

**CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY AND CHANGE:
DELHI 1850-1950**

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial
fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the degree*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

Dominic Khangchian



**CENTRE FOR HISTORICAL STUDIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067
INDIA
2002**



CERTIFICATE

Certified that the Dissertation entitled “**Christian Community and Change: Delhi 1850-1950**” is submitted by **Dominic Khangchian**, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of **Master of Philosophy** of this University. This Dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree to this University or to any other University.

We recommend that this Dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

Mandula Mukherjee
for
Prof. Majid H. Siddiqi
(Chairperson)
CHAIRPERSON
Centre for Historical Studies
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067

Tanika Sarkar
Prof. Tanika Sarkar
(Supervisor)
Centre for Historical Studies
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067

Indivar Kamtekar
Dr. Indivar Kamtekar
(Co-Supervisor)
Centre for Historical Studies
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

At the outset I would like to convey my sincere gratitude to my teacher and supervisor, Prof. Tanika Sarkar and my co-supervisor, Dr. Indivar Kamtekar for their immense patience in seeing me through this work in spite of my shortcomings.

I would also like to thank all my friends who had encouraged and supported me throughout my work. I also thank the staffs of the Cambridge Brotherhood, Nehru Memorial Library and National Archives.

New Delhi, 25th July 2002

DOMINIC KHANGCHIAN

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The present study is an attempt to write a social history of the Christian people in Delhi region from the second half of the Nineteenth Century till the first half of the Twentieth Century. It will be seen how Christianity came into the ancient capital of Indian kings, and became a strand of Delhi's multi-cultural society. Delhi society was composed of several distinct *qaum* or *log* or people, each with its own religion and culture and each carefully guarding its own social and economic privileges. The Christians were also forced to acquire the character of a *qaum*. But being in co-existence with the other *qaums*, interaction becomes inevitable. And as the title suggests, the intention will be to check the contribution of this new *qaum* of Delhi to the new environ, in which it grew, and how in turn it was affected by this environment and developments of the region, during the period under study.

In India, the society is divided into communities; every Indian is born into a community and is identified in the society at large primarily by the community in which he belongs. The Christians by virtue of the common religious faith, and because they had been cut off at the time of their baptism from the community into which they had been born into, came to be treated

as another community within Indian society. Alex Inkles in 'What is Sociology?' says that ' the essence of community is a common bond, the sharing of an identity, membership in a group holding something physical or spiritual, in common esteem coupled with the acknowledgement of rights and obligations with reference to all others so identified.'¹ The Christians also thought of themselves as a distinct community sharply distinguished by religion from the Hindu and Mohammedans community. This was probably inevitable and no doubt gave the Christian minority an inner cohesion, it otherwise might not have had.² The Christians were identified by non-Christians, both with the foreign missionaries and with those whom they had baptised.

The Christians of Delhi, as that elsewhere, while being separate and distinct community, were not totally isolated from the rest of the society. Their evangelistic desire necessitated their contacts with those around them, and there were among the latter groups enough persons who wanted religious discussions, western education and medical care, or who opposed what the Christians were doing, to assure interaction. The role of the mission society in⁷ this encounter was that of organizing and financing many of the institutions

¹Alex Inkles, *What is Sociology? An introduction to the Discipline and the profession*, Prentice Hall of India, New Delhi, 1965, p. 19.

² Individual converts were driven from their homes and communities, and groups of Chamars, for example, were compelled to break their own 'biradari' ties. This separation had a profound effect on the attitude of Indian Christians, leading them to a certain kind of isolation.

and programs through which the Christians community interacted with other communities. And the result of such interaction was change.

By the time of India's independence, the Christian community in Delhi was quantitatively and qualitatively very different from what they were in the second half of the Nineteenth Century. Similarly the religious, social, economic and political life of Delhi had undergone lots of changes. The quantitative changes were due to internal developments within the Christian community, and the qualitative ones were due to factors outside the Christian community over which it had no control, such as the building of railways, economic revival after the uprising of 1857, the transfer of the capital of British India from Calcutta to Delhi in 1911, etc.

The basic contention here then is that the Delhi Christians of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century had become a 'qaum', a community, a distinct group of society in Delhi, and that its co-existence with the other 'qaums', inevitably led to interaction with one another, and that the Christians in their effort at evangelization among these different religious groups brought about numerous changes both within and beyond their community.

We have selected the Delhi mission of the Anglican Church as our case study. This Church was represented in Delhi by a society known as the ←

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) in 1854. In 1877, this society was reinforced by the Cambridge Mission to Delhi (CMD), famous for the setting up of St. Stephen's College. Working in close association with the SPG, it gradually took over the leadership from that society and became by 1890 the chief agency of the Anglican Church in Delhi. This particular society is chosen firstly because it was the first mission group in Delhi to form a Christian community of foreigners and Indians on a considerable scale, and the most outstanding in its activities like education (St. Stephen's College), medical mission (St. Stephen's Hospital), works among the women, etc.³ Secondly, we have quite an amount of material pertaining to the Society in the form of annual reports, news letters and missionary accounts. These have to be supplemented by government sources such as Delhi Gazette, Gazetteers of India and Census reports etc. The time period 1850 to 1950 has been taken to coincide closely with the arrival of the SPG (1854), and then to close with the creation of the Constitution of independent India, because it was during this period that the activities of the Anglican Church had been most intense, though towards the end of the period some slackening in the activities of the church was seen. But that actually makes one curious to study why it was so rather than otherwise. Though the Christian community was not the Anglican community writ large, since each group tended to deal with

³ Even though the Baptist Missionary Society had the oldest continuous work in Delhi, in terms of members and institutions, it was far below the Anglicans. The Roman Catholics too had failed to develop a Christian community with the natives. The first adult Indian Christian to be baptized, entered in the Baptismal Register of the first Parish of St. Mary's 1865, was on 3rd Dec. 1891.

common problems in ways that accorded with their own particular denominational traditions, the idea behind choosing the Anglican mission is to indicate that much of the entire community history is reflected in the history of the Anglican mission in Delhi.

For the writing of this dissertation, the following primary sources are used:

- ✓ a) Reports of the SPG (Society for the Propagation of the Gospel) and Cambridge Mission in Delhi and South Punjab. These are the annual reports of the mission (both were working unitedly as one), which include the yearly reports of the Heads of the various institutions, such as those of the schools, college, medical etc. The reports also give the members and the number of the staffs, statements of receipts and expenditure, information regarding the number of schools, teachers, pupils, the number of their flock, etc.
- b) The second is the Annual Reports of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi in Connexion with the SPG. While (a) deal with the joint mission mainly, (b) deals with the Cambridge Mission to Delhi.
- c) Starting from 1895, the Cambridge Mission began a quarterly newsletter called Delhi Mission News. This gives fuller information about the events of the mission, giving details, which may be out of place in the above two. This chronicle the particular events big or small that happened in the life of the CMD. Articles that appear

include topics such as work among the *Chamars*, Testimony of Convert, work among the educated class of Delhi, etc., besides the usual quarterly reports of the various departments and programmes.

- d) Occasional Papers, a series that began in 1883 till 1910, which, besides the current reports by the missionaries of various parts of their works, includes certain topics of serious studies, like The Leather Workers of Daryaganj, 1884, General Review of Work Since 1881, etc.
- e) The East and the West, a quarterly review for the study of the Missions, published by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. This contains articles relating to the missions in India, and also includes some written occasionally by Cambridge Mission men.

Besides these, those books that are written on the SPG and CMD or those written by them at a time well within the timeframe of my work are also considered primary sources.

For the Government sources, Delhi Gazetteer, Gazetteer of the Government of the East India Company, Imperial Gazetteer of India, Census of India, Punjab Vernacular Newspaper Reports, etc. are used.

1.2 LITERATURE SURVEY

In the recent years, attempts have been made to study Christianity in India from the perspective of a historian of modern India, characterized as social history. It is persuaded that the history of Christianity does not lie outside the mainstream of Indian history. It is an integral part of Indian history, which is why it is necessary to understand it for the information and insights that it provides.

The history of Christianity in India has mostly been written from the 'history of the mission' perspective. Such a perspective represents a missionary counterpart to the view that has dominated so many general histories of modern India, i.e., the view that has equated the history of India with the history of the British Government and administration. For this reason, the history of Christianity in India needs to be re-written; there is a need to examine it as part of the history of the Indian people and not simply as part of the history of missions.⁴

The very few books available on Christianity in Delhi suffer from the above problem, meaning that they are written from the 'history of the mission' perspective. That has to be expected in the sense that they are not

⁴ See John C. B. Webster, *History of Christianity in India. Aims and Methods*. Reprinted from *Indian Church Historical Review* v. 13. No. 2, 1979.

historical work per se, but rather a study of a particular mission or of the growth of the Church in Delhi.

“The Church in Delhi”⁵ by Alter P. J. and Herbert Jai Singh, is an example of this. The two writers, who are evangelists themselves, study the life and growth of the Church in Delhi and the way in which the life of the Church affected the life of the city and how it was in turn affected by the latter. The book is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the growth of the Church in Delhi and the second with the evaluation the spiritual life of the Delhi Christians, particularly the Protestants.

M.E. Gibbs, “The Anglican Church in India, 1600-1970”⁶ which covers Delhi also, studying how the Anglican Church – the most characteristically English form of Christianity- fared in India and how the life of India was influenced by it, is also a history of the mission, suffering from the above perspective. The book is written with the object of provoking and edifying the readers as the account of the growth of the mission unfolds itself.

Powell Avril’s, “Muslims and Missionaries in Pre-Mutiny India,”⁷ a scholarly work is a study in religious encounter’ seeing how a new religion

⁵ Alter P. J. and Herbert Jai Singh, *The Church in Delhi*, National Christian Council of India, 1961.

⁶ M. E. Gibbs, *The Anglican Church in India 1600-1970*, ISPCK, New Delhi, 1972.

⁷ Avril Powell, *Muslims and Missionaries in Pre-Mutiny India*, Curzon Press Limited, London.

made its appearance on the scene, to add to the already existing religious plurality. It is a study of interaction between people of different religions within a specific context- the arrival of the Christian missionaries in Northern India with the conquest by the British at the turn of the nineteenth century and the mutiny of 1857 to which had been attributed lots of religious cause, and its aftermath when religious tolerance was assured by the Majesty' Government. He neatly traces encounters, contact and conflict between adherents of two religions namely Christianity and Islam, in North India from earliest time during the time of the Jesuits in the Mughal court from the end of the sixteenth century to its climax in the middle of the nineteenth century. The climax of such encounter in the religious debate was reached in the disputation between the Muslim Maulvis and a missionary of the Church Missionary Society, Rev. C. G. Pfander at Agra in 1854.. He has used for his sources letters, tracts and reports written by the protagonists in English, German, Urdu and Persian.

Perhaps, Webster John's, "Christian Community and Change in Nineteenth Century in North India"⁸ is the most authoritative scholarly work of the social history of Christianity in the Nineteenth Century. Basing himself on the premises, that the Christians of the Nineteenth Century of the Punjab and United Provinces were a community, and this community interacted with

⁸ John C. B. Webster, *Christian Community and Change in Nineteenth Century North India*, Macmillan, 1976.

the other communities, to produce changes both within and beyond the Christian community, Webster successfully attempted this social history, through the Presbyterian case, describing in it the emerging of the North Indian Christian community, and its role in the processes of change affecting the region during the Nineteenth Century. However this work does not study explicitly how successful or unsuccessful the missionaries were in the accomplishment of their setout goal.

“Missionary Activity and Local Responses: Delhi 1852-1914”,⁹ by Kaushik Das Gupta is a historical study of the religious encounter of the Anglican mission with the people of Delhi. Das studies how the activities of the missionaries met with varied responses from the Government and the local people, more precisely the Hindus and the Muslims. The British Indian Government, which while following the policy of religious neutrality after the Mutiny, breached the neutrality in supporting the mission subtly, which is what is discovered by Das in this book. The local peoples responses are located in the adamant complaints made through the papers about the ploys of the missionaries to take away their co-religionists through ‘bribe’ and enticements under the garb of ‘Christian care.’ The action counterpart of their fear was their duplication of the missionaries’ activities with the aim of the preventing their people from falling into the traps of the missionaries. Das

⁹ This is a dissertation submitted by Kaushik Das to the Centre For Historical Studies, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 1997.

studies only this 'responses' aspect and does not go deep into kind of Christian community that was developing in Delhi and changes produced by the missionaries in the social and cultural life of the local people. This aspect of change will be studied also here in my dissertation. The period of the study is also extended to 1950.

The study here will be an attempt at the social history of Christianity in Delhi, an exercise in the study of interaction between people of different religions in Delhi, where by the turn of the nineteenth century, Christianity had become one of them. This interaction will not be in the type studied by Avril Powell, though religious debates in the process of bazaar preaching, as one of the best means of evangelization, will be studied. The history of Christianity will be studied as part of the history of India or more specifically a social history of Christianity of Delhi. The study is set within a specific ← context, the coming of the SPG mission to Delhi in 1854 and the creation of the Indian constitution, which guarantees equal treatment and space for all religions in India. As aforementioned, the coming of Christianity in Delhi and its becoming a strand of Delhi's multicultural society will be traced. What this community planned to achieve its goals of evangelization among the Muslim and Hindu population of Delhi, and the manner in which they sought to execute those plans, and how far were they successful when the circumstances in Delhi forced them to modify some of their objectives.

1.2 THE DELHI SETTING

It will be good if we give here a brief Description about the history of the field of the Delhi Anglican Mission. Delhi, for this study, refers to the area that lies between $28^{\circ} 24'$ and $28^{\circ} 53'$ N and $76^{\circ} 50'$ T and $77^{\circ} 20'$ E.¹⁰ It is bounded in the North by Karnal; on the East by Jamuna, separating it from Meerut in Uttar Pradesh; in the South by Gurgaon; and on the West by Rhotak. The story of Delhi is a fascinating tale of two cities. Right from the early days of the Mohammedan, there have been two Delhis, the old giving place to the new, Lal Kot, Siri, Tughlakabad, Jahanpanah, Firozabad, Dinpanah and Shahjahanabad, each in its turn claiming the eminence of being the new town but later on losing the distinction as another town came up. Following the old precedence, Shah Jahan's city called Shahjahanabad again attained the situation of an old town, while around the ruins of the six old towns; Lutyens built New Delhi in 1935.

The bygone days of Delhi repose in a much more distant historical past than of any other cities of India.¹¹ One of the oft-quoted legends says that the sons of Pandu of the renowned Mahabharata epic ruled from Delhi, the city they had founded on the banks of Yamuna and had called it

¹⁰ Census of India 1951, Vol. viii Part I- A. p. vii. The Imperial Gazetteer of the Government of the East India Company, 1858 also gives the location of Delhi as lying between Lat. $28^{\circ} 24'$ - $28^{\circ} 54'$ and Long. $76^{\circ} 49'$ - $77^{\circ} 29'$.

¹¹ V.K. Rao and P.B. Desai (ed), *Greater Delhi, A study in urbanization 1940-1957*, Asia Publishing House, New Delhi, 1965, p. 24.

Indraprastha. Their seat was, so it is said, located on the site of the present ruins of 'Purana Killa'.

Another legend has it that a long time after the decline of the Indraprastha about the first century B.C. there arose another city somewhere in the vicinity of the Qutab Minar, founded by a prince called 'Dilli' or 'Delu' who after his own name named it 'Dilli'. Another version of this legend is that it was not this Delu himself, but one of his lieutenants called Swarup Data, a Gotama, who founded this city. Nothing is however known about this prince or about the exact location or the size and extent of this probably the first city to be called Delhi.

Thereafter, its nascent glory and sovereign grace was revived in the middle of the eleventh Century by Anang Pal II (or Ton-War or Tomar) king of Kanauj, who after, and probably on account of the sack of Kanauj by Mohmud of Ghazni, founded his new capital on the same site where the towering Qutab stands today. The succeeding Hindu kings ruled from this place till the last of them, the famous Chauhan, Prithvi Raj or Rai Pithora, whose rule is believed to have extended from the Himalayas down up to the Vindhya, was defeated towards the end of the twelfth Century by the invader from Afghanistan Shahab-ud-din alias Mohmud Ghori, at the Battle of Tarrain in 1192 A.D.

The above defeat led to the firm and long line of Mohammedan rulers in India, during whose tenure of more than six and half centuries, Delhi functioned as the capital of a reigning monarch for an aggregate of five hundred and thirty years – 1206-1490, 1530 –1564 and 1648-1857 A.D. Here, in the course of these three tenures, Delhi was held by as many as 49 monarch, belonging to seven successive dynasties of the Turks or Slaves, Khiljis, Tughlaks, Sayyads, Lodis, Moguls, Afghans or Surs and again Moguls.

In the beginning of the 19th Century, the Mogul emperor (Shah Alam) ruled the region around Delhi; the power behind his throne however was no longer Mogul but Maratha. Then in 1803, the British defeated the Marathas under Lord Lake and became the de facto rulers of the area. The emperor continued to enjoy the nominal prestige of royalty and received an annual annuity, but power passed out his hands once for all. The period between 1803 and 1857 is characterized as a period of 'English Peace', for during these years Delhi was saved from the misfortune of an external invasion.¹²

The above has been explained to show Delhi in the past and how various rulers came to occupy Delhi, thereby also bringing along with them their own social, political, cultural and religious traditions. And since the study here is on the coming of Christianity with the occupation of Delhi by

¹² Narayani Gupta, *Delhi Between Two Empires 1803-1931*, OUP, Delhi, 1981, p. 6.

the British, our attention should now be turned towards the condition of Delhi around the time the period of this study begins, that is, around the middle of the 19th Century. During this time the uncertainties of the 18th Century were removed, and under the British prosperity returned and the population increased. “In the spring of 1857 Delhi was a prosperous and growing city. The city, which was reported to have had two million inhabitants in the days of Aurangzeb’s residence, and 500,000 in 1740 after Nadir Shah’s invasion had shrunk to something over a 100,000 in the early years of the century”.¹³ The census of 1843 and 1853 show the population of Delhi to be rising from 131,000 to 151,000.¹⁴ “Delhi was no longer economically a frontier town looking to an alien Punjab and surrounded by an exhausted country side. It was the metropolis of a flourishing agricultural territory and the commercial center for a growing trade with the reviving Punjab, and a stable if still feudal Rajputana. Its suburbs it is true, were only relics of the fifty two bazaars and thirty six mandis of the eighteenth century, but all of the signs were that the city was prosperous and that its wealth was growing”.¹⁵ As for instance local industry flourished because of the absence of foreign competition. Goods imported from Calcutta took three months to arrive and were economically out of the reach of the common people.

¹³ Percival Spear, *Twilight of the Mughals*, Cambridge, 1951, p. 194.

¹⁴ Delhi Gazette 1843, 24 May 1843, p. 326; Delhi Gazette 1853, 23 Feb. 1953, p.126.

¹⁵ Percival Spear, *op. cit.* p. 195

¹⁵ Ramchandra for example, who was a student of Delhi College and later a professor of Mathematics in the same college, became a Christian in 1852.

Although most of the population was crowded within the walls of Shahjahanabad, the city was beginning to overflow these boundaries. Outside the Kashmiri Gate, on both of sides of the Alipur and Rajpur roads up to the Ridge, the area was dotted with houses of British servants, the most outstanding of these being the Ludlow Castle and the Metcalfe House. ← Within the city subordinate British officials and commercial agents occupied the Daryaganj Area. A thickly populated section of the town was the area now occupied by the railways. In front of the Fort up to the Jama Masjid were the houses of the middle class people and many of the nobles who lived close to the royal palace.

The meeting of the Mogul and Western cultures resulted in an intellectual and cultural renaissance. “The most exciting thing that happened was a literary and scientific efflorescence which C.F. Andrews called the ‘Delhi Renaissance’ the youth of the city were especially enamored of western sciences and philosophy and eagerly flocked to Delhi College and the schools opened by the British”¹⁶ The college founded in 1825, by the 1930s offered parallel but separate curricula in its oriental and English departments. Although at first, the demand for English was not as strong as it was in Lower Bengal, the new English department in the College proved to be increasingly popular in the 1930s and in the 1840s. In 1840s too, a new emphasis began to be placed on western science, including Mathematics,

¹⁶ Gupta Narayani, op. cit. p. 6.

astronomy and experimental science, which was stronger than in any other college in the province apart from Agra College.¹⁷ It was at this time that the Society for the Propagation of Knowledge in India through the Medium of Vernacular Language was formed. It was the impact of this 'new learning' especially in science, which later gave rise to the claim that on the eve of the 1857 Rising, Delhi College was on the brink of a 'renaissance'. Arabic and scientific works were translated into Urdu. These were the days when the young Zaka Ullah, later to make his name as a Historian as well as a mathematician, would run home through the streets of Delhi to recount the scientific wonders just opened to him in the Delhi College laboratories.¹⁸ However, there was some suspicion among the orthodox with regard to the introduction of western/ English education in the college. Especially were they fearful that a change of intellectual outlook among the young might lead them to Christianity, as it actually did in the case of a few.¹⁹ ,

On the brink of the regular Delhi society, the Mohammedans and the Hindus now came to hover two other groups- the Anglo- Indians or Eurasians and the Indian Christians, the former being Christians also. Socially, there was good understanding between The Mohammedans and the Hindus. " There was in those years a camaraderie between Hindus and Muslims, at the court, at Delhi College, at the gathering at Chandni Chawk and Sa'dullah

¹⁷ Avril Powell, op. cit., pp. 195-196

¹⁸ C. F. Andrew, *Zaka Ullah of Delhi*, Cambridge, 1929, pp. 411-412

¹⁹ Ramchandra for example, who was a student of Delhi College and later a professor of Mathematics in the same college, was converted to Christianity in 1852.

Chawk, at festivals... during weddings or Musha'aras".²⁰ Though Mogul power had declined, this did not lead to any exodus of Mohammedan families in Delhi, for the number of Mohammedans and Hindus remained fairly constantly equal in these years. The Delhi Gazette of 1843 gives the number of Mohammedans and Hindus at 64,157 and 66,502 respectively, and that of 1853 at 66,120 respectively.²¹ The Indian Christians lived on the fringes of these communities, sharing the life and culture of both. But despite their close proximity in the city, the Indians and the English had very little social contact. "Curiously enough, the people of Delhi were influenced more by English ideas than by English customs. There was more contact of thought than of persons".²²

It is in this political, social and cultural and religious background that Christianity began to develop in Delhi. The Christians in the nineteenth century largely follow the colonial flag and preferred to establish stations in areas ruled directly by the British than in the princely states, as they were quite sure of the kind of freedom and protection they would be granted in the former.²³ And the purpose of the missionaries has always been to evangelise the 'heathens', the Mohammedans and the Hindus of Delhi.

²⁰ Gupta Narayani, op. cit., p. 5.

²¹ Delhi Gazette 1843, 24 May 1843, pp. 326; Delhi Gazette 1853, 23 Feb. 1853, p. 126.

²² Percival Spear, op. cit., p. 144.

²³ John C. B. Webster, op. cit., p. 16.

1.3 CHRISTIANITY IN DELHI: A Historical Background

There was, in North India (Punjab and United Province areas) no Christians to speak of prior to the 19th Century.²⁴ The earliest Christian missionaries to North India were the Jesuit fathers from the Portuguese colonies of Goa. Their work began as an extension of their mission to the courts of the Mogul emperors, a full account of which is given by Edward Maclagan in 'The Jesuits and The Great Mogul'.²⁵ The liberal Mogul emperor Akbar, who had developed an interest in the religions of the world, "for I wish to study and learn the law and what is perfect in it",²⁶ invited the Jesuits. Three missions were sent, first to Fatehpur Sikri near Agra in 1579, a second to Lahore in 1585 and the third to Agra in 1595.²⁷ From this latter date the work of the Society (Society of Jesus as the Jesuits are also called) was continuous to 1759 with its chief centers at Agra, Lahore and Delhi.

"In the early days of the mission", writes Maclagan, "the fathers concentrated their efforts largely on the conversion of the king, and even after the death of Akbar, much time was devoted to the attendance of the king and the princes of the royal family. So long as these royal patronages looked

²⁴ Delhi Gazette 1843, 24 May 1843, p. 326; Delhi Gazette 1853, 23 Feb. 1853, p. 126.

²⁴ Percival Spear, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

²⁴ John C. B. Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

²⁵ Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and The Great Mogul*, Burns Oates and Washbourne Ltd., London, 1932.

²⁶ Quoted in Ka Naa Subramaniam, *The Catholic Community In India*, Macmillan, Madras, 1970, p. 20.

²⁷ Fr. Rudolf Aquaviva and Fr. Anthony Monserrate to Sikri; Fr. Duarte Leitov and Fr. Christoval de Vega to Lahore, and Fr. Jerome Xavier and two others to Agra.

favorably on the Jesuits, there were also nobles and high official who would from time to time make advance towards the acceptance of Christian faith".²⁸ Actual conversion seemed to have been rare; the Christian congregation including only some Portuguese and other Europeans, Armenian merchants and traders and soldiers, employed at the court. Even though the Jesuits had successfully penetrated into the Mughal court, and maintained a continual presence in the region until 1803, a Christian community could not be built up. Akbar nevertheless, did appoint a Christian to tutor prince Salim, later emperor Jahangir. He permitted the fathers to build a church in Lahore and he also aided the project with some gifts of money.²⁹

Emperor Jahangir had proved highly erratic in his response to the priests, and after Xavier's departure in 1614, the Jesuits could not enjoy the same privileges at the court. Shah Jahan, though he did not prohibit their presence either at Agra or in his transferred capital of Delhi, did not give them encouragement. There were signs however, while his eldest son, Dara Shikoh was in favour at the court, that the Jesuits were at the point of recovering the influence they had enjoyed in Akbar's days. Dara's murder, on the instigation of his youngest brother, Aurangzeb who seized the throne in 1658, put paid to any such projects, marking instead the beginning of a long era during which the Jesuits, though still tolerated at court had of necessity to

²⁸ Edward Maclagan, op. cit., p. 274.

²⁹ Subramaniam Ka Naa, op. cit., p. 75



keep a very low profile. But by the end of the 17th Century, the size of the Delhi congregation had grown to approximately 300 and two small churches were built.³⁰ Christians, along with the other residents of Delhi, suffered heavily when the army of Nadir Shah sacked the city, in 1739. Both the churches were destroyed and the congregation scattered. Works were resumed shortly afterwards but was again disrupted in 1773 with the suppression of the Jesuits.³¹ The north Indian mission was then entrusted to the Capuchin fathers, a catholic religious order, who, having been forced to retreat from their pioneering station in Tibet, were hoping to consolidate their activities in the region between Agra and Patna. It was during this time only that the first Christian community of Indians can be said to have been formed. This happened with the baptism of the Begun Samru, a ruler of a tiny principality of Sardhana; she was the widow of Walter Reinhardt, a mercenary soldier from Luxembourg. She was baptised by a Capuchin Father Gregory in 1781, and with her, an inward looking catholic community grew in her estate.³² She endowed a church and also financed the building of a seminary. However, after her death, even this small community scattered. In Delhi, father Gregory, the one who baptized the Begum Samru, found that there was 'no house and no church and no money to built one'.³³ During the

³⁰ Edward Maclagan, op. cit., p. 143

³¹ The Jesuits were suppressed by Pope Clement xiv in 1773 due to their political influence in Portugal, France and Spain. The order was revived by Pope Pius vii in 1814, but has since been expelled from many of the countries of Europe and the Americas.

³² Rai Bahadur Sharma, *Christian Missions in North India, 1813-1913*, Mittal Publications, Delhi, 1988, p. 26.

³³ Quoted in W. A. W. Jarvis, *The Anglican Church In Delhi, 1852-1952*, p. 1.

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19th Century, the Roman Catholic effort in Delhi and the entire North India was very small. Until the end of the century, Delhi had received only a cursory attention. However, they did make a significant progress in building up the ecclesiastical structure of the Catholic Church in North India.³⁴

The Protestants on the other hand were very successful in their missionary activities in North India including Delhi. The opening up of the country to the missionaries by the Charter Act of 1803 and the Charter Act of 1833 gave the opportunities to the missionaries they had been longing for. In Delhi, the occupation of Delhi by the British in 1803 led to the arrival of a British resident, the posting of the British Civil Officers and the garrisoning of a British troop there. That very year saw the visit there of the first Anglican chaplain from Meerut, and from 1826, there had been a resident chaplain in Delhi. Ten years later, the imposing Church of St. James, the first protestant Church in the city was built. Between 1810 and 1840, two Indian workers of the Church Missionary Society served in the city as evangelists and schoolmasters. In 1840, they were transferred to Agra and the work in Delhi was discontinued.³⁵ ↵

³⁴ In 1845, the Vicariate Apostolic of Agra, created in 1820, was divided into two, the other Vicariate Apostolic being at Patna. The third one, that of Punjab was added in 1860. Then, in 1866 Agra became a Metropolitan See headed by an Archbishop, with Punjab and Allahabad, both headed by Bishops as its Suffragan See. Finally, the Archdiocese of Shimla was created in 1910.

³⁵ Alter P. J. and Herbert Jai Singh, op. cit., p. 18.

The Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) of Great Britain has the credit of being the oldest continuous Christian work in Delhi. It was in the year 1810 that William Carey obtained permission from the East India Company 'for the forming of a new station at Agra, a large city in Upper Hindustan, not far from Delhi and the center of the Sikhs'. In January 1811 John Chamberlain was sent to Agra. Three years later in 1814, in the company of the Begum Samru of Sardhana visited the city on a preaching tour. "Many people came for books and to hear", he wrote in a report with much optimism. "They hear better in Delhi than in any other place in the country...in this city, opportunities will always be occurring of sending abroad the Word of Life, and to the most distant countries."³⁶ However it was only in 1818 that Delhi became their 'mission station' when J.T. Thompson was sent to Delhi.

After the failure of the Catholic Church to built up a permanent Indian Christian community in Delhi, it was the BMS though with a humble beginning, successfully set up an 'Indian church'. J.T. Thompson opened a school and baptised several converts. By 1840, there were a dozen communicant members in the small Christian community. Till his death in

³⁶ D.S. Wells, *Ye Are MY Witnesses: the Work of the Baptist Missionary Society in India*, Calcutta, 1942, pp. 65-

1850, Thompson preached in the district, visiting all the notable Hindu fairs and distributing tracts and Gospels.³⁷

In the year 1854, another missionary society called the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) arrived with the aim to engaged primarily in the work of education. The formation of the SPG was actually the result of the a-appeals made by Rev. M.J. Jennings, the chaplain of Delhi from 1852. In 1853, he had set up a small school, St Stephen's School by name. In the previous year he had baptised also two High caste Indians, Ram Chandra and Chimman Lal, at St. James' Church, in what can be called the birthday of the Anglican Church in Delhi. John Jackson and Alfred Hubbard both from the Caius College, Cambridge were the first missionaries of the SPG. They were soon joined by Daniel Sandys from Calcutta and Louis Koch from Ceylon. At the beginning their work was confined to organising Bible study group and conducting Hindi services at St. James' church. By 1856, a small Anglican community also grew up, in which year the Bishop of Madras confirmed twelve of the Indian Christians.³⁸

The storm of the revolt that struck the city on May 11, 1857 practically wiped out the two Protestant missions and the tiny Christian community. Indian Christians were as much as Europeans the object of the

³⁷ Alter P. J. and Herbert Jai Singh, op. cit., p. 19.

³⁸ SPG Report for the 1857, p. xcivf.

mutineers' fury. When the 'sepoys' moved from Meerut to Delhi, they wiped out almost the entire Christian population of Delhi. Rev. Jennings and his daughter, who happened at that time to be staying with Captain Douglas, the Commandant of the Palace guard, and immediately killed. Hubbard, Sandys, Koch and Chimman Lal were also killed in the city.³⁹ Of the Baptist mission, the Rev. J. Mackay, the Indian Preacher Wilayat Ali, and Mrs. Thompson and her daughter were killed. A considerable number of Europeans and Eurasians of the Daryaganj quarter were for some days imprisoned in the Fort and then brought out and then massacred, men, women and children. Some of the Indian Christians, notably Wilayat Ali, gave up their lives even though they could have saved their lives by denying their faith.⁴⁰ The Roman Catholic Father Zachary of the Capuchin Province of Venice, who had established in Delhi in 1857, and the small community of Armenian community living in Sarai Rohilla also perished at the onslaught of the mutineers.⁴¹ A few Indians however escaped, among them, Ram Chandra and the wife of Chimman Lal, Silas of the Baptist mission, and the family of Waliyat Ali.

Mission and Church Properties suffered during the uprising. The Baptist chapel near the Fort was wrecked; St. James' Church was desecrated while the main structure remaining intact, and the Catholic Church built near

³⁹ John C. B. Webster, op. cit., p.244

⁴⁰ F. J. Western, *The Early History of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi* (unpublished manuscript), 1950, p. 30

⁴¹ Know your Diocese in The Voice of Delhi, the official news magazine of the Delhi Archdiocese, Feb. 2001, p.28.

Queen's Road (now, Shyma Prasad Mukherji Marg) was also destroyed. The disappointment of the missionaries could be seen in the letter of Dr. Kay of Bishop's College written to the SPG in London that 'The Delhi Mission has been completely swept away.'⁴²

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The Missionaries took the mutiny rather as an encouragement, and saw it as a baptism of blood. The SPG resolved on the 17th of July, 1857 '...God being our helper- to plant again the Cross of Christ in that city, and to look in faith for more abundant fruits of the Gospel from that ground which has been watered by the blood of these devoted soldiers of Christ'⁴³ The Home Committee of the BMS saw the mutiny as persecution, which had to be met with a Christian's revenge, which is 'the announcement of the Gospel of peace and pardoning love.'⁴⁴ Both the Societies revived their works through new recruits both from abroad and India. Under the leadership of James Smith, the BMS conducted evangelistic work in Shahdara, Daryaganj, Paharganj and Purana Qila. So too, the SPG, under the leadership of its head R.R. Winters began to grow again; he was assisted by his wife Priscilla, who is known for her educational and medical works for women. In 1877, the Cambridge Mission to Delhi (CMD) was sent to Delhi to work in connection with the SPG. It was during this period that many of the mission institutions in Delhi were established. In 1882, St. Stephen's College was founded by

⁴² Western F. J., op. cit., p. 35.

⁴³ Resolution taken on 17th July 1857, ibid. 35

⁴⁴ Dr. Wells, op. cit., p. 69.

Rev. S.S. Allnutt of the CMD. Three years later in 1885, St Stephen's Hospital for women was opened in Chandni Chowk. In 1895, St, Elizabeth's School an industrial school was opened. Meanwhile, in 1886, St. Stephen's Community, a group of Anglican women missionaries was formed to take care of the work on the women side.

The year 1911 was a year of great significance for the Christian missions in the city. For one thing it resulted in the rapid influx of Christians- both Europeans and Indians from various parts of India. Secondly, it brought a new prestige as the representatives of Christianity at the centre of political power. This led to the formation of the Delhi area of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1914, the establishment of the Anglican Diocese of Delhi in 1947, and the Roman Catholic Bishopric of Delhi in 1949.

At the end of the period under study, one could see as fruits of the labors of the Christian community, Churches, mission schools, a college, a hospital, etc. in Delhi some of which are of considerable repute. By 1951, the Christian population (including Europeans and Eurasians listed as Christians) was 18,685, which is 1.25 % of the Delhi population. In 1881 and 1911, the number of native Christians in Delhi was 914 and 4,515 respectively.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Until its reorganization in 1911, the Delhi district of the Punjab - to which the figures of 1881 refer - included the tehsils of Sonapat and Ballabgarh in addition to the present area of Delhi state. The figures for 1881 and 1911 indicate the number of 'native' Christians, excluding Europeans and Eurasians. The figure for 1951 includes all persons listed as Christians.

The period from the arrival of the first missionaries in Delhi through 1850 can be considered as one of exploration, preparation and settling down. ^{1st} From then on began the phase of earnest évangélization, penetrating Delhi ^{2nd} society with the Gospel through bazaar preaching, the training and supervision of Indian evangelists, teaching in the *zenanas*, the beginning of the medical and educational works, etc. From 1910 onwards, a shift from this traditional form of évangélization was seen in that the efforts and resources were now devoted to the shepherding of the Christian congregation. ^{3rd} The Culminating effect of this was the formation of the indigenous Church and the creation of the Christian community in Delhi.

The Christians in Delhi were witnesses to, participants in, contributors to and product of the history of Delhi. The second chapter, we shall examine the Anglican community itself in order to determine who its members were and what they brought to its encounter with the other communities in Delhi. The third Chapter will deal with their involvement in social and cultural change with particular reference to their evangelistic, educational, and medical and women's works. The final chapter will bring in the information concerning the other churches in Delhi, and will close with the assessment of the role of the Christian community in the processes of change affecting Delhi.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ANGLICAN CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

The Anglican community in Delhi composed of two elements: the Indian converts and the Anglican missionaries. This chapter will deal with who the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel as also the Cambridge Mission to Delhi were, why they came to Delhi, how they sought to fulfill their aims and the ways in which the condition of service there affected the access they enjoyed both to the British Government and the various groups within the society itself. Then secondly, the Indian membership of the Anglican Church created in Delhi will be described to see who they were, why they became Christians, the situation they found themselves after conversion, and their contribution to the encounter of the Christians with the other groups in the society. This will complete the picture of the Anglican Christian community as a whole and will lead us to consider what this community did to better the society and with what consequences.

2.1 THE ANGLICAN MISSIONARIES

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was founded in 1701; the purpose then seems to have been 'to minister to Her

Majesty's subjects in plantations, colonies beyond the seas including native peoples, slaves and settlers.⁴⁶

In 1852, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) resolved to open a mission at Delhi. The story of how this decision was made illustrates one of the major themes in early protestant missions, namely, cooperation between evangelical chaplains and devout British officials and their wives. In Delhi, the proposal to establish a mission was first made in 1850 by Mrs. Gubbins, the wife of Mr. J.P. Gubbins, then Judge of Delhi, and was promptly supported by Rev. M. J. Jennings, then chaplain at Shahranpur. The staff of Bishop College, Calcutta, and several leading Christian laymen in North India joined them in sending appeal to the SPG.⁴⁷ Mr. Thomason, the Lieutenant Governor of the Upper Provinces of the Bengal Presidency urged that the mission should take the form of a college of Delhi. Henry Venn, the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, also advised Rev. Earnest Hawkins, the secretary of the SPG in 1851, that the kind of the institution that the SPG was pressed to undertake at Delhi was of utmost importance, and though it was rather an auxiliary branch of direct missionary work, in the present state of India, it had a special significance.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ About us History, www.aspg.org.uk/hist.html

⁴⁷ F. J. Western., *The Early History of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi* (unpublished manuscript), 1950, p. 14.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p. 16

Early in 1852, Mr. Jennings, who was by now appointed chaplain of Delhi, had written to the SPG that he had felt for a need of the mission in Delhi; Jennings had an experience of mission life in India for twenty years and had always found Delhi as an important city from where other parts of India could also be touched.⁴⁹

The Society at first showed caution and even reluctance to commit itself to the scheme, because it was thought inexpedient to extend the Society's work in India until the expected renewal of the Charter of the East India Company had taken place, which might affect the position and work of the church in India. In addition, there was hope that provision might be made for a Bishopric in the North Western Provinces, and that the number of Government chaplains might be increased. The Society also wished to have firm assurance of financial support in India before committing itself to a new mission.⁵⁰

The SPG, moved by further humble appeals from the present chaplain Rev. Jennings, decided late in 1852 to send missionaries to Delhi to engage primarily in the work of education to spread the Gospel. The resolution of 17th December reads, "Resolved on a consideration of the news letters of Mr. Thomason, Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces, and the

⁴⁹ M.J. Jennings' letter to Mr. Hawkins, May 4th, 1852, printed in DELHI, October 1936.

⁵⁰ F. J. Western, *op. cit.* p. 14.

Rev. M.J. Jennings, chaplain of Delhi, the Rev. W. Kay, Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta, and others, that it is advisable to establish a missionary and Collegiate Institution at Delhi, and that the interest of the sum of L 8,000 already set apart for missionary purposes in the East be appropriated to its support for the next five years.”⁵¹

Therefore, the following year, in the month of March, Rev. John Stuart Jackson M.A., a fellow of Caius College, Cambridge, and a high Wrangler, was appointed 'Senior Missionary Professor'. He founded a colleague in Rev. Alfred Roots Hubbard, B.A. also of Caius College, who was appointed 'Junior Missionary Professor'. The two missionaries reached India on 11th February 1854, to begin their work. However, the recognised founder of the mission was Rev. M.J. Jennings.

There were certain factors prevailing at that time that actually favoured the setting up of the SPG mission and which in a way encouraged them to get out of their initial reluctance. In the first place it is the location of Delhi itself that was carefully chosen by Jennings. He had always realised that Delhi because of its political and religious significance would serve as an important centre of the diffusion of the Gospel; Delhi had been the ancient city of kings and the stronghold of the Muslim faith. Even before Jennings, one of the earliest chaplains to Delhi had 'turned again and again in thought

⁵¹ Resolution of the SPG, 17th December 1852.

toward the ancient city of kings- the heart of India- and longed that it might become the city of the King of Kings and the heart of His kingdom in India'.⁵² Realising the enormity of the task of evangelization, Jennings had asked the SPG to send men of efficiency upon whom they can calculate. He wrote, "Humanly speaking, Delhi requires able men to counter what they will have to encounter in so large and ancient a city. The roots of ancient religions have here, as in an old places, struck deep and men must be able to fathom deep in order to uproot them."⁵³ The SPG mission thus, began in Delhi not because the people were docile, but rather because they were men who had been deeply rooted in their own faith, which the missionaries saw as heathenish.

Secondly, there was the added inducement of the invitation of the British officials, which was accompanied by offer of aids in term of financial support not from the Government itself, but from those officials who, by personal convictions were Anglican Christians. Thirdly, around this time, an event had taken place in Delhi which greatly stimulated the keenness of the supporters of a mission in Delhi, and which also was of great importance for the life of the mission in its early days- the baptism of two high caste Indians; namely, Master Ram Chandra, Professor of Mathematics in the Delhi Government College, a Khayasta⁵⁴ by caste, and Chimman Lal, Sub-assistant Surgeon in the Delhi Hospital. This event gave the mission the hope of the

⁵² L. F. Henderson, *The Cambridge Mission to Delhi, a brief history*, Publication office of the Mission Church House, Westminster, London, 1931, p. 1.

⁵³ M. J. Jennings letter of 4th May, 1852 to Mr. Hawkins.

⁵⁴ A caste which, though not of the highest holds a high position throughout North India in point of intelligence, education and enterprise.

feasibility of spreading the Gospel among the high caste of Delhi. “How full of promise this missionary field is, and how incumbent on us it appears to be to take immediate advantages of the state of things”, wrote Jennings to Mr. Hawkins.⁵⁵ Due to the baptisms of Ramchandra and Chimman Lal, and partly to the circulation of the Bible and of Mr. Pfander's tracks, which had been pushed forward by the Agra Tract Society, a sort of religious movement was starting in Delhi.⁵⁶ Earlier the Baptist Missionary Society, with a dozen of communicant members had already opened a school for the natives.⁵⁷

Let us now see what exactly were the aims of the SPG and how they actually sought to achieve that end. The instruction laid down by the society and were given to the first two missionaries in fact indicated what the major activities of the Society would be, though of course, they did not anticipate the many forms that would take and how they would change over time.

“The great object with which the mission is sent forth is to *propagate among native inhabitants of Delhi* and to afford the youth, especially those who are engaged in acquiring secular education at the government school an opportunity of obtaining a knowledge of Christianity.

“...Whatever methods may be from time to time adopted...whether preaching to the heathen, delivering of lectures on the Christian religion, establishment

⁵⁵ M. J. Jennings's letter to Mr. Hawkins, 18th July 1852, printed in DELHI, October 1936.

⁵⁶ F. J. Western, op cit. p. 25.

⁵⁷ Alter P. J. and Herbert Jai Singh, *The Church in Delhi*, National Christian Council of India, op. cit. p. 19.

of schools for children, or classes for the older students, the missionaries will bear in mind that their great work is to be *the conversion of souls* and *the establishment of a Christian Church* which may eventually be carried forward *by the agency of a native ministry.*"⁵⁸ (*Italics mine*)

A glance at the instruction would tell that the major aim of the Society is the propagation of the gospel, even as the name suggests, among the 'native' of Delhi and the winning of their souls through the establishment of educational institutions, preaching, lecturing, etc. These activities remained very much at the centre of all their works, although such acts of mercy as medical works, works for women, famine relief etc. came to play an important role as well. The society cherished the hope of setting up an Indian Christian church that would be run by the native ministry.

The other group of Anglican Foreign missionaries that need to be seen ← is the Cambridge Mission to Delhi, which came to Delhi as reinforcement to the SPG in 1877. A University Mission was a new method of missionary work that resulted from ideas that were also largely new in the missionary thought of the period. The man behind the formation of the Cambridge mission was Dr. Brooke Foss Westcott, who in 1870 was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity in Cambridge. Dr. Westcott was convinced that the English universities had a role to play in the Christian missionary enterprises

⁵⁸ Quoted in F. J. Western, op cit. pp 25-26.

similar to that of Oregon and his colleagues in the third Century Alexandria. “By the essential condition of their life,” he wrote in 1873, “by the circumstance of their history, by the continuity of their growth through political and religious revolutions, by the catholicity of sympathy in which they embrace every form of speculation and enquiry...by the happy discipline through which they combine reverence with freedom and enthusiasm with patience, the universities are providentially fitted to train men who shall interpret the faith of the West to the East and bring back to us illustrations of the one infinite and eternal Gospel.”⁵⁹ Dr. Westcott’s vision of the aim and ideals of this special form of missionary work was to bring the Christian message to thinking men of the East who were seeking the divine truth and to train men to assist in the growth of an indigenous church, which in the fullness of time would give its characteristic exposition of the Gospel. His vision statement would mean that the Western missionaries engage themselves in dialogue with India’s religious tradition and to recognize all the truth that was to be found in Hinduism or Islam, to show perhaps how that truth would find its completion and fulfillment in Christ. These aims and ideals inspired the other founders of the Cambridge mission, the chief among whom were Thomas Velpy French and Edward Bickersteth. Thomas Velpy French must have seen the possibility of such a mission from his experience as he had been working in North India since 1851. He had helped in the

⁵⁹ The Religious Office of the Universities, written by Dr. Westcott, quoted in F. J. Western, op cit. p. 56.

setting up of St. John's College at Agra and worked there for some years. He had both framed the plan for a Divinity School for North West India and started it in Lahore in 1870. However, it was Edward Bickersteth who was most directly the founder of the Mission, and became the first head of the Cambridge Brotherhood, as they later come to known as. Bickersteh was born in 1850, and ordained priest in 1874. He was elected to a Fellowship at Pembroke College, Cambridge. It was he who, in consultation with Wesscott and French, drew up a scheme for the Cambridge University mission in North India. He proposed that an organized body of University men would concentrate their efforts on a particular city or small district; by working as a group, they would secure continuities and the possibility of division of labour in educational works or in controversial or literary undertakings; they would have the support of a united and regularly ordered religious life; and they would be strengthened by the help and sympathy which they would receive from the university that had sent them forth.

All these ideas were incorporated into the resolution that were taken at the first meeting of a committee set up for the purpose on the 29th November, 1876:

1. That the missionaries who shall be graduates of Cambridge or Oxford undertake united work at Delhi in North India.
2. That the special objects of the mission be, in addition to evangelistic labours, to afford means for the higher education of young native Christians and candidates for Holy Orders; to offer the advantage of

Christian home to students sent from Mission Schools to the Government College, and through literary and other labours to endeavour to reach to the more thoughtful heathen.⁶⁰

It is significant that although the Cambridge mission had a distinctive inner character, the work in which its members were involved was generally typical of other missions, i.e., evangelistic, pastoral and educational. In 1876, it decided to work in connection with the SPG, and at Delhi. However, it gradually took over the leadership from that Society and by 1890 became the chief agency of the Anglican mission in Delhi.

A number of circumstances combined to point to Delhi as the most suitable field of work for the new mission. Rev. R. R. Winter, Head of the SPG mission (1860-1890) had been working there almost single handedly and was much overtaxed⁶¹. Yet, new avenues were opening on every side- Chamars⁶² from the 'bastis' of Delhi were beginning to come out in some numbers for baptism. Moreover, there was as yet no provision at all in the entire Punjab for higher education under Christian auspices, and a university mission was clearly well qualified to remedy this. Just at this time the

⁶⁰ Resolution of the first meeting of the Cambridge Committee, 29th November 1876, in F. J. Western, op cit. 59.

⁶¹ Rev. Canon Skelton, The Revival of the Delhi Mission after the Mutiny, in Delhi Mission News (hereafter DMN), April 1896.

⁶² The Chamars are low caste Hindus, who are leather- workers. See G. W. Briggs, *The Chamars*, YMCA and OUP, Calcutta 1920.

Government College was closed due to financial problems⁶³ in 1876 and the way was opened for the foundation of a Christian college in its place. Thirdly, in the year 1877, a very important event for Delhi occurred; namely, the formation of the new diocese of Lahore, within which Delhi was after some months included and the appointment of Rev. Thomas Velpy French as its first Bishop.

2.2 THE INDIAN CONVERTS

The most important symbol of the missionary's success is perhaps the Indian convert. In fact, the basic purpose of any missionary enterprise was to convert the natives into Christianity. The aim of the SPG as also of the CMD, as we have seen above, was the conversion of souls, which was very much needed for the establishment of a Christian church. Initially, the Delhi mission met with a favourable response and their greatest success were not among the high caste, but among the outcaste section of the population, namely the Chamars. Since there were not enough missionary personnel for a vast population, the number of converts meant the greater chance of training them to be catechists or teachers or nurses, etc. to assist them in the work. In that way, the Indian convert was an important contributor to the Christians' encounter with the 'natives'.

⁶³ Gupta Narayani, *Delhi Between Two Empires 1803-1931*, OUP, Delhi, 1981 op. cit.p.110.

Mention has already been made at the beginning of this chapter about the conversions of Ram Chandra and Chimman Lal, the first converts in Delhi. These two had been influenced by western learning and Christian thoughts. The above-mentioned two were baptized on July 11th, 1852. By 1873, there were about 186 converts.⁶⁴ In 1885, the number rose to 933, and in 1902 it stood at 873.⁶⁵ Initially, individual convert were so important in the life of the mission that it was written up in letters or reports in some detail giving valuable insights into the influence of the Gospel on these 'representatives of the finest elements in traditional society'.

Let us take a look at the only table available to us to see who the converts were. The table is given by Mr. R. R. Winter in the annual report of the SPG for the year 1873-1874.⁶⁶ This table will let us know at least who were the first converts before the Cambridge Mission came, before any of the major institutions of the missions actually began.

By Parentage		By Position	
High caste Hindus	27	Trade and Government situations	135
Mussalman and 1 Jew	14	School master or catechist	46
Weaver and Chamar	95	Under training or in School	5
Christian born	50	Orphans	13
Total	186		186

⁶⁴ SPG Report for the Year 1874.

⁶⁵ Annual Report of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi in Connexion with the SPG (hereafter CMD) for the corresponding years 1885 and 1902

⁶⁶ SPG Report for the Year 1874.

The table above gives wonderful insights into the communities from which the early Anglican Christians were drawn, and their positions after they became Christians. One can see that quite a good number of them came from the high caste Hindus, while from the Muslim community the number is fewer. However, the bulk of the converts came from the lower caste namely the weavers and the Chamars. The right side tabulation shows almost all the converts had been absorbed into decent situations. The very fact that 135 persons are in trade or government services means that even the weavers and Chamars had disassociated from their traditionally degrading occupations and had entered into a relatively higher occupational positions.

There were two important reasons why conversions were so few in the early period of the mission. One is undoubtedly the message itself and the way in which it was presented. Both were strange and yet had to make a meaningful connection with the world in which the vast majority of the local population lived in Delhi. Secondly, the social sanctions against conversions were severe. Those who did convert were cut off from their families and traditional source of livelihood. Few, except those who already found themselves marginalized in society, could therefore take the risks or make the sacrifices which conversion entailed.

Let us now see the background of some of the high caste Hindus who were converted to Christianity and see what circumstances brought them to

accept that religion, what problems they encountered because of such a decision and their role in the life of the mission. In Delhi, the conversion of high caste Hindus followed a chain of influence, meaning that the next to be converted came under the influence of the already converted. Even though we have no record of such a chain in the later period, in the initial years of the mission in Delhi, it certainly was evident. Ram Chandra was the first to be baptized along with Chimman Lal in 1852. It was under the influence of Ram Chandra that Tara Chand began to be attracted towards Christianity and was subsequently baptized.⁶⁷ Pandit Janki Nath was introduced by his friend to Tara Chand who was already in the mission school.⁶⁸ The next Chandu Lal was brought to baptism by his teacher Ram Chandra.⁶⁹ It appears therefore that among the high caste, kinship ties as could be seen in the case of the lower castes, was not the mode through which they were brought into the church. But it should be remembered here that these converts were educated and they were, as it will appear from their testimonies and biographies, individually convicted by the 'faith of the missionaries'.

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Ram Chandra, the son of a Kayastha, a professor of mathematics at Delhi college, had been profoundly influenced by the new learning-Western Science and liberal Philosophy-being imparted in the government institutions. His autobiographical sketch written in 1858 tells us that as a co-editor of a bi-monthly periodical of the Delhi college, 'Fawaid -dau-I-nazrin' ('Useful to

⁶⁷ See F. J. Western, op cit. p. 37

⁶⁸ See From Brahma to Christ, Janki Nath's testimony in DMN, January 1898.

⁶⁹ See DMN, April 1911, which has also a full notice of Chandu Lal's life, with quotations from letters by him, by Canon Skelton.

the Reader'), he and others would expose not only the dogmas of the Muslim and Hindu philosophy but also attack openly many of the Hindu superstitions and idolatries. He also describes therein how the education he received made him at first rationalistic and skeptical of all religious teachings, including Christianity. "It was then my conscientious belief that educated Englishmen were too much enlightened to believe in any bookish religion except that of reason and conscience or deism."⁷⁰ He did not read the tracks in Persian and Urdu that was given to him by Mr. Thomason of the Baptist Missionary Society. The turning point in his life actually came in 1849 when at the suggestion of the principal of Delhi College, Mr. Taylor, he attended a service at St. James Church and saw "several English gentlemen whom I respected as well informed and enlightened persons. Many of them knelt down and prayed most devoutly."⁷¹ This awakened in him, he says, a desire to read the New Testament. "I commenced it," he continues, "and read through it with attention; and thus I became aware that salvation is not merely in knowing that there is one God and that polytheism and idolatry are false, but that it is in the name of our most Blessed Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ... I afterwards read the English translation of the Koran by Sale, the Gita in English, and had conversations and discussions with those who knew these

⁷⁰ The account regarding Ram Chandra is taken from quotations made by F. J. Western, op cit. p 20.

⁷¹ *ibid.* p. 21.

books in the original languages, and at last I was persuaded that what is required for man's salvation was in Christianity and nowhere else."⁷²

The other early converts aforementioned, like Ram Chandra, came to this kind of conviction of Christianity as the true path of salvation. Being educated and hence critical, their testimonies would show that their motives were genuine. Tara Chand, the next notable convert was the son of a subordinate Judge under the government. As a student of the Government College, where he had a brilliant career, he came under the influence of Ram Chandra and began to be drawn towards Christianity. He read the New Testament and other religious books at home and attended the missionary Bible classes. One day it is said, " he accidentally took up a religious book, Pike's Early Piety, which he had purchased from a colporteur of the Religious Track and Book Society. The book contained an account of the nature and consequences of sin, and of the death of Christ for man's salvation; and while reading it he first felt such a deep sense of his own sinfulness as filled his heart with terror; but immediately afterwards his heart was filled with unspeakable joy while he read in it the account of Christ's dying for sinners on the cross. From that moment he has always dated his real conversion."⁷³

⁷² *ibid.* p. 21.

⁷³ *ibid.* Pp.36-37.

The third in the succession of the Hindu converts was Pandit Janki Nath, who belonged to a respectable Brahmin family of Delhi, 'which was much respected by the people and worshipped almost as divine...But it was a heathen home'.⁷⁴ As a student, at the age of 19 or 20 he began to have religious doubts, and was introduced to Tara Chand by a friend who had been in the mission school. After three years of inquiry and consideration, he made up his mind that he must be baptized, and that 'there could be no salvation without the atonement of Christ.'⁷⁵

Chandu Lal, a pupil of Ram Chandra brought by the latter to Rev. Skelton, was an employee as a reader to the officer-in-charge of the government treasury. In recalling the experiences of the college days, Chandu Lal narrates how he and Tara Chand and some other pupils used to discuss with Ram Chandra why he had forsaken the religion of his ancestors and adopted an alien faith. "These discussions," he writes, "we used to hold in the class during the time of teaching mathematics. We questioned him and he answered us. After some days of conversation I felt in my conscience that Master Ram Chandra's reasons were weighty...I set to work to read St. Mathew's Gospel and by the time I had finished it, the moral grandeur and beauty of Christ's teaching, especially in the Sermon of the Mount, so transported me that I put this question, 'should I not follow such an excellent

⁷⁴ Janki Nath, From Brahma to Christ, being his own testimony, in DMN, January 1898.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

teacher as Christ, whose like I have never seen or heard.' So I became a follower of Christ at heart."⁷⁶

Looking at the above testimonies of the Hindu high caste converts we find that invariably all of them came to the conviction that conversion to Christianity was the only way they could find spiritual satisfaction. Their motive and their conscience seem to have been clear in this regard. (2.)

In India, the step from conviction to baptism is long and difficult. To be baptized would mean ejection from the caste biradari and dissolving of all family ties. This is true both in the cases of the high caste and the lower caste or the outcaste. The potential candidates for baptism experienced great mental distress at the decision of that action which actually is the first sign of the acceptance of Christ. This kind of confusion of the mind can best be seen in the example of the first convert Ram Chandra himself, which in a way is typical of the other high caste Hindu converts. In his own words, "...but the final step of baptism was difficult for me to take; by this I was sure to lose caste and dissolve all family connections, & c; and therefore I wish to believe that baptism and a public procession were not necessary to become a Christian."⁷⁷ This shows the anguish and predicament that Ram Chandra had to face at the thought of the 'initiation rite'. In fact, it was only three years

⁷⁶ See account on Chandu Lal in DMN, April 1911.

⁷⁷ F. J. Western, op. cit. p. 22.

after his 'St. James' Church'- visual-and-spiritual experience that he was baptized on 11th of June 1852.

Likewise the final step to baptism was as hard for Tara Chand as it ✓ was for Ram Chandra. The event did not take place until 1859 at Agra, where he had gone to continue his study after the Mutiny of 1857.⁷⁸ Again the decision of Janki Nath to openly confess his change of faith was met with threats. His wife told him that she would throw herself with her child into a well as soon as he was baptized, and his elder brother likewise told him that he would cut both his throat and his own if he were baptized. On Sunday, 4th, October 1868, he was baptized at St. Stephen's Church without letting his relatives know, and in the evening broke his caste by dining with Chandu Lal.

It will be interesting here to see also what happens to these converts immediately after the visible signs of their conversion. For Ram Chandra, at first it resulted in ostracism; ✓ he was out-casted by his family, and his wife and three young daughters left him until 1861 when they were also converted to Christianity. Tara Chand too had to face similar situation when his family refused to let him see his wife, and this separation of the husband and wife continued for three months. Janki Nath's situation was even wor^ae; he was practically imprisoned in his home by his brother, and his wife had to even perform some rituals to break the spell of the missionaries. But after his

⁷⁸ Ibid. p. 37.

confirmation in December, his wife gave up hope and left him only to rejoin him four years later and was herself subsequently baptized.

Among the Muslims even though they managed to win some educated ones, there is no testimonies as the case among the high caste Hindus. Hence we do not know much about the 'problems' associated with baptism. One was Sarfaraj Ali, who was a pupil of the Delhi College. It was through the influences of the Eurasian family that he had saved during the Mutiny, that he began to be attracted towards Christianity. However, it was at Bishop's College Calcutta where he had gone as an enquirer that he was baptised. He later came back to Delhi and became the Christian Master of the High school and became the staff of the Delhi Mission till his death. The other was Mohammad Qasim Ali. He too was bapised at Meerut and not in Delhi. It used to be the case that those who convert to Christianity did so away from Delhi, where they would face lee resistance from their relatives and others. Qasim Ali refused tempting offers in government employment owing to his preference for mission work⁷⁹

There is no record that tells whether these converts were accepted back into their caste biradari, save the case of Ram Chandra. Ram Chandra consistently refused to accept his baptism as final. S.S. Alnutt writing about him after his death says that, "gradually his consistent Christian life and his

⁷⁹ Canon Skelton, The Revival of the Delhi Mission After the Mutiny, DMN, April 1896.

determination not to accept ostracism as debarring him from fellowship with his former caste fellows led to his gradually being, as far as the case permitted, received back into his caste; and I had been assured by his caste fellows that without compromising his position as a thorough Christian, he was at the time of his death virtually the head of his community in Delhi, consulted by them in matters affecting the life of the biradari (brotherhood), and loved and respected by all who knew him.”⁸⁰ This goes to show that that it is possible for an Indian Christians to regain the position of honour in their Hindu community without the compromise of faith. But the intermingling with the others was only as far as the case permitted.

If not for the high price that had to be paid at the time of baptism, perhaps there could have been much more conversion from this caste. While it is true that the Church in Delhi began with the high caste Hindu converts, it grew mainly from among the oppressed groups living on the fringes of orthodox Hinduism. We shall turn our attention to one of these, namely the Chamars, who formed the largest proportion of the Christian community in Delhi.

The Chamars are a very large and widespread caste, especially numerous in the United Provinces and in Delhi and the surrounding districts. S. Ghose reports in 1898 that the Chamars then numbered around ten to

⁸⁰ For this notices of Ram Chandra, see S.S. Alnutt In Memoriam in DMN, July 1902.

twelve thousand, forming about 15% of the total population of the city.⁸¹ The *Chamar*'s traditional occupation, from which he obtains his caste name, is the skinning of cattle and tanning of leather, even though he performed many other unskilled labours. Many of the Delhi *Chamars* belonged to the Jatiya sub-caste, which is regarded as the highest. As far back as the early seventies, the *Chamars* in the various parts of Delhi demanded the attention of the SPG. Signs on the part of these people 's desire to attach themselves to Christianity had been noticed even before the mutiny. In 1873, twenty-six of them were baptised. Rev. Winters gives the number of the *Chamar* converts (along with weavers) at 82.⁸² But during the next few years, there were signs of something like a mass movement. Between 1886 and 1880, considerable number were baptised from nearly all the city districts (Winters had divided the entire city into eight districts), and the total number grew to six hundred. In the winter of 1877-1878 alone, two hundred and fifty four were baptised.⁸³

In the case of these *Chamars*, baptism in the early period did not seem to have been so problematic as in the cases of the high caste Hindu converts. There is no evidence showing that the *Chamar* converts were threatened by their wives or relatives. One reason could be that Christianity was presented to them as a particular 'panth' along which they were free to walk if so inclined – not as a distinct faith and a separate brotherhood. The 'panth' which the Chamars usually follow, like that of Kabir's and Nanak's, which

⁸¹ S. Ghose, Work Among the Chamars, DMN, July 1898.

⁸² SPG Report for the year 1874.

⁸³ Report of the SPG and Cambridge Mission in Delhi and South Punjab, (here after SPG and CMD) 1878 and 1879.

represents the highest type of religious life among them, does not normally interfere with the membership in the caste 'biradari'.⁸⁴ Herein actually lies the difference in the processes of baptism between the high caste and the low caste Hindus. In the case of the converts of the former, it was through a long steady process that they had come to the need for baptism. Among the lower caste, on the other hand, baptism was generally the first and not necessary a difficult step. The hardest part began only after baptism, the teaching of the Christian faith. For the educated high caste converts, the problem of 'pastoral' care did not seem to have been so much of a pressing problem.

It was this particular circumstance of these Delhi *Chamars* that the growth of the Church among them gave the Delhi mission a time of crisis, which separated two distinct periods. During the first period, which lasted nearly twenty-five years, converts were left to live among their former caste fellows to exert their influence on their neighbours. The principle behind this policy was set forth by the Rev. Winters and his SPG colleagues in their annual report of 1862, " We prefer leaving them in their own homes in hopes that their examples may lead others to follow the religion of the Lord Jesus more than could be the case if they were shut up in that spiritual hot-house, a mission compound."⁸⁵ However that soon had to be changed as the Cambridge men found that only a minority of the *Chamars* were at any rate

⁸⁴ G. W. Briggs, *The Chamars*, YMCA and OUP, Calcutta 1920. op. cit. pp. 200-202.

⁸⁵ SPG Report for the Year 1862.

in any real way affected by Christianity. The reason was that the *Chamar* convert continue to be a member in good standing of his old community or *biradari* provided that he participated in its rite of passage and other ceremonies.⁸⁶ In 1882, the Cambridge men began an experiment in a modified form of segregation by settling a few of the more earnest ones in *bastis*, each a little group of houses surrounding a common courtyard, but at the same time, in the midst of the dwellings of their caste fellows. The idea was that 'while continuing their trade under the old conditions, they would be so situated that they were in position to influence their neighbours to bring them to Christ.'⁸⁷ With this in mind, certain conditions of a good Christian life were laid down. For example, in the Daryaganj *chotti basti*, where Rev. Lefroy settled eight families, it was laid down that the converts should observe Sunday as a day of rest; that they should use Christian rites exclusively at times of birth, marriage and death, and that they should abstain from the use of *charas*.⁸⁸

For the *Chamar* converts to completely break away from the bond of social intercourse was something they were not prepared for, just as it was hard for the high caste Hindus; caste construct is almost as strong among these people as among the higher castes. In such a situation, a local caste *panchayat* used to be called, and a process of excommunication, known in

⁸⁶ John C. B. Webster, op. cit. pp. 248-249.

⁸⁷ G. A Lefroy, The Leather-workers of Daryaganj, in 'Occasional Paper' No. 7, 1884.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

common parlance as huqqa pani bandh karna,⁸⁹ initiated. In the Daryaganj *basti*, such a *panchayat* was convened in June 1884 for the purpose of shifting out of Christians. The process described by Rev. Lefroy, who also attended the sight, is interesting. The process was to be performed “by setting a pot of Ganges water (which takes the place of our Bible in an oath) in the midst, and calling on all those who were supposed to be Christians to come forward and raised it to their foreheads in sign of worship, at the risk of being summarily being ejected from the caste if they refused.”⁹⁰ Few certainly failed in the test and reverted back to the old practices. But as an example of a case of conversion which shows that a person of high standing and influence can cause a large number to convert or stick on, a *chaudhari* of a certain *basti* stood firm, and after him the rest of the converts of that *basti*, who were in a position of semi-dependence to him. This, in a way, fulfilled the missionaries’ ideal of a Christian life unalloyed by ‘heathen’ practices.

Furthermore, in order that the dual community membership is completely ruled out, in 1887 the SPG missionaries and a Native Church Council laid down certain conditions for continual membership in the Christian community which these converts must then publicly accept or reject. These conditions were that: 1) all Christians with unbaptised children should bring them for baptism and put their wives under instruction; 2) The

⁸⁹ Literally, this means exclusion from smoking or drinking with members of the brotherhood or biradari.

⁹⁰ G. A. Lefroy, The leather- workers of Daryaganj, op. cit.

children should be betrothed only among Christians, and 3) they should not attend *Chamar melas* (fairs) or ceremonies in connection with idolatrous practice.⁹¹

The development of Christian compound or *bastis*, while designed to shelter new converts from the influences of their non-Christian friends and relatives, enabled the Christians to develop a community life separate from their caste fellows. In these *bastis*, the Christians lived with a catechist or a reader among them, who united the function of a rent collector, *basti* schoolmaster and preacher. Attached to each *basti* was a schoolroom where services are held on Sundays and Thursdays.⁹²

The question of motive is another thing that is quite difficult to answer. It is often the case in India that it was a powerful secondary cause that any general movement toward a faith took place among the uneducated class or among the low caste people. In the case of the Delhi converts too, the SPG themselves realised this: "we must fully recognise the fact that it was not the beauty or the spirituality of the Christian faith that attracted these numbers to the Church...the tyranny of caste people over poor degraded out-castes, the moral effect of a great famine, the desire for education and social advancement – we can trace these subsidiary causes at work in Delhi, as in

⁹¹ V.H. Stanton, *The Story of the Delhi Mission*, Society of the Propagation of the Gospel In Foreign Parts, Westminster, S. W., second edition, 1917, pp. 43-53.

⁹² SPG Report for the Year 1877.

many other places..."⁹³ Rev. Canon Skelton, who came to Delhi as head of the SPG in 1858 reports that when the *Chamars* of Purana Qila first showed sign of baptism, it was due to the fact that the shoe merchants for whom they worked would no longer advance them money for their trade, and hoped that the missionaries would come to their aid. Some others had come to services not for worship but for help in the law court that was coming on in the magistrate court.⁹⁴ The years 1860 and 1877 were a period of famine in the Punjab. As a result of a large number of convert following the famine, several Christian *bastis* mushroomed in Paharganj, Sadar Bazar, Mori Gate and Delhi Gate. In that year, 224 natives received confirmation.⁹⁵ Famines were bonus for the Christian missionaries. However these conversions were in many cases nominal. "It was in Padri Winter's time," recalled a convert many years later, "there was a famine, he gave us bribe and we all became Christians."⁹⁶ Mr. Coorge, who narrates this account, says that it cannot be a true account, but to adopt a benefactor's religion, for him was an obvious way of showing gratitude. However, Christian charity and benevolence shown to these people in the form of food and medicine certainly enhanced their willingness to listen. At the beginning of the work in Delhi, it was the policy of 'quick baptism' that was followed, number at that time being of so much importance for the formation of a nucleus of a Christian community. Rev. Winters would

⁹³ V. H. Stanton, op. cit., p. 43.

⁹⁴ Canon Skelton, *The Revival of the Mission After the Mutiny*, DMN, April 1896.

⁹⁵ SPG and CMD, 1878

⁹⁶ Cambridge Mission to Delhi in Connexion with the SPG (here after CMD and SPG), 25th Report 1903

baptised the *Chamars* and put them immediately in the Christian *bastis*. Then, there was no strict screening process. The terms of conversion laid down by the Cambridge men in 1882 and again in 1887 were more a means of pasturing them than preparation for baptism, to know fully the new religion they were to join, and its implications. The fact that in 1887, when the three conditions of membership were laid down, out of the 990 *Chamar* converts, only 700 opted to remain Christian, while 290 opted to return to their *Chamar* community,⁹⁷ might show how not very genuine the motives of some of the converts were. Even though many *Chamars* who came for baptism were influenced chiefly by worldly motives, it can also be true certainly, that in some of them, there must have been thoughts working which had been brought by external pressure to the surface. When in 1897, a great famine struck Delhi, Rev. Alnutt's policy had been to announce all around that none would be baptised during time of scarcity and famine, not for at least six months after which it might rain again.⁹⁸ This may account for the number of baptised Christians in 1899 to be only 625.⁹⁹ The educated high castes, on the other hand, often join the Church membership 'on personal conviction', and it is difficult to say what other motive could have influence them. The missionaries were secretly chagrined at the lack of response from this group. In 1898, Canon Crowfoot said quite resignedly "in Delhi, the

⁹⁷ Some facts of the History of the Mission, DMN, July 1896.

⁹⁸ Head of the Mission Letter, DMN, January 1897.

⁹⁹ Statistics given in The Diocese of Lahore, DMN, April 1899.

difficulties are social, not religious."¹⁰⁰ It is interesting to note that the Anglicans managed to win only one student of the College to baptism, that of Muin-ud-din, in 1926.¹⁰¹

The problem of employment for the converts was not easily solved. Among the high caste converts, things were different. One of the first converts mentioned above, Chimman Lal had become a martyr in the carnage of 1857; Chandu Lal had worked as the headmaster of St. Stephen's School until 1871, when he was appointed in the Punjab Educational Department; Janki Nath took over the work after him; Tara Chand was ordained a deacon in 1863 and a priest in 1864, the first Anglican priest of Delhi; Ram Chandra was never technically a member of the mission staff, but it was he actually restarted the mission school after the mutiny with his private fund.

As far as the *Chamars* were concerned, initially the only option before the convert was to work for the mission. In time, however, other opportunities were opened up: government services, independent enterprises established by the missions for the economic advancement of the Christian community etc. If we look up again at the above table given by Mr. Winter in 1873, we will find that out of the 186 Christians of different backgrounds, 135 were in trade or government situations, 46 of them as schoolmasters or

¹⁰⁰ Canon Crowfoot, Work Among the Educated Classes at Delhi, DMN 1898.

¹⁰¹ See DELHI, October 1926.

catechists and 5 as under training or in school. Many of the *Chamars* were employed as messengers at schools and colleges, as grass-cutters; and those who were more qualified after certain training were employed as masters of branch schools, as nurses in the hospital, as catechists and readers and Bible-women.¹⁰² Every employment in these fields, for the mission was reinforcement in its evangelistic cadre.

It has already been mentioned that the Anglican community grew from among the low-castes. The work among the lower caste assumed such an importance that most of the efforts were directed to their care. In 1868, ✓ Christian Girls' Boarding School (later changed into Victoria Girls' School) and ✓ Christian Boys Boarding School in 1876 were established for the daughters and the sons of the Catechists and readers of the Delhi Indian Christians. In 1901, even a teachers training class was opened for the senior pupils of the Victoria Girls' School. In 1910, there were already five certified Indian teachers. In 1940, the school was already recognised by the education authority as an Anglo-Vernacular middle school. The lives of the low caste, ✓ the *Chamars* were thus improved.

✓ It was the Anglicans who showed first to the Delhi people the care for the low caste people. Education for such people was something unthinkable at that time. The concern for the *Chamars* took various forms, even though that was also a way of pasturing their new members of the

¹⁰² See Head of the Mission letter in DMN January 1897.

Church. In time of drought and famine, the mission would subsidize the *Chamars* on every pair of shoes sold, two *annas* for a day, for every large pair, and an *anna* for a smaller pair.¹⁰³ During a famine in 1897, a project of road making was made giving low rate of wage for any poor Christian, men as well as men, who wished to be so employed.¹⁰⁴ Again in the famine of 1905, an advance of Rupees five was given in advance for the purchase of leather. This has been explained here in detail here in order to show how the efforts of the missionaries' work among these class of people could have its impact later on the Indians in realising and reassessing the worth of the so called depressed-class of the Hindu society.

Now, let us look at the contributions that the converts made in the work of the church in Delhi. The first and the most obvious contribution was that of number. This fact enabled the small number of foreign missionaries to carry on their evangelistic work through a large number of mission institutions and agencies run on the principle of 'native agency and European superintendence'. This in turn, made for the political access to the Indian public through bazaar preaching, education, medicine and social service. Some of them who were educated and employed in the mission also provided the community's leadership. The increasing number meant also the loss on the part of other religions, for instance, Hindu and Islam. This led to the rise

¹⁰³ See Chamars, in DMN, April 1895.

¹⁰⁴ See DMN, October 1897

of the Arya Samaj as a reaction to the missionaries' efforts of conversion.¹⁰⁵
The second contribution made was the providing of greater access to the group within Delhi society out of which they themselves had come. The converts were instrumental in the conversion of the family members, or even their entire or part of their caste *biradari*. Thirdly, the converts helped to bring the various elements of Delhi society into the Church itself. First, the nationalist concern for self-government led to some soul searching and structural changes within the Church. At the turn of the twentieth century, we find the Indian converts being assigned posts of importance in the mission institutions, like S.K. Rudra being appointed the Principal of St. Stephen's College in 1907. Also the 1920s saw the process of 'devolution' in the Church; that is, the transfer of authority from the Missionary societies to the Churches, and hence from the authority of the state.¹⁰⁶ Second, the concerns of the *Chamars* for better life to which the missionaries responded by moving out of the cities into the villages and thereby identifying themselves with those at the bottom of the social order transformed the image of the church from that of urban to rural.

¹⁰⁵ S.S. Alnutt, Religious Attitude of the Educated Hindus, DMN, April 1895.

¹⁰⁶ The Anglican Church was the established Church in India; its bishops and Chaplains were on the government payroll. The 'devolution' of the mission administration in 1930 gave independence to the local church committees and councils, marking the break between the newly formed church and both the state and foreign Missionary Societies.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ANGLICAN COMMUNITY AND CHANGE

In this chapter, we will describe the involvement of the Anglicans in social affairs. The central task of the Anglican mission was to preach the Gospel and to do it effectively. The rest of the work was supposed to be either meant for creating opportunities to preach or else implicit demonstration of what they were doing or saying. We will examine this in detail in order to find out the pattern of interaction between the Anglicans and the other communities of Delhi, what changes were brought about as a result and how the Anglicans were themselves affected in the process. In Delhi mission, there is a special feature of their work, namely, that work among the men were carried out by the men missionaries, while the work among the women was done by the women missionaries and had its evangelistic, pastoral, educational and medical aspects. Here, we will study separately the men's work for men and women's for women.

3.1 WORK AMONG THE EDUCATED CLASS

Religious Controversy

The Anglicans brought their gospel to Delhi with its analysis of the Indian religious situation. Because the preaching of the gospel was so central to the life and labour and because they sort through preaching to change the religious of the

Delhi people, engaging the religious controversies form the starting point of their contact between them and the Muslims and the Hindus. They were face with the double task that of convincing the audience of the faults in the religions, and that their way of salvation was the true one what is different about the Anglican mission from the other missions in Punjab was that they approached the other religions with the acknowledgement of the good in them while affirming that Christ was the final revelation of God and the only saviour of mankind. This approach can be seen in the words of Westcott: we must go to India to learn as well as to teach; we must realised that India as well as the West, perhaps more than the West has her contribution to bring the full knowledge of Christ; that her wonderful verdict philosophy is not anti Christian nor non Christian but that it finds its completion and fulfilment in Jesus Christ our Lord.¹⁰⁷

In Delhi, the controversy took place mainly with the Muslims, the faith that approaches the nearest to Christianity. The adherents of the two religions, that is, Christianity and Islam, despite having common roots in both history and doctrines, have failed since the seventh century to reconcile due to incompatible interpretations of divinity, revelation or prophet hood. These controversies in Delhi did not assume as great a proportion as the Agra debate between C.G. Pfanders of the CMS and Maulana Palimat Allah Kairanawi of 1854, studied by Avril Powell in 'Muslim and Missionaries in Pre-Muslim India'.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Westcott, *Attitude Towards Christianity*, Delhi Mission News (hereafter DMN), April 1910.

¹⁰⁸ Avril Powell, *Muslims and Missionaries in Pre-Mutiny India*, Curzon Press Limited, London.

The Anglican missionary work among the Muslims started as early as 1859. The Debating Society founded by Ram Chandra in 1860 was utilised solely for the purpose of religious debate with the Muslims.¹⁰⁹ The arrival of the Cambridge missionaries in 1877 led to an intensification of the Anglican activities among the Muslims of the city. The Head of the Brotherhood, G.A. Lefroy was the most vitriolic in his preaching. During the time of Lefroy, exciting debates were held in the precincts of the Jama Masjid between the *Maulvis* and the Anglicans. Subjects such as the nature of sin, the path of salvation, the person of Christ, the miracles of Christ and of Mohammad would be agreed upon beforehand and debated upon.¹¹⁰ In 1899, Bickersteth Hall was opened as a preaching hall where such debates were conducted.

The Christian preachers naturally were faced with varieties of problems in this kind of work. The Muslims did not show interest in the Christian teachings. Lefroy noted in 1894 that even though many people would come, it was because they were not dissatisfied with their faith or wished to learn from him, "but to hear their champions reply to me, and for the pleasure of hearing the discussion."¹¹¹ During the debates, the Muslims would consciously disturb by preaching loudly on

¹⁰⁹ F. J. Western, *The Early History of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi*, (unpublished manuscript), 1950, p. 41.

¹¹⁰ V.H. Stanton, *The Story of the Delhi Mission*, published by Society of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Westminster, S. W., second edition, 1917, p. 33.

¹¹¹ Annual Report of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi in Connexion With the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel (hereafter CMD Report), 1894.

the opposite street. Sometimes they would boycott the meeting or stop others from entering the hall.

Most of the debates were held with the Muslims on the Crucifixion and the Resurrection of Christ, which did the *raison d'être* of the Christian faith. One such debate was held at the Bickersteth Hall in 1924 between a blind Maulvi Ahmad Masih (The only Muslim to be converted as the results of such debates with Lefroy in 1890) and Sayyid and another Muslim Maulvi. The contention of the Maulvi was that, even though they accept and venerate Christ as a prophet, they find it impossible to believe that a sinless man could ever be punished with death. The view of the Muslim of the Ahmaddiya sect was that Christ though crucified did not die.¹¹² A similar debate on the same topic which appear as a sort of an extension of this took place in 1928 at the same venue between an Anglican preacher and an orthodox Muslim. The Christian preacher's position was that Jesus Christ was crucified, and he was sinless with a sinless ness, which no other prophet has ever possessed. The orthodox Muslim quoting from the Koran, countered the argument by saying that if Jesus were a great and Holy prophet, God would never allow him to be crucified.¹¹³

As the above debates would show there was no point where the two would come to an agreement each holding on strongly to their own religious views.

¹¹² Bickersteth Hall, DELHI, October 1924.

¹¹³ Bickersteth Hall, DELHI, October 1929.

Discussions with the Hindus were more dialogic in nature. During one discussion on the question of creation, the Christian (C.F. Andrews) took the position that the universe came out of nothing but was created by God. The Hindu proponent (a college professor) on the other hand contended that the universe is in essence eternal and divine and the self-expression of God. The Christian co-relates this 'self-expression of God' with the 'word' (the 'logos' which was with God and was God) but contended that it was through Him that the universe was made.¹¹⁴ Andrews was trying to point out the similarity between the two faiths. During the discussion, he also pointed out to the Hindu that the doctrine of incarnation was spiritually true, and that Christ is the divine perfection.

In 1937, a debate took place between the Christian blind Maulvi and Arya Samajist, Mr. Shastriji on the relative merit of the Christian civilization. The Christian tried to impress upon the mind of the Hindu the fact that the miracles of science, the wireless, telegraph, railways, etc., came not from anywhere, but from Christian countries. Shastriji far from acknowledging and being impressed, countered the Christian with the detrimental of the inventions that the latter had pointed out in quite a sarcastic manner: "I have read many books of these scientists. Not one of them has said, 'this knowledge has come to be by the blessing of Christ'. And to what purpose is this scientific knowledge used? The first and foremost object to which the scientific knowledge of Christian countries is being put is the

¹¹⁴ C. F. Andrews, A Hindu Apologetic, DMN, January 1908.

destruction of man. Is this also the blessing of Christ? *Yeh bhi Masih ki birakat se?*”¹¹⁵

The change of religious believes which took place as a result of these controversies, except for the single conversion of the blind Maulvi, were virtually nil. The religious controversies between the Anglicans on the one hand and the Muslims and the Hindus on the one hand only tended to intensify communal loyalties because it focused people’s attention on the relative strength and weakness on their own religion. The activities of the Anglican created a fear psychosis among the Hindus and the Muslims, and consequently let to a spurt of reforming activities and an inner directed conviction of their own faith.

Education

The end of all evangelistic enterprises is winning of souls. The aim of the Anglican mission to Delhi, as we had seen in the first chapter, was “to propagate among the native inhabitants of Delhi, and to afford the youth, especially those who are engaged in acquiring secular education at the government schools, an opportunity of obtaining the knowledge of Christianity”¹¹⁶ and through lectures on Christian religion, or establishment of schools, they would work for the ‘conversion of souls.’ The Cambridge mission in particular was sent “through ²literary and other

¹¹⁵ Bickersteth Hall, DELHI, January 1938.

¹¹⁶ Quoted in F. J. Western, op cit. pp. 25-26.

labours to endeavour to reach the thoughtful heathen.”¹¹⁷ The missionaries realised that religion played a very important role in the lives of the Indians. They also knew that Delhi was a stronghold of the Muslims and Hindus. It was for this reason that Jennings was asking in 1852, “Humanly speaking, Delhi requires able men to encounter what they will have to encounter in so large and ancient a city. The roots of ancient religions have here as in all old places, struck deep and men must be able to fathom deep in order to uproot them.”¹¹⁸ And for this onerous task of ‘uprooting’, Cambridge graduates were sent to Delhi (the two earliest SPG men sent to Delhi also were of the Cambridge) ‘to reach the more thoughtful heathens’, the educated/middle classes of Delhi.

The Anglican mission through evangelisation among the educated natives of Delhi sought to remove all those obstacles to the all-round development, which their adherence to a faulty religion posed. The government schools per chance could not be expected to provide sound moral education which education suffused with Christianity can produce. “Our government is destroying their age-old tradition, and giving them only secular education,” wrote Creighton. “As the government cannot do it, we must give them the true religion which can make up for the loss of their faith and which will also be in consonance with the new civilization that the English are ushering in”.¹¹⁹ Thus the missionaries perceived that the government would limit itself to the spread of secular western education (and careful any social

¹¹⁷ Resolution of the first meeting of the Cambridge Committee taken on 29th November 1876, quoted in F. J. Western, op. cit. 59.

¹¹⁸ Jennings’ letter to Mr. Hawkins, dated 4th May 1852, reproduced in DELHI, October 1936.

¹¹⁹ M. Creighton, Need for Women Teachers, DMN, January 1903.

unrest or religious conflict might disturbed peace). If that was the government's position, on the native's side there was the educated middle class, which was characterized by their desire for western education which would improve their social and economic prospects, while being so unwilling to allow their children to convert to Christianity.

The most characteristic feature of the education work of the Anglican mission were St. Stephen's High School and St. Stephen's College. St Stephen's High School was established before the mutiny by Rev William Jennings in 1854. After the mutiny Ram Chandra revived the school with thirty students. The school grew from then on. Gospel was taught in Urdu. The other subjects include literature, history and science, all of which were taught in Urdu and English medium. In 1867, the number of students rose to 120. In 1878, Mr Winter handed over the charge of St Stephen High School to the Cambridge mission to Delhi, from which time education of the middle class were completely placed in the hands of Cambridge mission. Not long afterwards in 1877, the Government College at Delhi was abolished on financial ground. When the active efforts by the residents of Delhi to replace the government by local management failed, the Punjab government suggested that the Cambridge Mission in 1882 opens its college doors not only to boys from the mission schools but also to all the matriculated students on conditions that a grants in aid should be given.¹²⁰ From four in 1881, it grew to sixty students in 1885. Till 1899, when Hindu College was set up, St Stephen's College was the

¹²⁰ Report of the Head of the Mission for DMN, April 1904.

only college existing in Delhi. When, in 1922 March, by the Delhi University Act, the university of Delhi came into being, St. Stephen College became a constituent college, with two other colleges, namely Hindu college and Ramjas College. In 1928, the number of students had grown to 280.¹²¹

The type of education offered by the mission in its school, St. Stephen's High School, and its college, St Stephen's College, like those others under Christian sponsorship in Punjab was determined by their evangelistic aim. There were two methods employed at achieving this aim-direct and indirect. Direct method refers to the religious instructions given at the college without conscience clause. The first year students were taught the general outline of the Old Testament, the second and third year students, St. Luke's Gospel, and the fourth year students were taught St. John's Gospel. These scripture classes consisted of three quarters of an hour with another ten minutes given for any kind of discussions and clarifications. Besides each day began with a scripture passage, a hymn and a prayer.¹²² A chapel was attached to give a complete Christian atmosphere in the campus.

Alnutt, the first principal of the college had pointed out the aim of the college as influencing the people with an effective remedy to the faults of secular education devoid of any moral touch. Secular subjects were even taught from a Christian's standpoint. Any opportunity arising out of these lessons were used to

¹²¹ F. F. Monk, St. Stephen's College, Delhi, July 1928.

¹²² B. K. Cunningham Esq., St. Stephen's College, DMN, October 1896.

give a Christian influence in the institutions. The subjects taught in the college included English, Mathematics, History, Psychology, Persian and Sanskrit. Psychology curriculum included Alber Crombie's 'Intellectual Power', which are described as thorough Christian treatise. The English curriculum included Help's "Companion of my Solitude" and Milton's 'L Allegro and L Penserro', which Alnutt thought would have Christian influence on the student.¹²³

The indirect methods were directed toward forging a closer relationship between the missionaries, the staff and the students. It was calculated to ease the mind of the students to approach the missionaries in any case of need. The missionaries also believe that a personal relation with the students would have a spiritual influence on the latter. As a means to this contact Shakespeare Reading Society was started at the mission house. There, the members, the students as well as some native professors would have one hour of social intercourse. In connection with thee society St. Stephen's Club was started in 1902 to promote sociability by means of games, lectures, readings etc.¹²⁴ The other was the Star of Delhi Club, which was opened to all members of the mission schools and the college. Debates were conducted and papers read on social topics. Games and English magazine were also provided. The purpose of this was not merely bringing the teachers, particularly the Christians into personal touch with students but also to serve the purpose of affording morally healthy amusements and of keeping the Indians from

¹²³ S.S. Allnutt's Report on St. Stephen's College, CMD Report, 1882.

¹²⁴ B. K. Cunningham, op. cit.

the too often corrupted influence of home.”¹²⁵ A cricket club was also opened in 1895 with a field in the college, to provide pure and healthy recreation, which the missionaries thought as very Christian.¹²⁶ Through indirect methods, the students were expected to understand and recognise the power of the teaching of Christ. Particular stresses were put because it often happened that one-hour lecture would soon be forgotten once the students slipped outside the classroom.

The target of the Anglican schools as well as the college was the middle class of Delhi both the Hindus and the Muslims. The missionaries believed that if any change had to occur in the society, the middle class had the target role to play. In the year 1924, out of the 280 students in the college, there were 200 Hindu students. The number of Muslims was much less, being only 70, despite the fact that the population of Delhi was equally divided between the two. The number of Christian students was only 10.¹²⁷ In the High School however, the number of students from these communities were more or less equally divided, there were 167 Hindus and 156 Muslims, besides 9 Sikhs, 4 Parsis and 18 Christians.¹²⁸

These two institutions were founded with the expressed purpose of giving a Christian western education to the students and of converting at least some of them to their faith. What the missionaries did not reckon was the influence of the *Arya Samaj* on the students. S.S. Alnut, while writing about the religious attitude of the

¹²⁵ ibid.

¹²⁶ In DMN, April 1897.

¹²⁷ Our Anniversary Day, DELHI, July 1924.

¹²⁸ St. Stephen High School, DELHI, October 1928.

educated Hindus, reported in 1895 that occasionally there would be two or three Hindus wavering in balance, quite convinced but wanting either the courage or the real heartfelt earnestness to take the final step of Baptism.¹²⁹ He puts the blame on the *Arya Samajists*, which entices them back by their spacious arguments. The situation in the college as an effect of this, was described by Alnutt, "Great deal of interest has been excited in the college by the lectures of the Swami representing the *Arya Samaj*. Our students were inclined without any further investigation of the matter to adopt the doctrines of Swami Saraswati en bloc."¹³⁰ A branch of *Arya Samaj* was established in Delhi in 1895.¹³¹

The communities of Delhi especially the middle class, apart from the want of western education and unwillingness to convert their children to Christianity mentioned above, was now characterised also by the desire to find out an alternative to the Christian education institutions. The Anglican Missionaries were rejoicing that a spurt for these movements is the indirect result of their work.¹³² For almost two decades since its inception, the St. Stephen College was the only institution catering to the needs of the higher education in the city. The college was to lose that monopoly, when in 1899, the Sanatan Dharm Sabha founded Hindu College in Delhi. The Hindu College was founded on the principle of giving a University Education at very low fees, far below those in St. Stephen.¹³³ It began with 56

¹²⁹ S. S. Alnutt, Religious Attitude of Educated Hindu, DMN, April 1895.

¹³⁰ S. S. Alnutt, Education Work in Delhi, in Occasional Paper of the Cambridge Brotherhood, 1895.

¹³¹ CMD Report, 1895.

¹³² CMD Report, 1895.

¹³³ V. H. Stanton, op. cit., p. 63.

students in the first year of establishment, in October 1899. In a manner similar to the St Stephen College religious instructions of the Sacred Books formed a part of the regular course. The opening of the Hindu College reduced the number of students in the first and the second years.¹³⁴ However, due to frequent change in principals, partly the want of adequate building, and partly to their lack of success in university examination, the Hindu College could not make much headway in terms of numbers. In 1910, when the St. Stephen College had 170 students, Hindu College had just a little more than half of St. Stephen's College.¹³⁵

In order to strengthen the Christians foundation of the college, it was now the turn of the Anglicans to respond to the reaction of the Hindus. In the year 1904, three of the Cambridge men, consisting of those who are professors in the college took up residences in a house, which was secured next to the hostel. This step broke the tradition, which was maintained that all members of the brotherhood in Delhi should live together. But the missionaries believed that in this way an essential unity between Indians and Europeans Christians could be acted out.

The national movement, which began to grow stronger by the turn of the century, was another event that led to a change in the policies of the college to accommodate the feelings of the students, who are affected by the nationalist spirit of the time. The students drew the inspiration from the victory of an Asiatic Nation

¹³⁴ Wright's report, DMN, April 1901.

¹³⁵ J.G. F. Day, St. Stephen's College, a seven years retrospect, DMN April 1910.

over a European nation in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904, the partition of Bengal in 1905 and the unpopular measures of the British government and from the principal of liberty, patriotism and constitution of self government that were taught to them in the college.¹³⁶ The missionaries perceive that there was a greater need to strengthen education in this period of unrest to hold up Christian ideals of life before the upcoming generation. They saw the national movement as 'a religious movement, which contains in it the forces of nationality that India needs for her political emancipation'.¹³⁷ The matter of the scripture was change in 1924 in order to instill a Christian standard of conduct upon the mind of the students and to infuse the Christian spirit into their national aspiration. The first year students were taught the Historic Jesus; the second year students, the teaching of Jesus; the third year the application of that teaching to everyday life; and the fourth year students, a face to face study of what Christianity meant to the students personally. In Delhi, as in any other places in India, the political question was bounded with the educated and the emancipation of the country, which lay in their hands.

S.K. Rudra, the first principal of the college was a steadfast patriot. Along with his most famous disciple, C. F. Andrew, he attended the Surat session of the Congress in 1906.¹³⁸ Rudra shared the nationalist aspiration of educated Indians and when in 1907 he was appointed the principal (and the first Indian Principal of any Christian college), he was for this reason able to guide it through the severe political

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ S. K. Rudra, Message of the Church Today to Educated Non-Christians, in Lahore Diocesan Conference Report, DMN, October 1910.

¹³⁸ CMD Report, 1906.

tension that happened both in 1907 and later in 1919, 1920 and 1921.¹³⁹ In 1906, Alnutt reported that the students of Delhi were not affected much by the *Swadeshi* movement. He reported that in Delhi the supports of the movement have kept it distinctly from politics, by saying that *Swadeshi* was in no wise aimed against English trade but that it simply meant the support of their own industries by buying home made articles. Again during the non-cooperation movement in 1919, the students were restrained by Rudra. Although political agitation and disruptive movement involved in the students' world, the college steer clear of all difficulties.¹⁴⁰ During the civil disobedience movement of 1930, even though the college was picketed on the opening day of the term the attendance was 77 per cent. The principal of the college manage to persuade the student union to withdraw the picket presenting them the argument that the younger students should be free to carry on with their studies with a view to equipping to themselves better in latter life for national services.¹⁴¹ F. F. Monk proclaimed rather proudly that there was no neglect of learning or of interest in public affairs, but the normal scale of values was significantly revealed. When in the autumn of 1930, the college, which had declined series of invitation to political hartals, cut classes and watch an English cricket team play.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ F. F. Monk, *A History of St. Stephen's College, Delhi*, Calcutta, 1935, pp. 139-140 and 202.

¹⁴⁰ Editor Notes, DELHI, April 1920.

¹⁴¹ Politics and the Indian Students, (editorial), DELHI, January 1931.

¹⁴² F. F. Monk, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

Again in the 1942 Quit India Movement the students of the college though naturally perturbed attended the class in full.¹⁴³ Students from the other colleges including a women's college called upon the students to come out with them chanting slogans. But, the Mission was not in favour of students joining the demonstration. Instead believe in the freedom of thought; the complete freedom was granted to the students within the precincts of the college to be discussed matters among themselves and with their teachers. Earlier in 1930, the National Society was started so that the students could express their nationalistic feelings. The membership was open to all the college community; the members were required to take the pledge to help the *Swadeshi* Movement and to do all they can for the attainment of '*Purna Swaraj*'. In 1943, the students of the college took an oath in the college hall that whatever the students might do, they would not go on strike.¹⁴⁴ When in 1947, Independence came with the Partition of India, the Muslim students were evacuated to Purana Quila. During the partition riot, a mob came armed with kerosene tins and rags to set fire to the college which was however prevented by the timely intervention of Mr. Thadani, the Principal of Hindu college.¹⁴⁵ Kenneth Sharp lamented at the exodus of the Muslims from Delhi thus: Delhi without man of all community living and working together in peace and concord is unthinkable. In fact, it is not Delhi.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ St. Stephen's College and the Recent Political Disturbance (editorial), DELHI, January 1943.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ St. Stephen's College, Delhi, India, in www.uspg.org.uk/hist.html

¹⁴⁶ See The Camp at Humayum Tomb, DELHI, January 1948.

The Anglican education as an instrument of conversion was a failure. But, there had been some hopeful cases of some students who were moving toward Christianity, but would not take the last step. The school recorded a case of only two converts, while the college was reported to have won three, two of which were actually baptised in England after getting their Degree; a Brahmin and a Jain. The only conversion of a student in the college was a Muslim, Mr. Muin-ud-din Ansari in 1926. As a matter of fact, in 1929, St. Stephen's High School was closed because "we believe that it is no longer the best instrument that can be used for that purpose (to build the city of God in Delhi)"⁽¹⁴⁷⁾

However, the institutions managed to remove from the educated students certain prejudices regarding caste. This often happens during the College re-unions where students of all faith would rub shoulders with one another in the gatherings. Again, caste regulations about eating together was gradually broken down when the students and staff were made compulsory to sit down to a common meal, cooked and served by a voluntary dinner committee, selected without discrimination of caste or creed.¹⁴⁸ The non- Christian ex- students of the college stated that 'it is really our pride that we have universally been given the credit for integrity of purpose, we feel that this is entirely owing to the moral influence and training which is the special effect to our school and college.'⁽¹⁴⁹⁾

⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ J. H. Scott, High School, DEHLI, October 1928.

¹⁴⁸ F. F. Monk, Caste and Social Service, DELHI, July 1934.

¹⁴⁹ Address to Rev S.S. Allnutt of the SPG and CMD and the members of the Mission. Signed 'The non-Christian ex-students', in DMN October 1900.

The Anglicans also contributed a lot to the education of the city. The school for instance had the largest number of students among the schools in the Ambala Circle in 1866, and in 1870, it had four-branch school in the town.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ The High School, by 1890, became the shortest route to higher education. The Anglicans came to the rescue of Delhi at a time when the closure of Delhi College in 1877 was depriving Delhi and the neighbouring districts of the opportunities of higher education. In 1926, the Inspector of the College expressed his satisfaction that the college was one of the best directed in India.⁽¹⁵¹⁾ It will not be of import to note here the number of officers, politicians, doctors, etc., that the college had produced.

3.2 Work among the Women

The work among women was one of the most important works of the Anglican Delhi Mission. The condition of depravity as perceived by the missionaries ended up in writings in their newsletters and books. "The story of the Delhi Mission", for instance, stressed the need to save the Indian women from the degradation in which she was living-a state, it was pointed out, that was sanctioned by both the Hindu and Muslim scriptures, as well by social customs. The evils of early marriage and widowhood, early child birth, ignorance, poor health and the restricting atmosphere of the *zenana* life under the rule of the husband and mother-in-law were depicted in the pages of 'The Story' and other pages of the Delhi Mission News.

¹⁵⁰ Narayani Gupta, *Delhi Between Two Empires, 1803-1931*, OUP, Delhi, 1991, p. 103.

¹⁵¹ In St. Stephen College, DELHI, October 1926.

The works for women were carried out by the women missionaries of the SPG, for that was the only way the work for women could be done in India. The women work was pioneered by Priscilla Winters, the wife of the Head of the SPG after the Mutiny, Rev. Robert Winters, as soon as her arrival in 1862. She declared at the Punjab Missionary Conference that the inability of the male missionaries to preach their message to the women of India was a great calamity 'that might explain the comparatively small and slow progress that Christianity has made in India',¹⁵² The Anglican missionaries depicted the women of India as neglected figures whose subjugation to the tyranny of custom was complete in the prison-like confinement of the *zenana* quarters; the system of female seclusion was seen as stemming from the religious customs of the Hindus and the Muslims. The *zenana* had been described by a missionary as 'the darkest place of the house. This is not from the want of humanity. The Hindu is very religious. The sacred books tell him that the women must be protected. She must not be allowed to look out of the window. No man except a close relative may look upon her. If she offends, she is to be corrected with a whip or a cane.'¹⁵³ The kind of lives the women were forced to live filled the missionaries with pity. They were sorry that the *purdah* women were doomed all their lives in the *zenana*, 'an impassable barrier, shutting them up from health,

¹⁵² Allahabad Missionary Conference, 1872-72, p. 157.

¹⁵³ Woolmer, Child Wives and Child Widows of India, DMN, July 1897.

interest and occupation, from work and pleasure, education and enjoyment, and from nearly everything that goes to make up the joy of living'.¹⁵⁴

The missionaries traced the origin of the *purdah* system among the Hindus to the Muslim invasion of India.¹⁵⁵ They found that the Hindu *purdah* women themselves considered the *purdah* as their religion, and something which they cannot break, and retorted as such when, one day a lady doctor of the SPG attributed a Hindu women's illness to the latter's confinement within the *purdah*.¹⁵⁶

Despite the dark picture painted the missionaries also found some 'sunshine' in the Indian women. These 'prisoners' of Delhi were seen to be 'capable of great endurance, of passionate devotion to husband and child; they can display a spirituality, a power of prayer, a living faith in that God of whom they know so little, that puts Christians to shame.'¹⁵⁷ They were there to give these women the chance to develop by attacking the root of the matter, and supplanting the false religion by the true one. They wanted to give them the meaning of freedom, for the women 'do not feel their loss, or want to be free, because they have no conception of what freedom is.'¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ V. H. Stanton, op. cit., p. 91.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, 91.

¹⁵⁶ Scott, A Glimpse into the Purdah Land, DMN, January 1903.

¹⁵⁷ V. H. Stanton, op. cit., p. 93.

¹⁵⁸ ibid. 91

In such a situation, the missionary took up as their duty as Christians the task of improving the condition of women, which they see as the best means to set the moral standard of both the home and the world, as can be seen in this observation of Rev. Lefroy. Amidst the deep need of that country (India) there is none which seem at the present time more urgent to those intimately acquainted with the condition of life there, than that of a large increase in the number of true hearted Christian women who work for our Lord amongst the Indian women. The social life of a country depend, as we know, on the tone and temper and the purity of its family life, and no less certainly the life of the family depends for its tone and temper more on the wife- the mother of the household than on any other single element. It is in view of this fact that the present terrible ignorance and degradation of womanhood in India attains its gravest significance.¹⁵⁹

Later on, the work was extended to include education, *zenana* visits and expansion of the medical works. At a missionary conference in 1863, she wrote, "I see but two things, misery and God" which was read before the conference. With keen insight and ready wit, she tried to make the former the means to the latter.

Educational and *Zenana* Works

Education was one of the most important weapons in the hands of the lady missionaries for the emancipation of women in Delhi. The object of education for

¹⁵⁹ Lefroy, India's deeper needs, DMN, July 1897.

women was the formation of good wives and good mothers¹⁶⁰ Mrs. Winters developed schools for Hindus and Muslim girls; separate arrangements had to be made for the children of each religion as mixing was generally impossible in Delhi then. Education was also given in the *zenanas*, which for some women provided the only education they would receive. Mrs. Winters at the Allahabad Missionary Conference of 1873-74 spoke that ‘ there is not a single *zenana* open to instruction in the Punjab and North West province’¹⁶¹ and expressed the desire to gain an access to the higher grade in the society. In these schools education was determined by the evangelistic aim. Scripture class was made compulsory for all the students. The syllabus for the rest was the same as in the primary education, with the addition of the rudiments of domestic science. The teaching in these schools was not an easy task and the teachers faced a lot of problem. The practice of an early marriage, for example would force the students to stop their schooling without completion. But the missionaries would follow them to the *zenanas* sometimes to continue the teachings there and often scholarships were given as incentives. Some member of the mission held a scripture examination every year, and the government inspector would examine in the other subjects taught. The government report however, described the standard of these schools as low, pointing out that though the students made good progress in reading and writing, they seldom pass the arithmetic examination. This had led the lady missionaries to concentrate on the *zenana* teachings instead.

¹⁶⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁶¹ Allahabad Missionary Conference, 1873-74, p. 154.

The method of work in the *zenanas* was simple and directly personal. It involved calling in high caste Hindus and Muslims women in the secluded quarters of their homes in order to teach them reading and writing conversational English, knitting and sewing. Often the Anglican *zenana* workers were invited into the homes of western educated men who wanted their wives to be better educated and more enlightened. Request would also frequently come from a relatives, perhaps a son or brother studying in one of the mission schools, or directly from a woman patient at the mission hospital. This education was conducted on an informal basis and include as much religious education as secular. Bible formed an essential part of the *zenana* teaching, a condition, which was made clear before any house was visited. Their daily classes would begin and end with a reading or explaining the passage from the Bible. *Bhajans*, hymns set in native tunes, would be taught and sung. But it is in the other secular subject taught, viz., reading, writing, knitting, needlework and sometimes English and Urdu that the students displayed their interest most.¹⁶² In 1893, Bible teaching was shifted to the end of the class 'so that it might be the last impression on the pupil's mind'.¹⁶³ However, this strategy did not help much in leaving an impression or in changing their beliefs. When measured in terms of conversion, *zenana* work was a failure. How many women changed their religious belief and practices in 'a Christian direction' without undergoing baptism is a matter of speculation. The Anglican *zenana* workers were not deliberate home breakers; they did not encourage Hindu or Muslim women to

¹⁶² Pilkinton, *Zenana Work at the Delhi Mission*, Occasional Papers of the Cambridge Brotherhood.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

leave their husband and children in order to become part of the Christian community. The *zenana* workers were often in a dilemma as to either convert or cause domestic discord by letting the women abandon the faith of the husband. What often happened was that the rival moralities played themselves to a standstill. All that the Anglicans could convert were either the wives of the already converted or the destitute.¹⁶⁴

Despite the caution taken by the workers in regard to conversion they were considered by the society as a threat to the sanctity of their homes. These fear perceptions of the Hindus and the Muslims can be seen in the hostile reaction made through the press. The *Akbar-i-Aam* of Lahore of 7th April 1906 noted that the Muslims of the City who invited *zenana* missionaries to their homes resolved not to extend such invitation after a missionary converted a daughter in one of their co-religionists while giving her *zenana* lessons. The editor even admonished the local police for not taking action against the missionaries.¹⁶⁵ On the part of the Hindus at least, initially there was no fear of the missionaries.¹⁶⁶ The turn of the century saw the Hindus becoming sensitive to the missionaries' activities among women. The *Arya Gazette* of 7th June 1906 was cautioning the Hindus that “ the real object of the *zenana* mission is not to teach needle work and give education to native women but

¹⁶⁴ S. S. Alnutt, *The Zenana Convert*, DMN, July 1919.

¹⁶⁵ *Akhbar-i-Aam*, 7th April 1906, in Punjab Vernacular Newspaper (hereafter PVN), p. 95.

¹⁶⁶ CMD Report, 1877.

to decoy the latter into the Christian fold. Hindu should not therefore allow members of these missions to enter their houses".¹⁶⁷

Consequently the Hindus and the Muslims began to open schools. This did not seem to have been as much because of their realization of the need to uplift their women folk as their desire to stem the tide of Christian encroachment.¹⁶⁸ In 1895, *Arya Samaj* opened a school for girls. The location was an opportune one, being set up near one of the Christian girl school.¹⁶⁹ By 1906, there were two schools for Hindu girls and another one run by the Muslims.¹⁷⁰ In 1911, English language began to be taught in Hindu schools.¹⁷¹

Even though such schools suffered from lack of teachers they tended to break the mission school by drawing away their own girls from the mission schools. The *Swadeshi* movement encouraging the boycott of the mission schools also played a part in this. This resulted in a very disheartening situation for the *Zenana* worker, as the missionaries were forced to leave one *zenana* after another.¹⁷² By 1913, two of the Girls schools run by the Delhi mission had to be closed down on account of paucity of attendance.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁷ Arya Gazette, 7th June 1906, in PVN, p. 547.

¹⁶⁸ See Annual Day of thanks giving and intercession, DMN, April 1919.

¹⁶⁹ CMD Report, 1896.

¹⁷⁰ S. S. Allnutt, Head of the Mission Letter, DMN, July 1906.

¹⁷¹ Notes and Reflections from Victoria girls' School, DMN, April 1911.

¹⁷² CMD Report, 1896

¹⁷³ Ahmed Masih, The Opposition of the Arya Samaj to Missionary Work, translated by Rev. Herbert Ware, DMN, October 1915.

This kind of reaction of the Delhi Society to this branch of mission work in turn gave an impetus to the Anglicans for extended form of education for the women of Delhi. In 1912, the Anglican decided to open a school for the high-class Hindus and Muslims girls with the hope that the educated Indians from their college would send their daughters. By then female education was beginning to spread in Delhi and the missionaries realised that the woman was no longer looked upon as a liable category. They noted that “the educated men seeks a wife who can look beyond cooking and family clothes, he wants someone to share his life, his thoughts, to be his help mate”.¹⁷⁴ In 1912, Queen’s Mary School was opened for the high castes *pardah* girl with eight children aged between four and fourteen. By the end of May the number has increased to nineteen composed of thirteen Muslims, two Hindus, two Bengalis and two Christians. In April 1923, there were 138 girls enrolled in the school. Besides the usual curriculum, additional stress was given to domestic economy, which include care of infants, sick nursing etc.¹⁷⁵ Through this school the Anglicans thought “their new ideas may filter inside the high courtyard walls, and that the children with us may grow up in such a happy free atmosphere as may later lead them to realise”,¹⁷⁶ and this “can only be produced by one thing—the honour for women that is only given by Christianity”.¹⁷⁷ It was an experiment in racial co-operation where Hindus, Muslims, Parsis and Christian learnt, ate, played and even sang hymns together.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁴ Ms Shepherd, The Uplift of Women in India, DMN, October 1913.

¹⁷⁵ Ms Jerwood, Queen Mary’s School, DMN July 1912.

¹⁷⁶ Ms. A. M. Milward, Six Winter Months, Delhi, July 1925.

¹⁷⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ *ibid.*

Medical

Another branch of women work of the Anglicans in Delhi was in the field of health and medical facilities. The system of health care that was done through traditional method was too far from efficacious. One missionary explains “women in India get no relief from suffering. The medicine man takes them in hand and his remedies were of the most rude and the most ignorant kind.”¹⁷⁹ Besides, the *purdah* system, the system of seclusion of women contributed to the neglect of health among the women.

The need for medical work in Delhi was of so much importance that Lefroy wrote, “ armed with the science and religion of the west, she (the lady medical missionary) could engaged in battle with both disease and hedonism to accomplish the most priced of missionary objectives: the rescue and redemption of the suffering women of India.”¹⁸⁰

To the Delhi mission belongs the honour of having the first medical mission for women in India. The person behind this was Mrs. Priscilla Winters, the wife of R.R Winters. She began her work in a humble manner by visiting the Hindu women who would assemble at the Yamuna river to take bath. She would gather the women around her and supply simple remedies for their ailments, and would talk to them. Having made a start she begin hunting for better-qualified agents to develop and

¹⁷⁹ Imandt, Women's Hospital, DMN, January 1895.

¹⁸⁰ Lefroy, A plea for medical mission, Occasional Papers of the Cambridge Brotherhood.

carry on the work. Funds were raised in India and England, and in 1868 the first lady medical worker from England arrived in Delhi. In 1870, a small dispensary was opened in Chandni Chawk, from they began treating the patients; treatment were also carried out in their homes. In 1885, 'St. Stephen's Hospital for Women and Children' was established at Chandni Chawk. However it was only in 1891 that the first qualified women practitioner arrived in Delhi in the person of Dr. Jennie Muller.

From then on the Hospital began to grow, not only in terms of qualified workwomen, but also in the number of treatments carried out. From one semi-qualified doctor with a compounder and three to four ill-trained nurses in 1885, there were by 1907, two qualified doctors, one fully qualified English nurse, one Indian house-surgeon, with a staff of more than 20 Indian compounders and nurses.¹⁸¹ And in 1930, there was already a staff of 4 fully trained doctors, five sisters, a fully qualified pharmacist and four Indian staff nurse, besides thirty-six nurses in training, six dispensers, and six dais (mid-wives).¹⁸² The number of those treated also increased. The number of attendance in the hospital in 1912 was 18,158, and in 1930, it rose to 28,509. It is interesting to note that almost all operation performed in the hospital were related to obstetric cases. The medical care of the mission was not restricted in the hospital alone. Many houses would be

¹⁸¹ Ms. Roseveare, *St. Stephen's Hospital*, DMN, January 1907.

¹⁸² *St. Stephen's Hospital*, (editorial), DELHI, January 1930.

visited and the women treated there in view of the reluctance on the part of some to come out of their homes, as 'being contrary to their prejudice'.

The aim of the Anglican medical work in Delhi, like elsewhere in India, was not only to heal the bodies but to benefit the whole man. The head of the SPG, R. R. Winters advised the missionaries that "we should try to come before the people, not merely as preachers of a new religion, a capacity in which they care for us little enough, but that as friends and sympathisers, we should aim at benefiting the whole man"⁽¹⁸³⁾ Hospital became another means through which the Anglicans tried to cure both the ailments of the bodies and the souls of the women of Delhi.

Bible instruction, corporate worship and prayer for individuals were from the beginning integral part of the services rendered in the hospital as well as in the dispensary. The staff of St. Stephen hospital included a women evangelist who visited the patient, talking and reading the bible with those who cared to hear. The arrangement commonly adopted were design to ensure the administration of the gospel before the actual treatment began.¹⁸⁴

Conversions were few but many patients gain some understanding and appreciation of the faith expressed through this act of mercy. The Anglican medical works also made the women come out of their zenanas against the custom of the

¹⁸³ R. R. Winters, Organisation of the Delhi Mission, in Mission Field, September 1878, p. 383.

¹⁸⁴ Allahabad Missionary Conference, 1872-73, p.157.

'seclusion'. In order to accept medicine or treatment, the women had to come out of their homes to the dispensary or the hospital. Breaking all prejudices, the women began to accept in-patient treatment in the hospital. For this, however, the doctors had to make certain concessions like the special screen for the *purdah* women, or employ a Brahmin cook.¹⁸⁵ In 1895, there were 370 women in-patients; in 1922, 1399 and in 1930, there were 2035 in-patients (medical reports for the corresponding years). To the Anglicans (as well as the Baptist) also goes the credit of recruiting and training the first Indian women nurses. This must have, apart from doing away with prejudices, certainly instilled in the women the value of care, self-reliance and self-worth.

As far as the medical work was concerned, the theatre of interaction with the other communities in Delhi was in the matter of famine relief. During famine, which visited Delhi quite often, the Anglicans rose to the emergency and adopted relief work for the starving people. Few of the orphans handed over to the different missions by the civil officers were taught and trained. After the famine of 1866-67, an orphanage was built.¹⁸⁶ It was the policy of the government to make that large number of orphans over to the orphanages established by Missionary societies in which they were brought up as Christians.¹⁸⁷ This aroused in the minds of the Hindus and the Muslims the feeling that the missionaries were taking advantage of the situation. Lots of reactions were to be seen in the press. Objection from these

¹⁸⁵ Pilkington, What I Saw of Medical Work, DMN, January 1896.

¹⁸⁶ Allahabad Missionary Conference, 1866-67, p. 55.

¹⁸⁷ All India Famine Commission, 1880, p. 66.

communities resulted in the decision of the Government to take the policy of making over the children to the Hindus and the Muslims 'who apply to receive them.'¹⁸⁸ The Famine Code of 1896 however, made a clause that in the event of any children leaving unclaimed within three month, he/she could be made over to any charity organisation of any persuasion. This left a scope for the Anglicans to continue their work of relief. However, they were in for a lot of criticisms from the Hindus and the Muslims alike. An In 1902, the local *Sanatan Dharm Sabha* founded an orphanage in the city.¹⁸⁹ Relief works began to be carried out by both the Hindus and Muslims. Even though there is no record of famine relief work by the Anglican medical women after the turn of the twentieth century, they always rose up to the need of the city in moments. When the Influenza epidemic struck Delhi in 1918, one of the Christian girls' school was converted into a hospital and the patients taken care of.¹⁹⁰ Again, during the plague of 1923, the women branch of the Delhi mission, along with the men's branch set up camps, carried out inoculations and killing of rats in the city, which earned the praise of the Pioneer newspaper.¹⁹¹ The partition-riots again brought the missionaries to help the refugees in the camps set up at Humayun tomb and Purana qilla, by opening hospital, distributing food, etc.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 60.

¹⁸⁹ The Tribune, May 2, 1902.

¹⁹⁰ See DMN, April 1919.

¹⁹¹ See DELHI, July 1923.

¹⁹² See The Camp at Humayun Tomb, DELHI, January 1948.

While the number of orphans actually rescued by the Anglicans were few, it is clear that their efforts stimulated others to become involved in famine relief work. The competition between the Anglicans on the one hand and the Hindus and the Muslims on the other did more for the welfare of those orphaned or deserted by famine than any group could have done individually. It also served to tighten up the famine code so that procedures with regards to orphans became, at least on paper, more regularised.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION

In 1854, the first Anglican missionary society arrived in Delhi to carry on evangelistic work among the local inhabitants. Almost hundred years later, in 1947 Delhi was made a diocese with 3,000 communicant members¹⁹³. The total Christian population of Delhi in 1951 comprising of 1.2 per cent was 18,685.¹⁹⁴

In this chapter we will bring in the information about the other churches in Delhi viz., the Baptists, the Methodists and the Roman Catholics, and see the manner and extent of evangelistic encounter to check the uniformity or otherwise of the activities. The chapter will close with an analysis of the nature of changes affected in the region during the period under study.

The various missions came to Delhi at different times. The Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) was the first among the protestant missions to begin its work in Delhi, when J.T. Thompson arrived from Patna in 1818. The Methodist arrived as late as 1892. The Roman Catholics actually began their work in 1600's, but their work in Delhi had been intermittent. Their work was interrupted with the suppression of the Jesuits in 1774. Then the Carmilites and Capchunis priests

¹⁹³ F.J. Western, *The Early History of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi*, (unpublished manuscript), 1950, p.119.

¹⁹⁴ The census of various Denominations of 192, given in DELHI, April 1923.

visited the city, but missionary work did not regained in strength until the latter part of the 19th century. Because of the fact that these missionaries arrived at different times, at different circumstances in the city, the extent of work of these groups were naturally different. During 1860-1910 the Baptists and the SPG were the only two missions that were at work in Delhi. The Methodists began their work mainly among the villages only after 1910, when Delhi District of the North West India Conference was formed¹⁹⁵.

The churches of these missions grew among the lower caste people. The BMS congregation grew among the *Chamars* of Shahdara, Daryaganj, Paharganj and Purana Quila.¹⁹⁶ Schools were opened for the children of the *Chamars*. The Baptist also adopted the *basti* plan; each *basti* being a cluster of dwelling with a primary school and a chapel of very simple construction.¹⁹⁷ Among the Methodist too, even though the first mission was sent to serve the layman who had moved into the city from the nearby states, the congregation grew from among the villagers of North Delhi.¹⁹⁸

The Methodist in Delhi proved to be a mass movement church. While being a latecomer in Delhi, by 1914, 6,000 baptisms were already made.¹⁹⁹ By 1921, the Methodists had 15,000 members. The Baptists did not experience such a

¹⁹⁵ B.T. Bradley, *Vision and Victories in Hindustan*, Lucknow, 1931, p.723.

¹⁹⁶ D.S. Wells, *Ye Are My Witnesses: the Work of the Baptist Missionary Society in India*, Calcutta, 1942, p. 69

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ B.T. Bradley, *op. cit.*, p.724.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

movement.²⁰⁰ After the Mutiny, the Roman Catholic managed to build a church, St. e Mary's in 1865. But before 1891, not a single baptism was recorded in the register. However, between 1891 and 1935, the congregation grew rapidly, 500 people were baptised on a single day when a Visitor came from Rome.²⁰¹ In 1921, the Catholic had 1,200 members.

By 1947 all of these churches had become independent of the mission control. As the political movement developed, the Christians in India began questioning their position vis-à-vis the other religions. From 1911 onwards, the Baptist Union began a move towards 'church-centricism'. The constitution was revised giving a larger place to layman.²⁰² In 1947, Baptist Union of North India was form. The five churches in the district were organised into a District Union, comprising of the pastor of the churches, mostly Indian, lay representative and missionaries working in association with the Baptist work in Delhi. Among the Methodist, by 1923 plans were made to make the church self-supporting and self-reliant.²⁰³ Indians were appointed to post of importance. However, even though the Methodist church had become a 'national' church, it was not fully autonomous because of its connection with the General Conference in the U. S. and because of its continued dependence on the grants from America.²⁰⁴

²⁰⁰ Ibid. p. 97.

²⁰¹ Archdiocese of Delhi, in Delhi Catholic Directory-2000, p. 22

²⁰² D.S. Wells, op. cit. p.97.

²⁰³ Yearbook and Official Minutes of the North West India Annual Conference, 1923.

²⁰⁴ Alter P.J. and Herbert Jai Singh, *The Church in Delhi*, 1961, p. 54.

Except for minor variations, the composition, and the pattern of development and internal life of the several denominations were similar. There were similarities in their activities too; the Baptists and the Anglicans at least because of their early arrival and larger scale activities, work among the people on a similar manner. On the medical side, the BMS open a dispensary in 1876 at Chandni Chowk. However, it did not develop into a hospital. To the Baptist and the Anglicans are credited with the training of the first Indian nurses²⁰⁵. The Baptist also engaged themselves in *zenana* works, when Mrs. Thorn of the Baptist Zenana Society arrived in 1875. She opened a school for the Hindu girls and later another one for the Muslim girls.²⁰⁶

Another sign of the Christian community in Delhi is the relationships among all these several denominations. This in a way, was also due to the fact that denominations other than the Anglicans, could not afford the setting up of institutions in the scale that the Anglican could. The Baptist for instance, sent their boys to St. Stephen's High School. The Baptist and the Anglicans came together to form the Delhi United Christian School. The Methodists while having a middle school, sent graduates each year to study in the Baptist and Anglican schools.²⁰⁷ Thus there was a close relationship among the Christian missions in Delhi. The experiences of all these missions were the same. The national movement and the growing isolation forced them to concentrate on the development of their own

²⁰⁵ Ibid. p.40.

²⁰⁶ Alter P.J. and Herbert Jai Singh, op.cit. p. 43.

²⁰⁷ North West India Conference Report, 1915.

'flocks'. When independence came, an 'indigenous' Christian community was formed.

The interaction of the Christians with the other communities of Delhi followed a kind of an 'impact-response'. The Christians were characterised by their desire for evangelisation, and each branch of their various activities had grown out of the response to the definite needs of Delhi, in the field of education including female education, medical and relief works and the uplifting of women. The local communities, on the other hand were characterised by the fear and suspicion in their minds at the inroads of Christianity with all its activities, by their unwillingness to let any of their co-religionists to convert to Christianity and by a realisation of the need for an alternatives to the programmes of the Anglicans. The 'challenges' posed by the former led to the stimulation among the latter. Members of the other communities became concerned about the conversion of their people into the Christianity and took steps to prevent them to limit the Christian influence by entering into the fields themselves so as to increase their own. This led to the strengthening of communal loyalties when each community began to discover its own strong and weak points. After 1919, nationalistic and communal politics became a major pre-occupation of the North India public life. From that time on however, the social concerns behind the Christian movement no longer captured public attention to the same degree they had in the past.

When nationalism and politics took over the centre stage of the life in India, the Christians were not well positioned to deal effectively with this new challenge.

The political developments put it on the defensive, forcing it to redefine mission and turned much of its attention inward. Let us look at the case of the Anglicans. The Anglican Church in India had a very unique relationship with the Anglican Church of England. All the bishops and chaplains were on the government payroll, the Bishops of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, being entirely paid from the revenue of India by virtue of their office.²⁰⁸ Thus, the church was in large measure dependant on the state and subject to its control. Because of this, C. F. Andrews was calling the Church of England 'the least national church in India'.²⁰⁹ Even a number of Indians began protesting against the missionary domination of the Church in part because they believed it made the Church in India so foreign as to be attractive to Indians. The Anglican Church began to take steps towards devolution- 'the transfer of ecclesiastical power and responsibilities from the foreign mission to Church bodies in which Indians had the dominant voice.

In Delhi, after the turn of the century, the nationalist movement was gradually drawing the educated elites of the various communities closer together on the basis of their common 'Indianness' in opposition to the British rule. This development alerted sensitive Christians like Sushil Kumar Rudra, both to the foreignness of their Church and their own growing isolation as other Indians were coming together.²¹⁰ A man of strong Christian commitment and a nationalist, he regarded 'the ultimate victory of Christianity in India as certain if only Christian

²⁰⁸ The Position of the Church of England, DELHI, October 1921.

²⁰⁹ C.F. Andrews, *North India*", A.R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd., London, 1908, p.226.

²¹⁰ See Rudra's testimony cited in D. J. Flemming, *Devolution in Missionary Administration*, pp.17-18.

himself is held high before the eyes of India without intervening western medium'.²¹¹ C. F. Andrews, a close friend of Rudra, in 1908 made the observation that the Christian community pauperised and missionary dominated that "the national movement, therefore, in North India passes the church by entirely or else treats it as an enemy to be avoided"²¹², and urged that the Western hierarchy be stripped of its status as the Established Church and become instead a raceless and casteless brotherhood ready to embrace the religious instincts of the Indian people.

The transfer of authority from the mission to the Churches was slow. Gradually, posts of importance in the mission and mission institutions began to be given to the Indian Christians. Rudra led the way by being appointed as the principal of St. Stephen's College in 1906, the first Indian to be appointed to such a high post in any Christian Institutions in India. In 1926, S.N. Mukherjee was appointed the principal of the College, F. F. Monk resigning voluntarily. Raja Ram was the principal in 1944. By 1947, all the Churches founded by the Anglican mission had self-supporting system with the priest in charge.

In 1930, the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon, adopted a constitution, which emphasised its unity of faith with the Anglican Church in all parts of the world, and its determination to be self-governing in all domestic concerns.²¹³ In 1944, Delhi became an Archdeaconry, and Arabindo Nath Mukherjee, who had

²¹¹ S. K. Rudra, Religious Change in India During the British Rule, in *The East and the West*, Vol. 11, July 1913, p. 307.

²¹² C. F. Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

²¹³ M. E. Gibbs, *The Anglican Church in India, 1600-1970*, ISPCK, New Delhi, 1972, p. 10.

been successively the Head master of St. Stephen's High School and Head of the Cambridge Committee, was appointed the Archdeacon. In 1947, the Delhi diocese was created with the enthronement of Bishop Mukherjee as the Bishop of Delhi (separate from Lahore). The Anglican Church in Delhi became a predominant Indian and Indian controlled Church. As we had seen earlier, the transfer of power from the missions to the Indian church had occurred in a similar manner in the other denominations.

One of the most obvious changes in Delhi at the end of the period under study is the formation of the Christianity community. This community came to birth through a process of radical separation from traditional society. The Christians acquired the character of a distinct community in the multi-religious society. The role played by the Christians was not only in this formation. An examination of the Anglican case leads us to conclude that while preaching and controversy did not change the religious beliefs of many people, they produced changes in various areas through the instrumentality of the multifarious 'apostolate.' However, its contribution was confined to the changes in the social and cultural life. In the previous chapter, the contribution of the Christian in these spheres had already been seen. If we consider the Christian community in India as a whole, the Christian community, through the educational work, contributed to the increase in the opportunities for higher and western education and upward social mobility. Through the work for women, increasing number of the women were exposed to Christian teaching and hence to values and modes of life different from

those in which they had grown up. The Christians indeed aided in the emergence of a new concept of Indian womanhood.²¹⁴ Again, the growth of Christianity among the low-caste and the improvement of their conditions contributed to the Hindus revising their estimates of the worth of what is called 'the depressed class'.²¹⁵ The work of the Christian community in Delhi had a share in the total Christian contribution in India.

²¹⁴ See M.N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, p. 50

²¹⁵ See Percival Spear, *The Oxford History of India*, Third Edition, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961, pp.724-6

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