontinent. They came “at the special request of the Indian Y.M.C.A.s” and delivered speeches in many Indian cities about the topic “What can [Christian] India learn from Japan?”. Their visit of seven weeks, accompanied by an intensive press campaign, led to intensified contacts between Christian leaders and congregations in both countries. It resulted in mutual visits, the exchange of students and teachers, and strengthened pan-Asian sentiments among the two “Asiatic brother nations”. At the Tokyo Conference of the World Students Christian Association in 1907 – the first ecumenical gathering with a majority of Asian delegates – current and future Church leaders from India and Japan intensified direct contacts and mutual exchange.

In 1916 the *Christian Patriot*, looking back at 25 years of its existence, raised the question: “What do we exist for?”. The answer given by the editors (within the turmoil of World War I, which timewise also represents the upper limit for our selection of articles from this journal):

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. This we have done in the past: we hope to do this more vigorously in the coming years. We need to co-operate with our non-Christian fellow citizens in all things calculated to advance the well-being 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. [...]

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. (*CP* 19.02.1916 – text 4).



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## Selected Texts From *The Christian Patriot*

### A. Programs and Realities

#### A.1 Programmatic Texts

##### 1) “Owned and Conducted Entirely by Members of the Native Christian Community” – *The Christian Patriot* in the Seventh Year of Its Existence (02.01.1896)

OURSELVES

It is with feelings of the deepest thankfulness to God that we enter upon the year 1896, which is the seventh year of the existence of our journalistic venture. When in the year 1890 we launched the *Christian Patriot* on the troublous waters of Indian journalism, we had considerable misgivings as to how it would be received by the public, and whether it would justify its existence, as an organ capable of influencing and directing Native Christian public opinion and of advancing its interests. At the very commencement we said that it is “intended that this journal shall be Christian in tone and Patriotic in its aims. It shall be Christian in the broadest and truest sense of the word, inasmuch as we will adopt in its entirety the Christian standard of right and wrong as our standard ... Owned and conducted entirely by members of the Native Christian community the *Christian Patriot* will give expression to the sentiments and aspirations of Native Christians. There are not wanting signs to indicate that the time has now arrived for the members of this community to come boldly forward whether to speak out their minds, or to vindicate their claims, or to battle for the truth and for Christ. We do not pretend that this journal is the ‘organ’ of that community, but we shall endeavour to advocate the claims and ventilate the grievances (if any) of that community, with all fairness and in the spirit of unwearying courtesy and moderation.” To what extent we have fulfilled these expectations our readers will be able to judge for themselves; for our own part, however, we can say that not only that the support that we have received from the public has steadily increased during the past six years, we have also been greatly encouraged by the growing influence of our journal and the confidence that it has evoked from the community which it has been trying to serve, faithfully and unselfishly. If proof were needed of this fact we need only point to the new enlargement in the *Christian Patriot* which this issue of the journal indicates. 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. We have spared neither men nor money in trying to make our journal worthy of the confidence that has been reposed on it by the Christian public. Our readers are probably not unaware of the difficulties of conducting a journal so as to secure the sympathy and support of a large constituency; but these difficulties are increased a hundredfold in our case, as all of those who are connected with the enterprise are men busily engaged in various occupations, but

who, without any expectation of reward, devote what time they could spare, to help to render the *Christian Patriot* a success in every way. We are thankful, however, to state that there has rallied round us, a large number of able Indian Christian contributors from this and other Presidencies. We also count among some of our regular contributors, a few European Missionaries who take a deep interest in everything connected with the progress of the Indian Christian community. We take this opportunity of tendering our heartiest thanks to them and sincerely trust that others will follow their generous example. The successful way in which this important journalistic venture has been conducted is proof positive that Indian Christians are in this Presidency at all events trying to realize the significance of their position and to assert their independence. We often hear it said that Indian Christians have not yet learnt to help themselves, that they stand too much in the position of receivers, and not enough in the position of givers. If the *Christian Patriot* has done anything 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.

Our position in expressing the opinions and in advocating the claims of the Indian Christian community is no doubt one full of most delicate and momentous responsibilities. We are aware that often our criticisms, though never personal nor unkind, have often been sharp and severe. We are aware that in our endeavour to be outspoken and to serve the interests of our community; we have often offended those to whom we owe much. We have often been obliged to comment adversely on questions of Missionary policy so far as they affected Native Christians, but those who have been watching carefully the policy of the *Christian Patriot* would be the last to accuse us of uncharitableness in our criticisms. Some of our staunchest supporters are European and American Missionaries and nothing has been a source of greater encouragement to us than the expressions of approval and support we have received from them whenever we happened to express in plain and straightforward language our opinions on questions of Missionary policy. We are resolved at the same time to exercise greater care and consideration in our criticisms than ever, so that we shall not prove a stumbling block to any one. We are resolved to be more fearless than before in exposing corruption and wickedness. We are resolved to be more zealous than ever in advocating the cause of Christ ...

Now that the *Christian Patriot* has entered upon a new era of progress may we solicit for it a wider support from the public than it has received already. The least that we ask of each subscriber is that he should secure for us one additional subscriber. Let it only be understood that the work we are engaged in is one that, with God's blessing, is likely to raise the Indian Christian community to a position of commanding influence in this country, then we shall not be wanting in that enthusiastic support the lack of which to a great extent cripples our energies. With these remarks we wish our readers

A Happy New Year.

Source: *The Christian Patriot*, January 2, 1896, p. 4 (shorter extracts → texts 5.1, 6.1, 37).

**2) “A Purely Indigenous Venture” and “Oldest Christian Journal in India” –  
*The Christian Patriot* Looks Back at Fourteen Years of Publishing (10.01.1903)**

OURSELVES

With this issue the *Christian Patriot* enters upon the fourteenth year of its existence; and we praise God for the work it has been able to do during the last thirteen years for the community in whose interests it has been started. Our misgivings were great when the *Christian Patriot* was launched on the troublous waters of Indian Journalism as to how far it would prove a success; but the steady support it has received from the very commencement from the public and the various improvements we have been able to effect from time to time in the get-up of the journal bear witness to its appreciation by a very large constituency; not only in this country but also in Great Britain and in America. 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. 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. Though published in Madras 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. We hope Christians throughout India will accord this journal their support and do all in their power to extend its usefulness.

It is needless to speak of the advantages of a journal of this kind in educating and guiding Indian Christian public opinion. At this time in particular, when everything is in a transitional state, a journal that could voice the sentiments and aspirations of the best leaders of the community is an imperative necessity. 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; and at no time, 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. Problems fraught with deep issues to the future Indian Church are confronting us; on all directions, and it is time that the Indian Christian community contributed its quota to the solution of these problems. The community everywhere can boast of men and women of light and leading, 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 missionary problems. What more appropriate medium could be found for the representation of their views than a journal conducted on thoroughly patriotic and Christian lines by Indian Christians.

The success of this venture we need hardly say is due to the hearty co-operation of a large number of educated Indian Christians who have laboured hard without material compensation of any kind, to make it acceptable to Christians of all denominations. The practical help afforded by a large number of Missionaries is also thankfully acknowledged. To one and all – Indian and European Christians – who have helped us with their literary contributions and their advice we tender our sincere thanks. There is still a great deal of literary talent in the community which the *Christian Patriot* has not been able to utilize, and we trust that in this

year at least we shall have the pleasure of welcoming contributions from those endowed with the gift of writing but who have not as yet contributed to our columns.

We are anxious that this year our list of supporters should increase appreciably, and we appeal to our Indian Christian brethren throughout India to leave no stone unturned to make the journal widely known to their friends, and thus make it a greater success than it has been during the past thirteen years. Considering the amount of self-sacrificing labour that has been put into this venture we are justified in looking forward to the enthusiastic support of our brethren throughout the length and breadth of the country.

We also take this opportunity of wishing with all our hearts our readers  
A Happy New Year.

Source: *The Christian Patriot*, January 10, 1903, p. 4 (shorter extracts → texts 5.2, 6.2).

### **3) “A Very Important Part to Play in the Regeneration of India” – *The Christian Patriot* on the New Year 1905 (07.01.1905)**

#### THE NEW YEAR

With this issue the *Christian Patriot* commences a new year, the sixteenth year of its existence. [...] Our readers are not unaware of the difficulties of journalism in India, where it has to meet with special difficulties; and the fact that this journal is intended for a special community and is distinctly Christian in its purpose and aims has increased these difficulties [...] At this time in particular, when everything is in a transitional state, a journal that could voice the sentiments and aspirations of the leaders of the community is an imperative necessity. 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 [...]

Source: *The Christian Patriot*, January 7, 1905, p. 4.

### **4) “What ... Do We Exist For?” – Looking Back at Twenty-Six Years of the Journal’s Existence (19.02.1916)**

#### THE CHRISTIAN PATRIOT

It is now twenty six years since we began our life, and during these years we have endeavoured to serve the Christian Community in India, and especially the Indian Christian Community in South India in various ways.

In these years the *Christian Patriot* has tried to give expression to the feeling of unswerving loyalty to the Government, it has, on a number of instances, represented the opinion of the community to the Government and has expressed its opinion definitely upon various Legislative Measures affecting the interests of our community. It is true we were not

able to do full justice to the various questions at issue, but we are now increasing our efforts in this direction, to be more and more useful to our community, and that chiefly with reference to the Governments in South India.

There are then problems, thousands of them, of which we were able to point out a few in our previous issues. It is not our intention to dogmatize on any of these problems, and force our opinion on the community, we leave the questions open to discussion, and the columns of the *Christian Patriot* are open to all members of our community who desire to express their well-considered views on these matters: our main work will be to direct, guide and focus public opinion as far as it lies in our power. There are a number of problems which admit of more than one solution, in such cases, the different views will be impartially expressed, and the readers will be free to choose their own. To effectively carry out this intention, it is our wish to add one or two pages to our weekly issues. (This is by the way, a financial question, which can be easily settled, if about a 100 new subscribers come in. Will every reader please work for that?)

What else do we exist for? It is clear from the expressed opinion of a few leading men in different parts of India that they have partly misunderstood our other functions; hence we take this opportunity of pointing to them the various phases of our work.

We publish Telegraphic Summary; Why? Many ask. This is the reason. 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'.

We give "Indian News" – Many Indians say, why do you give these News? Are they of any use to the Christian Community? We feel strongly that the Christian Community has for a long time neglected to take part in work which is outside its own community. It is a sad fact. It is then, with the special purpose of giving our Christian readers, some idea of the great movements and work which are carried on by our non-Christian brethren that we publish such news. It is our wish that our readers and the Christian community as a whole should take more active interest in all that is Indian, even though it is not Indian Christian. We extremely regret that at present for want of space, we are not in a position to increase the number of columns chronicling the week's important movements among non-Christians (this is again a question of finance.) We hope to do so however in the near future – with the co-operation of our readers. The usefulness of the other columns are [sic!] self-evident, if only our critics bear in mind this fact that the majority of our readers do not subscribe for any other paper.

We have been asked continually by our readers (generally people who don't subscribe for it) about our attitude towards foreign mission workers. To such we would answer briefly – the same attitude as we take towards any other Christian in India. But, of course, the question is different, if it is foreign *missions* and not foreign missionaries: and no general answer could be given to it in a few lines.

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. This we have done in the past: we hope to do this more vigorously in the coming years. We need to co-

operate with our non-Christian fellow citizens in all things calculated to advance the well-being 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 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.

We have tried to achieve the various objects detailed above: if we have not succeeded so well, the fault does not lie entirely on us: the Indian Christian Community should also take its share and do it manfully and unitedly.

Source: *The Christian Patriot*, February 19, 1916, p. 4 (shorter extract → text 7.1).

## A.2 Realities of Publishing

### 5) Ownership

(1.) [...] Owned and conducted entirely by members of the Native Christian community the *Christian Patriot* will give expression to the sentiments and aspirations of Native Christians. [...]

(2.) [...] 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. [...]

(3.) THE CHRISTIAN PATRIOT COMPANY LTD. [...] 1. This Company shall be called the Christian Patriot, Company, Limited. 2. Its object is to promote the religious and social welfare of the Indian Christian community by means of a Journal, Library, Printing press and other suitable methods. 3. The capital of the Company shall be not less than Rs. 3,000, divided into 300 shares of Rs. 10 each. [...] 8. In order to start work at once, the Company shall take over the English Weekly, called the *Christian Patriot*, from the 1st, April 1912, or date of registration, with all its assets and liabilities. [...] 11. There shall be an Annual Meeting of the Company [...]

Sources: *The Christian Patriot*, (1.) January 2, 1896, p. 4 (full article → text 1); (2.) January 10, 1903, p. 4 (full article → text 2); (3.) July 6, 1912, p. 8.

### 6) Distribution, Circulation in India and Beyond

(1.) [...] We are thankful, however, to state that there has rallied round us, a large number of able Indian Christian contributors from this and other Presidencies. We also count among some of our regular contributors, a few European Missionaries who take a deep interest in everything connected with the progress of the Indian Christian community. [...]

(2.) [...] Though published in Madras 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. We hope Christians throughout India will accord this journal their support and do all in their power to extend its usefulness. [...] [A] very large constituency not only in this country but also in Great Britain and in America. [...]

(3.) TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION / Rs. 5 per annum – For free delivery in India, Burma and Ceylon. / Rs. 6 per annum – for free delivery in Foreign countries / The following reduced rates are also allowed: Rs. 4 per annum or As. 6 per month – For those whose monthly income is below Rs. 50 and above Rs. 30. / Rs. 3 per annum or As. 5 per month – For those whose monthly income is Rs. 30 and below. – All subscriptions should be paid in advance. [...]



(4.) [*Christian Patriot* quoted in *The Irish Churchman*, Dublin] 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. [...] – *The Irish Churchman*.

(5.) [*Christian Patriot* quoted in Gandhi's\* journal *The Indian Opinion*, Durban] THE LATE MR. G.W. CHATTERJI / *The Christian Patriot* (Madras) contains the following in its editorial notes: [...]

(6.) [*New Header*] *The Christian Patriot* / The Leading Organ of the Christian Community in India, Burma, Ceylon, Straits and South Africa / Vol. XXVI / Madras: Saturday, 4th March 1916 / No. 9 [...]

Sources: *The Christian Patriot*, (1.) January 2, 1896, p. 4 (full article → text 1); (2.) January 10, 1903, p. 4 (full article → text 2); (3.) January 10, 1903, p. 1; (4.) March 15, 1913, p. 5; (5.) *Indian Opinion*, April 3, 1909, p. 156; (6.) *The Christian Patriot*, March 4, 1916, p. 1.

### 7) Readers and Subscribers

(1.) [...] 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'. [...]

(2.) [...] The paper is now being printed at the Methodist Episcopal Press at a greatly enhanced cost and it is hoped that Native Christians *of all classes* will give their hearty support [...]

(3.) [...] The *Christian Patriot* has become a popular paper here [at Secunderabad, Andhra Pradesh], both among Christians and Hindus. [...]

Sources: *The Christian Patriot*, (1.) February 19, 1916, p. 4 (full article → text 4); (2.) April 2, 1898, p. 6; (3.) July 30, 1898, p. 6.

### 8) Contributors, Correspondents

(1.) [...] The success of the journal ... is due to the hearty cooperation we have received from Indian Christian friends as well as Missionaries. Several well-known writers have rallied around the Journal and have worked hard without any recompense [...]

(2.) [...] We cannot say that all our correspondents and contributors are personally known to us but we can say that we entirely depend upon their honesty for the correctness of their statements, and we can assure our correspondent that confidence has not been misplaced except perhaps in very few cases. [...]

(3.) A correspondent from Narasarowpat sends us two very lengthy contributions, which the limited space at our command forbids us from publishing ... We wish that our contributors learn the virtue of being brief in their communications.

(4.) [...] We want plenty of Indian Christian news – facts and occurrences rather than news and criticisms. 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 [...]

(5.) [*Local Correspondents*] Our Tinnevely correspondent sends us an interesting account of the meeting of the Missionary Conference and the Native Church Council held in Tinnevely in the second week in February [...]

(6a.) [*London Correspondent*] OUR LONDON LETTER / Since I wrote to you last, the weather has continued very fine and dry ... From the principal May meetings ... I glean the following notes ...; (6b.) OUR LONDON LETTER / From our special correspondent, August 7: One great event of the past week is the visit of Li Hung Chang to London [...]

(7a.) [*China Correspondent*] OUR CHINA CORRESPONDENT / Our own China correspondent from Shantung has some very sad news to give us in his letter of the 9th January. It is the story of the torture to death of a devoted S.P.G. Missionary [...]; (7b.) 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 [...]

(8a.) [*Hindu Correspondents*] CONTRIBUTIONS / [...] MRS. BESANT'S MEMORANDUM ABOUT THE HINDU COLLEGE AT BENARES / (From a Hindu Correspondent) / The object is no doubt a laudable one, but how far it will be successful in its aims is matter of great doubt. [...]; (8b.) CONTRIBUTIONS / [...] A BRAHMAN YOGI / (From a Hindu Correspondent) / On hearing of the arrival of a Yogi at this place *viz* Kalyandrug, the postmaster led me to his Holyness who was sitting counting beads, in a temple situated in the heart of the town. [...]

Sources: *The Christian Patriot*, (1.) January 5, 1901, p. 5; (2.) May 28, 1898, p. 2; (3.) April 2, 1896, p. 3; (4.) May 22, 1909, p. 4; (5.) February 26, 1898, p. 5; (6a.) June 11, 1896, p. 7; (6b.) September 3, 1896, p. 7; (7a.) March 3, 1900, p. 5; (7b.) July 28, 1900, p. 4f; (8a.) January 28, 1899, p. 3; (8b.) December 17, 1898, p. 3.

## 9) Other Sources

(1.) [*Telegraphic Summary*] TELEGRAMS / The British in West Africa – London, 7th Dec. – Despatches received today from West Africa state that Lieutenant Keating ... and a party of native troops were massacred on the Niger in October. A punitive force has been dispatched. – [...] The Situation in China. – London, 7th Dec. – The French minister in Peking has presented an ultimatum to the Taung-li-Yamen ... unless the Missionary who is held captive by the Szechuan rebels is released within ten days. – [...]

(2.) [*Missionary Journals*] The *Chronicle* of the London Missionary Society publishes an interview with a well known trader in Bechuanaland ... This is what he says: [...]

(3.) [*Indian Political Journals*] OURSELVES AS OTHERS SEE US / The *Madras Mail*\* ... has a good word to say for the Native Christian community and we quote it here in full: [...]

(4.) [*Indian Hindu Journals*] In the *Hindustan Review* there is an article on “The Future of Christianity in India” by Mr. JNAN CHANDRA BANERJI, M.A. The article is typical of the attitude of educated Hindus towards Christianity and as such deserves our attention. [...]

(5.) [*A Chinese Christian Magazine*] [...] We have been sent copies of two such Y.M.C.A. periodicals from Madras and China, *Chinese Young Men* is the organ of the Y.M.C.A. in China, and it is very sensibly published both in English and Chinese. The July issue ... has been courteously forwarded to us. [...]

(6.) [*A South African Christian Journal*] [...] Commenting on the recent Natal Incident, the *Christian Express* of Lovedale, South Africa, ... strikes the earnest note of all, and we heartily agree with everything that he says. The *Express* says: [...]

(7.) [*An Indian Christian Journal from London*] Some time ago we informed our readers of the formation in London of the *Indian Christian Association of Great Britain* ... [It] has succeeded in bringing out a Journal in England, called *The Indian Christian* as an organ of this Association. The first number ... is before us [...] Specimen copies of *The Indian Christian* will also be sent on application to the editor and Manager of the *Christian Patriot*.

Sources: *The Christian Patriot*, (1.) December 17, 1898, p. 2; (2.) December 6, 1902, p. 5; (3.) January 5, 1901, p. 6 (longer extract → text 77); (4.) January 16, 1904, p. 4 (longer extract → text 58); (5.) August 11, 1906, p. 6 (longer extract → text 107); (6.) June 16, 1906, p. 5; (7.) April 30, 1896, p. 4 (full article → text 118).

## 10) Promotion, Problems With Payments

(1.) [...] The least that we ask of each subscriber is that he should secure for us one additional subscriber. [...]

(2.) OURSELVES / We take this opportunity of inviting fresh subscribers for this leading organ of our community in India. We fear there are many who do not take the *Patriot*, and many more still who read it regularly without paying for it. We want them all to become subscribers. Every Indian Christian who earns at least Rs. 30 per month ought to secure this paper and know what is being done by and for his community. [...]

(3.) SPECIAL NOTICE / Subscribers and Advertisers are requested kindly to forward their dues for the year with arrears, if any, to the Manager at their earliest convenience. We intend publishing a list of those who are in arrears for more than one year.

(4.) VERY IMPORTANT! [...] The subscribers 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 [during World War I]. Every reader, if he earnestly tries to induce at least one of his friends, to subscribe, the matter is settled [...]

Source: *The Christian Patriot*, (1.) January 2, 1896, p. 4; (2.) May 22, 1909, p. 4; (3.) July 6, 1912, p. 4; (4.) February 19, 1916, p. 4.

### 11) Technical Aspects

(1.) [...] 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. [...]

(2.) IMPORTANT NOTICE / From next week the *Christian Patriot* will be published on Saturdays instead of Thursdays ...

(3.) Wanted immediately – the old copies of the *Christian Patriot* dated 1st and 8th September, 1906 – address, Editor and Manager, *Christian Patriot*, Cathedral, P.O., Madras S.W.

Source: *The Christian Patriot*, (1.) January 2, 1896, p. 4; (2.) February 18, 1897, p. 4; (3.) April 3, 1909, p. 1.

### 12) Letters to the Editor, International: A Letter From Singapore (21.08.1909)

ANGLO-INDIAN CHRISTIANS OF SINGAPORE

Dear Sir, I shall esteem it a great favour if you will be kind enough to publish this my reply through this medium of this world-wide paper “the *Christian Patriot*”.

It is published in this paper by a “Christian” from Singapore, that the work done among the Tamil congregation of the St. Andrew’s Mission is very unsatisfactory ... Taking this for granted, I wish to express my opinion on the subject. The St. Andrew’s Mission was in former days intended for the Chinese Christians, it is based on Chinese customs and principles ... while there were very few Indian Christians [...] They by degrees took up their abode in various places from Penang to Kola Lumpur, and thence to Malacca, and hither to Singapore. Many intermarriages also took place ... But some who were in this chief centre were taught sufficient enough to know and believe Christ. [...]

Singapore, 9th August, 1909

“THE CATECHIST”

Source: *The Christian Patriot*, August 21, 1909, p. 5.

## **B. National Church Movements, Church Independency, Indigenous Clergy – Christian Movements of Emancipation**

### **B.1 Indigenous Clergy, Native Episcopacy, Ideal of the Three-Selves**

#### **13) The 19th Century as the “Century of Missions”, but the 20th Century as the Century of “Native Churches” (28.09.1901)**

##### OUR NATIVE CHURCH COUNCIL: AN EXPERIMENT IN SELF-GOVERNMENT

The nineteenth century that we have just closed, is rightly said to be the century of missions, a century in which a wave of missionary zeal, swept through Europe and America and resulted in the formation of missionary societies for sending out godly and devoted men to preach the Gospel to the heathen. Through the earnest and self-denying labours of these missionaries, the glad tidings of salvation through a crucified Redeemer, has been proclaimed far and wide, hundreds of thousands of souls have been brought to the fold of Christ and native Churches have been formed in different parts of the world. But the twentieth century seems to me to be the century in which the native Christians and not the foreign missionary ought to play an important part, in the countries in which they have been established, and to continue the work which the foreign missionary had been carrying on in the last century. If in the nineteenth century, the foundation of native Churches was laid, the 20th century must see the building up of the temple. In other words, the twentieth century missionary policy ought to be to encourage the self-support, the self-government and the self-extension of the native Churches. [...]

Source: *The Christian Patriot*, September 28, 1901, “Supplement to the ‘Christian Patriot’”, p. 1 (different extract → text 93).

#### **14) “When Is India to Have Her Own Native Bishops?” (18.06.1898)**

##### THE QUEEN AND THE AFRICAN BISHOPS

In one of our leaders have we referred to Sir John Kennaway’s speech at the anniversary of the Church Missionary Society [CMS\*] on the subject of independent Native Churches. The Bishop of London also ... referred to the interest which evinced in the three African Bishops who were present at the Lambeth Conference. [...]

*When is India to have her own native Bishops?*

Source: *Christian Patriot*, June 18, 1898, p. 5 (longer extract → text 92).

**15) “India Is Sadly Behind-Hand as Regards the Episcopate” (1899)**

[...] 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. Beyond doubt, the Conference took a step forward in declaring that the time has come for a little “holy boldness”, and in advocating, and that with perfect unanimity (there was not a single dissentient voice) the appointment of Indian Suffragan Bishops. If care is exercised, and the type of Episcopacy adopted for our native brethren be the simple and more primitive one of North Africa, rather than the pretentious one which prevailed in the Roman Empire when the Church began to adopt the grandeur of the State, we see no reason why an Indian Episcopate should not prove a great success. 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 [...]

Source: *Indian Christian Guardian*, Vol. 3 (1899).

**16) The ‘Church Missionary Society’ and Its Position on the Issue of a Native Episcopate (04.05.1901)**

## FUTURE INDEPENDENT CHURCHES IN THE MISSION FIELD

Undoubtedly one of the most important manifestoes ever issued by any Missionary society is that adopted recently by the General Committee of the Church Missionary Society [CMS\*] on the “Constitution of Churches in the Mission field”. [...] The following are the suggestions:

[“]With a view to preparing the existing Native Christian communities for the establishment in the future of independent Churches, it is important that the Native Episcopate should be gradually formed during the present transition time, having due regard to the stability of such Christian communities in matters of doctrine, discipline, and self-support. It is desirable that the Episcopate of the future Churches should be characterised by the simplicity of the Primitive Church.

The first step towards the establishment of a Native Episcopate would seem generally to be the appointment of Native Assistant Bishops under the existing foreign Bishops; and steps would naturally follow in due course of time for the formation of separate Dioceses to which they or other competent Natives might be appointed, as well as to their succeeding, in suitable cases, the foreign Bishops in the original Dioceses. It may, however, be expedient that some of the first Assistant Bishops should be English, and, preferably, experienced missionaries, to obviate the apparent invidiousness of keeping subordinate positions for Natives. Meanwhile, every effort should be made both to attract to the ministry of the Church the best men of the Native Christian community, and to prepare and test the leading Native clergy for higher positions by giving them the superintendence of districts and other functions of importance.[”]

New separate Dioceses for Native Bishops will be naturally carved out of existing Dioceses. After several Dioceses have been established in suitable areas the next step will be to combine them together in an Ecclesiastical Province with a view to the substantial unity of the Church and possibly many local diversities, these provinces comprising ordinarily several Dioceses. The creation of a Native Episcopate will not necessarily mean at once the creation of an independent constitution. "The ecclesiastical independence will come when the Constitution is adopted, providing for Synods or other governing bodies, upon which Bishop and Clergy and laity are duly represented." Objection may be taken to the effect that the present conditions do not favour the creation of an independent church; but the Memorandum does not aim at this at all. It takes for granted that the period of transition and preparation will be a long period, but it points out distinctly the goal that should be had in view and the step that should now be taken so as ultimately to reach this goal. [...]

Source: *The Christian Patriot*, May 4, 1901, p. 4.

### **17) Growing Numbers and Demands by Indian Clergy (11.05.1901)**

INDIAN MINISTERS' CONFERENCE, MADRAS

In another column we publish the constitution of the Indian Ministers' Conference and a paper on the advantages of such an organization by the Rev. J. LAZARUS\*, B.A., to whose zeal for the welfare of his brethren the present Conference is to be attributed. We have often had to write in this journal on the responsibilities of the Native Ministry, and have dwelt on its position, privileges and drawbacks. Organization is the characteristic of the age. People allied to one another by mutual aims and interests must combine and act in a body for their own self-improvement and self-preservation. The constitution of the [Indian Ministers] Conference is all that can be desired at this initial stage. The first rule states that the "Indian ministers in Madras and its immediate neighbourhood form themselves into a Conference"; the object of which, adds Rule 2, "shall be to promote social and spiritual intercourse, mutual aid and advice, and combined action." Some years ago 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. [...] We trust that the Conference will preserve its peculiarly Indian character and grow and develop on more or less Indian lines. We look upon the organization as a further proof of the life and vigour of the Indian Church in South India and expect not a little from it in years to come. [...]

Source: *The Christian Patriot*, May 11, 1901, p. 4.

### **18) "A Unique Experiment in Self-Government" in Madras (11.01.1902)**

A UNIQUE EXPERIMENT IN SELF-GOVERNMENT

[...] If we are not mistaken, in Africa, the problem of self-support and self-government has been successfully solved long ago. The Uganda Church was the first to set an example in this

respect. In India, the Madras Native Church Council was the effort in this direction, and though this system has been tried in several other parts of India, it has not succeeded so well as in Madras. It is now thirty-three years since the Madras Native Church Council has had no European chairman and the affairs of the Council which has the supervision of four large pastorates and a very large number of primary schools, has been entirely managed by Indians. The local C[hurch] M[issionary] S[ociety] [CMS\*] committee has still the power of overriding the proceedings of the Council, but during the last thirty-three years it has not exercised this power more than twice. At present all the congregations are self-supporting and a sum of Rs. 5,000 is annually subscribed by Indian Christians, mostly in humble walks of life, for the up-keeping of their churches. MR. S. SATTIANADHAN\*, in his remarks, referred to the conditions of the success of the experiment, and laid stress chiefly on the sympathetic and statesmanlike encouragement the experiment has received from the present secretary of the Madras corresponding committee of the Church Missionary Society, the Rev. E. SELL, B.D. It is this sympathy and faith in Indian Christianity that has made that particular experiment so marked a success, and it is the lack of sympathy, the want of faith and the viewing of Indian Christianity through the distorted medium of social prejudices and arriving at an unfavourable verdict that is the chief cause of the helpless condition of the native Churches. We thank the Lord Bishop of Madras for his encouraging words. He for one thinks that there is great future before Indian Christianity in this country, and he looks forward to a time when a type of Christianity distinctly Indian will be produced.

No one is more conscious than we are of the defect of Indian Christianity and the special difficulties that lie in the way of such experiments, but what we would like to see is a fair trial being given to Indian Churches in the matter of self-government and self-support, and to persist in the experiments, in spite of temporary failures, just as the C.M.S. is doing. On the part of Indian Christians, of course, what is needed is greater co-operation and greater earnestness.

Source: *The Christian Patriot*, January 11, 1902, p. 4.

### **19) “Race Prejudice” and the Issue of an “Indian Native Episcopate” (23.10.1909)**

#### AN INDIAN NATIVE EPISCOPATE

[...] [W]hy should the European Missionary consider something impossible in the Christian Church when it is daily happening in the secular world? Is race prejudice the prerogative of the pious European? In almost every walk of life you will occasionally find Europeans working under Natives, but by a strange irony this does not seem possible in the Christian Church. Must it be acknowledged that without a word of protest, European Missionaries have been allowed to introduce the most damnable of all heresies into Christ’s Church? If so, then the gates to hell have prevailed.

Source: *The Christian Patriot*, October 23, 1909, p. 6.



## **B.2 National Church Movements, Church Independency, Ecumenical Horizons**

*(Debates About the Ideal of a National Church)*

### **20) The “Ideal of a National Church” – Plea by Alfred Nundy (28.10.1899)**

#### THE NATIVE CHURCH IN INDIA

There is a well-written article on “A National Church for India” in the current number of the *Contemporary Review* from the pen of Mr. Alfred Nundy\*, Barrister-at-Law of Gorakpur [Northwest India]. This article, we are glad to find, forms the subject of a sympathetic leader in the *Madras Mail*\*. The *Mail* points out the rapid progress which the Native Church has made within the last thirty years. There are now in some Missions large congregations of Native Christians entirely self-supporting and in a position to manage their own affairs. This has led many thoughtful Indian Christians to consider the future prospects of the Church in this land. Mr. Nundy’s position the writer in the *Mail* summarizes as follows:

[“]Mr. Nundy’s article deals chiefly with the Missions connected with the Anglican Church, partly because of their importance, varied character, and extent; partly because in some of them a clear and definite policy with regard to the independence of the Native Church has been, in theory at least, adopted and to some extent carried out. This had led him to see that his ideal of a National Church can only be realised on the basis of Episcopal Government; but that difficulty he considers to be by no means insuperable. At present it is not possible, and the time is yet distant when his ideas can be carried out; but when Indian Christians are sufficiently numerous – and their numbers are ever increasing – and when they are sufficiently advanced to gain and to deserve more independence, we agree with him that the difficulty will not loom large. At all events, the various Missionary organisations now at work in India, whilst they must at present keep their congregations under their respective Church constitutions and discipline, need not import all the past feuds and factions which from political and other causes in Western lands accentuated their differences and disturbed their harmony. If a large hearted toleration is shown now, and a readiness to make modifications in things non-essential appears, then the way will be clear for the Native Church to follow the lines of its destiny, and in due time to unity [sic!] itself in a way impossible now. [...]”]

For our own part we agree with the [*Madras*] *Mail* in thinking that the first step towards the formation of an Indian National Church is the self-support of congregations. Solve the problem of self-support and you have paved the way for independent church organization being established, if not within a decade, at least within quarter of a century. All the same it is time for Mission authorities to face the problem of an independent Native Church sternly in the face [sic!], instead of soothing themselves with the self-satisfying notion that Europeans and Americans must of necessity *for ever* lead the Native Church. Mr. Nundy quotes with approval the important resolutions passed at the recent C.M.S. Conference at Allahabad on the subject of the Native Church, and we trust that the South India Conference that is to meet next January will view the problem of the Native Church with the same spirit of large-hearted foresight as the C.M.S. Conference.

Our position, we trust, will not be misunderstood. We fully see the difficulties in the way of bringing into existence an Indian Church. Our Indian Christians have a great deal to learn before they are made responsible leaders of a 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. This is exactly what the most successful Missionary organization in India, the C.M.S., is trying to do. It would be well for other missions to take a leaf out of the C.M.S. in this respect.

Source: *The Christian Patriot*, October 28, 1899, p. 4f.

## 21) “But the Time ... Is Not Yet” – a Missionary Response (02.12.1899)

### A NATIONAL CHURCH FOR INDIA

We commented not long ago on the article on “A National Church for India” contributed to the *Contemporary Review* by Mr. Alfred Nundy\*, Bar.-at-Law. The following, taken from the *Church Missionary Intelligencer [CMI\*]*, relates to the same subject and will be of interest to our reader:

[“Mr. Alfred Nundy, an Indian gentleman hailing from Gorakhpur in the North-West Provinces, under the heading of “A National Church for India”, contributes a thoughtful and, in the main, admirable article to the *Contemporary Review* for October. He argues for the speedy union in one National Church of all the Protestant Christian bodies found in India, the fruits of the labours of many denominations. That is precisely the counsel which, when the time arrives, we should like to have addressed, not to the Christian Churches in this or other lands, but to the Indian Christians themselves. But the time – so, at least, it seems to us – is not yet. So long as the Indian Christian community is so largely dependent as it is at present for leaders and teachers as well as for funds on the diverse and divided Churches of the West, so long it is premature to invite or look for external union. [...]”]

Source: *The Christian Patriot*, December 2, 1899, p. 5.

## 22) The ‘National Church of India’, Established in Madras in 1886

### (1.) [Objective]

[...] The main object with which this Church [the ‘National Church of India’, NCI\*] was started was clearly enunciated at the very outset [of the founding assembly on September 12, 1886, in Madras]. It is neither more or less than to bring together, into closer sympathy than exists at present, the Indian Christians of several denominations, and thus let non-Christian brethren see that though [the Indian] Christians agree to differ in certain points [of Church organization], these differences are yet neither so great nor so essential but that they may unite together for worship in spite of them. That this object is beginning to be appreciated by the most intelligent portion of the Native Christian Community is no doubt apparent from the fact of so many brethren of different denominations coming forward to help us in this movement. [...]

## (2.) [National Church and Mission Churches]

[...] 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 molded too much after European pattern, and Missionaries have been a little over-anxious to perpetuate their own Church peculiarities. [...]

Source: (1.) National Church of India. First Annual Report 1886–87, in: Collection of papers collected with the movement of the National Church of India (Madras n.d.), pp. 31–78, here: p. 34; (2.) National Church of India. Proceedings at the first anniversary (Madras n.d.), p. 49.

**23) The “National Church of India” – Pro and Contra (22.01.1890)**

[A RESPONSE TO DR. PULNEY ANDY]

We cannot help admiring the persistent zeal with which Dr. Pulney Andy\* is pushing forward the cause of the National Church of India [NCI\*]. It was but the other day he issued his Christmas circular urging certain measures which he thinks will, if carried out, secure official recognition and a legal status to the national church movement. [...] Meanwhile we desire to point out what we consider to be the chief defect in the measure he proposes. He “suggests that a petition or memorial, be forwarded through the local Governments and the Viceroy to the Secretary of State requesting the Archbishop of Canterbury to issue a special mandate to the local Bishops to ordain persons selected by our church congregations (National) without binding the candidates to the usual vows and the Thirty-nine articles of the Church of England, &c.” While fully sympathizing with the National Church movement, we regret we cannot give our support to this proposal. Dr. Pulney Andy would commit the Primate of England to a policy that would be suicidal to the interests of the Church he represents. [...] The only “National Church” the Archbishop must and does recognise in this country is the Church of England, over which the Metropolitan presides. By virtue of their office, these dignitaries cannot do otherwise. An indigenous movement, such as we presume, the often-talked of Indian church it to be, must rest on an indigenous basis and move on indigenous lines. It must grow from within; and gather strength as it grows from its own innate vitality, while at the same time it should seek to profit by the wisdom and experience of ages as exemplified in the many and varied churches already existing in India. We need hardly add that Dr. Pulney Andy’s movement is in every way worthy the support of the Christian public; and we sincerely trust that it will not be long before he will be able to secure the co-operation of the various Mission organizations at work in the country.

Source: *The Christian Patriot*, January 22, 1890, p. 18.

**24) Religious or Social Union First Among Indian Christians? – a Controversy  
Between *The Christian Patriot* and the ‘National Church of India’ (09.09.1891)**

[...] 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. It arouses one’s suspicion that this journal has been started purposely as an Anti-National Church organ. The object of this movement is to do away with the denominational distinctions which unfortunately keep one sect at variance with another; and the implanting of such sectarian Christianity among the people who were kept in disunion and in enmity with each other by the caste institutions of this country has further widened the gulf, and the embracing of Christianity has not taught the converts to live amicably with their fellow Christians. 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 [...] The *Christian Patriot* considers that social union should be first brought about as the preparatory ground for raising the National Church. Could this be easily accomplished without the aid of a religious union? It alone could do the needful, and not the mere social intercourse, eating and drinking, and intermarriage, without a spark of a religious life in a nation. [...]

Source: *The Cosmopolite*, September 9, 1891, in: Pulney Andy Collection (Madras n.d.), pp. 13–16.

**25) “Development and Independence of the Native Churches” – Basic Principles  
(12.03.1898)**

DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIVE CHURCHES

We have often given our views on the subject of the development of Native Churches [...] We would like here to draw the attention of our readers to some remarkable utterance of Bishop [A.R.] Tucker\* of the Victoria Nyanza Mission in Africa. [...] The following extracts are taken from Bishop Tucker’s recent charge published *in extenso* in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* [CMI\*]:

[“]1. DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIVE CHURCH

Were I asked to give an opinion as to what, in my estimation, has most hindered the development and independence of the Native Churches, I should unhesitatingly answer. “That deep-rooted tendency which there is in the Anglo-Saxon character to Anglicize everything with which it comes in contact.” See how this operates in the Mission-field with respect to the Churches which are built for native congregations. Our ideas in this matter are very crystallized indeed, not to say fossilized. Of course we must have our pulpit there, our reading-desk in this place, and our font in that – and, of course, we must have our pews. The Missionary sets to work – souls are gathered and a little Christian community is formed. Then a church is built after the most approved Anglican pattern – a church which would be no discredit to the suburbs of some manufacturing town in England, but which in India or Africa is an absurdity, unsuited alike to the climate and the Oriental caste of thought of the congregation for whom it is built. [...]

### 2. NATIVE MINISTRY

Then look at our fixed ideas as to a native ministry. The threefold Order of Bishop, Priest and Deacon we regard, and no doubt rightly so, as necessary for the effectual building up of a Native Church. That we find, that, generally speaking, in the Mission-field there is a great gap between the rank and the file of our earnest Christian men and our fossilized ideas as to the qualifications necessary for admission to the order of deacons. [...]

### 3. EUROPEAN CONTROL

I come now to the question of control. Naturally the European Missionary thinks that he can do things much better than any native. He therefore attempts to do everything himself. In this (in my opinion) he commits a grievous blunder, and unless turned from his purpose, will mar the development of any Native Church with which he may have to do. The fact is, the native can do many things much better than the European, and should be used from the very beginning. The missionary should do nothing that the native can do.

### 4. EUROPEAN FUNDS

Closely connected with the question of control is the use in Missionary work of European funds. Of course, up to a certain point, the employment of such funds is necessary. But they should as far as possible even when needed, be kept in the background. It must always be remembered that where European money is used, there will, sooner or later, follow the European control. The power of the purse in hindering the development of Native Churches is truly appalling. [...]

Source: *The Christian Patriot*, March 12, 1898, p. 5.

## 26) “Why Are There No Independent Native Churches?” (18.06.1898)

### WHY ARE THERE NO INDEPENDENT NATIVE CHURCHES?

This important question was raised by Sir John Kennaway, the President of the Church Missionary Society [CMS\*], at the last annual meeting of the Society, in Exeter Hall. [...]

Sir John Kennaway regards the absence of independent Native Churches as due chiefly to two causes: (1) The deep-rooted tendency in the Anglo-Saxon character to Anglicize everything. (2) The reluctance on the part of Missionaries to lose the leading strings in which the native churches have been brought up. We admit that both the causes have operated strongly. But we fear that the application that Sir John Kennaway makes of the tendency on the part of the Anglo-Saxon character to Anglicize everything shows that he is making only a very superficial diagnosis of the ailment of present day Missions. For example, he quotes the late Mr. Wigram’s statement to the effect that in India none of the Native Churches are built after Indian architectural style. The absurdity 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. Every one 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 Anglicization in this respect has, therefore, worked beneficially. There are, however, other respects in which the tendency to Anglicization has hampered the growth of an indigenous church. For example the way in which the various missions have tried to perpetuate on oriental soil the peculiar distinctions of the West, which

are the outcome of social and political circumstances peculiar to the countries in the West. It is this kind of Anglicization that has wrought real mischief. [...]

The other cause which Sir John Kennaway mentions is indeed at work very powerfully in every Mission field. Sir John puts it mildly when he says it is a reluctance to abdicate control, and to lose the leading strings in which the native churches have been brought up. In other words it is a selfish tendency to have everything in one's own hands. Of course we have the usual excuse that natives are not fit to govern their own churches. They are still *in statu pupillari* and must be led and guided, but we ask, in no spirit of fault finding, whether Missions in India have done even what Government has done to promote self-government and independence among natives? Is it not a grave reflection on Missions that we have hardly any natives in the Indian Church holding positions of responsibility and independence whilst there are hundreds in government service in positions of the highest trust and influence and independence? This leads us to the third cause which Sir John Kennaway has omitted to mention and which is at the bottom of the gulf that separates India from European Christians, and that is the want of confidence and faith on the part of European Missionaries in Native character. The native is capable of training and education, and moral and spiritual development, only up to a certain point and no further – this is an article of faith firmly rooted in many a missionary worker. We ask, is this belief consistent with the belief in the uplifting power of the Gospel of Christ? [...]

Source: *The Christian Patriot*, June 18, 1898, p. 4f. (shorter extract → text 69).

## 27) “The Indian National Church” – Challenges, Difficulties, Practical Steps (23.02.1907)

### THE INDIAN NATIONAL CHURCH

[...] The *Swadeshi*\* movement is not without its effects and lessons for Indian Christians. However handicapped they may be among the races of India by their peculiar disabilities, we see everywhere signs of their arriving at the consciousness of the particular mission which they are destined to carry out in this country. The establishment of Indian Christian Associations in every Presidency, and the rise of the *National Missionary Society [NMS\*]*, in spite of inherent national weaknesses, indicate a tendency to rally round a national ideal. There are formidable difficulties in bringing the establishment of a National Church to a head. The Indian Christians along with their countrymen inherit the diversities of language, race and caste. Then they have to further grapple with the occidental differences of denominationalism planted by the different Churches of the West. [...]

Whatever course the National Church may take in future, the time has fully come for our Church to take the preliminary steps. I may suggest a few here:

- (1) There should be greater intercommunion among the Christians of the various denominations. It does not necessarily involve any sacrifice of principle. [...]
- (2) The Indian Church should be made more elastic than it is. There should be a free scope for bringing in the national element under the eye and guidance of Bishops. This could be experimentally tried at least in the chief cities of India. Attempts should be made to remove any legal difficulties that may stand in the way.

- (3) It is highly desirable that the Church should afford the biggest facilities for a few cultured and consecrated sons of the soil who are likely to take the initiative in laying the foundations of a National Church. [...]
  - (4) Time has arrived at least in some parts of India to create a class of assistant Indian Bishops and Archdeacons not exactly on the elaborate and advanced pattern of the Anglican Church but more in keeping with the primitive ideals. [...]
- Paper read at the Bombay [Anglican] Diocesan Conference by Rev. D.M. Joshi

Source: *The Christian Patriot*, February 23, 1907, p. 3.

### **28) Local Cooperation Between Indian Roman Catholics, Anglicans and Protestants – An “Unique” Event (06.05.1899)**

#### SUCCESSION DUTIES AS AFFECTING INDIAN CHRISTIANS

On Saturday evening, the 29th instant, the Indian Christians of the Madras Presidency held a very successful meeting at the Victoria Public Hall to consider the question of succession duties as affecting their community. The meeting was in one respect 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. The meeting was also happy in its choice of the President, the Right Reverend Bishop Theophilus Mayer, who was proposed to the *fauteuil* by Dr. S. Pulney Andy\*, and was accepted by all present with acclamation. The legal, historical and practical sides of the question were respectively dwelt on by Mr. Satya Joseph, Mr. Pragasa Mudaliar and Mr. Devadoss Pillai, while the Chairman as well as the Hon'ble Mr. P. Ananda Charlu gave advice as to the points which each thought should be included in or kept out of the Memorial to be submitted to Government. It was unanimously resolved that the meeting should place on record its sense to the grievance to which the community is subjected by the compulsory levy of succession duties ... whereas other Indian communities are exempt from such compulsion and such interference. A committee was also appointed for the purpose of drawing up a memorial on the subject to the local Government as well as the Government of India [...]

Source: *The Christian Patriot*, May 6, 1899, p. 4 (on the subject cf. also text 88).

*(The World Missionary Conference Edinburgh 1910 and India)*

### **29) High Expectations: “This Conference ... Is Destined to Dwarf All Other Problems of the 20th Century” (15.01.1910)**

#### THE WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE [WMC EDINBURGH\*, 1910]

This Conference which will open next month in Edinburgh is destined to dwarf all other problems of the 20th Century. From the Christian point of view, the ferment of ideas in the world of human thought which has risen from the contact of the East with the West, and the national spirit which is awakening among the non-Christian people, have given the impulse



to form this great World Missionary Conference. The completion of the mystical Body of the Lord Jesus Christ through the ingathering of nations, and the clergy [sic!] understanding of the Son of man when sons of men have found themselves in Him will be the great aim of the coming Conference. The different branches of the Christian Church to-day are conscious of the obligation that rests on them to evangelize the world and the Conference sets this task before it. The Conference will have to discuss frankly the methods and efforts of Christian agencies which are now at work and to ask honestly whether all that should be done are [sic!] being attended to for the extension of the Kingdom of Christ. A proper estimate of the work could only be arrived at, when workers from different spheres, and among different people meet together and by comparing notes. The experience of such workers will go far to enlighten and suggest methods that volumes full of theories [sic!]. Until now there has not been apparently a convention of workers from *all* the mission fields throughout the world. The coming Conference therefore will be quite different from all Missionary Conferences for, this promises to be a thoroughly representative one which will not leave one stone unturned to arrive at proper conclusions. Since July 1908, British, American, and Continental members have been engaged in concerting plans so as to deal with all the phases of Missionary work. Women workers will also be largely represented. A collection of Missionary information from all parts of the world will be furnished to the Conference, and subjected to the scrutinity [sic!] of experts in Missionary work. [...]

With such subjects on the boards, and such eminent names as Presidents and Vice-Presidents we are sure that the forth-coming World Missionary Conference will make the twentieth century an epoch in the history of Missions, and a fresh starting point for various successful endeavours for the establishment of the kingdom of Christ throughout the world.

Source: *The Christian Patriot*, January 15, 1910, p. 3.

### **30) Indians at the World Missionary Conference Edinburgh 1910: “Every Race Represented” (01.10.1910)**

#### EVERY RACE REPRESENTED

The first dramatic little scene to catch the eye at Edinburgh [WMC Edinburgh\*, 1910] was the vision of a Chinese man, in flowing blue-gray robes and a black cap surmounted by a scarlet button, in conversation with a Hindu under a voluminous turban. As they strolled along together they met a full-blooded Negro pastor, and in a trice were in close and laughing talk. My first tea was in company with Dr. Julius Richter, as humorous as he is learned, and chief of German authorities on world-missions, together with Dr. Boehmer, a splendid Dutch editor and author from Furstenfelde. By the side of a Swiss one saw a Korean who rubbed shoulders with a Japanese principal. A brown-gowned member of a Hindu brotherhood strolled with a Singhalee, while a Borman fraternized with a delegate from the Punjab. Racial difference was absolutely lost in a glowing sense of brotherhood of aim and spirit. And quite apart from the influence of the discussions in the conference, these tea-table talks and strolls under the evening sky have cemented international friendships and opened floodgates of sympathy.

Source: *The Christian Patriot*, October 1, 1910, p. 4.