

**C.F. ANDREWS : THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIS  
THOUGHT, 1904-1914**

**Daniel O'Connor**

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Daniel O'Connor

C.F.ANDREWS

The Development of His Thought 1904-14

Submitted to the Faculty of Divinity  
in the University of St. Andrews in  
fulfilment of the requirements for  
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

1981



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CERTIFICATE

I certify that *Daniel O'Connor*.....has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution of the University Court, 1967, No. 1, and that he is qualified to submit this thesis in application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the following thesis is based on the results of research carried out by myself, that it is my own composition and that it has not previously been presented for a higher degree. The research was carried out at the University of St. Andrews under the supervision of.....





INTRODUCTION

The centenary of the birth of Charles Freer Andrews was celebrated in the Republic of India in 1971 with, among other things, the issue of a handsome postage stamp bearing his portrait and a title which he had been given during his lifetime, "Deenabandhu", friend of the poor.<sup>1</sup> Thus, a member of the 'ruling race' during the time of British rule in India joined a very select group of Christian missionaries which included at that time only the Apostle Thomas and St. Francis Xavier. The National Seminar held in his honour in New Delhi that same year confirmed that, for all the immense range of his interests and activities, he was remembered specifically as "first and last a true Christian".<sup>2</sup> And that was how he had been known in his lifetime by all who had any close acquaintance with him - Indian friends like Gandhi, for whom he was the "pattern of the ideal missionary", and Tagore, who had nowhere seen "such a triumph of Christianity", British officials like Lord Irwin, for whom he was "one of the salt of the earth for pure goodness", and colleagues in the Church like Foss Westcott, Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan, who, on Andrews' death, spoke on the text, "Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel".<sup>3</sup>

By the time of the centenary in 1971, Andrews had already had a good deal of attention since his death in 1940, and further studies were to follow. Most valuable at that time, and not much less so now, was C.F. Andrews : A Narrative (1949) by Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Marjorie Sykes, who had known their subject in his later years, and there were also slighter but useful studies by others who had known him, in particular two missionaries, Nicol Macnicol and J.S. Hoyland. Of particular interest were three studies by Indian scholars, P.C. Roy Chaudhury, who published a carefully researched historical study, concentrating in particular on Andrews' involvement in Indian labour struggles, K.L. Seshagiri Rao, who,

from a Hindu point of view, discussed the Hindu-Christian dialogue between Gandhi and Andrews, and M.M.Thomas, who included a masterly study of some aspects of Andrews theological writings in his Acknowledged Christ of the Indian Renaissance.<sup>4</sup>

The centenary was the occasion of further publications. A series of booklets, put out by the Deenabandhu Andrews Centenary Committee in Calcutta, made accessible a good deal of material not otherwise easy to get hold of, and the C.F.Andrews Centenary Committee, led by M.R.Bansal, performed a similar service, and also, with I.S.P.C.K., published a short memoir by Dr. Ian Clark. There was also, amongst much more, a special issue of the Visvabharati Quarterly, lovingly edited by Sisirkumar Ghose, a re-issue of Chaturvedi and Sykes' book, and an anthology of Andrews' writings, edited by Marjorie Sykes.

Prior to the present work, my own contributions (apart from helping to edit in 1971 a special number of the Stephanian, the magazine which Andrews founded at St. Stephen's College in 1907) were to follow after the centenary year. The first of these was The Testimony of C.F.Andrews (1974), a selection of his writings, with an introduction, in the series "Confessing the Faith in India", published by the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society. The introduction provided an opportunity to establish the general perspectives of Andrews' thought, and indeed to establish that he had been more than a man of action only, and that he was a lively and original thinker.<sup>5</sup> I also had the privilege in 1973 of contributing an article on the dialogue between Andrews and Munshi Ram, to a festschrift for a group of Jesuit theologians.<sup>6</sup> The reception that these two pieces of work were given reassured me that there could be value in the present more extended and thorough study, which I had by then begun, of Andrews as a Christian who, although he believed that it was

"infinitely more important....to act out....the Christian faith than to make professions about it", nevertheless regarded it as a duty to think out "the spiritual meaning" of all in which he was involved.<sup>7</sup> I was thus encouraged to continue with the present study.

The decision to limit the exercise to a decade of Andrews' life was not difficult. The period from 1904 to 1914, in which he was a member of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi and a teacher at St. Stephen's College, made an obvious segment of his life, and was of particular interest to me as a later member of both bodies. It was a very important period of his life, a preparation for almost all that was to follow, a period in which his thinking on many issues developed dramatically and when many of his later concerns were first identified and considered with the freshness of new discoveries; it was also a period when many of his most significant friendships, with Gandhi and Tagore for example, began. There was also a task of demythologising to be done for this period: the notion, for example, that he was constantly and totally at loggerheads with his bishop and missionary colleagues in the Cambridge Mission, an idea conveyed in the otherwise delightful musical production, "Trayee", performed on the occasion of the National Seminar in 1971, required correction; the notion, also, that when he went to South Africa to visit Gandhi at the beginning of 1914, he was still an "unknown" young Englishman,<sup>8</sup> needed to be revised. It was also a period for which there was a wealth of interesting material, much of it not hitherto examined.

When Professor Hugh Tinker wrote, in 1974, in his fine book on indenture, of "that strangely neglected actor in Indian politics, the gentle, humble, but ferocious seer-activist, Charles Freer Andrews", it looked as if we might expect to hear more from him on the subject.<sup>9</sup> The information, slightly later, that he was preparing a new biography on Andrews led me to wonder whether there would be room for my own piece of work also.

However, in the course of a most helpful correspondence and discussion, it became clear that there was room for more than one new and detailed study of Andrews, from different points of view. The publication of Tinker's compellingly interesting biography, The Ordeal of Love, in 1979, confirmed this, not only because Tinker had concentrated especially on a decade from 1912 to 1922, which only slightly overlaps with the period which I have attended to, but also because our respective approaches are indeed very different. In particular, his book pays close and fascinating attention to Andrews' very striking and unusual personality as part of an attempt to "rehumanise" him, a matter in which the time was ripe for new work, but one which I touch upon only briefly. At the same time, Tinker has scarcely touched upon Andrews' theological ideas, and has consciously tried to write a book which will be credible to those for whom the spiritual has no special meaning. This must have been very difficult, not least for someone who has such an evidently sympathetic grasp of Andrews' Christianity and its importance for a full understanding of the man and his achievements. Professor Tinker's self-denying ordinance does, however, leave the ground clear for the particular exercise which I have attempted for at least a part of Andrews' life. Similarly, the dimension which I have tried to provide by presenting his activities and thinking against the background of contemporary nationalism as reflected in the newspapers and journals of the educated classes, is not one which Tinker has been much concerned with, and gives the present study a different sort of texture from his biography.

The present work has been approached as a Mission Study. This is a wide enough category, but if I have had a model in mind, it has been E.J. Sharpe's study of the thought of J.N. Farquhar, published in the series, "Studia Missionalia Upsaliensia".<sup>10</sup> I have tried to take account of J. Kent's appeal, in an essay on "The History of Christian Missions in the Modern Era", to take secular history more seriously "for its own sake",

than was the case in an earlier generation of mission studies.<sup>11</sup> Not that any other sort of study of Andrews would have made much sense, so active and perspicuous a participant was he in that history. I have also suggested that it is helpful to see Andrews within the special context of The Cambridge Mission to Delhi and its distinctive theology of mission, and indeed, my argument that this theology found a new authentication in his work during these years, provides a framework to the thesis.

Two omissions ought to be justified. I have not attempted an elaborate review of the 19th century background of "Protestant missionary thought", desirable as this might have been, because this has been done very thoroughly in the first part of Sharpe's study referred to above. Sharpe's omission, however, of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi and of "the missions of the Catholic tradition" ("with one exception, the Oxford Mission to Calcutta"), because they lie "to one side of the dominant Evangelical stream of missionary thought", provides a convenient space in which to establish the distinctive approach of the Delhi Mission.<sup>12</sup> Another omission is any general survey of the history of the Cambridge Mission, partly because a useful one is already available, by F.J. Western, but partly also because the essential context of Andrews' work was the completely new situation that developed almost immediately after his arrival in India, for which the earlier activities of the Mission provided no precedents.

The sources used are exclusively English language sources, for English was almost exclusively the language in which the matter of Indian nationalism at this stage, and of Hindu reformation and of much of progressive Indian Islam occurred.<sup>13</sup> For the unpublished sources for this study, I have relied largely on the well-known collections, in particular the archives of the C.M.D. and of S.P.G., the papers of two of the viceroys, Minto and Hardinge, and the correspondence of Tagore, Munshi Ram and

Gandhi. The published sources have been in many ways quite as important as the unpublished, for Andrews became, from late 1906, something of a compulsive communicator in the nationalist press, and the evidence for his developing thought is to a considerable extent in print here. Many of these published sources are excessively rare. Thus, for example, there is, in India, only one surviving run of the St. Stephen's College Magazine for these years, and the same is true of the journal, Young Men of India, while there is in Britain only one microfilm copy of the nationalist newspaper, the Tribune, so important for this study. Because of the interest of much of this source material, and a wish to make it more accessible, I have allowed the notes to tend towards the copious. A full account of these sources is given in the Bibliography.

Although, as is said above, Andrews' approach to his work, as representing a sort of realization of a distinctive theology of mission, provides a thesis on which this study is constructed, it is perhaps more important simply to claim a profound intrinsic interest in the story of this "gentle, eager and many-sided saint",<sup>14</sup> and in his perception of the necessities, still far from fulfilled, of a Christian response to the Asian revolution.

NOTES : Introduction

- 1 Issued by the Posts and Telegraphs Department, 12 Feb 1971.
- 2 G.Ramachandran, Presidential Address (cyclostyled), 20 Nov 1971. Cf. the papers of Bhupendranath Seal, B.R.Nanda, Krishna Kripalani, M.B.Niyogi and Prabhaka Machwe.
- 3 Speech of 8 Oct 1931, Collected Works (1971) XLVIII, p.122; quoted in C.F.Andrews Sandhya Meditations (1940) p.175; Irwin to S.Baldwin, 9 May 1928, quoted in Hugh Tinker "Anti-Commonwealth Men : C.F.Andrews and his influence" (cyclostyled) 1974; quoted in P.C.Roy Chaudhury C.F.Andrews: his life and times (1971) p.168.
- 4 For details of these studies, and others referred to below, see Bibliography.
- 5 T.G.P.Spear suggested reasons for the earlier undervaluing of his thought, "Prejudice about his politics hindered appreciation of his religious thought, and suspicions about his 'Hinduising' an appreciation of his deeper religious thought" (T.G.P.Spear to D.O'C. 21 Feb 1975). A Christian writer in India, probably unacquainted with the Anglican theological tradition to which Andrews belonged, questioned whether he had a coherent theological position (Nirmal Minz Mahatma Gandhi and Hindu-Christian Dialogue (1970) p.44). Professor V.G.Kiernan, after reading The Testimony of C.F.Andrews remarked that he now saw Andrews "much more clearly than before, as a truly inspired man - as a thinker as well as a practical philanthropist" V.G.Kiernan to D.O'C. 29 Feb 1976.
- 6 (ed.) G.Gispert-Sauch S.J. God's Word Among Men (1973).
- 7 WIOC pp.21,252. Reviews of The Testimony of C.F.Andrews included: R.J.Bingle Ecumenical Review Jul 1975; Anandarao Samuel South India Churchman Oct 1974; W.Stewart Bulletin of the Scottish Institute of Missionary Studies 1975; for the contribution in God's Word Among Men, R.H.Lesser IJT Jul/Dec 1978.
- 8 A curious remark of Hugh Tinker in a letter to the author 23 Sept 1974.
- 9 A New System of Slavery (1974) p.334.
- 10 Not to Destroy but to Fulfil (1965).
- 11 (eds.) J.Danielou, A.H.Couratin and John Kent Historical Theology (1969) pp.255-270. I would distinguish between this "secular history", as it evidences itself in the literature of Indian nationalism, from the distortions which, I would argue, characterise in large part modern South Asian studies in Britain, because of unduly cynical presuppositions.
- 12 Sharpe op.cit. p.15.
- 13 K.M.Pannikar Common Sense about India (1960) p.24; W.C.Smith Modern Islam in India (1946) pp.314-331.
- 14 T.G.P.Spear in Stephanian Jun 1940.

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A number of friends have read over sections of the work or discussed aspects of it, among them, Drs. Judith Brown, Basudev Chatterji and Percival Spear, and Professors Victor Kiernan, George Shepperson and Hugh Tinker, and I am grateful for their observations.

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exercises on the present theme.

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In Mrs. Norma Mounsey I have had the most efficient and helpful of typists.

The great inspiration to pursue this study that came out of being brought up by my parents in the Church in the Diocese of Durham, where Westcott's name is still honoured, and then of being a member of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi and a teacher at St. Stephen's College, with so many good colleagues for whom the subject of my study meant so much, must be recorded, as also the opportunity of meeting in those later days people like Marjorie Sykes and Benarsidas Chaturvedi, Krishna Kripalani and members of the Gandhi family both in India and at Phoenix in South Africa.

Above all, I have to thank my family, Juliet and Aidan and Tim, for their encouragement and help. A piece of work of this sort, written without a day of study leave, has demanded of them much patience and understanding, and these I have received in undeserved abundance, and I would not know how to begin to thank them.

CHAPTER 1. THE BACKGROUND1. Introductory

For his first ten years in India, his 'missionary decade', from 1904 to 1914, C.F. Andrews was a member of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi. His arrival in India coincided more or less with a major development in modern Indian history, the beginning of a new and vigorous phase in the national movement, though that is in some respects a misleadingly narrow definition for what was in force and range something far vaster, "an eruption of a whole continent of humanity from within seeking to mould itself afresh in new forms"<sup>1</sup>. For many missionaries, especially in the country districts, the particular developments from about 1905 cannot have made much difference to their way of working and their approach, for the movement was as yet largely confined to those who had been influenced by western education, "the educated classes" as they were called,<sup>2</sup> in the cities and bigger towns.<sup>3</sup> For missionaries whose work was among these, however, the movement was less easily ignored. No one took it more seriously than Andrews, for whom it came to be a major preoccupation in his thinking and for his activities during these years, in itself, in the new challenges that it presented to the church, and in the new religious attitudes and movements which accompanied it. He became convinced that the Christian mission could only be effective as this new and powerful phenomenon was taken seriously, and, rejecting attitudes widely shared among missionaries from the Church of England,<sup>4</sup> he was led to regard the movement not only seriously but also sympathetically, welcoming it and justifying his welcome with original and interesting theological reflections.

His approach had, however, a context, in the mission to which

he belonged. In the "immense and varied" spectrum of the Christian missionary enterprise in nineteenth century India,<sup>5</sup> the Cambridge Mission to Delhi had its own very distinctive self-understanding, and this must be our starting point.

## 2. "An Alexandria on the banks of the Jumna"

The experience and reflection of two men in particular gave shape to the project of a Cambridge Mission to Delhi, Thomas Valpy French (1825-91) and Brook Foss Westcott (1825-1901). When, in 1875, French wrote to a young man at Cambridge, E.H. Bickersteth, who was interested in the possibility of missionary work, suggesting to him "the first idea of a Cambridge brotherhood" in India,<sup>1</sup> he had himself already spent a quarter of a century in north-west India. During those 25 years, among many other activities,<sup>2</sup> he had been instrumental in establishing two educational institutions for the Church Missionary Society, St. John's College, teaching arts and sciences at Agra, founded in 1850, and, some 20 years later, a Divinity School at Lahore. We get some indication of his aims from his observation that the former, though it might become "an instrument of extended usefulness", could never hope to rival "the ancient Christian schools of Alexandria, Edessa, Nisibis, in its Platonic reasoning, profound and original thinking, and masterly methods of grappling with Oriental subtleties".<sup>3</sup> The Divinity School, for the training of evangelists, pastors and teachers, seemed at first to hold greater promise. Believing that received ideas of missionary work were "in danger of making the Gospel too much of an exotic", French envisaged finding "out of the ranks of pundits, moollahs, gooroos", those who would "vie with one another in coveting the gift of close study of the text of the Jewish and Christian shastras", thus equipping themselves to develop a new apologetic in the vernacular and the thought-forms of the Indian religious tradition,

just as in second and third-century Alexandria, "from converted Aristotelians and neo-Platonists came the best refuters of Celsus, Porphyry, Libanius and Julian"<sup>4</sup>. In the earlier years, it is quite clear that French did not see this missionary method as involving more than a very sophisticated exercise in translation, "enlisting for Christianity all the associations connected in the mind of the Hindus with their venerable and beautiful language, gathering out what is pure in the language from the mass of corrupt notions which it has been employed to express"<sup>5</sup>. Later, in planning the Divinity College, he seems to suggest that he might have come to believe that not only the language, but also something of the content of the Indian religious tradition might have its part in the divine economy: "Is it not hard to suppose that God has suffered that vast mass of erudition and result of mental force to accumulate for so many ages to be utterly purposeless towards setting up the kingdom of his dear Son?"<sup>6</sup> Certainly, the main stress continued to be upon "Hindu literature" and "appropriate expression in the niceties, beauties and forces of the Sanskrit tongue", but it is also the case that a developing appreciation of some elements in Hinduism and Islam can be traced in his writings during these years?<sup>7</sup>

French had never, however, regarded the small Divinity School at Lahore as more than "a mere miniature of a far more extensive plan which time and the growth of education and of the Church of Christ in India might give birth to", with the help of "our seats of learning at home"<sup>8</sup>. The interest in missionary work which was developing at Cambridge in the 1870's<sup>9</sup>, not least under the influence of Westcott, and the formulation of the first plans for a "Cambridge University Mission in North India", in which "the Church's interpretation and form of doctrine should be presented in such aspects and from such

points of view as would be most intelligible to the Hindoos and most analogous to the religious ideas which their sages have struck out and originated during thousands of years of study and meditation from time immemorial",<sup>10</sup> gave French the opportunity for a further elaboration of his ideas, the model being, again, the Christian Platonists of the second and third centuries:

The Alexandrian Schools of thought and enquiry have often been referred to as supplying the exactest and most practical model of a Christian Educational Institute, which in its class-rooms and lectures should be exhaustive of all the great branches of science and problems of thought on which the human mind is exercised. It found ready to hand, of course, in Alexandria, great schemes of education, encyclopaedic in character, well compacted and organized in system, expansive, and even tolerant in principle, and it needed only the mind of a philosopher, and the heart and soul of a Christian to see how happily all this might be fertilised, foecundated, refined and even glorified by being brought into combination with that seed of the Word, which is God's divinely appointed instrument of growth into that divine image in which man was created.

French continued by saying that "a stir and ferment" and "an enquiring people" were necessary conditions for the sort of work in which the Alexandrian Fathers had engaged. Contemporary India seemed to him to provide similar conditions and this, with the interest which he found at Cambridge, suggested an ideal opportunity for the realisation of his vision.<sup>11</sup> His own consecration in the December of the following year, 1877, as the first Bishop of Lahore, seemed a guarantee, as Westcott observed, that his "great thoughts" would become "the inspiring thoughts of a diocese",<sup>12</sup> and an ideal setting for the inauguration of the work of the Cambridge Mission.

The contribution of Westcott, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge from 1870, was to bring further definition to the theology of mission which French had proposed, to demonstrate in the field of doctrine how it might be applied, and, perhaps above all, to inspire the early members of the Cambridge Mission in their attempts to put it into practice.

Westcott met French first in 1868 and was clearly attracted by him and his ideas - "a true apostle", he called him, - and they became regular and intimate correspondents.<sup>13</sup> He took a sympathetic and practical interest in the Lahore Divinity School from its inception,<sup>14</sup> which coincided more or less with his own appointment at Cambridge. His "Platonic theology" taking shape during these years,<sup>15</sup> he found French's ideas about educational missions singularly congenial, and the latter wrote delightedly in 1874 that "In Professor Westcott, the Lahore institution seems to have stirred up a wonderful determination to grapple in Christ's strength with the whole question of Indian, Chinese, and other missions, such as would mark him out, perhaps, in the Romish Church for the head of a new order for the propagation of the faith".<sup>16</sup> So Westcott, "the Christian Platonist",<sup>17</sup> with long-standing family connections with India,<sup>18</sup> "dreamed of an Alexandria on the banks of the Jumna".<sup>19</sup>

To what extent Westcott's own ideas influenced French, it is hard to say: the latter certainly acknowledged that it was a great advantage to study the broad principles which Westcott, "more than any other Christian writer and thinker of our universities", had worked out on aims and methods for "preaching the Gospel to the heathen nations of the world",<sup>20</sup> and he prayed that Christ's "Indian crown, among the many He must wear", might have "some of his brightest and purest jewels

gathering for it by the prophetic teaching" of Westcott.<sup>21</sup> More importantly, however, Westcott himself went on from these early contacts with French to a very interesting enunciation of these principles, and so, because of his "dominance of the Cambridge scene",<sup>22</sup> exercised an important influence in shaping the ideals of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi.<sup>23</sup>

As early as 1872, in a sermon on "The Universities in Relation to Missionary Work", he had begun to spell out his ideas. "Missionary teaching" to date had been on the wrong lines. The "elaborated doctrine" of the churches was "a priceless treasure", but it represented "the experience, the thought, the character of the West", and to impose it on Christians in India was to "impoverish the resources of humanity", and to "do dishonour to the infinite fulness of the Gospel". What was needed was "a gathering together of men" who would be "as thoroughly Hindu as they.....(were) Christian", and this would require a system of education "like that of Clement,... on the lines traced out by Origen".<sup>24</sup>

What Westcott had in mind becomes clear when we examine his essays on "Clement of Alexandria" and "Origen and the Beginnings of Christian Philosophy", published a little later in the 1870's, more or less as the Cambridge Mission was in process of formation, and his later very substantial article, "Origenes". Thus, Clement, seeing "the Incarnation as the crown and consummation of the whole history of the world", acknowledged "a providential purpose in the development of Gentile life", and recognised in Gentile speculation "many divine elements". Greek philosophy was "a guide to righteousness and a work of divine providence,.....a preparation for justifying faith, and in a true sense a dispensation, a covenant". Origen in particular, "with a firmer conviction of the universal sovereignty

of truth, a larger grasp of facts, and a deeper sympathy with the restless questionings of the soul than any other father", was immensely attractive to Westcott. His firm grasp of the truth of "the unity of all creation, as answering to the thought of a Creator infinitely good and infinitely just", his claiming "for the domain of Christianity every human interest and power", his "grasp of the significance of the Incarnation" (which "made an epoch in Christology"), his commentary on St. John (which "marks an epoch in theological literature and in theological thought"), all find echoes in Westcott's own most characteristic work. What concerns us in particular, however, is that Origen, "a learner in the school of Greeks", discovered through them "fresh depths in the Bible", and went on from this to create, in his De Principiis, a "philosophy of the Christian faith".

This book....was....written....for those who were familiar with the teaching of Gnosticism and Platonism; and with a view to questions which then first become urgent when men have risen to a wide view of nature and life. Non-Christian philosophers moved in a region of subtle abstractions, "ideas": Origen felt that Christianity converted these abstractions into realities, persons, facts of a complete life; and he strove to express what he felt in the modes of thought and language of his own age. He aimed at presenting the highest knowledge as an objective system.

Thus, the De Principiis marked "an epoch in Christian thought", and illustrated in a comprehensive way the sort of procedures required of a missionary Christianity in the context of a great intellectual culture. Westcott also drew attention to the teaching of Justin about the "seed of the Word....inborn in every race of men", as a result of which there were "Christians before Christ among the heathen". He found Justin's ideas "singularly full of interest".<sup>25</sup> The "fresh models", as French had called them,<sup>26</sup> which these studies suggested for a theology



of mission for contemporary India, were highly suggestive.

A course of undergraduate lectures which Westcott gave during these years "Introductory to the Study of Christian Doctrine", published as The Gospel of Life, gave him the opportunity to demonstrate the sort of possibilities inherent in this approach.<sup>27</sup> The Alexandrian Fathers, though they had seen clearly that there was "a work for and of God going on during the apparent isolation of the heathen from the region in which the Spirit revealed Him", had not risen to "the apprehension of the special office of the Gentile nations in the divine economy, which a larger view of the relations of the parts of our vast human life" now enabled Christian thinkers to gain. This larger view was now possible because, along with other new knowledge (and Westcott quoted at length from the latest writings of the physicist, J. Clerk Maxwell), "the original writings of Confucianism, Brahmanism, Buddhism and Zoroastrianism" were rapidly becoming accessible "in intelligible forms". In his lectures, then, Westcott examined the "characteristic thoughts" which underlay "the prae-Christian Book religions", their "special office" being to enlarge and define the conception of man's religious nature, and (because every human religious thought has its corresponding truth in the Gospel) to shed new light on the Christian faith. The exercise, necessarily generalised, was nevertheless a bold one, and the accompanying notes which Westcott prepared on "The Sacred Books of the Præ-Christian Religions" indicate the seriousness and thoroughness with which he approached it.<sup>28</sup>

The detail of this exercise, however, is less important for us than the general approach, and its articulation as a theology of mission for India. Thus, a serious and sympathetic engagement with Indian people in their search for a solution to the problems of life,

specifically in the terms in which these presented themselves to them, was a precondition to a further "unfolding of the Faith". Just as Origen's attempt to form a philosophy of the Christian faith had marked "an epoch in Christian thought", so this "unfolding" would amount to nothing less than a great new "epoch of revelation".<sup>29</sup>

The emergence of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi with its distinctive theology was not, of course, quite apart from French's earlier efforts at Agra and Lahore, wholly unheralded. A handful of earlier missionaries, such as William Carey and the Baptist missionaries in Bengal, W.A. Mill of Bishop's College, Calcutta, civilians like J.R. Ballantyne of Varanasi, and some of the early converts like Nilakantha Goreh and K.M. Banerjea, had been in varying measure sympathetic to or at least not entirely dismissive of Indian religious tradition.<sup>30</sup> In Britain, the beginnings of a scholarly exposition of eastern religions had enabled F.D. Maurice, so powerful an influence on Westcott, to open up in his Boyle Lectures of 1845 and 1846, on The Religions of the World,<sup>31</sup> the question of the Christian understanding of other faiths and their adherents in a bold and generous way,<sup>32</sup> while Charles Kingsley, in his Alexandria and Her Schools (1854), which Westcott had read,<sup>33</sup> called for a contemporary application of "the philosophy of Clement" in the Christian approach to men of other faiths. There was also a more general beginning of a conciliatory approach in mission, often reinforced by the work of orientalist. That of Max Müller, for example, from which Westcott derived so much of the data for his own reflection on the "Prae-Christian Book Religions", and of M. Monier-Williams, whom French knew,<sup>35</sup> had an important influence on Evangelical missionaries from about 1875.<sup>36</sup> In Delhi itself, R.R. Winter of S.P.G., who, with his wife, laboured so heroically and effectively for 20 years before the founding of the Cambridge Mission,<sup>37</sup> had responded in 1874 to a speech of Müller's by

calling for a mission directed to Delhi's new "literary natives" which would "claim Eastern thought and culture for the service of Christianity".<sup>38</sup> There were then, antecedents of a sort, though none that went so far as to integrate their sympathetic understanding of other faiths into an actual mission strategy. This was the distinction of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi, that it was established on the explicit basis of what we might call a classical theology of mission, developed in the bold and expansive categories of Westcott's thought.

The Mission was begun in 1877, and St. Stephen's College, clearly regarded by French as the vehicle of his ideal,<sup>39</sup> in 1881. There were disappointments as well as successes in the early decades.<sup>40</sup> Whatever the balance of these, the stream of reports from the missionaries to Westcott - made public in the series of Occasional Papers published from 1881 onwards<sup>41</sup> - indicate that they held themselves accountable to him, "our beloved Master", as one of them called him,<sup>42</sup> for what they did, while Westcott himself continued to make reference to "Alexandria" as "the type and promise of Evangelic work in India", and to remind his audience of "the power of a great ideal".<sup>43</sup>

With early members of the Mission still active, S.S.Allnutt as Head of the Mission, and G.A.Lefroy ("the clasp that held fast the pearls of the chain from being scattered", French called him)<sup>44</sup> as Bishop of Lahore, this was the heritage into which C.F.Andrews entered in 1904. First however, we must take a look at his beginnings.

### 3. "Eager enthusiasm"

Andrews was born in 1871, and lived throughout most of his early years in Birmingham. From 1880 to 1890, he attended King Edward's School, which had also been Westcott's old school, and that also of

another founding member of the Cambridge Mission, J.B.Lightfoot. The influences from these years most distinctively discernible later, however, were those of his parents and home, and the Catholic Apostolic Church, of which his father was the Angel, the chief minister, in Birmingham. It was, by all his accounts, a happy home, and he was equally emphatic throughout his life that he owed his deepest religious convictions to his parents, though no doubt also his restless and troubled personality owed something to these years. While the solemn and exalted liturgy of the Catholic Apostolic Church, at which his father presided, made a deep impression upon him, and no doubt contributed to his "theophanic awareness of reality"<sup>1</sup>, what he seemed to remember chiefly about his father were his conservative political opinions and his unquestioning admiration for the British Empire as "the one destined instrument in God's hand for setting right the world"<sup>2</sup>, views very characteristic of the Catholic Apostolic Church.<sup>3</sup> The Church's strong emphasis on the Second Coming also found an echo, in a small way, in some of Andrews' own later thinking.<sup>4</sup>

A conversion experience during his last school holiday brought a new depth to his faith, and he frequently retold the story in later life.<sup>5</sup> His own account of the experience, "... (Christ's) love had won my heart for ever"<sup>6</sup>, justifies the description of him as a "Christian bhakta"<sup>7</sup>.

Andrews went up to Pembroke College, Cambridge, with a Scholarship, in 1890, and was there, off-and-on, for the next 14 years, a divine blessing - in the Master of Trinity's judgement - resting "visibly.....on his work and influence"<sup>8</sup>. He read Classics and then Theology, being placed in the First Class in both, and won various university prizes.<sup>9</sup> A further result of his early years at Cambridge was his confirmation in the Church of England in 1895. He spent a

short time as a lay-worker in Durham, where Westcott was now Bishop, and then from 1896 was Missioner at the Pembroke College Mission in south London for three years, during which time he was ordained by the Bishop of Rochester, E.S.Talbot. He returned to a Fellowship at Cambridge in 1899, where he also became the first Vice-Principal of the Clergy Training School (later known as Westcott House), and then Lecturer and Chaplain of his own college. From there he set out for India "one bitterly cold morning in February 1904"<sup>10</sup>

A number of men at Cambridge in one way or another influenced Andrews during these years, including some to whose ideas we will find him recurring in India, E.G.Browne, who introduced him to Islam and Arab civilisation, and to a sympathetic view of these,<sup>11</sup> Forbes Robinson, whose intense friendships suggested a way through the racial barrier that Andrews was to meet in India,<sup>12</sup> and Lord Acton, whose "almost startling" teaching on "Liberty and Nationality" Andrews was to re-interpret in new circumstances.<sup>13</sup> It was B.F.Westcott, however, whose influence was the most significant for Andrews. He had already left to become Bishop of Durham when Andrews went up, but, quite apart from the influence which his memory and his books continued to exert, almost unchallenged, in the University throughout these years,<sup>14</sup> Andrews came into unusually close personal contact with him. This was through "the two greatest friends....(he) had on earth" at that time.<sup>15</sup> One of these was C.H.Prior, Tutor of Pembroke, who had been taught by Westcott at Harrow and had subsequently married one of Westcott's daughters. Andrews found in Prior's household almost a second home until the latter's death in 1899.<sup>16</sup> The other was Westcott's youngest son, Basil, Andrews' contemporary as an undergraduate; practically speaking, the latter wrote later, "never a single day passed" without their meeting, while, after Basil left for Delhi in 1896, they corresponded "every week"<sup>17</sup> Through these friendships, Andrews spent

some of his holidays in the Westcott household at Auckland and on holiday in Yorkshire, times which he remembered as "golden days", when he drew upon "the wisdom of the aged bishop".<sup>18</sup>

Westcott's influence had three aspects. The most fundamental was in Andrews' whole theological outlook, which he later described as "liberal orthodox";<sup>19</sup> the commanding features of Westcott's own theology, reflecting, as we have seen, his enthusiastic understanding of Origen, and in particular his Christology, we will find Andrews developing in new and very fruitful ways in India.

Westcott's influence was evident in the first instance, however, in directing Andrews' attention to social questions, and to the inescapable obligation imposed upon the Christian to engage with these by the doctrine of the Incarnation as Westcott interpreted it. This was something new to Andrews, for he had never come under "liberal political influences" until he reached the University, but, following his father, had been "A Tory of the Tories".<sup>20</sup> Westcott's commanding influence in this field, and Andrews' discipleship, are illustrated by the simple facts that the former was the founder and first President of the influential Christian Social Union,<sup>21</sup> and the latter the C.S.U.'s Cambridge secretary.

Andrews' interest in social issues had a strongly practical side during these years, and, in succession to, among others, Prior and two of Westcott's older sons, George and Foss, he became from about 1894 an exceptionally energetic member of the College's settlement project in Walworth.<sup>22</sup> If he was later to go so far as to say that his experiences here, and more particularly, during his months as a lay-worker at Monkwearmouth, made him "an out-and-out opponent of the capitalist system",<sup>23</sup> his reports from Walworth reveal him as a much less radical

and perhaps more typical member of the settlement movement, shocked at the "open and revolting....vices....of the poor", critical of "red flags and tub-oratory", and working to change "the current ideas in the minds of our people with regard to those above them in station" by creating within the College Mission's life "a practical expression of the brotherhood of rich and poor".<sup>24</sup>

If these immediate reactions to the College Mission's work reflect so strikingly a class-background, his more systematic consideration of the context of the Mission's work, in his prize essay on The Relation of Christianity to the Conflict between Capital and Labour,<sup>25</sup> indicates the importance of Westcott's influence. A jejune work in some respects,<sup>26</sup> it nevertheless clarifies some of the features of Andrews' emerging thought about Christianity and the Christian mission. Because "the world of common life" had been "opened up on such a vast scale by modern industry", the opportunity had arisen to work out "Christian principles" on a scale hitherto almost inconceivable, and this represented what Westcott might have called a new epoch of revelation, for Andrews, with his Catholic Apostolic background, "one of the days of the Son of Man". New modes of thought and expression, "ideas of mutual dependence, of society as an organism, of the solidarity of the race", were now "being learnt by the workman and the labourer with a clearness which was lacking even to great thinkers" a century previously. These were "ideas which help man to grasp the message of the Incarnation", because "the Gospel of the Incarnation" is itself "the true basal bond between man and man, drawing each in sympathy towards a common, mutual life of love and service", or, as "Dr. Westcott" put it, because the Incarnation is "the inexhaustible spring of brotherhood".<sup>27</sup> Westcott, indeed, (with F.D.Maurice) is the decisive influence behind this early, undergraduate effort of Andrews', and, with Maurice, acknowledged as such in the Preface.<sup>28</sup>

In particular, we must note that Andrews' claim that "the message of the Incarnation met half-way the inner workings in the minds of labouring men",<sup>29</sup> suggests that, in theory at least, he had grasped and absorbed something of Westcott's theology of mission.

The time and place for Andrews' own distinctive development of this theology and its practical expression, was still to come. The awakening of his interest in the Cambridge Mission to Delhi, however, took place during these same years. While he was still in his second year, the visit of the then Principal of St. Stephen's College, J.W.T.Wright, aroused considerable interest in the Mission. "One man in particular", it was reported, "Andrews, of Pembroke", was proving a very keen and active Undergraduate Secretary and had arranged for meetings and found secretaries in several other Colleges, and appeared to have learnt a great deal about the Mission.<sup>30</sup> His decision to offer himself as a candidate for work in Delhi came some years later, reinforced by Basil Westcott's death in Delhi in August 1900, and prompted by an Indian colleague and friend of Basil's in Delhi, S.K.Rudra.<sup>31</sup>

In later life, Andrews often explained his attitudes and his missionary approach in India by reference to B.F.Westcott, saying, for example, that he had "started with the great advantage of having 'sat under' Dr. Westcott....and absorbed his writings with eager enthusiasm".<sup>32</sup> Of his talks with Westcott while staying with him on holiday, there is no contemporary record, but his lengthy later recollections indicate that these clearly touched upon Westcott's dream of a new "Alexandria". What Greece had been to Europe, India, as the other great "thinking" nation, would be to Asia,<sup>33</sup> and her imminent awakening would make her "the missionary of Christ to Asia".<sup>34</sup> It was these talks more than anything else, which shaped Andrews' understanding



of mission.<sup>35</sup> His appreciation and grasp of Westcott's theology of mission was such, indeed, that when, on Westcott's death in 1901, a need was felt for a record of Westcott's contribution in this field, so much of it, by that time, "accepted doctrine on the subject", the Head of the Mission in Delhi wrote to the Chairman of the Mission Committee in Cambridge saying that he thought "Andrews would do it very well".<sup>36</sup> The plan seems to have got no further, but Andrews' place in it is noteworthy.

Of the particular and quite new situation with which Andrews was to find the Church faced in India, that is, the new context of mission created by developments in the national movement from about 1905, his years at Cambridge can have provided few clues. Sensitive missionaries, French and Lefroy among them,<sup>37</sup> had for many years been acutely aware of the near-impossibility of effective missionary work in India because, as the former had put it nearly fifty years earlier, "The Bible in the one hand has no attractiveness when it seems..... accompanied by the sword in the other".<sup>38</sup> Westcott, on the other hand, while aware of the "temptations" of empire, could scarcely have had a loftier view of British rule in India, "a monument of lofty policy" to which he knew no parallel.<sup>39</sup> The perspective is characteristic, that of the "corporate growth" and "solidarity" of mankind; within this perspective, "Imperialism" was "a step towards the attainment of the earthly destiny of man, 'the federation of the world'", and belonged "to a late stage of human history".<sup>40</sup> Westcott wrote and spoke a great deal on this topic. It is not altogether surprising, therefore, that when Andrews went out to India in 1904, while he had rejected his father's views on "labour questions",<sup>41</sup> the "intensely vivid belief in the British Empire" which he had heard "from babyhood onwards,..... had never been challenged".<sup>42</sup>

To spend "whole days reading the Sacred Books of the East and Max Müller and other writers", as he said that he did from about 1899 onwards,<sup>43</sup> might have seemed a model preparation for work in the Cambridge Mission to Delhi. To be learning to expect illumination from the Incarnation in looking at what was going on in his own times "in the minds of labouring men" in Durham and south London, as they struggled with life's problems, was, as it turned out, not less so.

NOTES : Chapter 1.1. Introductory

- 1 WIOC p.214
- 2 We use this not very satisfactory term, "educated classes", for that new élite created in the nineteenth century by the spread of western education, simply because it is the one most widely used in the literature of the period from which we will be quoting. None of the other terms used, "élite", "native intelligentsia", "bourgeoisie", "collaborators", is entirely satisfactory.
- 3 Thus, an account of S.P.G. work in the rural mass-movement areas of South India, A.W.B.Higgins Here and There in South India (1914) makes no reference to these developments. J.A.Sharrock, who did impressive work among out-castes in country districts in South India, and who believed that the correct missionary procedure was "to work upwards from the lower classes", in his South Indian Missions (1910) makes only passing and disparaging reference to "the unrest", suggesting that Christian higher education in the cities "made sedition possible", and was "throwing pearls to swine" (p.228). Similarly, R.F.L.Taylor, though strongly in favour of educational work, in his In the Land of the Five Rivers (1906), describes mission work in rural Punjab without any reference to the national movement. This contrasts with a work from urban Punjab, S.K.Datta of Lahore's The Desire of India (1908), which, although written specifically about the church's work in the villages, relates the "social upheaval" there to the "ferment of new ideas" in the cities, and suggests that their eventual combination will have "revolutionary effects" (pp.267-8)
- 4 see M.A.C.Warren Social History and Christian Mission (1967), especially ch.1, on the "very peculiar Church-State relationship" within which "missions from this country, throughout the nineteenth century and down until our own day, have operated".(p.15)
- 5 S.Neill A History of Christian Missions (ed. 1971) p.325

2. "An Alexandria on the banks of the Jumna"

- 1 H.Birks The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Valpy French, First Bishop of Lahore (1895) Vol 1, p.323. Bickersteth became the first Head of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi. The letter is not dated in Birks, but Bickersteth took up the matter immediately with Westcott, and in a letter to J.B.Lightfoot (Bickersteth to Lightfoot, 22 Nov 1875, Lightfoot Letters, Chapter Library, Durham)
- 2 Among other things, his direct evangelistic and translation work, see Birks op.cit., passim.
- 3 In a letter dated 1853, Birks op.cit. Vol 1, p.44.

- 4 Printed annual letter of 1872 (C.M.S. "North India Mission" Letters and Reports 1850-74)
- 5 Letter, 1853, Birks op.cit. Vol 1, p.44. French wrote to Tara Chand, an Indian Christian, "I am glad you are learning Sanskrit. It will be the case with that language, I trust, as it was with the Greek language. The Greek was once the vehicle of idolatry; afterwards it became ennobled in the immortal works of the early Christian writers, Irenaeus, Origen, Chrysostom and others. May it be your lot and that of others like yourself, to transfuse the Sanskrit with the blessed truths of the Gospel, and so render it not a dead, but a living and life-giving language" (24 May, 1859) ibid. p.264. French intended Greek and Hebrew to be taught at Lahore through the medium of Hindustani, and had a Greek-Hindustani vocabulary prepared in this connection, though the idea was later abandoned (M.E.Gibbs to D.O'C., 8 July, 1974).
- 6 "Proposed Plan for a Training College for Native Evangelists, Pastors and Teachers for North-West India" (1867), quoted Birks op.cit. Vol 1, p.163.
- 7 ibid. While French always seemed to find much in popular contemporary Hinduism "heart-sickening" (1850), "a mountain of rubbish" (185?), "ridiculous and puerile" (1873), and could also write of "the arid wastes of Hindu and Mohammedan philosophies and faiths" (1869), nevertheless, as early as 1856, he was identifying positive elements in "the sects which have arisen to regenerate Hinduism, as Dadu, Nanak, Cabir, etc.", which sought to "restore the knowledge of the one true God, the Param Brahm", although, unlike the Christians, they were "working in the dark". In the 1870's, he found in Nanak and Kabir "witnesses to something like Christian morals", and the notion of a "new and supernatural birth", though this was "not at the root of the system as in the Gospel". He had sympathetic conversations in the 1880's with Sufis, and with Mozumdar of the Brahma Samaj (1883), and, at about the same time, claimed that to honour all that was "good and true" in "the ancient classics of the country" was a "large-minded, generous Christian" thing to do, for which St. Paul provided a precedent (1882), Birks op.cit., passim.
- 8 T.V.French "The Proposed Cambridge University Mission in North India; being the substance of a paper read before the Cambridge Mission Aid Society on February 16, 1876" (1876).
- 9 French wrote in 1874 that "The anxiety for missionary tidings in England is almost at fever heat", and that "if Oxford is initiating a missionary movement, Cambridge is running a neck-and-neck race in honourable emulation" Birks op.cit. Vol 1, p.316.
- 10 T.V.French "The Proposed Cambridge University Mission..." (as above).
- 11 T.V.French ibid.
- 12 Westcott to French, 23 Oct 1877, in Birks op.cit. Vol 1, p.333.
- 13 ibid. Vol 1, pp.14, 232
- 14 ibid. Vol 1, pp.232, 323

- 15 D.Newsome Two Classes of Men : Platonism and English Romantic Thought (1974) p.122. Newsome is mistaken in dating Westcott's Contemporary Review article on Origen prior to his going to Cambridge as Regius Professor : it appeared in May and June, 1879.
- 16 Birks op.cit. Vol 1, p.316
- 17 O.Chadwick "Westcott and the University", Bishop Westcott Memorial Lecture 1962 (1962) p.37.
- 18 His great grandfather, Foss Westcott, was a member of the Honourable East India Company's Madras establishment during the years 1741-57, and a great uncle commanded a company of the 77th Foot in India (A.Westcott Life and Letters of B.F.Westcott (1903) Vol 1, pp.2,3).
- 19 S.K.Rudra in SSC Mag Apr 1914. Westcott himself, in his sermon on "The Universities in Relation to Missionary Work", had asked (before Delhi was chosen for the Cambridge Mission's work), "is it too much to hope that we may yet see on the Indus, or the Ganges, some new Alexandria?"
- 20 French to Westcott, 1874, in Birks op.cit. Vol 1, p.317.
- 21 ibid. Vol 1, p.364
- 22 H.Chadwick "The Vindication of Christianity in Westcott's Thought", Bishop Westcott Memorial Lecture 1960 (1960) p.4.
- 23 In addition to the CMD's theology of mission, the idea of a community mission, like the Cambridge Brotherhood, fulfilled Westcott's "cherished scheme" to found a 'Coenobium' (Newsome op.cit. p.120) See also Westcott's article "On a form of Confraternity suited to the present work of the English Church" Contemporary Review April 1870.
- 24 The sermon was published in Westcott's On Some Points in the Religious Office of the Universities (1873) pp.25-44.
- 25 "Clement of Alexandria" and "Origenes" occur as articles in (ed. W.Smith and H.Wace) A Dictionary of Christian Biography, Vols 1 and IV respectively (1877 and 1887). "Origen and the Beginnings of Christian Philosophy" first appeared in the Contemporary Review May and June 1879, and subsequently in Westcott Essays in the History of Religious Thought in the West (1891). The remarks about Justin occur in Westcott The Gospel of Life (1892) pp.116-7.
- 26 Birks op.cit. Vol 11, p.143
- 27 (1892) The quotations which follow are from pp.116,120,121-2.
- 28 In a footnote to the Preface of The Gospel of Life, Westcott regretted that he had not had time to include notes on the sacred books of the prae-Christian religions (p.xvii). He did, however, publish the following year a very comprehensive set of such notes : it appeared as an "Appendix on the Sacred Books of the Præ-Christian Religions" in The Cambridge Companion to the Bible (1893) pp.15-21.

- 29 The Gospel of Life pp.xxiv, 282.
- 30 For a general survey, see E.J.Sharpe Not To Destroy But To Fulfil (1965) ch.3. For the Baptists, E.D.Potts British Baptist Missionaries in India 1793-1837 (1967). For Ballantyne, see R.H.Hooker Journey into Varanasi (1978) pp.27-32. For Goreh, see B.A.Paradkar The Theology of Goreh (1969) and for Banerjee, K.Baago Pioneers of Indigenous Christianity (1969).
- 31 published under this title, 1846
- 32 We get an indication of Maurice's approach from his prefatory criticism of the Baptist missionary, William Ward, "Mr Ward can see only the hateful and the devilish; of what good it may be the counterfeit, what divine truth may be concealed in it, and may be needed to supplant it, he has not courage to enquire" p.xxii. There is no indication that Westcott had read Maurice's book. Andrews knew it, at least during his later years in India - The Inner Life (1939) p.27. For a useful modern study of Maurice's book, see H.G.Wood Frederick Denison Maurice (1950) ch.IV.
- 33 Westcott refers to Kingsley's book in his Contemporary Review essay on Origen.
- 34 C.Kingsley Alexandria and Her Schools (1854) p.152. It was with Islam particularly that Kingsley envisaged "a fresh reconciliation" (p.170).
- 35 Birks op.cit. Vol 1 p.340
- 36 E.C.Sharpe op.cit pp.43-56
- 37 For the early history of missions in Delhi, as well as the history of the Cambridge Mission, see F.J.Western The Early History of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi (typescript, 1950) (U.S.P.G. Library)
- 38 "Report of the Mission in Delhi and the South Punjab..... 1 Jan 1873 - 30 Sep 1874" (Report of the Delhi and Kurnaul Missions of the S.P.G.) Elsewhere, Winter suggested that missionaries "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" The Story of the Delhi Mission (1908) p.115.
- 39 F.F.Monk St Stephen's College, Delhi. A History (1935) p.4.
- 40 Westcott, when he heard that the College was to be affiliated to the proposed Punjab University, which, uniquely in India, recognised the vernacular languages on an equal footing with English, described the news as "of the most momentous significance and of the highest promise" and made a brief reference to "Alexandria" ("The Cambridge Mission and Higher Education at Delhi" 1882-C.M.D Occasional Paper No.3). Four years later, S.S.Allnutt, first Principal of the College, had to report that the policy was not being implemented satisfactorily

("Educational Work in 1885" - C.M.D. Occasional Paper No.10), and his comment in 1894 that "In the B.A. Classes there is a general tendency now to forsake Oriental studies in favour of Mathematics, Natural Science, and sometimes, Philosophy" indicates the main thrust of developments (quoted in Monk op.cit. p.57).

- 41 31 of these had been published by 1904, as well as a run of "Short Papers".
- 42 S.S.Allnutt to V.H.Stanton, 14 Aug 1901 (C.M.D. Archives). Several years later, G.A.Lefroy still called him "our great Cambridge teacher", in his contribution to (ed. J.Ellison and G.H.S.Walpole) Church and Empire (1908) p.67.
- 43 C.M.D. Occasional Paper No.3
- 44 Birks op.cit. Vol 11 p.315. Lefroy was a brilliant linguist. He raised the Christian-Muslim controversy in Delhi to a higher level through initiating the building of Bickersteth Hall as a meeting place. B.K.Cunningham, in The Story of the Delhi Mission, called him "the Christian apologist" (p.33). Unlike his "great Cambridge teacher", Lefroy had read Maurice's The Religions of the World - see his chapter in (ed. H.H.Montgomery) Mankind and the Church (1907) p.286.

### 3. "Eager enthusiasm"

- 1 J.Pinnington TLS 20 Jun 1980. If this is so, equally, Westcott's expansive theology must later have reinforced this awareness, as when Westcott said, "Remember, Andrews, nothing, nothing that is truly human can be left outside the Christian faith without destroying the very reason for its existence" quoted in Sykes and Chaturvedi op.cit. p.17.
- 2 "My Mother : A Reminiscence" ( - handwritten, Chaturvedi, Articles, N.A.I.)
- 3 P.E.Shaw The Catholic Apostolic Church, sometimes called Irvingite (1964) pp.57,65.
- 4 For an early example, Capital and Labour (1896) pp.5,142.
- 5 e.g. to Munshi Ram and the students at the Gurukula (vide inf.). Andrews to Munshi Ram, 30 Apr 1913 (Chaturvedi, Corr., N.A.I.).
- 6 WIOC p.92
- 7 Andrews used the term of himself, Christ in the Silence (1933) p.14. Others have also used it of him, e.g. Marjorie Sykes C.F.Andrews : Representative Writings (1973) p.6; G.Gispert-Sauch S.J. God's Word among Men (1973) p.xxx.
- 8 H.M.Butler, in his preface to (ed. C.F.Andrews) C.H.Prior The Presence of God, and Other Sermons (1904) p.ix.

- 9 Carus University Prize 1893, 1895; Burney Prize 1894; Crosse Scholarship 1895; his Candidature Papers for S.P.G. add "and various College Prizes" (S.P.G. Dos. 3020).
- 10 "My Mother : A Reminiscence" (Chaturvedi, Articles, N.A.I.)
- 11 Biog p.48
- 12 He knew Forbes Robinson "as a personal friend" at Cambridge; see SM Oct 1906.
- 13 "I was fortunate enough to be his pupil during the closing years of his life at Cambridge"; see HR Jan 1911.
- 14 see, for example, "Religion in Cambridge" CQR Oct 1904.
- 15 Andrews to Herman Prior, 3 Aug 1900 (Pembroke College).
- 16 The editing of Prior's sermons (see n.8 above) was Andrews' tribute to him.
- 17 YMOI Oct 1925
- 18 Christ in the Silence (1933) p.152
- 19 Biog p.66. For a discussion of Westcott's incarnational theology, see A.M.Ramsey From Gore to Temple (1960) p.1, and D.Newsome Two Classes of Men (1974) ch.5.
- 20 Biog p.51
- 21 Its influence is indicated in the fact that just under a third of episcopal appointments between 1889 and 1913 went to members of the C.S.U.; see P.d'A.Jones The Christian Socialist Revival 1877-1914 (1968) p.164.
- 22 The Mission Report for 1896 noted the increased number of Pembroke men visiting the Mission, and continued, "Never do I remember so many as during this summer; and this is one of the many things for which we have to thank Mr Andrews." His successor as Missioner wrote in the Report for 1899 that it was impossible for him to follow "either his unsparing devotion or his intensely high ideals - they have made their very deep mark, and have left a great gift of a solid foundation truly laid on which we may build." (Pembroke College). Among the undergraduates who visited the Mission because of his influence, was Kanwar Shumshere Singh, brother of a leading Indian Christian laywoman, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur; see Stephanian Annual Number 1964 .
- 23 MR Feb-Mar 1915
- 24 Mission Report for 1897, pp.4,5,8 (Pembroke College).
- 25 London 1896
- 26 See Hugh Tinker's remarks in his The Ordeal of Love (1979) p.9 - though Tinker does not consider the theological argument of the essay.
- 27 Op.cit. pp.125,86,66,48-9.



- 28 ibid. Preface; "I am most deeply indebted to the writings of F.D.Maurice and the Bishop of Durham, Dr. Westcott."
- 29 ibid. p.3
- 30 V.H.Stanton to G.A.Lefroy, 9 Feb 1893 (C.M.D. Letters 1891-1918). Wright visited the Mission again, 5 years later, while Andrews was Missioner; see Mission Report for 1898 (Pembroke College).
- 31 "I have felt more and more the call since Basil's death" Andrews to Herman Prior n.d. (Pembroke College). S.K.Rudra to V.H.Stanton, 27 Nov 1902 (C.M.D. Archives). Gandhi later wrote "We owe C.F.Andrews to.....Rudra", Young India 9 Jul 1925.
- 32 YMOI Apr 1930
- 33 Biog p.47. We could not expect in these notes, unfortunately, a very precise account of Westcott's conversation: the notes were a narrative of his life, as told to a Hindu friend, and in several places Andrews gives a simplified, non-theological version of his story for his friend's sake, and it would appear that this is what he was doing at this point.
- 34 NMI Nov 1910
- 35 WIOC p.166
- 36 S.S.Allnutt to V.H.Stanton, 14 Aug 1901 (C.M.D. Papers on Early Mission History).
- 37 For French, in addition to the reference in n.38 below, see Birks op.cit. Vol 1, p.70,205-6,342. For Lefroy, cf. "our position as the ruling power puts a dead weight on missionary enterprise, which nothing but the direct grace of God can possibly enable us to lift." H.H.Montgomery Life and Letters of George Alfred Lefroy (1920) p.20; cf.pp.30,173,175,179-80.
- 38 T.V.French to H.Venn, 29 Jan 1857 (C.M.S. C.1 1/0 0108-109).
- 39 B.F.Westcott "The Obligations of Empire" (pamphlet) (1900).
- 40 "The Empire" in W.J.Hocking (ed.) The Church and New Century Problems (1900) pp.19,20.
- 41 Biog p.51
- 42 "My Mother : A Reminiscence" (Chaturvedi, Articles, N.A.I.); "How India Can Be Free" (pamphlet) (1921).
- 43 Biog p.66

CHAPTER 2. THE CONTEXT OF MISSION 1904-6

1. Introductory

T.V.French had spoken of "a stir and ferment" among "an enquiring people" in the ancient world as a necessary precondition for the sort of Christian mission that was carried out at Alexandria. Andrews came to "the New World of the East" at "the very epoch of its renaissance"<sup>1</sup>. Of course, this renaissance had in a more general sense had a longer history, of more than a century, by this time, but his first year or two in India did, nevertheless, coincide with what a new Indian friend called "an extraordinary ebullition of feeling". Although the country as a whole remained "in a dreamy state of consciousness as to its highest interest", it was "no longer fast asleep". The "middle-classes", who had been, "according to the Englishman's view, 'contaminated' by education", were "restless". This restlessness took a quite specific form: "politics and politics alone" had, from 1904-5, become "the predominant interest of this class"<sup>2</sup>. This new Indian friend, looking back in 1910, summed up the new situation by saying that "a wave of political consciousness" had passed over India in the previous five years, and, indeed, "over the whole of Asia"<sup>3</sup>. For Andrews, with his distinctive theology of mission, the first important question to be asked was, "How may the new movement in the East be rightly used to extend the Kingdom of Christ?"<sup>4</sup> In this chapter, we shall look at the process whereby he came to formulate this question.

2. Orthodox and ardent

Andrews arrived at Delhi at the end of March 1904 and he began in many respects as a very conventional missionary, even down to "a heavy black European suit" which, as he later remarked, "no one could possibly call ..... in sweltering India a 'garment of praise!'"<sup>1</sup>

The Cambridge Mission likewise presented a conventional if impressive picture of urban and district mission work. A visitor at the time wrote,

The Cambridge Mission at Delhi - to take one of the greatest of our Mission centres - presents all the impressive strength of a great organisation. The majority of the members of the Mission live together and work the city like a huge parish. Every department of life is catered for. There is a complete ladder of education, from the elementary - very elementary - schools in the Bastis, to St. Stephen's College, which is affiliated to the Lahore University. There is a first-rate Purdah hospital under the direction of a lady doctor of great reputation, and a staff of district nurses, who are sent from the hospital to nurse the women in their homes. There is a large staff of ladies who systematically visit in the zenanas. There are centres of Mission work in ten or a dozen different districts of the city, under the charge of catechists superintended by the Mission clergy. There is an orphanage, a boarding house for boys, a hostel for students, a staff of bazaar preachers, and in the centre of all a fine church with daily services and a communicants' roll of 200. Besides all these there are several out-stations where individual members of the brotherhood live and work on the same lines as the main body at Delhi.

Here then is an organisation which meets the eye; the Church in Delhi is putting forth her strength in a great frontal attack, and the characteristic feature of the Mission is active work.<sup>2</sup>

Andrews' arrival brought the Brotherhood's numbers up to 10 and the Mission's numbers up to 40 senior members.<sup>3</sup> Although he was to remain a full member of the Brotherhood for the whole of his 10 years in Delhi, sharing in the community's common life, its prayers and

retreats, and its deliberations, even being considered for the Headship at one point,<sup>4</sup> he lived at the community house in the centre of the old city only for the first year or so, moving out then to join other teaching members at a house which they had secured adjacent to the College hostel, and, for his last two or three years, to the house of an Indian member of the College staff, an arrangement which he found the most congenial of all.<sup>5</sup> He had, in fact, by 1908, developed substantial reservations about the brotherhood-type of mission; nevertheless, he continued throughout the period a serious member of the community, by no means isolated entirely in his 'advanced' views,<sup>6</sup> but a stimulus to his colleagues by his example "and not seldom his exhortation"<sup>7</sup>; and making a lasting contribution to its devotional life in a conventional enough way with the office book which he drew up between 1908 and 1911, and which was used daily in the Brotherhood - and in many other religious communities - for many years.<sup>8</sup>

About a fortnight after arriving in Delhi, after Easter Day and his admission to the Brotherhood at a celebration of holy communion on 12 April, Andrews went up to Simla, a hill station and the summer capital of the government of India, where he was to stay for some 6 months taking lessons in Urdu. The acting Head of the Mission was to report at the end of the year that he was making very rapid progress in the study of the language, but in fact he seems never to have become very proficient in any Indian language.<sup>9</sup>

In most respects, Andrews' time at Simla was conventional enough: there was the "inestimable privilege" of daily communion at the English church, a talk to the 'Ladies League' on women's work in the Delhi mission, and his Urdu lessons.<sup>10</sup> These last provided him with his first sustained encounter with an Indian. His teacher was Shams-ud-Din, a court

translator from Lahore,<sup>11</sup> and a Muslim nephew of the well-known Punjabi convert, Dr. Imad-ud-Din. He had leanings towards Christianity, and the conventional missionary reported at the turn of the year that he was "still trying to keep in touch with him".<sup>12</sup> At the same time, a little less conventionally, Shams-ud-Din inculcated in Andrews something of his own love of Islam,<sup>13</sup> and also gave him his first glimpse through Indian eyes at British rule, with regard both to the matter of racialism and also to "the follies and extravagances of the 'Simla-season'",<sup>14</sup> which filled the devout Muslim with horror<sup>15</sup> and led Andrews to say a little later that they represented "an 'offence' to the Christian religion that cannot easily be overestimated".<sup>16</sup>

After the annual Brotherhood retreat, conducted by the Bishop of Lahore, at Kanpur - an opportunity to see another missionary brotherhood, one of which Basil Westcott's brother George was a member - Andrews was back in Delhi for the beginning of the year at St. Stephen's College in October. We shall have to pay special attention to the importance of the College in the development of his thinking about Mission. He seems rarely during his 10 years as a member of the teaching staff to have spent more than the cooler half of the year at the College: poor health and increasing preoccupation with outside concerns were to keep him out of Delhi a great deal.<sup>17</sup> His first two winters in India, however, saw him settling into teaching and other aspects of the College's work, combining this at first with a continuation of his language study, and also with various responsibilities in the Church - conducting a quiet day for St. Stephen's Community, the association of women missionaries, leading a bible class for them on the Book of Revelation,<sup>18</sup> and preparing a young Muslim student, Faizal Hasan, for baptism. During a visit to Rawalpindi at Easter 1905 to assist the chaplain there, he threw himself with, as the Bishop observed, "his usual energy" into reorganising and revitalizing the

Indian congregation and, in the course of doing so, "finding out a great deal more about the Native Christian Congregation which exists there than anyone had done before him"<sup>19</sup> He found at Rawalpindi two Christians who had married wives whom at that time he described as "heathen"<sup>20</sup> We catch glimpses of him also making friends with the Regency President of the princely state of Patiala, and having with him "long conversations about the Faith"<sup>21</sup> and on a railway journey to Lahore commending "the True Way of Life in Jesus Christ" to a Hindu fellow-passenger.<sup>22</sup>

Just a year after his arrival in India, a new concern was beginning to intrude upon the emerging routines of Andrews' life as a conventional missionary. From the inception of the Cambridge Mission, literary work had been envisaged as a chief part of its programme. Nothing, however, as Stanton, the Chairman of the Mission Committee at Cambridge, pointed out in 1905, had yet been accomplished in that field, new members of the Mission being "dragged at once into the daily round of immediate duties"<sup>23</sup> Early in 1905, Andrews took up the matter with Allnutt and Stanton, stressing his own desire to make a literary career the main end of his missionary activity. There were two aspects to this proposed enterprise. In the first place, there was what he regarded as a pressing personal cause, in that H.U.Weitbrecht, a scholarly C.M.S. missionary in the Punjab, had asked for his help on the committee working on an Urdu text of the Old Testament. Andrews was enthusiastic,

There is no one in the Punjab who has more than a scanty knowledge of Hebrew and who has made a critical study of the text and literary and theological ideas of the Old Testament....Here is a great purpose and a great aim for me.

In the second place, he identified a serious lack in the Church's work in the Punjab, perhaps "the most pressing need in Upper India",

namely of a more general literary provision for "the rapidly rising Native Christian Church and the rapidly growing educated Native Community". That he saw settling to such a career as a possible solution of an old difficulty, that of "having too many irons in the fire and getting distracted by divided duties", does not take away from the importance of this new missionary task that he had identified. Stanton insisted that this should not be allowed to prevent him from helping in the regular work of the institutions in Delhi and must not be his sole aim, but approved the idea, observing that Andrews' "powers of insight into the conditions and requirements of the work" were remarkable.

Andrews' life as a member of the Cambridge Mission was disrupted in 1905 by illness. Ear trouble necessitated a visit to England to consult a specialist, and he was away from Delhi for seven months, returning in November on the condition that he should thereafter always spend the hot months in the hills, where he would - the Cambridge Committee of the Mission announced - "occupy himself with literary work".<sup>24</sup> He was to experience poor health for most of the rest of his time at Delhi, with a series of illnesses which laid him low and disrupted his work to such an extent that, looking back, he went so far as to say that throughout those years he "lived in a kind of morbid state in which it was very difficult to think and act with calmness and clearness of vision".<sup>25</sup> He did not, however, allow his visit to England to be taken up entirely with seeing doctors. He continued his language study at Cambridge, and had interesting discussions with Har Dayal, a young graduate from St. Stephen's College who was studying at Oxford, and to whom we shall have occasion to refer later, and also with men who were able to tell him of incipient national movements in Ireland, Turkey, Persia and China.<sup>26</sup>

He also seized the occasion to take up a cause, that of Indian students in England who, as he saw it, were frequently "fleeced and cheated", and drifted into an anti-Christian society of "theosophists with vegetarian ideas, occultists, spiritualists, etc."<sup>27</sup> The problem had recently been raised in an article in Student Movement,<sup>28</sup> and Andrews talked with the author and in subsequently published letters mooted the idea of an Indian students' hostel in London; it was a move of characteristic foresight.<sup>29</sup> Also while in England he wrote three articles for missionary journals. These we shall look at in some detail.

Andrews' return to Delhi was a great relief to both English and Indian colleagues in the Mission, one of the latter going so far as to say

What his presence in our midst is cannot be described in words. It is sufficient to state that my heart goes up in thankfulness to God for enabling him to continue here.<sup>30</sup>

If this suggests a very special contribution to the work of the Cambridge Mission, Andrews' first two years as a member give only slight indication of the form this is to take. Looking at these beginnings, it is not difficult to acknowledge the justice of his remark that he started his work in India "perfectly definitely at this time a missionary in the orthodox sense and a very ardent missionary"<sup>31</sup>.

### 3. "Things as they were"

The first years of the twentieth century in India have been described as the "high noon of empire"<sup>1</sup>. If Andrews had on arrival by no means got rid of that uncritical admiration for the British empire which he had learned from his father,<sup>2</sup> it was nevertheless the



less attractive aspects of the current arrangements which seem to have impressed him more than anything else at first. This would seem to have distinguished him, for all his initial conventionality, from most of his contemporaries. Certainly the opinion of a sympathetic Indian observer in 1904 was that "modern missionaries" seemed to be actively committed to upholding things as they found them,

to non-Christians their mission appears to be much less religious than commercial or political<sup>3</sup>

and the advice regularly given to Andrews by older English residents was that, whatever he might notice, he "must deal with things as they were"<sup>4</sup>.

India was ruled at the time by that least unobtrusive of viceroys, Lord Curzon. That, certainly, was how he was regarded at the time - "a rampant Tory Imperialist", the leading Indian newspaper in the Punjab called him, who "outshone the pomp and magnificence of the Great Moghuls of Delhi"<sup>5</sup>, and even his closest associate at the India Office observed, in the year of Andrews' arrival in India, that Curzon "considered his position to be that of Louis XIV - 'L'état c'est moi'"<sup>6</sup>.

Within a matter of weeks, Andrews came close to the centre of imperial power. We find his name occurring in an Anglo-Indian newspaper, and he is the only missionary included in the item -

The Viceroy's Levée. The following were present at his excellency the Viceroy's Levée at Viceregal Lodge, Simla on the 27th (May)...New Presentations...Andrews, Rev.C.F., M.A.<sup>7</sup>

This was, in fact, a levée of the acting Viceroy, Lord Ampthill, while Curzon was on a visit to England. During that first summer at Simla, Andrews was tutor to Ampthill's children; this provided a contact with him, not to say a friendship,<sup>8</sup> and through it he also got to know a

number of members of the Indian Civil Service.

Amphill's brief acting viceroyalty provided the country, in the judgement of an Indian observer, with a "much needed rest"<sup>9</sup> from the energetic reforming zeal of Curzon. It was, nevertheless, the latter's viceregal style which impressed itself upon Andrews at the time, for news was reaching Simla throughout that summer of the large military expedition into Tibet, which Curzon had organised before going on leave.<sup>10</sup> There is a great deal more to say about Curzon than this, and Andrews himself came to appreciate some of his policies, particularly his educational reforms, but his recollection over 30 years later was of this venture, and indeed he referred to it to illustrate the "old blustering policy" which still prevailed in 1904.<sup>11</sup>

Andrews started to learn about India, then, and to reflect upon the meaning of mission there, definitively under the conditions created by the British imperial presence. No part of India presented these conditions with a greater sharpness than the Punjab, his "very first home in India and....(his) very first love"<sup>12</sup>. The Punjab was the last of the great provinces to come under British rule, and its strategic position in relation to an imagined Russian threat explains why it had a more evident military presence than any other part of India. The Bishop of Lahore pointed out that his diocese had in it a larger number of British troops (26,000) than any other in the empire,<sup>13</sup> and Andrews observed that five out of every six Englishmen in the Punjab were soldiers.<sup>14</sup> On the frontier - and he was able to say before long that "the Punjab and every part of it became known to me, right up to the frontier"<sup>15</sup> - military adventurism still flourished.<sup>16</sup> British rule within the province, away from the frontier, had its own distinctive character. Considerable development had occurred in the

last decades of the nineteenth century, with 10 million acres recovered for agricultural use through irrigation and colonisation schemes,<sup>17</sup> but the province was notorious for its harsh administration, in what was known as 'the Punjab tradition', a harshness "verging almost on the tyrannical" as Curzon's successor, Lord Minto noted,<sup>18</sup> and tempered only by a strongly paternalistic ordering of the lives of the rural peasantry. If a more benign impression is conveyed by some contemporary reminiscences, both Indian and English,<sup>19</sup> it was nevertheless "the English military atmosphere"<sup>20</sup> which was for Andrews one of the Punjab's most evident, and for the Church's mission one of its most critical features.

The city of Delhi was something of a special case. Still brooding over the mutiny of nearly 50 years previously, and the violent repression which had followed it, it was characterised in the view of the Bishop of Lahore by "stagnation and dogged resistance to change" and showed "the greatest reluctance to yield before the tide of change and Western influence which is rising with such force over most parts of this vast peninsula".<sup>21</sup> Andrews noticed this in terms of the city's "mass of poverty and misery",<sup>22</sup> but what initially struck him was the style of the British presence,

I shall not soon forget the strangeness of my first few days in Delhi - the policemen saluting, the people salaaming, the Indian soldier standing at attention, every one making way.

I thought at first it was all directed towards my companion, who was well known in Delhi. But no! all was exactly the same when I was alone. It was due to the simple fact that

I was a Sahib.<sup>23</sup>

It was the same in Simla, with regard to the treatment of his Urdu teacher, Shams-ud-Din -

He was a very old man and in Simla he used to wear boots with

patties as he was not used to the cold. When he went to teach an officer to whom I recommended him as a Munshi, this officer used to make him undo his patties and take off his boots whenever he entered his room, while he sat in his own boots. The officer was quite young and the Munshi was quite old... Altogether I was quite disgusted with what I saw and it made me very unhappy.<sup>24</sup>

If a young administrator could mock such Anglo-Indian attitudes with the remark that "an Indian entering with shoes on would be the first sign of another mutiny",<sup>25</sup> the deep impression made upon Andrews was confirmed by the "racial poison" that was distilled into his ear night and day.<sup>26</sup> He stayed at Simla in the house of the chaplain, G.E. Nicolls, a member of his own college, who had with him an English officer and a Punjab missionary, from whom he was taught a daily lesson as to how to treat the native,

"Never, under any circumstances, give way to a 'native', or let him regard himself as your superior. We only rule India in one way - by upholding our position. Though you are a missionary you must be an Englishman first, and never forget that you are a Sahib....do not give away English prestige".<sup>27</sup>

One of Andrews' earliest impressions was how these attitudes penetrated the life of the Church -

On the first morning after my arrival in Delhi, I sat in church before the service began, and opened the Urdu Prayer Book. These were the words I saw - 'Edward VI. Ke dusre sal men Parliament ke hukm se' (in the second year of King Edward VI by order of Parliament).

Andrews says that his heart sank within him. "Were not only English but also Indian Christians to be bound down by that annus non mirabilis, the second year of King Edward VI? Was that fateful order of Parliament to go on finding fresh fields and pastures new of spiritual usurpation

ad infinitum?"<sup>28</sup> This is not to suggest that Andrews immediately formulated a concept of "spiritual usurpation", though it was a remarkably short time, as we shall see, before he was to do so, but only to indicate his perception from the very beginning of the importance within the Church of the imperial factor. It is precisely in this terminology that he was later to sum up his first impressions.

I found in missionary efforts as they were carried on in India the conventional touch of a religious imperialism which had the same blighting effect on the inner self-determination of Indian Christians as the ordinary political imperialism had upon Indians who were not Christians.<sup>29</sup>

It is equally true of Andrews' attitude to the "ordinary political imperialism", that, although within half a dozen years he was calling for a Christian critique of the system, and although he was later to become notorious as one of a very small band of "atheists of empire",<sup>30</sup> we cannot say much more of his earliest impressions than that he was immediately aware of something that would have to be taken into account because he met it in so many and different striking and memorable forms.<sup>31</sup>

#### 4. "A dawn of Hope"

Looking back, in his autobiography, to the Indian situation as he first became aware of it, Andrews, Open Classical Scholar that he was, subsumed his varied impressions under the comprehensive simile of the Roman empire.

The scene in India during the early years of the present century, when I lived at Delhi, resembled that of the Roman Empire nineteen hundred years ago. There was the same vast, unbroken imperial peace in external affairs, and a settled order outwardly maintained.<sup>1</sup>

It was a simile that had been worked hard for the best part of a century,<sup>2</sup> and it was still in vogue in Andrews' time with writers as different as the Lt. Governor of the Punjab, who went beyond simile so far as to trace the current land revenue system back through Akbar and the Sassanian dynasty of Muslim Persia to "the just and bold reforms" of Julius Caesar, and the Punjab nationalist newspaper editor who enjoyed designating Curzon "the prancing pro-consul".<sup>3</sup> It was a simile that Andrews was to make much of, both for his general view of British rule, and in his reflection on education in an empire, and on the role of the Christian.

We have seen already that there was for him another side to this "vast, unbroken imperial peace", namely the "blighting" effect of the system on "the inner self-determination" of Indian people. In a lecture by one of his colleagues, he heard the East referred to as "a wilderness of dying nations", and he refers several times to the "apathy", the "helplessness and despair" that still ran through the thoughts and writings of educated Indians in 1904.<sup>4</sup>

This was, however, a situation that was to be decisively modified within Andrews' earliest months in India. If the Tibet Expedition during the summer of 1904 had spoken to him of a supreme confidence in the extension of British influence, it was, in fact, in historical perspective, "the swan-song of British Indian imperialism".<sup>5</sup> The passage in his autobiography just quoted continues with a more dynamic simile,

....within this area of apparent calm, a surging heaving ferment had suddenly begun to appear, like volcanic lava cracking through the surface of the soil.<sup>6</sup>

It was a ferment so significant that the standard history of India is

able to say that "the year 1905 heralded a new period in the annals of this land"<sup>7</sup>. It brought with it changes so comprehensive and so rapid that the Viceroy in 1911 was "quite convinced that were Curzon to return to India, he would hardly recognise" the new situation.<sup>8</sup> The surprising thing is that Andrews, so new to India, saw this immediately, and in 1905 itself was drawing attention to "this fresh epoch of Eastern history"<sup>9</sup>.

The causes of this were, of course, extremely complex. From the British side, in particular a series of moves initiated by Curzon - for the partition of Bengal, the reorganisation of the universities, together with what appeared to be a public criticism of the character of the Indian people - all bore down in such a way as to create an inevitable reaction: that is, in part, how Andrews in retrospect interpreted it, as "an almost entire reaction .....against European domination"<sup>10</sup>. From the Indian side, the long evolution through the nineteenth century of political awareness crystallized at this time in various new ways - in the assertion of a more 'extreme' political claim on the part of many educated people, amounting, he said of the close of the year 1904, to "one exulting hope - that the days of servitude to the West were over and the day of independence had dawned"<sup>11</sup>, in the creation of new instruments of nation-building such as Gokhale's Servants of India Society, which prepared young men by courses of study and research for "careers of national usefulness"<sup>12</sup>, and in the spread from 1905 on an all-India basis of a policy of swadeshi, which meant, basically, a claim to develop the Indian economy in Indian interests. Observers at the time added further explanations of the new ferment: a colleague in the Cambridge Mission reported that "the struggle of certain classes in Russia towards a fuller personal freedom...(had) been followed with deep sympathy by educated men here", and gave as a further explanation

"the grinding poverty of the great masses of the people".<sup>13</sup>

There were also features of the situation peculiar to the Punjab. There had been from 1900 a series of legislative moves by the government, relating chiefly to the canal colonies, designed to favour the rural masses against the educated and commercial classes. For a variety of reasons, these measures led to increasing agrarian unrest. Radical elements among the urban educated and commercial classes, led by Lajpat Rai, aligned themselves with those who were discontented in the countryside, and by late 1906 the situation had so developed that it was possible to say that "the Punjab countryside was about to burst into flames".<sup>14</sup>

Andrews, not surprisingly, being located in Delhi, missed this aspect of the ferment. His impression in 1905 of the Punjab peasants' "cheerful acceptance of law and discipline", reflects a view that was certainly not seriously challenged before 1906: the provincial government itself in 1905 rejected the warnings from some of its own district officers of serious growing unrest.<sup>15</sup>

One event, however, seemed in 1904 and 1905 to speak most compellingly to Indian aspirations, and that was the Russo-Japanese War, which began in February 1904 and ran on to mid-1905. This was seen through Indian eyes as a struggle between Europe and Asia, and from its earliest stages the Indian press was claiming that "nowhere in the world can the proceedings be watched with more breathless interest than in Britain's Eastern dependencies".<sup>16</sup> To one of Andrews' Indian Christian colleagues, the conduct of Russia and her European allies was "morally unscrupulous", burning "like hot iron in the hearts of the Eastern peoples. They had shown the real 'White Peril'".<sup>17</sup> As the news of the Japanese successes was reported, the enthusiasm of the Indian press became more explicit, a leading journal



stating that "for the first time in many centuries, Europe has gone down before Asia", and adding very pointedly for its Indian readers, "and what is first need not necessarily be the last",<sup>18</sup> Andrews subsequently came to think that the effect of the Japanese victory had been exaggerated, tending to obscure the fact that the national movement in India had started long before, in the work of Ram Mohun Roy, Ishwar Chandra Gupta, etc., "when Japan was still a closed land",<sup>19</sup> but he seems never to have seriously modified his early view that, along with the rise of nationalism, the Japanese success was of primary importance in changing "the centre of gravity of the world's history", and in making the "dawn of hope" in India in 1904 "shining and radiant".<sup>20</sup>

This reference to "the world's history" indicates another feature of Andrews' interpretation of the events of his first few months in India, that is, that he was learning to see the ferment in India as part of a larger phenomenon: not only was there this evidence from further east in Asia - the rise of Japan - but also, as he had partly discovered from encounters at Cambridge in 1905, indications of major changes in China also, and in western Asia, in Turkey, Egypt and Persia, "literally....from one end of Asia to the other".<sup>21</sup> It was out of such a gathering of evidence that his reflections on his Indian experience and on the missionary task developed in one of its most distinctive ways, so that, with all the risks implicit in broad generalisations - and he was fully alive to these - he began to fit these reflections into the broadest and boldest of frames.<sup>22</sup>

In the passage from his autobiography in which he sought to characterise his early impressions under the image of "a surging heaving ferment", Andrews continued,

Men called it the 'national movement', but its force and range were far vaster than that. It was an eruption of a whole continent of humanity from within seeking to mould itself afresh in new forms.<sup>23</sup>

That such a situation had profound implications for missionary policy, an observer might have deduced from the form of the Hindustan Review's exultations over the Japanese victories -

....the irresistible energy of the Japanese has shattered the flattering European theory entertained for centuries past that there can be no true civilization unless it was of Christian, Greek or Roman origin.<sup>24</sup>

Such implications were not lost on Andrews, and indeed he responded quite explicitly in pointing out, for example, that among Muslims, "with whom temporal power and religious ascendancy are almost inseparable ideas", the sight of Russia defeated, "the one Christian Power which has marched up to the walls of Constantinople itself, the one Empire which all along the Central Asian border has made the Crescent recede", could herald a revival of Islam and have "far-reaching results to missionary work".<sup>25</sup> Importantly, however, he did not interpret the emerging situation as a threat so much as a ground for hope, and if we need confirmation of the way in which he was to respond, we might find it in his comment that "the close of the year 1904....was a time when it was 'good to be alive'".<sup>26</sup> The "high noon" of the historian of empire's perspective was rapidly becoming "a dawn of hope" in the very different emerging perspective of the newly-arrived missionary.

##### 5. "An educated scholarly English gentleman"

When Ramsay MacDonald referred to St. Stephen's College, in his book about India, as "St. Andrews' College", the London Correspondent of the Tribune called it "a very pardonable error";<sup>1</sup>

a view that would have been supported by the Principal, who declared with gratitude on Andrews' leaving in 1914 that no single personality had had so great an influence on the College.<sup>2</sup> The sentiment was reciprocated. In the last year of his life, Andrews claimed that St. Stephen's College had been to him "one of the most sacred spots on earth".<sup>3</sup> This was never merely a matter of sentiment, however, and also in later years, referring to the decade which he spent there, he recalled his "high hopes and ardent educational ideals".<sup>4</sup> Quite apart from what he did to transform the College, his connection with the institution was particularly important to his developing ideas for three reasons. First, it provided him with a continuing and close association with members of the most progressive element in Indian society at that time, the educated classes, in this case his own students and his Indian colleagues. In seeking to define 'the Indian point of view' in his writings, he constantly draws illustrations from his experience as a teacher at St. Stephen's College.<sup>5</sup> Secondly, it was the foundation of an actual area of influence, of which he was to make much use, within the life of the nation as a whole. As early as 1909 Gokhale declared that the students of India had no better friend.<sup>6</sup> His influence later in this important sector of society was regarded as unique.<sup>7</sup> Thirdly, it enabled him to develop an informed critique of educational policy in both church and state. The Church in India in this period had almost a half share in the higher educational enterprise - Andrews pointed out that five out of eleven colleges in the Punjab were under missionary control<sup>8</sup> - so that through his work in St. Stephen's he was well placed to develop such a critique in a broad general way.

For all its importance for Andrews' developing thought and missionary practice, and for all the founder's great vision of a new

Alexandria on the banks of the Jumna, and for all the overall impressiveness of the work of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi, St. Stephen's College when he arrived in 1904 was still a very modest institution. Much solid groundwork had been done under Allnutt's and Wright's leadership, and there were to be striking developments during the 10 years that Andrews was to be on the staff, in terms of numbers, performance and standing,<sup>9</sup> but in 1904 the College was still a small institution and, with only 85 students, 30 of them resident, far below the optimum 200 resident students that Hibbert-Ware, the third Principal, was advocating.<sup>10</sup> In terms of results and standing, Delhi, with St. Stephen's and the new Hindu College, was substantially overshadowed by Lahore with its strong Government College and Forman Christian College.

Andrews made an eleventh member of staff in 1904. The Principal at this time was G.Hibbert-Ware. He had joined the staff in 1898, and had rapidly established himself since his appointment as Principal in 1902. Andrews, a little to his own surprise, soon came to regard Hibbert-Ware as "a really great Principal of the College".<sup>11</sup> The only other European member of staff at the time of his arrival was one of his own former Cambridge students, J.G.F.Day. He had arrived two years earlier, and taught on and off until ill-health finally drove him back to Ireland in 1909. His enforced retirement from the College was probably felt more keenly by Andrews than by anyone else.<sup>12</sup> The eight Indian members of staff included three Christians, among them S.K.Rudra, to whom we must give particular attention, and S.A.C.Ghose. Ghose, who had been a student and teacher at the College for some 20 years, was something of "a stormy petrel of the Delhi Mission".<sup>13</sup> Andrews called him his earliest friend in India.<sup>14</sup> Of the three Hindu and two Muslim teachers,

the one with whom he came to have most to do, was a young Kayasth, the Sanskrit lecturer, Raghubar Dayal. Remembered as a moderating influence in the College,<sup>15</sup> and very active in developing many aspects of its corporate life, he was nevertheless also very active in the national movement.<sup>16</sup>

The 85 students came from the city and from the province, the 30 residents including some from the country and some richer students from Delhi itself who preferred to be in residence on the ground of study or to learn English and "English manners".<sup>17</sup> Although the majority of the population of the Punjab, and nearly half of the city of Delhi, were Muslims, there were only 11 Muslim students in the College in 1904, the student body consisting very largely of members of the educationally more progressive Hindu community, and in particular of "the most progressive" caste in Delhi, the Kayasths, the writer-caste, who made up more than half of the students.<sup>18</sup> There were 6 Christian students: most Punjabi Christian students preferred to go to Forman College at Lahore at this time, though there was to be a marked increase at St. Stephens from 1905.<sup>19</sup> Altogether, although there were to be some interesting developments during the decade in response to the national movement, the student body of St. Stephen's continued in its established conventional role of providing new recruits for India's emerging professional classes. The pattern follows that of the period up to 1904: throughout Andrews' time at Delhi, the bulk of the graduates of the College went in almost equal numbers into law, government service, and education, the three main areas of opportunity for the educated classes in this period.<sup>20</sup> This, as we shall see, came to be a matter of regret to Andrews, that the system failed, with rare exception, to "send men out on high adventurous quests"<sup>21</sup>

In 1904, however, just as the College was in most respects an unexceptional missionary college, Andrews started off very much an unexceptional educational missionary - although he struck one contemporary as exceptional for his scholarship at least. In this respect, he was "far superior to any other member of the staff, and probably any other college teacher in North India"<sup>22</sup>. In other respects, however, his part in things was conventional enough -

....apart from the first hour of Christian instruction,

I have been teaching English literature daily.<sup>23</sup>

Early references to his part in the Christian instruction - a compulsory hour, daily, for all students - are simply to his teaching the Sermon on the Mount to his Hindu students; whether or not he had any choice in this, it was appropriate enough in the light of his discovery that it had been uniquely influential in many conversions to Christianity.<sup>24</sup> With regard to the general teaching, outside of the more specialised work in oriental languages and science, the missionary staff had to be adaptable. "In those days", Hibbert-Ware recalled, "the work that had to be done was just divided up among ourselves"<sup>25</sup>. This was the more understandable in that, at least with the first and second year students, the work was, Andrews discovered, "more or less analogous to English Public School work", and in fact he found the teaching of English at the College "ABC work really"<sup>26</sup>. At the same time, it was also to the ardent missionary an opportunity.

Instead of this proving merely 'secular', there is scarcely an hour passes without the subject of Christianity coming forward.<sup>27</sup>

Interestingly, we get a glimpse in this early period of Andrews at work, and of how the "subject of Christianity", and Christianity over against other religious views, found its way into his teaching of Tennyson's "In Memoriam" to a Kayasth student in his MA class,

....how quickly he grasped the Christian message of a life

beyond the grave where personality is not destroyed but rather develops into fuller life.<sup>28</sup>

There was, of course, a humdrum aspect to his work as an educational missionary throughout the decade, with, for example, "850 Intermediate English papers to look through in a fortnight" one summer,<sup>29</sup> but, in spite of the routine demands of the work, from the beginning he was looking at issues of principle and questions of strategy regarding the College as a missionary institution. Within his very first month there, he successfully proposed at the Staff meeting that Curzon's Universities Act should be discussed "so that the College in its working may be able to anticipate the Government".<sup>30</sup>

It would have been surprising if educational missions were not to be touched by the "surging heaving ferment" of the national movement. The impact of the emerging situation was alluded to by Hibbert-Ware in his report written at the end of 1905, when he mentioned "a very great change from what I found when I first entered the College".

Then it was difficult to find, in their College life, any subject of talk on which they would take fire, anything which showed that they possessed hearts. Now there is one subject in which they are nearly all on fire.<sup>31</sup>

Day filled in the picture somewhat, suggesting that there was not a student in the College who was not "to some extent 'agin the Government", and that there was certainly no student who was not "Swadeshi".<sup>32</sup> A new interest in public meetings in the city was reflected in the College, and, before Andrews was back from sick leave in 1905, Ghose had read a paper to the 'St. Stephen's Club' on the subject of swadeshi.<sup>33</sup> On his return, Andrews immediately threw himself into things, initiating a series of discussions on "such burning subjects as the Unification of India" and how it was to be attained.<sup>34</sup> It would be a mistake to

over-dramatise either the general climate in the College at this stage, or Andrews' own response. With regard to the former, though the awakening sense of nationalism was to become "a dominating factor among the majority of the students" by the end of 1906,<sup>35</sup> Day insisted in late 1905 that there was "really little to be alarmed at", that there was no boycott of British goods in Delhi, unlike Bengal, the students simply wanting to encourage Indian industry, and that they were "intensely loyal, if not to the existing Government, at any rate to the crown".<sup>36</sup> Andrews' position, likewise, was still very cautious: he later recalled speaking in a College debate "in the most enthusiastic manner on England's great benefits conferred on India".<sup>37</sup> One of his students, and one who was himself to become deeply involved in the national movement over the ensuing year or two, retained an interesting recollection of him -

I learned from him - more than from any other Englishman teaching at St. Stephen's - what an educated scholarly English gentleman can be.<sup>38</sup>

That, of course, was only part of the picture, but it may serve as some sort of indication of where Andrews started from as an educational missionary.

#### 6. "The closest friend of all"

A small Bengali élite was an important element in the development of post-annexation Punjab, and within this Bengali community, a group of Christian converts was among the Indian pioneers of western education in the province. Andrews was soon able to claim that he had been "admitted into the Bengali circle" at Delhi, Simla and Lahore, and his admission was by no means limited to the tightly-knit Christian segment of the community.<sup>1</sup> It was, nevertheless, a Christian Bengali who was to be the most important single influence in his life during the missionary decade, and, indeed, a determinative influence for his entire



life and work in India.

Susil Kumar Rudra was born in 1861, the year after his father, Pyari Mohun Rudra, a member of an old-established land-owning family in Bengal, had been baptized by Alexander Duff. His mother was received into the church in the year of Susil Kumar's birth. Like many of Duff's converts, his father had an impressive subsequent career as a missionary, working for the C.M.S. in Calcutta and at various other places in Bengal.<sup>2</sup> An important influence in the younger Rudra's life as he grew up was the Oxford Brotherhood of the Epiphany at Calcutta - and a visitor to the Brotherhood, Charles Gore. "All that I have of faith", Rudra later told Andrews, "I owe to those men".<sup>3</sup> After graduating at the University of Calcutta, he joined the Bengali Christian 'diaspora' in the Punjab, being appointed in 1886, at the age of 25, to the staff of St. Stephen's College. He was soon to become "the leading personality" on the College staff, so that his progression to the Vice-Principalship in Wright's time was a natural one.<sup>4</sup> He was to remain on the staff until two years before his death in 1925.

When Andrews arrived in Delhi, he entered from the first into an exceptionally close and warm relationship with Rudra. Rudra was 10 years older than Andrews, but particularly welcomed the affectionate support he received from him in that his wife had recently died, leaving him to bring up their children alone. A student of the College at the time referred to Andrews' "attending to the education and personal comforts of Susil Rudra's children". He added to his explanation of their friendship an interesting observation, saying that Andrews "noticed that the life of....Rudra....was melancholy, and he was suffering from an inferiority complex evidently through the sinister influence of the colour bar which was rampant....To redress it,...(Andrews) began to...

show his affection for him in all possible ways. We as young students watched them walking arm-in-arm in moonlight nights...and in College and outside it,...(Andrews showed) a respect for....Rudra which an Indian had never received from a European"<sup>5</sup> Andrews' affection was clearly reciprocated, as one of Rudra's sons recalls,

Words fail me to describe what he meant to my father!....

My father and Mr Andrews were like brothers to one another.<sup>6</sup>

This was the first of a series of exceptionally close friendships which were to characterise Andrews' life in India. A later acquaintance remarked that his life was "a catalogue of friendship", each stage being marked by a new friend, "each one, as he would characteristically say, dearer than a brother"<sup>7</sup>. Rudra continued "the closest friend of all", however, until his death: this "deepest love", Andrews once wrote to him, after Munshi Ram, Rabindranath Tagore, Gandhi and others had been entered in the catalogue, "...held its ground as something quite by itself, quite different....growing deeper all the while"<sup>8</sup>. These friendships are a most interesting phenomenon, and their character indicates that we are concerned with an unusual personality.<sup>9</sup> From the point of view of Andrews' work as a missionary, one important thing to note is that out of what was clearly a series of spontaneous friendships, he developed a theory about the need of "sincere and wholehearted personal friendship within the Christian Body....with at least one fellow-Christian communicant of another race" as a "practical missionary thought" to be encouraged among younger missionaries. He subsequently extended the idea with reference to friendships with men of other faiths.<sup>10</sup> It is also important to note that the unusually exaggerated manner of his friendship seems almost invariably to have been accepted as totally sincere.<sup>11</sup>

Through their friendship, Rudra influenced Andrews from the beginning in several ways. Very important in this respect was the way

in which their friendship made India for the latter, "from the very first not a strange land, but a familiar country", and this was something that he owed to Rudra "and to no one else in all the world".<sup>12</sup> But it was a familiarity with its own unexpected disclosures. Rudra's very formal western clothes, which were a source of life-long regret to him,<sup>13</sup> concealed a passionate nationalist, of whom Gandhi could say later

Of his sympathies with the so-called extremists, if he made no parade, he never made any secret either".<sup>14</sup>

Andrews was soon learning to see through his friend's eyes, and to see that his own inherited preconceptions about the empire as an unqualified good, could not be taken for granted. Rudra was a teacher of economics, and it was in these terms that Andrews' assumptions were first challenged.

I saw India poor the first day I came to Delhi through his eyes, and he gave me a true vision.<sup>15</sup>

We get some indication of Rudra's own position at this time from two articles, "Some Stray Musings of an Indian Professor", and "Is India thirsting for Religious Truth?"<sup>16</sup> In the first of these, written during a visit to England in 1905, there is much admiration for "this wonderful little island", particularly for its ancient institutions, the public schools, the universities and the Church, "which have come down to the present through times of strife and revolution and which are still carrying out their ancient purpose of conserving and directing the intellectual and religious life of England". Rudra points out how much of this is owed to their generous endowment in the past, and then, asking whether the "English merchant who earns his wealth in India, and through India, could not endow similar institutions in "poor India", wonders whether anything of the sort is to be hoped for since the English "rule the country, but....have not adopted it". In the second article, there are references to "the present happy rule

of England", and to "the truly paternal interest of the British government", but these occur alongside others which are intensely bitter and unmistakably sarcastic, as when he expresses his admiration for the "wonderful way" in which the "British rulers have...been able to use the children of the soil to maintain their supreme position".

The masses...are content if they have scope to vegetate, and the British government gives them every opportunity to do so...(but the middle classes have had) their political consciousness....roused by the British administrators, by the large advantages given to the British as a race, not only in the Services under the Crown, but to the British manufacturer in England who is able to crush the nascent industries in their country.

The ambivalence of Rudra's position is something that students of race relations have become familiar with in recent years.<sup>17</sup> Andrews noticed it at the time, writing that "this inner struggle was continually going on in Indian Christian lives, dividing their allegiance".<sup>18</sup> Some of Rudra's remarks here were unfamiliar thoughts to find in a missionary journal, and it is not surprising that Andrews did not immediately accept wholeheartedly Rudra's interpretation of Indian poverty. We have seen him enthusing in the College on "England's great benefit conferred on India".

On another occasion when the debate was on the subject of the poverty of India, I indignantly refuted the proposition that India was getting poorer, but Mr Rudra was the truest possible friend and he would reason with me hour after hour when he felt I was mistaken.<sup>19</sup>

This was probably during the latter part of 1905, and it was to be some four or five years, as we shall see, before Rudra's reasoning led to a thorough-going revision of his assumptions about the empire.

"Far deeper still", Andrews claimed, than in the matter of nationalism, was the influence which Rudra exercised in "the transformation" of his religious faith.<sup>20</sup> What Rudra's thinking on religion amounted to was a bold, original appropriation of the expansive categories of current liberal theology, a new and distinctive development of these in the context of the Indian national awakening. We find this in typical form in the latter of the two articles to which we have just referred. After dismissing the possibility of "even the best spiritual pantheistic thought" providing, in the face of new "materialistic and secular influences", an adequate "Vision of the Unseen" for India "as she awakes from her age-long sleep,....because of its impersonal character", Rudra goes on,

The only moulding power I know is a personal one; and I believe that the Christian Church is able to place the figure of Jesus of Nazareth...in such a way before the Indian people that they will...be strengthened in themselves for the huge task of setting their own house in order.

Likewise rejecting the possibility that Hindu reforms, which were merely "a reconstruction of an eclectic creed, out of the old sacred books of the East", might be "strong enough to dominate the social life of the whole country", he testified,

there is no motive power that earth can give which can compare with the quickening vital energy that will come from the Vision of the Christ, living from the dead, the personal Saviour of men, the King of the East and of the West, the very Image of the Unseen God.

This motive power would be evident, Rudra believed, in the work of educational missions, conducted in the new situation "with far greater wisdom and patience and tact than before", and aiming to direct "the half-awakened consciousness of India to the source of all

power and strength - the Vision of the Unseen God".

In all this, Rudra is at his most typical, seeming to suggest, rather than a programme of conversion in a formal sense, a process of "christianising every department of modern life"<sup>21</sup> It would appear, however, that he had not always thought in this way. His son recalled a change in his father's outlook,

for many years he continued to be an austere and rigid High Churchman. Undoubtedly his upbringing and contact with the devout fathers of the Oxford Mission Brotherhood at Calcutta, and the members of the Cambridge Mission Brotherhood at Delhi, and his own temperament, strongly inclined him in that direction. But as he grew older, contrary to common experience, he grew broader in his views.<sup>22</sup>

Rudra, with a few other Indian Christians, shared deeply in the awakening associated with the year 1905.<sup>23</sup> This seems to have had a good deal to do with the loosening of a rigid theological position distinctively western in character. In 1906, he wrote:

A foreign religion with hard dogmas, more or less repudiated in the West by some of its ablest thinkers, is not suited to remould the life of the Indian peoples. The beauty of Christ is one thing, - that we can appreciate; the dogmas of the Church are another - those we reject.<sup>24</sup>

Andrews expressed his sense of Rudra's early influence on himself in strikingly similar terms,

My mind, which had been obsessed with narrow dogmas, was gradually widened and broadened in the sunshine of his love, and my inner nature gained a new freedom. The inner change was constructive, not destructive...I learnt from my friend to understand what Christ is to the heart of man in new and

living ways.<sup>25</sup>

In another place, he explained that this new understanding of Christ was intimately related to "the 'Indian'" in Rudra, "so singularly preserved".<sup>26</sup> But that was a later assessment, and it would be a distortion of the perspective of Andrews' developing thought to go much beyond his remark that "This transformation of my Christian faith into a more living reality was the greatest gift which Susil Rudra's friendship brought into my character and nature".<sup>27</sup>

At the same time, it would seem unlikely that the vigorous development of Andrews' ideas during these years should have had no effect on the thinking of his closest friend, and there are several minor indications at least of indebtedness.<sup>28</sup> Perhaps a more important influence, however, was that whereby Andrews may have encouraged Rudra to write at all. There appears to be no direct evidence for this, but it is interesting that he appears to have published nothing before 1905 and very little after 1914; in other words, what he did publish of note, some half-a-dozen articles, were all written during the decade in which he and Andrews were together at St. Stephen's College.<sup>29</sup>

His article "Is India Thirsting for Religious Truth" indicates that he was thinking at this time about the missionary role of the Christian colleges: he saw the development of the staff into a deep religious fellowship, in which, so far as the missionary members were concerned, their "natural political, pro-English bias...(would) have little or no place", as the only really effective instrument of mission among the educated classes, turning their attention "to deeper things than they yet know - to the beauty and fascination of Christian devotion, to Christ Himself, the source of that beauty and devotion". That this, over and above Rudra's role as Andrews' "counsellor and

adviser"<sup>30</sup> was one of the most significant effects of the friendship between them, was affirmed in various quarters. Rudra's own son, recalling "this great example of mutual respect and devotion of two men of different races", said that one result was that "a unique sense of oneness...prevailed through the College", and also that through it "wider contacts were made and rich experience secured for the College in the stream of the national life of the country"<sup>31</sup>. A later missionary member of the College went so far as to call Andrews' building-up of a tradition of close personal association between the different communities and races "one of the greatest contributions of St. Stephen's to the national life"<sup>32</sup>.

Like his subsequent friendships, this with Susil Rudra had a rich and fascinating significance for his developing understanding of his task as a missionary.

#### 7. "The vividness of a first impression"

Rudra and Andrews started writing at about the same time, and for the same journals, although this was the beginning of something much bigger for the latter than the former.

Towards the end of his first cold weather in India, as we have seen Andrews had mooted the possibility of making literary work the main thrust of his work as a missionary, seeing it as a way of serving the Indian church and also of reaching the non-Christians among the educated classes. At this point, however, ill-health and the consequent visit to England intervened upon his plan, and he found himself writing his first three articles for an English audience. For the Delhi Mission News he wrote, in three instalments, a piece entitled "Indian Character : An Appreciation", for the SPG journal The East and the West, "The Effect of the Japanese Victories upon



India", and for The Church Missionary Intelligencer, as "a very tiny fragment of a big debt of gratitude" to the CMS missionaries in the Punjab, to whom he claimed, with a rather exaggerated flourish, to owe so much, a short but vivid piece on "The Religious Unrest of North ern India"<sup>1</sup>.

Andrews had been just over one year in India when he wrote these, all on expansive themes. It is clear that he was conscious that the charge of inexperience could be laid at his door, for he opens the first article with the remark that he has "waited more than a year", testing his initially sanguine impression of Indian life before writing, and he mentions later that he is "speaking on the basis of only a short acquaintance". Similarly, in the article on the Japanese victories, he draws attention to the fact that he has not attempted to draw conclusions, because "that could only be done by far older and more experienced hands". Nevertheless, he adds for the Delhi Mission supporters, his article "may have the vividness of a 'first impression'".

It is wholly typical of Andrews' work that his first article should be an attempt to defend people under attack. Indeed, the very act of writing something entitled "Indian Character : An Appreciation" was an act of sympathy in itself, for the indiscriminate denigration of the moral character of the Indian people, especially of the educated classes, was a widespread tendency among the British in India, both civilians and missionaries.<sup>2</sup> This tendency had recently been reinforced in two significant cases. In the first instance, Andrews' own bishop, G.A.Lefroy of Lahore, had reprinted the long and unrelievedly sombre account of Indian character which he had first published as an

occasional paper sixteen years previously, deploring once again the "intensely low moral tone, which....now broods over the whole country", Muslim as well as Hindu.<sup>3</sup> Lefroy highlighted in particular "the want of trust, whether of trustfulness or trustworthiness". He conceded that this was set "amongst much that is good and worthy of our own imitation in Indian character", but his paper concentrated solely on the dark side. The other case was a much more notorious one, though perhaps not more deservedly so than Lefroy's jeremiad. On 11 February 1905, Lord Curzon had spoken at the Convocation of Calcutta University, and in the course of a much more even-handed discussion than Lefroy's, on "certain ideals...peculiarly applicable to...the Indian character", had suggested that truthfulness was less highly prized as a virtue in Asia than in Europe.<sup>4</sup> Curzon's speech caused a furore in the Indian press, which Andrews could not have missed, although his own article gives the impression of being much more clearly directed at the sort of points raised by Lefroy.<sup>5</sup> Whatever in fact sparked off his paper, it will be seen that to write an appreciation of Indian character was to fly in the face of received opinion, and this Andrews was deliberately doing, raising a question, as he said, about "the ordinary Anglo-Indian's generalizations on Indian failings". His chief point in vindication of Indian character is that in the "natural and non-western" institutions of Indian society, the family and the caste, there is to be observed a "marked....mutual trust", and "fidelity", and that it is precisely in the political and economic relationships created by the imperial situation, "relations with English rulers and merchants", that these virtues are less evident.<sup>6</sup> While not condoning the latter state of affairs, he suggests that two factors help to explain it. First, that with "new and foreign methods of business and government,...the old social conditions...(are) breaking up,...(and) moral confusion...(is) inevitable". Second, that corruption can be understood as a lesson that the Hindu has learned

through centuries of oppression, and is one of "the weapons of the oppressed". These are ways of looking at the question which do not seem to occur elsewhere in the missionary or secular literature of the period, and certainly not in either Curzon's or Lefroy's criticisms. He meets other western criticisms of Indian character, in this article, with a similar exercise of imaginative sympathy.<sup>7</sup>

It is almost equally typical of Andrews' work that another of these first articles should deal with the importance for missionary policy of current events in secular history. In "The Effect of the Japanese Victories upon India", written a matter of a few months after the final victory, he looks at this effect, "with Western prestige weakened,...Eastern conservatism strengthened,...the plant of patriotism...very young and tender, but...growing rapidly", specifically in terms of its implications for mission. Indeed, one of the features of the article, and one that is to characterize his writing over the next few years, is a plea for what he came to call "missionary statesmanship",

Political thinkers in all the Chancelleries of Europe have already begun to ask, 'What does this mean to our political interests?'...We need....Christian thinkers who will carefully consider, 'What does this new factor mean to missionary enterprise? How may the new movement in the East be rightly used to extend the Kingdom of Christ?'<sup>8</sup>

It seems that even from this very early stage, he saw himself as providing some of the required statesmanship, for he has the beginnings of an answer to hand.

Because, he argues, the strange combination of "the Christian missionary and imperialism" is a contradiction to the Asian, "we need to revise our work", and this calls for a new alignment, no longer with

"Imperialism", but with "the new aspirations which are coming to the birth".

This was a strikingly sympathetic approach; it can perhaps best be explained as a result of his already developed interest in social questions,<sup>9</sup> and his close and affectionate relationship with men like Rudra and Ghose. Although he would soon be influencing others to take a similar point of view, it was one, nevertheless, which already separated him from more conventional church circles, which complacently held "the task of the twentieth century" to be the approximation of "missionary sentiment" with "imperial sentiment".<sup>10</sup> Andrews was, in fact, told by those of longer experience that he was laying too much stress upon the growth of nationalism, "and that any such plant could never take root in India and the East". Two years later, he felt able to claim that events had proved that he had laid, not too much, but too little stress upon it.<sup>11</sup>

The only other feature of this article to draw attention to at this point is the "practical" proposal with which it concludes, for a "Mission of Brotherhood and Help to the Church of India", to be carried out by members of the Church of England. Andrews' proposal was for "a purely spiritual mission of the best clergy and laity" to the English and Indian congregations, and "to those great multitudes who are still seeking the true faith". The proposal is in some respects inconsistent. For example, this mission from the west is partly intended as a sympathetic response to the Indian Church's "becoming restless and impatient with the sense of being fettered to the West". This inconsistency is perhaps a small indication of contradictions that were, in fact, to persist in Andrews' thinking. This apart, the point to underline here is that, faced with a challenging new situation for missionary work, he is quick to move towards a practical response.

For Andrews, the Indian national movement was never merely a political phenomenon. In explaining "the awakening of the East", of which the Japanese victories were a symbol, he suggested that a most significant feature of the new national pride was that it was for many people "not of territory or dominion, but of the intellectual and spiritual supremacy of their past", with the watchword, "Back to the Vedas". In this respect, he makes, in his article on the Japanese victories and their effect, an important distinction between the nationalist ideas of what he calls "Hindu conservatism", and a "higher patriotism,...a love of country rising above the narrower love of caste and sect...one of the noblest characteristics of the more highly educated"<sup>12</sup>. The former, nevertheless, he was convinced, had to be taken seriously, both because it had a wide appeal and because it would serve to "awaken the masses from their sleep of centuries". In his third article, on "The Religious Unrest of Northern India", he looks at the Arya Samaj as one of the principal expressions of this conservative religious factor. He does so by describing an encounter on a railway journey with a member of the Samaj, and he bases much of his analysis on a pamphlet by the president of the Arya Samaj in Lahore, given him by his fellow-passenger. It is a vivid and interesting exposition. Andrews regards the Arya Samaj as inadequate to the new circumstances, because of its members' uncritical reliance on the Vedas. These "belong to the very infancy of human thought and cannot possibly be practised literally by any educated man today", while the current practice of allegorizing the Hindu scriptures, reminiscent of the neo-Platonic Schools of Alexandria,<sup>13</sup> is "a pathetic attempt to 'pour new wine into old bottles'". At the same time, Andrews is sympathetic to many of the people involved in this movement, to many of its leaders who are "active and earnest, not dead and indifferent", and to others like the 200 women members meeting every week in Lahore "for prayer to the One God". This leads to his final point, his observation - and he

quotes extensively from the pamphlet to substantiate this - that the Samaj had not only been very deeply influenced by Christianity, but also that in some respects it induced "the highest anticipations that it would lead on to Christianity".

Throughout these earliest articles, in fact, we find a measure of sympathy and respect for the non-Christian religions, for both Hinduism and Islam, but also, beside this, an unequivocal commitment to Christianity as "the one universal religion",<sup>14</sup> and, linking the two positions, a vaguely adumbrated notion of fulfilment, "the Christian hope...to retain and conserve these wonderful forces", giving them a "deeper, truer and more spiritual religious expression".<sup>15</sup> It was a fulfilment which Andrews hoped would find embodiment in a Christian life in community, for example in the Christian villages in the new canal colonies of the Punjab.

Such Christian communities will escape many of the evils of Western civilisation with its rush and hurry and materialism. They will be living examples, peculiarly Eastern, of some sides of the Gospel which are not seen markedly on a large scale in the West. "Having food and raiment, to be therewith content". 'Be not anxious for tomorrow; consider the lilies of the field, how they grow...' Such words as these will gather fresh emphasis if seen in the lives of Indian village Christians.<sup>16</sup>

Both the idea of a Church peculiarly eastern and the associated references to the 'Sermon on the Mount' are the beginnings of an important theme in Andrews' thought.

There is a great deal more in these early articles that is revealing of Andrews' early impressions, but enough has perhaps been touched on to illustrate the wide-ranging and fresh vision which was to be the basis of his attitudes, and the ground of their development.

They were, however, written for a readership in England. This was to be an important part of his constituency as he sought to improve understanding of India among both mission-supporters and the British public at large, but he has yet to find a way into his mission to India's educated classes through literary work.

NOTES : Chapter 2.1. Introductory

- 1 Ind Int Oct 1909.
- 2 S.K.Rudra "Is India Thirsting for Religious Truth" TEW Jan 1906.
- 3 S.K.Rudra "Christ and Modern India" SM Jan 1910.
- 4 TEW Oct 1905

2. Orthodox and ardent

- 1 The Good Shepherd (1940) p.162. The first record of his wearing Indian clothes, which he only did occasionally, was at a gathering in Bengal on 23 Nov 1913 (Tribune 29 Nov 1913).
- 2 St. Clair Donaldson "Varieties of Method of Missionary Work in India" TEW Jan 1904
- 3 DMN Jul 1904. Or about 165 including catechists, teachers, readers, bible women, nurses.
- 4 Allnutt to Montgomery 30 Oct 1908 (S.P.G. Lahore Letters).
- 5 Biog p.103. Curzon's Universities Act required the principal and some teachers to live in or near the college premises.
- 6 "The Brotherhood could never have been called reactionary, and Andrews contribution was specially that of a man who must press and where possible act vigorously upon opinions which others might be content to hold quietly" F.J.Western : Memorandum on the Cambridge Mission 5 Feb 1921 (typed) (C.M.D. Papers on Early Mission History).
- 7 Brotherhood Minutes 9 Jul 1914 (Cambridge Brotherhood, Delhi).
- 8 Oremus. An Office Book for the use of Missionary Communities in India ('Cawnpore' 1911).
- 9 W.S.Kelley in CC 1905. cf. "languages did not come easily to him" Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, The Stephanian Annual Edition 1964. "his Bengali was extremely weak" letter to author from M.Lago 19 Aug 1974. It would be easy to overestimate the seriousness of this weakness. Among the educated classes, the English language was pre-eminent in importance (see Intro).
- 10 CC 1905
- 11 Barrier and Wallace The Punjab Press (1970) p.104.
- 12 CC 1905. Biog p.80 adds "I kept in touch with him for many years afterwards".
- 13 YMOI Oct 1925.



- 14 NI p.173. For a picture of English social life in Simla, see Kipling's Plain Tales from the Hills originally published in C&MG Nov 1886-Jun 1887 - though both Andrews and a contemporary observer (E.J.Buck Simla Past and Present (1904) p.68) considered that things had improved since Kipling had written, not least as a result of the influence of Curzon's stern attitude to duty.
- 15 Biog p.80.
- 16 NI p.174.
- 17 Letter to author from PNF Young 1 Jun 1974.
- 18 CC 1905: ME Hayes At Work (1909) p.32.
- 19 Lefroy to Montgomery 13 Dec 1905 (S.P.G. Lahore Letters); see also Andrews "Report of a Visit to Rawalpindi" 13 Dec 1905 (S.P.G. Lahore Letters).
- 20 "Report" as in n.19. He later found the word 'heathen' when applied to India "positively repellent" Ind Int Oct 1909, although he continued to be willing to use it of "the gross animistic cults of large masses of the lower Hindu population" RI p.178.
- 21 Andrews' Report 29 Sept 1906 (S.P.G. Missionary Reports. Originals 1907).
- 22 CMI Oct 1905.
- 23 Stanton to Allnutt 19 Sept 1905: also for this para Allnutt to Stanton 4 Apr 1905, Andrews to Stanton 6 Apr 1905 (C.M.D. Letters 1891-1918).
- 24 CC 1906.
- 25 Biog p.100.
- 26 TEW Oct 1905; IR Mar 1909.
- 27 SM Dec 1906; CMR Jan 1907.
- 28 G.T.Manley "Oriental Students in England" SM Dec 1904.
- 29 See the description of the establishing of such a hostel in London after the first world war, on the initiative of E.C.Carter (Y.M.C.A.), whom Andrews had known in India, and F.A.Cockin (S.C.M.) who was on the staff of St. Stephen's College for some time. Tissington Tatlow, The Story of the Student Christian Movement in Great Britain and Ireland (1933) p.561
- 30 S.K.Rudra CC 1907.
- 31 Biog p.69.

3. "Things as they were"

- 1 cf M.Edwardes The High Noon of Empire: India under Curzon (1965)
- 2 Biog p.51.
- 3 Jnan Chandra Bannerjie "The Future of Christianity in India" HR Sept 1904.
- 4 TEW Oct 1912.
- 5 Tribune 18 Jan 1907, 30 Jul 1907.
- 6 St. John Brodrick to Ampthill 8 Dec 1904 (N.A.I. microfilm. Ampthill Collection)
- 7 Pioneer 1 Jun 1904. P Mason's observation is illuminating: "The British in India fell into two quite distinct groups, those who belonged to the club and were invited to Government House, and the rest". Patterns of Dominance (1970) p.96.
- 8 G.Yazdani (S.S.C. Monk's file)
- 9 "Last Month" HR Jan 1905.
- 10 A contemporary account of the expedition by one with whom Andrews was subsequently to clash, conveys something of the spirit of the enterprise : "In estimating the practical results of the Tibet Expedition, we should not attach too much importance to the exact terms of the treaty. What was really necessary was to make the Tibetans understand that they could not afford to trifle with us" Edmund Candler The Unveiling of Lhasa (1905) p.299. Indian observers regarded the whole interlude less sympathetically, claiming that there was "no parallel, even in the bloody history of modern Western expansion, to the tragedy in Thibet" Tribune 5 Apr 1904.
- 11 Andrews The Challenge of the North-West Frontier (1937) p.44.
- 12 Andrews "Lala Lajpat Rai, A Memory of Friendship" (typed) (Chaturvedi Articles, N.A.I.)
- 13 G.A.Lefroy "Our Indian Empire" in (ed) J.Ellison and G.H.S.Walpole op.cit., p.81.
- 14 NI p.167
- 15 Andrews "Lala Lajpat Rai...." (as in n.12 above)
- 16 See, for example, G.O'Dwyer India as I knew it. 1885-1925 (1925) p.110, O'Dwyer had "the pleasure of taking part - unofficially - in a typical frontier scrap" in 1902.
- 17 ibid. p.170
- 18 quoted in N.G.Barrier "The Punjab Disturbances of 1907; the response of the British Government in India to Agrarian Unrest" Modern Asian Studies 1,4 (1967) p.377
- 19 e.g. Prakash Tandon Panjabi Century 1857-1947 (1963) pp.12,14 120; M.Darling Apprentice to Power. India 1904-8 (1966) p.18.

- 20 NI p.184.
- 21 G.A.Lefroy "The Moral Tone of India" TEW Apr 1903.
- 22 SSC Mag Nov 1908.
- 23 NI p.160.
- 24 Biog p.80.
- 25 M.Darling op.cit. p.15.
- 26 Andrews India and Britain: A Moral Challenge (1935) p.72.
- 27 NI pp.167-8.
- 28 CT 16 Dec 1910.
- 29 Andrews India and the Simon Report (1930) p.115.
- 30 V.G.Kiernan The Lords of Human Kind: European attitudes to the outside world in the imperial age (ed. 1972) p.xxxiii.
- 31 Tagore later remarked on Andrews' gift for noticing the telling detail, "Your letters are delightful, because you have your interest in details that are generally overlooked" Tagore to Andrews 2 Feb 1921, quoted in P.C.Roy Chaudhury C.F.Andrews: His Life and Times (1971) p.17.

#### 4. "A dawn of hope"

- 1 Andrews What I Owe to Christ (1932) p.214.
- 2 On the completion of the hegemony of India up to the river Sutlej in 1818, "The British were exhilarated by the magnitude of their achievement, which they thought could compare with that of Rome" T.G.P.Spear A History of India (1965) p.120 cf. "The English official can hardly help being haunted by the great memories of Rome, by what he was taught perhaps long ago at school, of that vast imperial system, based indeed upon force, and yet a force which educated and shaped the rude nations of Europe for great destinies" E.Bevan Indian Nationalism: An Independent Estimate (1913) p.13.
- 3 O'Dwyer op.cit., pp.56-7; Tribune 28 Nov 1906.
- 4 TEW Oct 1905; HR Jan 1907; NI p.191; IR Mar 1909.  
A student of St. Stephen's College, recalling various insults and acts of violence by British officials against students of the college in the 1890's, remarked "In those days 'natives' were treated like sheep...aggressive methods of Europeans were taken...meekly", while a teacher recalled of 1902-3 that "the city trembled in its shoes at the sight of a man in a European hat....There was no discontent of any sort or kind. Political thought was non-existent in the College....Everybody spoke of us students and the Indian staff in the College as 'Natives', and we gladly called ourselves 'Natives'!" (S.S.C. Monk's file: notes by S.K.Gurtu and S.A.C.Ghose).

- 5 T.G.P.Spear op.cit. p.174.
- 6 Andrews What I Owe to Christ (1932) p.214.
- 7 R.C.Majumdar etc. An Advanced History of India (1946) p.955;  
cf. T.G.P.Spear India: A Modern History (1961) p.320 "The  
year 1905 marks an era in the history of modern India".
- 8 Hardinge to Morley 11 May 1911 (I.O.R.Morley).
- 9 TEW Oct 1905.
- 10 MR Oct 1932.
- 11 RI p.5.
- 12 ibid. p.42.
- 13 G.Hibbert-Ware CC 1906. Andrews made Hibbert-Ware's second  
explanation central to his interpretation later: "it has been  
my conviction that the revolution through which India is  
passing is not ultimately political. Far down below the  
turmoil on the surface lies the age-long problem of the  
suffering of the poor" The Oppression of the Poor (1922)  
quoted in P.C.Roy Chaudhury op.cit. p.11.
- 14 N.G.Barrier op.cit. p.364.
- 15 DMN Oct 1905; Barrier op.cit. p.363.
- 16 Hindu Patriot quoted in Tribune 1 Mar 1904.
- 17 quoted by Andrews in TEW Oct 1905.
- 18 HR Sept 1904.
- 19 MR Nov 1909.
- 20 HR Jan 1907; RI p.5.
- 21 TEW Oct 1907. cf. Tribune 16 Feb 1909.
- 22 If "the striking boldness of thought which is singularly his"  
received some acknowledgement ('A Correspondent' CT 5 Dec 1913),  
it is important to recognise the intellectual toughness with  
which it was underpinned: he wrote in 1912 that "all  
generalisations must be tentative and halting so long as the  
analysis of concrete situations remains unaccomplished"  
TEW Oct 1914.
- 23 Andrews What I Owe to Christ (1932) p.214.
- 24 HR Sept 1904.
- 25 TEW Oct 1905.
- 26 RI p.4.

5. "An educated, scholarly English gentleman"

- 1 J.R.MacDonald The Awakening of India (1910): Tribune 7 Apr 1914.
- 2 S.K.Rudra CC 1915.
- 3 Stephanian Jun 1939.
- 4 Andrews (pamphlet) "India and the Empire" (1921).
- 5 e.g. NI pp.193-4; RI pp.45-6; "The Claim for Independence" (pamphlet)(1921) p.49; India and the Simon Report (1930) pp.95-6; India and Britain (1935) p.115.
- 6 Speeches and Writings of Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1967) 111 p.193.
- 7 Bombay Chronicle 14 Feb 1921 (Chaturvedi, Press Clippings, N.A.I.)
- 8 Guardian 16 Dec 1908.
- 9 Numbers nearly trebled between 1904 and 1914 (F.F.Monk A History of St. Stephen's College (1935) pp.251-2; by 1912 the College was practically leading the Punjab University colleges in examination performance (DMN Oct 1913); by 1912 it could be said that "The position which St. Stephen's has won for itself is a very proud one, and this is being gradually recognised more and more clearly by Government and by outside observers of all kinds" Lefroy to Montgomery 19 Sept 1912 (C.M.D. Building).
- 10 Hibbert-Ware to Stanton 20 Oct 1904 (C.M.D. College History).
- 11 Andrews to Stanton 6 Apr 1905 (C.M.D. Letters 1891-1918). A gentle and unassuming man, of deep sensitivity and sympathy, Hibbert-Ware broke new ground by making systematic visits to the students in their homes (F.F.Monk op.cit. p.95). His C.M.D. Occasional Paper (No.31) , "The Place of Education in Missionary Work" (1904), was described as "the best defence of educational work as an integral part of missionary work in India which we have ever seen" (Editorial comment, TEW Jan 1905).
- 12 Although an enthusiast for the work of Westcott, Lightfoot and Gore, Day's chief contribution as a young man at St. Stephen's College seems to have been in defying the prevailing convention of racial aloofness, a practice which led Hibbert-Ware, with characteristic self-effacement, to describe him as "the first of a new type", and his students, thoroughly assimilated to current English attitudes of a certain sort, to interpret his initials as standing for "Jolly Good-Fellow Day". R.R.Hartford Godfrey Day: Missionary, Pastor and Primate. A Memoir (1940) pp.55,74,92.
- 13 letter to author from H.Tinker 30 Jan 1975.
- 14 ibid. Ghose was a man of great gifts: Andrews called him "The ablest and most thoughtful Christian who has come under the S.P.G. for many years" Andrews to Montgomery 5 Nov 1909 (S.P.G. Lahore Letters Received). His career was marked by a series of crises as he struggled to reconcile his church

membership with his nationalist sympathies; throughout Andrews' time at Delhi, and beyond, he was very close to Ghose, learning from his crises and helping him through them, and encouraging him to articulate the grounds of his reservations about missions in India. Allnutt to Stanton 16 Mar 1906 (C.M.D. Letters 1891-1918); Andrews' report 29 Sept 1906 (S.P.G. Missionary Reports. Originals 1907).

- 15 Letter to author from P.N.F.Young 1 Jul 1974.
- 16 Dayal was a Punjab delegate to the Indian National Congress of 1906 Report of the 22nd Indian National Congress held at Calcutta on the 26th to 29th of December 1906 (1907) p.91; he was host at a reception for Keir Hardie, and in charge of a large reception for Lajpat Rai Tribune 13 Oct 1907, 26 Jan 1908; he and Ghose were members of a deputation to the District Commissioner (D.C.Humphreys) regarding municipal taxes Tribune 28 Jan 1908; in 1909 he organised a major swadeshi event, the 'Delhi Arts and Industrial Exhibition', which was opened by Lajpat Rai Tribune 9 May 1909; he owned the Imperial Native Press, Delhi in 1901 - N.G.Barrier and P.Wallace The Punjab Press 1880-1905 (1970) p.42.
- 17 Hibbert-Ware to Stanton 20 Oct 1904 (C.M.D. College History). Andrews later described an extreme example of this latter category of students, whom he met soon after his arrival and who said to him, "The place is a beastly hole. I wish I were going home!" Andrews adds "By 'home' he meant England. This very able young Indian had so become inured to English dress... that he was wearing...lavender-coloured gloves and a high starched collar in the hot climate of Delhi in April. Denationalisation could not have gone further" (pamphlet) "India and the Empire" (1921).
- 18 DMN Jan 1906. As an indication of what he meant by progressive, Andrews explained, "they travel outside India and even eat with Europeans"- though, in fact, his very earliest reminiscence of the Hindu students was of the contrast between a superficial modernity and a deep-rooted conservatism, "On the first day of my arrival in Delhi, I took up, in my ignorance, a vessel on the cricket field which was used for water. I saw the Hindus glancing at one another and...I found that the vessel I had touched could never be used again by the students. Though they read Mill on Liberty...they could not touch the drinking vessel which had been touched by me, without defilement. I, who was their moral and intellectual teacher, was a defiling person" RI p.182.
- 19 R.R.Hartford op.cit. p.72.
- 20 Directory of Graduates of the University of the Punjab Up to and including the year 1914 (1919) The Directory lists 102 graduates from St. Stephen's College for the years 1905-14, and records the careers of 79 of them; 25 went into education, 23 into the legal profession, and 21 into government service. For a picture of "a very industrious, able and conscientious professional class" in the Punjab, see Prakash Tandon op.cit.
- 21 Andrews (pamphlet) "National Education" (1921).
- 22 C.B.Young in Stephanian Jun 1940.

- 23 Andrews CC 1905.
- 24 NI p.169; SM Mar 1909.
- 25 R.R.Hartford op.cit. p.51.
- 26 Royal Commission on Public Services in India (1915) Vol XX Appendix to the Report of the Commissioner p.49; Andrews to Tatlow 9 Feb 1908 (S.C.M. Archives).
- 27 Andrews CC 1905.
- 28 SSC MAG Jul 1907.
- 29 Tribune 21 Apr 1910. Even in Andrews last full year at St. Stephen's, when extra-mural concerns were an increasing preoccupation, there were 500-600 B.A. History and M.A. English papers to mark. Andrews to Munshi Ram 3 Jun 1913, 12 Jun 1913 (Chaturvedi, Corr., N.A.I.).
- 30 St.Stephen's College Staff Meeting Minutes 1 Nov 1904 (S.S.C.).
- 31 G.Hibbert-Ware CC 1906.
- 32 J.G.F.Day ibid.
- 33 DMN Jan 1906.
- 34 J.G.F.Day CC 1906.
- 35 Andrews CC 1907.
- 36 J.G.F.Day CC 1906.
- 37 Biog p.81
- 38 letter to author from Gobind Behari Lal 9 Dec 1974; cf. "Andrews is a gentleman" Dunlop Smith (P.A. to Viceroy) to Godley 30 Jan 1908 (N.A.I. microfilm. Minto Papers).

6. "The closest friend of all"

- 1 Andrews to Dunlop Smith 1 Mar 1908, quoted in M.Gilbert Servant of India (1966) p.131. Andrews' non-Christian Bengali friends included Justice P.C.Chatterji, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Punjab (MR Nov 1908), and A.C.Majumdar and other members of the Punjab Brahma Samaj (Tribune 14 Feb 1909, 4 Jun 1911). For an account of this élite group, see K.W.Jones (thesis) The Arya Samaj in the Punjab (1966) pp.30-1.
- 2 For a full account of P.M.Rudra's life, see Rajaiah D.Paul They Kept the Faith (1968) pp.49-84.
- 3 YMOI Dec 1925; NI pp.87-8.
- 4 Andrews wrote "I have heard this from Mr Wright himself and Hibbert-Ware and Basil Westcott" SSC Mag Easter 1923.

- 5 G.Yazdani Stephanian Jun 1940.
- 6 Notes of Sudhir Rudra on his father 13 Feb 1932 (S.S.C. Monk's File); when Andrews was away from Delhi for some time in 1913, Rudra wrote to him nearly every day - Andrews to Munshi Ram 17 May 1913 (Chaturvedi, Corr., N.A.I.). "They were twins. Their relationship was a study in ideal friendship" M.K.Gandhi in Young India 9 Jul 1925, Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi (1969) XXVII p.351.
- 7 T.G.P.Spear Stephanian Jun 1940.
- 8 MR Mar 1924; Andrews to S.K.Rudra 1915 (Berkeley, Roadarmel).
- 9 Andrews' intense friendships, invariably with men, are an interesting phenomenon. He admitted in a letter to Rudra that he had to share everything with him in his letters, and could not bear his distresses alone because he was "too much of a 'woman' by nature for that" Andrews to Rudra 4 May 1915 (Berkeley, Roadarmel). These friendships recall the university world of Lytton Strachey - which was, of course, Andrews' world too - Cambridge around the turn of the century. "These often lifelong companionships...were, as Desmond McCarthy once observed, more like loves" (M.Holroyd Lytton Strachey: A Critical Biography (1967) 1 p.102). Hugh Tinker asks, "Can one enter into all his relationships...fully and freely without seeming to do a Lytton Strachey, looking for brandy bottles, perhaps non-existent? I think one can" (letter to author 6 Sept 1974). That these relationships were sometimes 'spiritualised' can be seen in the case of Forbes Robinson; the secret of his "power of attraction...was intercessory prayer" (SM Oct 1906). Andrews used Robinson's published letters as the basis for his plea to younger missionaries to cultivate close friendships with Indians (Forbes Robinson Letters to His Friends (1904) - see text).
- 10 SM Oct 1906, Apr 1907, Apr 1908.
- 11 "The word 'love' was ever on his lips and it never seemed forced or overstrained when uttered by him...his personality cannot be summed up better than in the words of Christ, when he saw Nathaniel approaching in the distance: Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile!" T.G.P.Spear Stephanian Jun 1940. Cf. Tagore's response to what he regarded as Andrews' excessive demonstrativeness: "He is so sincere that I cannot take him to task for it" quoted in letter to author from Mrs N.K.Mahalanobis n.d.).
- 12 SSC Mag Easter 1923; "The one dearest friend of all, who taught me most truly to understand and love the heart of India" Christ in the Silence (1933) p.202.
- 13 Andrews Sadhu Sundar Singh: A Personal Memoir (1934) p.130, "as a symbol, it represented a cleavage between two incompatible ways of life".
- 14 M.K.Gandhi op.cit. p.350.
- 15 SSC Mag Easter 1923.



- 16 DMN Oct 1905, TEW Jan 1906.
- 17 e.g. P.Mason op.cit., p.40 on "the ambivalence of the betrayed intellectual".
- 18 Andrews Sadhu Sundar Singh: A Personal Memoir (1934) p.130.
- 19 Biog p.81.
- 20 SSC Mag Easter 1923.
- 21 The phrase comes from Rudra's slightly earlier article, DMN Oct 1905, where he is referring to the impact of the church in England.
- 22 Notes of Sudhir Rudra on his father 13 Feb 1932 (S.S.C. Monk's File).
- 23 M.M.Thomas also adds S.K.Datta, K.T.Paul, the Kumarappas and V.S.Azariah as "responding positively to the national renaissance....for avowedly Christian reasons" The Acknowledged Christ of the Indian Renaissance (1970) p.247.
- 24 Rudra TEW Jan 1906.
- 25 SSC Mag Easter 1923. M.M.Thomas op.cit. p.274 "Andrews in his early writings shows almost the same pattern of thought as that of S.K.Rudra, and quotes a great deal from him".
- 26 MR Mar 1924.
- 27 SSC Mag Easter 1923.
- 28 e.g. Rudra quotes from Seeley's "great book" The Expansion of England in SM Jan 1910, a book to which Andrews frequently refers (IR Jun 1908, CT 25 Nov 1910, IR Dec 1910); Rudra uses the Pauline metaphor of the body to express the notion of national unity (YMOI Dec 1910), cf. Andrews TEW Jul 1910, Tribune 23 Aug 1910.
- 29 The only direct evidence is with regard to Rudra's most eloquent paper of all, "Christ and Modern India" : Rudra delivered this as an address at the Lahore Diocesan Conference in Nov 1909, and Andrews subsequently asked the editor of SM to publish it, which he did in Jan 1910 (see Editorial in that issue). For Rudra's writings, see bibliography, After 1914, the present writer has only come across 2 items by Rudra, an obituary and a book review, YMOI Jan 1915, Jul 1915.
- 30 Andrews to Talbot 1914-15 (Berkeley. Roadarmel)
- 31 Notes of Sudhir Rudra 13 Feb 1932 (S.S.C. Monk's File).
- 32 C.B.Young Stephanian Jun 1940.

7. "The vividness of a first impression"

- 1 DMN Jul 1905, Oct 1905, Jan 1906; TEW Oct 1905; CMI Oct 1905.

- 2 "Men do not allocate a secondary and subordinate place to other men without developing a contempt for them" A.P.Thornton Doctrines of Imperialism (1965) p.158, quoted in A.Tripathi The Extremist Challenge: India between 1890 and 1910 (1967). Tripathi probably overstates the case when he says that the "defamation of national character...let loose in Ireland and India" was "systematic" (p.89), but there is plenty of evidence for it. Max Muller says that the Indian Civil Service was commonly looked upon "as a kind of moral exile" India: What can it Teach us? (1883) p.34. The Secretary of S.P.G. stated that "the Hindu is inherently untruthful and lacks moral courage" (H.H.Montgomery Foreign Missions (1902) p.35). For a balanced survey, which takes into account "the legacy of all that was amiss in an old, degenerate society", see V.G.Kiernan op.cit. pp.33-72.
- 3 "The Moral Tone of India" TEW Apr 1903. Originally a sermon preached at Westminster Abbey in 1886; published as "Missionary Work in India" C.M.D. Occasional Paper No.12 (1887).
- 4 (ed.) T.Raleigh Lord Curzon in India (1906) pp.489-499.
- 5 Lefroy's largest group of examples concerns Indians acting dishonestly in courts of law, a subject which Andrews takes up. Andrews also deals with the question of trustfulness and trustworthiness (he uses the terms 'trust' and 'trustworthiness'), claiming that these are much in evidence in "one or two of the leading castes in Delhi".
- 6 cf. the observation of a Lt-Governor of the Punjab: "When an Indian rustic comes into the atmosphere of a court, he has his mind made up to swear to anything that he thinks will suit his purpose...Put the same man in the same cause...under the village tree among his own people, and he will hesitate to lie even in a good cause" O'Dwyer op.cit. p.53.
- 7 e.g. the recurring criticism of "the refusal to wed thought to action", which he attributes to the strongly conservative effects of caste.
- 8 cf. "How can we meet the new situation as statesmen of the Church of Christ?" NMI Nov 1910.
- 9 n.b. his later remark "It has been those who are most interested in the Labour Movement...who have most appreciated India and have most.....sympathy" MR Aug 1912.
- 10 J.Ellison "The Church and National Life" in J.Ellison and G.H.S.Walpole op.cit. p.57.
- 11 TEW Oct 1907.
- 12 TEW Oct 1905. Andrews saw the "higher patriotism" exemplified in Rudra, "an Indian first and last...He has been free from any slightest taint of communal narrowness or credal bigotry" SSC Mag Easter 1923.
- 13 The analogy of Hindu philosophy with Neo-Platonism was not uncommon, e.g. A.H.Ewing "Christianity in India and in the Roman Empire - An Analogy", MCCM Nov 1904.

14 TEW Oct 1905.

15 DMN Jan 1906.

16 DMN Oct 1905. For an account of one such community, see K.M.Bose The Village of Hope (1912). The "evils of western civilisation" were a commonplace in some quarters in India, e.g. "Western civilisation might be summed up in one or two words - pleasure and self-indulgence. The feverish haste for acquiring wealth..." Panjabee 21 Mar 1906 (P.N.N.R. XLX).

CHAPTER 3. BREAKTHROUGH TO MISSION : 1906-7

1. Introductory

Andrews had noted remarkably quickly the new energy which was accruing to the national movement around 1905, and how the movement was becoming a question of over-riding concern throughout the educated classes for the first time. His emerging theology of mission told him that, because this was pre-eminently the issue in which people were investing emotion and thought, it was an important area of mission, and one in which new formulations of Christian faith would be required. Because, however, it was an area not in the geographical but in the sociological sense, and a new area at that, appropriate new methods of mission needed to be developed for it. The next year or more saw him developing these with equally remarkable originality.

2. "The iron of India's subjection"

In his article on the Japanese victories, written during the summer of 1905, Andrews had noted with regret that the tide seemed to be running "towards the accentuation of racial differences".

Relationships had, of course, been strained to varying degrees for long enough. While western claims to superiority in the eighteenth century tended to be based on the arguments of higher civilization and greater knowledge, in the nineteenth century they had shifted to a basis of superior racial and inherent moral qualities, and this had been, for a number of reasons, accompanied by an increasing social distance.<sup>1</sup> The events of 1857 and, to a lesser extent, of Lord Ripon's viceroyalty in the 1880's, and the consequent growing awareness of the educated classes, had deepened the sense of racial estrangement.<sup>2</sup>

Evidence for the further deterioration of relationships which

Andrews noted in 1905 is varied and persuasive. The Head of the Cambridge Mission, Allnutt, with more than a quarter of a century of experience in India, drew attention in 1904 to "the increasing distrust and suspiciousness which characterize the attitude of educated Indian gentlemen towards Anglo-Indians". It was characteristic of Allnutt's own liberal position that he should try to see such things from the Indian point of view, and he asked an Indian Christian friend, Kirthi Singh, a Small Court Judge, to write an article on the subject, "The Relation of Indians to Europeans". Allnutt sent this, with an introductory note, for publication in the Delhi Mission News.<sup>3</sup> Kirthi Singh, forbearing to cite cases of violent personal abuse, quoted a series of telling examples to illustrate the "solid fact" that educated Indians were looked down upon. In explanation of this, he quoted the public statement of an Anglo-Indian official who doubted whether social intercourse between Europeans and Indians was in any way to be desired. For Kirthi Singh, the connection between social distance and racial contempt was obvious. This was a situation, Allnutt observed, in which the missionary had a duty of reconciliation, though he added that it was a duty too often neglected. Just over a year later, Allnutt noted that the increasing political agitation was affecting the relations of missionaries themselves with their Indian colleagues, and that time for "self-adjustment and self-repression, so difficult always for us Westerners", was running out.<sup>4</sup>

If, as Kirthi Singh suggested, racial harmony depended on freer social intercourse, the times certainly seem to have been unpropitious. A young civil servant newly posted to Lahore in 1904 noted that it was a full year before he had his first talk with an educated Indian who was not an official, "and even then it came by chance".<sup>5</sup> Things seem not to have been any better higher up in the government hierarchy:

during his seven months as acting viceroy in 1904, Lord Amthill did not come into personal contact with more than a dozen Indians.<sup>6</sup>

The deterioration of relations was exacerbated by a nervous apprehension of the possibility of an uprising as the fiftieth anniversary of the rising of 1857 approached. This was so not least at Delhi, where in March 1906 a statue of the British general, John Nicholson, who had put down the 'mutiny' there, was erected near his grave. Andrews noted disapprovingly the "drawn sword pointed towards the city"<sup>7</sup>. The idea of the statue was strongly deprecated by the leading Indian newspaper in the Punjab, as "one of the Imperialistic freaks of the....erratic" Curzon, the more irresponsible because "relations are very much strained at present"<sup>8</sup>. Curzon had by then retired, of course; the statue was unveiled by his successor, Lord Minto. Allnut was relieved that "not a word was said which could give rise to any embittered feeling"<sup>9</sup>. The apprehension, nevertheless, was widespread, and in a sermon at Westminster Abbey on the fiftieth anniversary itself, Dr. Butler, the Master of Trinity even went so far as to wonder whether, with "the dangers...now threatening the peace of India", it really was the will of God "that those countless millions of His Eastern children should be ruled by a race so scanty, so unimaginative, so wholly different as ours"<sup>10</sup>.

The situation, indeed, seems to have been sufficiently serious throughout India to prompt a demi-official query from Minto to the provincial governors on the state of relations between Europeans and Indians. The reply from Sir Denzil Ibbetson in the Punjab was perhaps the most gloomy for the whole of India, as he noted that relations had changed very much for the worse during the past five or ten years. For this he blamed "the incessant stream of virulent and malignant lies,

misrepresentations and sedition, which is poured forth by the greater portion of the native press without let or hindrance", and which had, he claimed, exacerbated the feelings of the English community. He was particularly concerned about the fresh wave of racial hostility of the past year or two. "I think", he added, "that Lord Curzon's attitude and policy in the matter began the change", and he noted that in the course of the year 1906 things had become "far more serious".<sup>11</sup>

What made the situation so serious from the missionary point of view - quite apart from the growing estrangements within the church, which Allnutt had noted, - was that the victims of racial hostility insisted on regarding their British rulers as the representatives of Christianity. Thus the Indian newspaper, the Punjabee, presented the issue straightforwardly as a Hindu-Christian conflict,

It is seriously to be doubted whether the Hindus have ever learnt to hate an alien race with such intensity as they are beginning to display towards their present 'Christian' foreign rulers. And it is equally doubtful whether any alien rulers have ever hated the Hindus with a hatred so whole-hearted and bitter as that entertained by the English now-a-days towards them.<sup>12</sup>

We have seen already how there was a tendency to interpret the Russo-Japanese war in religious terms. The racial question was, thus, open to a similar approach.

This was a situation in which Andrews found himself implicated in a very personal way. In March 1906, Allnutt reported that Bishop Lefroy had asked Andrews to act as principal of a large school for European children, the Lawrence Military Asylum at Sanawar, near Simla,

during the hot weather of that year.<sup>13</sup> Andrews accepted and was there from April to early November, sharing a house with the headmistress of the girls' establishment, a "very refined and cultivated English lady".<sup>14</sup> During the summer, he invited Rudra to stay, and also Rudra's son, Sudhir, whom he prepared for confirmation during the course of his stay.<sup>15</sup> The arrangement, however, did not meet with the entire approval of the headmistress, who declared that she "could not sit at table with an Indian".<sup>16</sup> The seriousness of the racial division between Indians and English came home to Andrews with the impact of a revelation, the incident probably doing more than anything else to open his eyes to the "unchristian character" of the division. Touching, as it did, his closest friend, he described how

The iron of India's subjection and humiliation entered into my very soul.<sup>17</sup>

The incident illustrates well the importance of his friendship with Rudra in enabling him "so quickly to understand the difficulties of an Indian's life as a member of a subject nation".<sup>18</sup> It also served to intensify his sense of the critical nature of the racial component in the relations between Indians and Anglo-Indians, and this just at a time when the opportunity to make something of a public stand first presented itself to him.

### 3. "A Noble Englishman to the Rescue"

The Anglo-Indian press in the early twentieth century covered a fairly wide spectrum of British attitudes with regard to current events, and the more conservative element in the British presence by no means lacked representation. The Civil and Military Gazette, with which the Kipling family had been associated, was the leading Anglo-Indian newspaper in the Punjab, published from Lahore, and it stood well to one end of the attitudinal spectrum. To the vigorous nationalist daily,



The Bengalee, it was "the chartered libertine of Lahore"<sup>1</sup>, while even the more temperate Statesman placed it firmly in "the Jingo section of the Anglo-Indian press"<sup>2</sup>.

There appeared in the Civil and Military Gazette on 24th August 1906, while Andrews was at Sanawar, an extremely long letter, signed "Fifty Years in India", and deploring what was called in its heading the "Change of Times in India". It is a most interesting revelation of attitudes.

What is the one theme of conversation, of thought of correspondence, among Europeans? The racial problem. What are Europeans asking of one another - in offices, in clubs, in dining rooms? "What is the country coming to? Where is all this anti-Britishism going to end?"

There is a sort of paternalistic sympathy in the writer's recollection of "the courteous, respectful native gentleman of forty years ago", and even the new swadeshi movement, he says, is a pleasure to encourage, "we are pleased to see the people in homespun in their national costumes". What upsets the writer in the changing times of 1906 is the effect of the "racial problem" on the position of the Anglo-Indian, in the form of "loss of prestige"; this is a situation accompanied by the appearance of a new phenomenon, "the 'Indian' gentleman of today, with his English education, semi-European garb, decided air of equality and...impudent, vicious stare". The root of the trouble is that "we have overdone Education".

Has education made the people any happier, more contented, more loyal? This is, after all, the real test of good government, and not the number of frothy, truculent B.A.'s we turn out. A respected, retired Civilian has said "Show me an educated native and I will show you a rebel!" And who will gainsay the force of his epigram?

Amongst much more in a similar vein, the writer concludes by advocating violent repression,

When Swadeshism degenerates into ruffianism, unveiled disloyalty and racial antagonism, I say..."Sjambok<sup>x</sup>!"

The response to this letter was not confined to the columns of the Civil and Military Gazette. The Punjab nationalist newspaper, The Tribune quickly reacted with an editorial, on 28th August, entitled "Rip Van Winkle to the Rescue". This prompt response, although it does not take the letter too seriously, referring to its author as "an old fossil", is some indication that the letter had touched upon a sensitive issue. The bulk of the immediate response, however, took the form of a series of a further seventeen letters which appeared in the Civil and Military Gazette over the next six weeks, almost all of them anonymous and almost all of them agreeing with the views of "Fifty Years in India". They fill out, in fascinating ways, the position typified in the first letter.<sup>3</sup>

Amongst these was a letter appearing on 5th September and signed "Sagittarius". Observing that "the greatest change in the demeanour of the native began to show itself after the victory of the Japanese", the letter is very much in the spirit of the first in the series, though more bitter and hysterical in tone. The main point of it is the remedy proposed,

To get Indians back to their original callings, which are trading and agriculture, only lower Government appointments...carrying a salary of Rs.60 per mensem or less, should, where necessary, be bestowed upon natives. If Europeans or Eurasians are willing to accept appointments carrying this low pay...they should be given them; the natives receding accordingly.

\* O.E.D.: a strong and heavy whip...used in South Africa for driving cattle and sometimes for administering chastisement.

This letter provoked a reply from Andrews, published on 8th September, a spirited and vigorous response, marked, as very little of his writing is, by an element of sarcasm, and finding "Sagittarius's" letter "full of bitterness and reaction". Andrews deals first with the writer's main proposal, which he sees as a matter of "treating Indians as serfs", pointing out both its impracticability,<sup>4</sup> and also how badly it would reflect upon England's "boasted civilization", and how it would disloyally overthrow Queen Victoria's 1858 Proclamation of racial equality.<sup>5</sup> Andrews then moves on to his main point, the exposure of the fundamental error that lies behind "Sagittarius's" letter, "that 'education' is the cause of the present situation". He argues that the real danger lies in the alienation of the educated classes, who could easily become a class of agitators who might prey upon "the vast mass of ignorance and superstition among the 260,000,000 of India who can neither read or write", that in fact the present educated class are loyal, and that in the circumstances two things are required; first, "not less education but...a thousandfold more", through which "the best ideals of our English life can be understood and appreciated", and second, the rejection of a policy of "social ostracism and a closing of all doors of sympathy and friendship", which would be "the most unpardonable and suicidal blunder", a sure way of losing "our most useful friends".

In selecting as the main plank of his attack the question of education, Andrews was dealing with a recurring theme during this period. The following year, for example, Curzon insisted in the House of Lords that the first and foremost cause of political unrest in India was "the education" which Britain had given.<sup>6</sup> Even missionaries were liable to take this line. Under the heading, "Canon Ball's Balderdash on India", for example, the Tribune reported that a "Canon Ball of Calcutta who is

now in Britain...diagnoses the cause of the present unrest with unerring instinct. First there is education, and too much study of English literature"<sup>7</sup>. Andrews' attack upon "social ostracism and a closing of all doors of sympathy and friendship" was also very central to his concern. Shortly afterwards, for a Christian readership, noting that the Christian message was one of "brotherhood and goodwill", he commented that one of the greatest stumbling blocks to the message was "the aloofness of the Englishman from the Indian"<sup>8</sup>.

It is possible to detect in what we have quoted from Andrews' arguments, the assumption that Britain had a civilising mission in India, and that loyalty to the British government was an unquestionable necessity for its accomplishment, but beside this we need to note his acknowledgement, still an eccentric one in missionary and civilian circles, that India "was the home of philosophers and thinkers when we ourselves were savages". We need also to bear in mind that he was not merely making a personal statement, but appealing to the Anglo-Indian community, lest Englishmen in India should lose "all sense of liberty and equity", and for a policy "worthy of the name of Englishmen".

Andrews signed with his own name, and appended his Sanawar address, with its suggestion of an official appointment. His avoiding at this point of any hint of being a missionary may have been intentional, so that he could appeal as Anglo-Indian to Anglo-Indian - certainly an earlier letter in the sequence had criticized mission schools and colleges, whose "ill-adapted education...causes great unsettlement of mind and feeling"<sup>9</sup>.

Andrews' contribution evoked some response in the subsequent correspondence. "Sagittarius" himself replied, suggesting that the Queen's Proclamation could be interpreted to favour Europeans and

Eurasians.<sup>10</sup> Other critics included J.W. Papworth of Lahore - one of the few correspondents who signed with their own name - who claimed that it was an idle dream to hope that the "manufacture of Babus" would lead to the amelioration of the condition of the masses.<sup>11</sup> "59 Years" complained that Andrews' letter was "wanting in those useful particulars as to the length of years of the author's experience in India",<sup>12</sup> and provoked a second letter from Andrews on 30th September. He reverted to the question of the Queen's Proclamation,

Both the words and the spirit of that great charter are unambiguous.

He continued with a vigorous affirmation of his own loyalty and what that implied,

I am an Englishman in India who believes that my own King's pledged word to his people is a solemn promise and not a subtle fraud.

The correspondence continued for another two weeks in the Civil and Military Gazette, with a number of letters contemptuous of the "insolent" educated Indian, insisting that the British were in India solely for their own benefit, and, again, advocating violent repression of those who questioned British rule.<sup>13</sup>

The correspondence should not be seen merely as a storm in a very provincial teacup. Looking back a few months later for the causes of the very serious discontent which manifested itself in 1907, Lajpat Rai, Punjab's leading nationalist, asserted that it had been brought about by the Anglo-Indians themselves, the Civil and Military Gazette correspondence being, chronologically, the first of the causes.<sup>14</sup> It was certainly taken very seriously at the time. The Indian Association of Lahore on 5th November asked the Punjab Government to prosecute the paper, and, although this plea was rejected, the Chief Secretary, Maclagan, admitted that the tone of some of the letters was

objectionable, and expressed the regrets of the Lieutenant Governor, Sir Charles Rivaz, that they had been published.<sup>15</sup> The Viceroy himself found the letters "disgracefully low in tone" and admitted to Morley that "it makes one's blood boil to know that a leading English newspaper could publish such productions",<sup>16</sup> while Morley had to fend off a demand from Sir Henry Cotton in the House of Commons that steps be taken to discourage the publication of "such inflammatory utterances".<sup>17</sup>

The correspondence was also of very great importance for Andrews. He says later that "the brutality of the Civil and Military articles.... roused...(him) and made...(him) more pro-Indian", and he adds the observation that he had "advanced a long way between the autumn of 1905 and the autumn of 1906". Even more importantly, his letters were his "very first introduction to the Indian public".<sup>18</sup> The response here was striking and immediate. On 13th September, the Tribune reproduced his letter of the 8th in full, and devoted an editorial to him under the heading, "A Noble Englishman to the Rescue". After detailing his "crushing rejoinder", it continued,

Men like Mr Andrews are the salt of the earth, and it is to the race of noble-minded sons of Mr Andrews' nature and foresight that England owes its greatness and glory.

The sentiment was echoed within the Indian educated classes at the other end of the country, the Bengalee finding itself unable to express sufficiently its "sense of deep obligation to Mr Andrews".<sup>19</sup> By the turn of the year, the Tribune is able to say that his name "has almost become a household word in India on account of his profound sympathy with our aspirations".<sup>20</sup> The Tribune of 13th September drew attention in particular to Andrews' remarks about "social ostracism" as indicative of his "thorough insight into and deep acquaintance with the real situation", and the Indian press's own striking response to his letter is some measure of the depth of the racial division at the time. The

Tribune welcomed his first letter "as a weary and footsore traveller does an oasis in the sandy and barren desert".<sup>21</sup>

It is, at the same time, some indication of Andrews' sensitive perception of the circumstances and requirements of mission that he had reached such a position within some two and a half years of his first arriving in India. And it is precisely with mission that we are here concerned. If the Tribune's reference to "the salt of the earth" was little more than a figure of speech in the context, the editor also acknowledged that "here again the much derided Missionary had proved a benefactor to the people".<sup>22</sup> His intervention in the columns of the Civil and Military Gazette was entirely within the terminological conventions of Anglo-India, but the motive was thoroughly missionary, in the sense in which Andrews understood the word. It was also, in this respect, highly successful.

#### 4. "The worthy Bishop"

Andrews was not alone in the Church in his consternation at the letters in the Civil and Military Gazette. His own diocesan, G.A. Lefroy, rose from a perusal of the majority of them "with a sense of utter confusion and shame - almost of despair - for my country".<sup>1</sup>

We have seen how Lefroy, in the earlier years of the Cambridge Mission, before Andrews' arrival in India, had been almost wholly concerned with evangelistic work among Muslims, but how, from the very inception of the Mission's work, he had been uncomfortably aware of the hindrance to evangelism inherent in the association in people's minds of missions with British rule. Likewise, in the year of his consecration as bishop, 1899, he had expressed concern at the way the relationship between European and Indian in the church was developing. If there is an air of complacency about his report to an English

audience in 1904 that the civil administration was "one of the glories of the Empire", and that Curzon was "doing a magnificent work";<sup>2</sup> by late 1906 he was acknowledging that developments noticed earlier had reached a critical point, believing that it was "scarcely too much to say that we have reached a "parting of the ways", and that our whole relationship to, and power of influencing or further helping on the life and thought of this great land largely depends on the temper in which we meet and deal with problems which are thus at the present time arising". The occasion of these remarks was Lefroy's third triennial charge delivered to the diocese at Lahore on 6th November. It was on this public occasion that he expressed his confusion and shame at the letters in the Civil and Military Gazette, and was moved to a wide-ranging survey of the situation. He believed that, with substantial qualifications, the general trend and tendency of British rule had been in large measure the outcome of a true Christian instinct, "the very reverse of....the Roman or the Russian line". The developments on the Indian side were an inevitable consequence of the British presence.

Would it not be madness to come with our English ideals, our ideals of personal freedom and equality of opportunity, of Local Self-Government established or aimed at, and of essential justice between man and man,....and then to expect nothing to happen; to expect that all things would continue as they had been from the beginning?...England and England's spirit and genius being what it is - there must be movement, progress, growth...in this old land of India in which our own lot has been cast.

The failure of the bulk of Englishmen in India to appreciate this was a matter of the utmost gravity, while their attitude to the educated classes who had learned these ideals, an attitude of "utter aloofness and distance", a "grim refusal of anything even approaching to a



brotherly and sympathetic bearing", would have far-reaching consequences. He also insisted that, with regard to the current deterioration in relationships, "the English side" was chiefly responsible. It was, as Andrews also saw, a critical situation for the church: the chaplains and missionaries, besides their special obligation to try to reconcile the two communities, must "be on the right side in this question".

On the response which we as a community give...depends the measure of further advance which we can make in the...mission with which God...has entrusted us"

In the discussion which followed the bishop's charge, Rudra and other Indians present confirmed and underlined both the seriousness of the situation and also the need to develop more friendly relations<sup>3</sup>. Their view was supported by the Secretary of State, John Morley<sup>4</sup>, and, perhaps more importantly, by the Tribune, which reported Lefroy's charge at length over three issues, and followed this up with an editorial, on 15th December, entitled "The Silver Lining". Varying the metaphor slightly, the editor likened Andrews' first letter, after the darkness shed around by most of the correspondence in the Civil and Military Gazette, to a first streak of light, this being but a forerunner of the dawn, represented by "the Bishop's solid effort...to improve the relations between the two communities"<sup>5</sup>.

This was the beginning of a period of very cordial relations between Lefroy and the Indian press which was to last throughout the remainder of his Episcopate at Lahore. It was the beginning, also, of a series of interventions by him in the "change of times" which these years represent, as he pressed the more ebullient nationalists to "knuckle under a bit", and the Anglo-Indian community to a change of heart and attitude.<sup>6</sup> During the very serious disturbances in the Punjab in 1907, he had a number of meetings - not always sympathetic, but at

least they took place<sup>7</sup> - with leading nationalists in Lahore, among them the Editor of the Tribune and "barristers, pleaders, or men of that ilk", and, amongst other things, arranged for a deputation of them to meet the Lieutenant Governor to explain their position.<sup>8</sup>

Two months later, he took the opportunity of a sermon before the Viceroy to reiterate some of the opinions that he had first publicised in his episcopal charge, that the political awakening was the fruit of western education, and that the situation called for "a more generous and more courteous spirit" on the part of Anglo-Indians. Lord Minto agreed, and wrote to Lefroy to say so, pointing out, however, that Anglo-Indian opinion on the whole was quite unmoved, and adding that he had already heard lamentations over Lefroy's views.<sup>9</sup>

A further opportunity to champion the educated classes occurred in August 1907. An article in the Civil and Military Gazette on 9th August, with the contemptuous title, "Babus and their Uses", attacked the "literary class of India" as "a deadly legacy of Metcalf and Macaulay". This prompted the bishop to imitate Andrews with a letter of protest, arguing again the necessity of education. His letter was reprinted in full in the Tribune on 23rd August, and this was followed two days later by an appreciative editorial. There followed a response in the Indian press right across India, and the terms of it indicate, as in the case of Andrews, the missionary significance of the entire episode. The Bengalee, for example, referred to "the worthy Bishop", and claimed that "from myriad throats a blessing will be pronounced upon ....the messenger of peace and good-will",<sup>10</sup> while the Indu Prakash carried an article entitled "A Worthy Missionary of Christ".<sup>11</sup>

It was the seriousness of the situation from the point of view of mission that Lefroy emphasised in some notes which he circulated to his

brother bishops in advance of the Episcopal Synod of 1908. Noting that "the educated classes..have a perfect right to insist...on our declaring our own attitude and feeling", and that at such a time "to be silent is...to repel and alienate", he expressed a doubt

whether any of the subjects which will come up for consideration at the Synod touches more vitally the question of the spread of Christianity in India during the next few years than this one....It is certain that the attitude of educated Indians during the next decade will be profoundly influenced by the attitude which the Church at this time adopts towards the new movement, the new aspirations, of India.<sup>12</sup>

Lefroy continued to press this comparatively liberal and eccentric line throughout his Lahore episcopate, a particularly notable intervention being with regard to the Transvaal Indians, which we shall touch upon later. He carried on his campaign on other fronts also, for example to audiences of mission-supporters in England,<sup>13</sup> while in 1908, his was a solitary voice, but for Andrews' contribution, promoting the same ideas at the Pan-Anglican Congress in London<sup>14</sup> and in preparatory papers for the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910.<sup>15</sup>

A book published in preparation for the Congress and for the 1908 Lambeth Conference, Church and Empire : A Series of Essays on the Responsibilities of Empire,<sup>16</sup> to which he contributed the chapter on India, gave Lefroy a further opportunity to express his views. There are a number of hints here that he has reached a point where he hardly wants to be associated with such a book at all : he says that it is "useless...to expect" of him "enthusiasm about our empire", though he admits that "a number of indirect influences, making ultimately for the conversion of the land, are at work in consequence of our political connection with it, which would be wanting in its absence". He likewise

admits, echoing his "great Cambridge teacher", Westcott's view of the empire as a sacred trust, that he feels very deeply indeed "the splendour - unique in the world's history and solemn beyond words - of the position to which, in the providence and by the guiding hand of God, the British Empire has been called in the world today".<sup>17</sup>

What was new, however, in his theological understanding of the Indian missionary context, was his recognition that the national movement was so essential a consequence of British rule that "for no such movement to have come sooner or later to the birth would have meant the utter failure of our country's and our Church's mission to India".<sup>18</sup> It was not a large step from this - although it was a very significant one - for him to express in 1909 the conviction that "the wave of a newly-awakened life...passing over India" emanated "ultimately and on the whole from the Spirit of God".<sup>19</sup>

It is not entirely easy to be certain of the extent of Andrews' influence on Lefroy's views. Both the Bishop's Irish background and his Indian experience helped to modify his view of the relation of church and empire.<sup>20</sup> At the same time, we have to note that his initial response to the "Change of Times" correspondence followed closely on Andrews' intervention, and also that he seems to have been taking a leaf out of Andrews' book with regard to the later correspondence on "Babus and their Uses". Two years later he drew attention to a statement of Andrews' on the changing circumstances of mission in India as "quite the ablest and best I have seen anywhere", and one that had impressed him profoundly.<sup>21</sup> That he regarded Andrews as having gone too far, there is a good deal of evidence, though he called this a "generous... failing".<sup>22</sup> He was not happy with his influence on S.A.C.Ghose, and, in commenting on Andrews' published views, he expressed the opinion that he was "never....well-balanced".<sup>23</sup> His own summing-up of the relationship indicates, nevertheless, a measure of indebtedness,

With all his limitations and faults he really is a splendid fellow, and has helped me more than I can possibly say.<sup>24</sup>

Taking into account his episcopal responsibility for the "most military of dioceses",<sup>25</sup> and his constant necessary contact with the Anglo-Indian community, from Minto and Kitchener downwards, it is remarkable what an independent approach Lefroy was able to maintain. If he really was, as Andrews held, "very 'Anglo-Indian' by instinct",<sup>26</sup> he would seem to have been an impressive example of the "self-repression" that Allnutt was calling for. In establishing his relative position during these years, one bearing is provided by the impression that he made on the Liberal Secretary of State, John Morley, who wrote to Minto,

I found him one of the most attractive men I ever met. In the midst of a rather heavy day, he not only interested but excited me, and carried me for a while into the upper ether. Why did you not recommend him to be a Lieutenant-Governor? There's an experiment for you! His ideas delighted me.<sup>27</sup>

The other bearing is in relation to the Indian educated classes. The Tribune, observing in 1908 that it was "a matter of thankfulness that in the ranks of Christian missionaries" were to be found "some good and true friends of the cause of Indian Nationality", listed a select six such friends. Andrews' name headed the list, but Lefroy's was also included, as well as that of Allnutt.<sup>28</sup> These two bearings locate Lefroy very clearly in the middle ground at a time of estrangement and conflict, and it would probably be fair to say that the influence of Andrews had something to do with this.

In connection with the question of Andrews' own developing point of view, this brief glance at Lefroy during these years - and taking into account that a study of Allnutt or of some of the other members of the Cambridge Mission would disclose comparable responses - indicates that Andrews, while he was to push the questions raised by the national

movement much further, and make them the central plank of his missionary approach, did not work in a situation of complete isolation.

### 5. "Indian Nationality"

His foray into the correspondence columns of the Anglo-Indian press, Andrews said, made him "more pro-Indian", and also served to introduce him to the Indian public. No doubt encouraged by the warmth of the response in the Tribune and elsewhere, he was quick to follow up this introduction. During the cold weather of 1906-7 he became thoroughly caught up in the national movement, at a national level, and, particularly, at this stage, in its political aspect.

It was a propitious moment for such an intervention. By 1900, the Indian National Congress, if still only "an aspiration rather than a general dynamic", had spread all over India and was regarded by forward-looking members of the educated classes as the natural mouthpiece of their aspirations.<sup>1</sup> What the Japanese victories, the partition of Bengal and the other developments around 1905, did was to radicalize the resolutions of Congress and draw the whole middle class into its ambit of influence. "The pains of partition were", then, "the birth-pangs of Indian bourgeois nationalism", of which the Congress was the institutional expression.<sup>2</sup>

The December 1905 gathering of the Congress at Benares had gone so far as to give its blessing to the boycott movement in Bengal, arguing that a special grievance might warrant the use of special political techniques, but on the whole the Congress leadership, based on Bombay and anxious to avoid too close a connection with Bengal extremism because it hoped for substantial reforms from the new Liberal government in Britain, had succeeded in keeping its resolutions relatively

moderate. It was clear, however, that the 1906 gathering would be a critical one. To be held in Calcutta itself and so bound to be dominated by the political problems of a divided Bengal, and with nothing yet to show for Morley's liberalism and so with the more radical elements making the running, everything pointed to its being what it indeed turned out to be, "a notable landmark in the history of the Indian National Congress"<sup>3</sup>.

Just over a fortnight after his second intervention in the Civil and Military Gazette, Andrews published in the Tribune, on 17th October, a letter on "The National Congress of 1906". Acknowledging his limited knowledge of India but hoping that his lifelong study of history and his love for the country would make up for this, he offered four suggestions for the forthcoming Congress, the times being critical and the dangers great. First, having heard W.T.Stead's name mentioned in connection with the presidency, he urged that Dadabhai Naoroji or some other tried Indian statesman should be approached.

On no account should an Englishman be approached....It is essential that the outside world should clearly see that India possesses statesmen of her own.

Second, he advocated the improvement of the constitution, including the provision of a permanent executive. Third, he stressed the vital importance of retaining Muslim sympathy, the union of the Hindu and Muslim communities being "the one final goal of national unity". Finally, he pressed the point that while "political agitation..... has its place", emphasis on the social and industrial side of the Congress would "unite the different communities, silence opposition, and win the respect of every Englishman worthy of the name". Andrews' four points were well chosen. All had a current pertinence - for example, while certainly there was no causal connection, Naoroji was only finally

approached eight days after Andrews' letter was published<sup>4</sup> - but none was controversial within the general parameters of nationalist thinking<sup>5</sup>. An interesting stylistic feature occurs in the letter : Andrews wrote that emphasis on social and industrial progress would prove to the outside world "our" self-governing capacity. The pronoun here used has a slightly self-conscious air about it - and indeed he was to use it rather self-consciously for some years to come.<sup>6</sup> It was something of which none of his most liberal colleagues in the Cambridge Mission was either constitutionally or ideologically capable, and a small pointer to the upheaval which was going on in Andrews' mind.

The Tribune drew the special attention of its readers to this "remarkable letter", and a few days later, on 4th November, pointing out that it had been reproduced and favourably noticed in other newspapers across the country, devoted two editorial columns to analysing and agreeing with it.

Andrews' time was not, of course, wholly taken up with these new concerns, although it is not surprising that he had to report of 1906 that the year's work had been "very broken", and that he was only able to act as a supernumerary in the College.<sup>7</sup> Early in November, he attended the Diocesan Conference at Lahore and read a paper on the subject of private prayer.<sup>8</sup> This may seem very remote from his more public concerns, but there may well have been a connection: although this paper has not survived, two articles on prayer which Andrews wrote at Tissington Tatlow's request for the Student Movement in England at this time, reproducing long passages from Forbes Robinson's Letters to his Friends,<sup>9</sup> are relevant. In the face of the almost tragic drifting apart of Indian and English Christians, and the creeping in of the official tone even among missionaries, Andrews' asks whether Robinson's practice of prayer for his friends "with the longing prayer of love" is not what is required



to bridge the widening gulf, younger missionaries forming a "true and deep Christian friendship with at least one fellow Christian Communicant of another race", and pouring into that friendship "all the longing affection and intercession which God in His great Love may bestow!"<sup>10</sup>

In the second article, published in April 1907, he takes up the question of praying for Buddhist, Hindu and Muslim friends, "those in whom the potential Christ-life has not as yet been quickened". Quoting the parable of the sheep and the goats, he suggests that "we must see Christ in them", and "bring them, by our very longing of love potentially within the Body of Christ". He admits that prayer has been for him a continual struggle too often ending in failure and disappointment, but that in the past year he has experienced "a new light and hope" with regard to it, through practising what he has learned from Forbes Robinson. If Andrews' paper at Lahore was on these lines, the connection with his more public concerns is clear and congruous. A little later in November, he conducted a three-day retreat at Lahore for women missionaries from the dioceses of Lahore and Lucknow. In the midst of his increasing involvement in the national movement, it is interesting to catch a glimpse of another side of Andrews here; one of the retreatants, very appreciative, wrote home that he "conducted the whole beautifully....the Intercession Services were wonderful...either extempore, or with an adaptation or combination of Prayers from the Prayer Book.... He spoke so slowly...very quietly and naturally".<sup>11</sup>

Andrews' new concerns, however, seem to have all but dominated these last months of 1906. In his letter to the Tribune about the forthcoming Congress he had described himself as "an Englishman pledged to the cause of Indian nationality". Even during his visit to Lahore for the Diocesan Conference, he took the opportunity of elaborating on this commitment, delivering at Forman Christian College, in addition to an address to the students, a public lecture on "Indian Nationality".

He explained a few weeks later that he had felt very keenly that the time had come, especially in the face of much that had been written in the press that summer, of an opposite tendency, to declare publically and openly, as a Christian and as an Englishman, his "intense sympathy with the higher national aspirations of educated Indians".<sup>12</sup> Certainly he could not have made much more public his sympathy. The lecture was delivered before "the cream of the educated Indian community of Lahore", under the chairmanship of the leading Punjab 'moderate', Harkishen Lal,<sup>13</sup> and reproduced in full in the Tribune. At the Cathedral in Lahore that Sunday, preaching at both morning and evening services, he "impressed on his English congregation the same views", pleading for the recognition of Indian nationality.<sup>14</sup> Before the end of the year, he had delivered variant versions of the same lecture at Delhi, Allahabad, and Calcutta. At Allahabad, "pre-eminently a city of the new professional man",<sup>15</sup> one of the organisers was the leading Congressman, Tej Bahadur Sapru, and the chairman Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, a "patriarch of the Congress".<sup>16</sup> So successful was this occasion that he was asked to address two other meetings in the city, "which he did with similar success".<sup>17</sup> In every case, the text of his lecture was published in full, and usually it was accompanied by an enthusiastic editorial response.<sup>18</sup>

A scrutiny of Andrews' views on "Indian nationality" at this time discloses two main features. First, that the position that he took, one of considerable caution on the whole, aligned him with the more moderate element among the nationalists. With repeated assurances that "the great heart of the English Nation" guaranteed Indian progress,<sup>19</sup> he laid great stress on the need for "a long period of settlement",<sup>20</sup> because of the "immense arrears in political training and capacity still to be made good",<sup>21</sup> the goal of the process being a place "beside the self-governing colonies" under the Crown.<sup>22</sup> That such an approach should evoke loud cheers at Allahabad,<sup>23</sup> is an indication of the frame of mind of many of

Andrews' audience, and also of how decisively he surpassed the usual nationalist expectations with regard to English or missionary sympathy. In retrospect, in the early 1920's, this is how he himself saw things,

It is curious now to see how very cautious I was at that time, but all the same it was regarded as remarkable as coming from an Englishman.<sup>24</sup>

The point was made at the time, by a correspondent in the Hindustan Review, Parmeshwar Lal: "Somehow", he writes, "I had been led to expect even more from what I had read about the reverend gentleman". Though he is prepared to call Andrews' sympathy "remarkable....in these days of bitter racial jealousies", and is "always grateful for such little sympathies as we can get from the members of the British race", he nevertheless comments that "the superb self-complacency so characteristic of the English people never seems to desert him". To the extent that Andrews' views were close to those of many moderate nationalists, this is possibly a slightly unfair comment, although he himself looked back on his early writing and speaking as done in "the evil patronizing way".<sup>25</sup> Parmeshwar Lal certainly represented a distinctly minority viewpoint in the nationalist press. His comment does, however, help us to see precisely where Andrews stood.

The second aspect of his views at this time is the insistence that he derives his attitude to Indian nationalism from his Christian faith. For example, his lectures were almost invariably prefaced with the phrase, "As a Christian missionary...". He claimed that "to give to others....that Nationality which we ourselves prize", is a necessary concomitant of the belief that we should do to others as we would have them do to us.<sup>26</sup> Similarly, the demand that each nation should receive its highest and fullest and best development, which meant development "on national lines", was a direct outcome of belief in "the Brotherhood of Man", which, with that in the Fatherhood of God,

is the basis of "the whole Christian religion".<sup>27</sup> Here, again, there was a dissenting voice. Madan Mohan Malaviya at Allahabad pointed out that people in India had their own "Gita and other sacred books", and needed only to turn to these with understanding to find that inspiration which Christians drew from the Bible.<sup>28</sup> More typical, however, was the response of Harkishen Lal at Lahore, who simply commented at the end of the lecture, "Blessed are the peacemakers",<sup>29</sup> and of the Tribune's editor who wrote on 22nd November, "Verily, Mr. Andrews is a true soldier of the Cross and a champion of justice and righteousness for all mankind".

Andrews was clearly a very effective public speaker,<sup>30</sup> and he was fortunate that there was among the educated classes a virtual cult of the public lecture for him to utilize.<sup>31</sup> And yet, he was to penetrate, if anything, even deeper into the mission territory represented by the educated classes before the year was out.

It is not entirely clear when he decided, in spite of the misgivings of the Head of the Mission, Allnut,<sup>32</sup> to attend the 1906 meeting of the Indian National Congress in Calcutta in the December. Perhaps the thought was in his mind when he wrote his letter to the Tribune of 17th October. Possibly the idea came from a meeting with the veteran Bengali Congressman, Surendranath Bannerjee,<sup>33</sup> though it seems as likely that his close association at St. Stephen's College with the young lecturer, Raghubar Dayal, who was to attend the Congress as a Punjab delegate, suggested the idea to him. Certainly there was an unprecedented interest in the Congress in the Punjab that year.<sup>34</sup> Andrews went as a visitor, staying at the Oxford Mission, and attended all the sessions, accompanied by the Head of the community, Canon Brown,<sup>35</sup> and enjoying a front seat through the good offices of Bannerjee.

It was, as has been noted, a more than usually important meeting of the Congress. Under the influence of the more radical element in the movement, whom Andrews called "the younger party",<sup>36</sup> and who were represented most significantly in the speeches of B.C.Pal and Tilak, "the Mendicant Policy, as it was called, was thrown over",<sup>37</sup> and major resolutions were endorsed on self-government, boycott, swadeshi, and national education. With regard to the first of these, the president, Naoroji, had concluded his address by saying that Congressmen had before them "a clear goal, a clear star...of Self-Government or Swaraj".<sup>38</sup> Andrews was clearly deeply impressed with Naoroji's contribution.

He looked like one who had come to fulfil a mission at all cost and would go through with it, though it cost him all he had left of life....He looked like an aged warrior battling against tremendous odds, as he stood up so bravely, so determinedly to claim self-government for India.<sup>39</sup>

There were, of course, to be many definitions of self-government in the debates that followed, but for Andrews the significant thing was that,

For the first time, in such a place....the form and nature of India's demand was expressed by an Indian word...easily understood throughout....India by the simplest villager as well as the educated classes.<sup>40</sup>

Andrews was clearly interested in many other aspects of the debates. He recorded something of this in an article, "An Englishman's Impression of the National Congress" in Bannerjee's newspaper, the Bengalee, on 28th December, and other comments in some notes appended to a published version of his "Indian Nationality" lecture.<sup>41</sup> He expressed concern that social questions seemed to be subordinated to the political issue, and the hope that Annie Besant's phrase "Nation Building" would "remain in the memory of Indians at the present time". On the whole, the tenour

of his remarks confirm his own later comment.

I came away from the Congress very deeply impressed by the greatness of the National Movement. But I was still as strongly as possible an Imperialist and a believer in the British Empire. I was also what may now be called a Moderate of Moderates in my ideas on Nationalism...thinking...only Mr. Gokhale was safe as a leader.<sup>42</sup>

But perhaps as valuable for him were the unique opportunities of meeting the nationalist leadership, including the veteran Christian nationalist, Kali Charan Banerji, to whom he would often in future allude,<sup>43</sup> and Gopal Krishna Gokhale. His meeting with the latter he regarded as particularly important, as a letter which he wrote to him on his return to Delhi indicates.

If at any time there is any way you can suggest in which I can help the national cause, you know how glad I shall be to do so if it is within my power.<sup>44</sup>

The Congress was not to loom as large again in Andrews' concerns for most of the remainder of his missionary years. One reason was that, after the very divisive meeting of the following year at Surat, "listless, fragmented and without leadership, the Punjab nationalist party - like its parent organisation, the Indian National Congress - fell asleep".<sup>45</sup> Another was the effect of the Indian Councils Act of 1909, usually known as the Minto-Morley reforms, a small but clear step in the direction of representative and responsible self-government, which led to a "Congress-government honeymoon" which was to last for some five years.<sup>46</sup> A third reason may have been the "very great anxiety" in the Cambridge Mission about his movements, which he discovered on his return from Calcutta, and which he saw would lead, despite the liberality of the Mission and the great sympathy of Allnutt, to an ultimately intolerable situation.<sup>47</sup>

The second half of 1906 and early 1907, nevertheless, represented an extraordinary venture by a missionary, affirming his Christian motivation openly, into the heartlands of 'the political nation'.

#### 6. "A true Christian opportunity"

Andrews' hope of making a literary career the main end of his missionary work, which he had expressed to Allnut and Stanton in 1905, was on the way to fulfilment with remarkable rapidity. There were to be several aspects to this career, though he himself saw that reaching "the rapidly rising Native Christian Church and the rapidly growing educated Native Community" was the most pressing need. His success in relation to these groups, the latter in particular, is one of the most interesting features of his missionary years.

The press had been throughout the nineteenth century a vital and dramatically expanding factor in the creation and growing awareness of the educated classes. By 1905, it was reported that 1,359 newspapers and journals reached an estimated two million subscribers throughout India, among the most influential being the 285 published in English.<sup>1</sup> Every region had a network of such publications, and the convention, deriving from an earlier period when the gathering of news was very difficult, whereby a paper would reprint items from contemporary publications in other regions, contributed to the India-wide dissemination of information and ideas.<sup>2</sup>

The Punjab reflected the general pattern, with its own distinctive features. The new educated classes were much involved in journalism and publishing. Several of Andrews' early Punjab friends and acquaintances, for example, had such interests: his Urdu teacher, Shams-ud-Din, had for a time edited the Panjabi Akhbar, owned by his father in Lahore, his

colleague at St. Stephen's College, Raghubar Dayal, owned at one time the Imperial Native Press, while a temporary teacher at the College, Syed Haider Raza, produced a journal, Aftab; another acquaintance, Amir Chand, a former student of the College and a teacher at St. Stephen's School, published books and, at various times, the Imperial Fortnightly Advertiser, an Urdu weekly, a religious journal called Thundering Dawn and, with R. Dayal, a weekly, Akash.<sup>3</sup> This was part of the considerable increase in newspaper production which took place in the Punjab around the turn of the twentieth century. In the 1880's, some forty newspapers were published in the province annually, while in the first four years of the twentieth century, the number had risen to 140. More important, of course, was circulation. Most publications had a very small readership, and only a very few attained a circulation of above 2,000. Quite the most influential 'Anglo-Vernacular' newspaper in the Punjab, with a circulation in 1903 of 1,700, was the Tribune.<sup>4</sup> Although founded in 1881 by a wealthy Punjabi, Sirdar Dayal Singh Majeetia, it had been taken over by Surendranath Banerjea of Calcutta, and was dominated editorially by the Bengali élite and their Brahmo associates. The founding in 1904 of the Panjabee, edited by a Maratha disciple of Tilak, with most important editorials in the early years written by Lajpat Rai, created an energetic alternative to the Tribune, the two representing respectively the 'extremist' and 'moderate' lines in the national movement.<sup>5</sup>

We have already seen how warmly the Tribune responded to Andrews' letters on the changing times in the Civil and Military Gazette. Andrews took immediate advantage of this. The Tribune's first editorial approval of his stand appeared on 13th September. By the issue of 17th September, he had his first submitted contribution published, a letter on "The Education of our Children", a discussion of an earlier



correspondent's proposal to found a public school in the hills.<sup>6</sup> It was to be the beginning of a very special relationship with the Tribune which was to continue right through Andrews' missionary decade in the Punjab. Perhaps he was particularly fortunate that the editorship had been assumed in the preceding April by Alfred Nundy, who, as a former assistant secretary of the Indian National Congress known for his moderate opinions, produced a newspaper with whose views Andrews would be particularly content to be associated; Nundy must also, as a Christian, have warmed to the sympathetic interest of a missionary co-religionist?<sup>7</sup> Certainly, some such rather exceptional explanation is required for a relationship that was to be so close. Andrews was to contribute over the next eight years some 45 items, from brief letters to articles extending through several issues, from pieces reproduced from other publications to specially commissioned and signed leaders. As a further measure of his influence in and through the Tribune, there occur during the same period at least 133 news items or editorial comments alluding to him.

If Andrews had confined his writing to the Tribune, he would have achieved a breakthrough to an engagement with the educated classes in itself quite unique. No contemporary missionary achieved a position remotely comparable. Bishop Lefroy, who certainly enjoyed a position second only to that of Andrews in the eyes of the Tribune, contributed nothing directly to the paper, and is quoted or referred to less than 40 times during the same period. But his place in the Tribune represented only one part of Andrews' journalistic enterprise. Although he did not write anything like so extensively for other Indian newspapers, there were also the monthly journals. "Three reviews of distinction voice Indian Nationalism", Ramsay MacDonald reported in 1910, citing The Indian Review of Madras, The Hindustan Review of Allahabad, "the most severely political and moderate", and The Modern Review of Calcutta,

"the most literary of the three, which shows all the characteristics of the Bengal spirit and is most in sympathy with the left wing"<sup>8</sup>. In these substantial publications also, Andrews rapidly established a position of considerable strength. His first entry into this area was, like his first letter to the Tribune, a modest enough contribution, a poem, earnest and not very distinguished, on "The New Indian Nation", which appeared in the December 1906 issue of Saccidananda Sinha's Hindustan Review. This was rapidly followed the next month by his long article on "Indian Nationality". The Modern Review was first published that month, January 1907, under the editorship of Ramananda Chatterji, whose friendship was to become for Andrews "one of the greatest gifts which God has given me in my life"<sup>9</sup>. His first contribution appeared in the July issue that year. He wrote for all three reviews throughout the rest of his missionary years, a total of some 59 items, occasionally poems but mostly articles. To the Modern Review in particular he became a leading contributor, with some 45 entries in the course of seven years, and, as in the case of the Tribune, there are frequent news items and editorial comments referring to him. Much more even than in the newspaper, Andrews' place dwarfs any other Christian and missionary presence.<sup>10</sup>

We must also take into account in seeking to quantify Andrews' penetration of the educated classes in this way, three other points. First, the widespread reproduction of his articles, or summaries of them, and of the texts of his public lectures, in every major regional centre, so that, for example, an item which he wrote for a Madras publication would be reproduced in full in a Punjab newspaper, one for an Allahabad newspaper in a Bengal journal.<sup>11</sup> This makes it possible to recognise as no exaggeration, bearing in mind, of course, that the reference is to the English-speaking educated classes, the Bengalee's claim that "When...  
...Andrews....speaks, the whole country listens"<sup>12</sup> Second, his influence

was extended to some extent through the reprinting of some of his articles as separate pamphlets.<sup>13</sup> Third, there was the extensive correspondence which followed, as he noted in 1909.

I have now a large correspondence with educated Hindus throughout the country arising out of literary work. This correspondence, which has been singularly frank and open, is one of my chief means of gaining the Indian point of view.<sup>14</sup>

The following year, he referred to his correspondents as "hundreds of the best educated Indians from all parts of India", while in his annual report of 1911, he wrote of "young educated Indians...eagerly seeking help and advice", and added that this correspondence now took up a daily portion of his time.<sup>15</sup> This 'feed back' from his writing was important both as a source of information and understanding, and also as a ground for claiming to speak with authority on what Indian people thought.<sup>16</sup>

There were other important strands to Andrews' literary career during these years. The "rapidly rising Native Christian Church" which he had seen the need to serve through literature, also received his attention. In addition to important editorial work, which we shall examine later, 30 items, from brief letters to such weighty contributions as his Occasional Paper on "Ordination Study in India", were written up to mid-1914. He wrote most frequently, on some 14 occasions, for the Oxford Mission to Calcutta's Epiphany, a weekly religious paper with the remarkably high output of 12,000 copies;<sup>17</sup> significantly, he was impressed with the "hold that it has obtained in the educated mind of India",<sup>18</sup> and his articles are addressed to the educated classes at large as much as to the Christian community. The same was true of the Indian Interpreter, for which he wrote occasionally; produced by two Scottish missionaries, Macnicol and Robertson, it was addressed, from an explicitly Christian standpoint, just as much at men of other faiths.

as at Christians, aiming to be at Poona a Christian equivalent of what the other reviews were in their cities.<sup>19</sup> Addressed more exclusively to a Christian readership were his contributions to the National Missionary Society's National Missionary Intellegencer, the Methodist Indian Witness, the Occasional Papers of his own mission, and the Y.M.C.A.'s Young Men of India, to this last of which he contributed several particularly substantial articles. This aspect of Andrews' work was on a much smaller scale than his writing for the educated classes at large, in these last four publications, a total of only 14 contributions.

Following his first three articles, published in the English journals of the missionary societies, he continued to address the supporters in England of foreign missions. He wrote 9 articles for the Delhi Mission News, and 9 for S.P.G.'s The East and the West. In a similar category were his articles and letters in two English church weeklies, the Church Times and the Guardian. Clearly Andrews saw the task of interpreting Indian aspirations, and the church's work in that context, as an important one. His two books published during the period, North India (1908) and The Renaissance in India (1912), had the same object. So, too, had some of his 12 contributions to the S.C.M.'s Student Movement, though writing for this had an additional advantage, since he noted that it was "constantly seen by educated Hindus in India", especially those who had leanings towards the Christian faith.<sup>20</sup>

Andrews did not make much use of the Anglo-Indian press. Perhaps his early experience of the Civil and Military Gazette led him to a conclusion like that of Lord Minto, who found the Lahore paper's Allahabad contemporary, the Pioneer, "past praying for".<sup>21</sup> One or two items were reproduced in these newspapers, and he did, as we shall see,

intervene on one further occasion, in the Pioneer, to champion Indian interests in the face of Anglo-Indian attitudes. In a somewhat similar category was a letter he wrote to the Spectator in London.

The only other significant literary work during these years was the St. Stephen's College Magazine, which he founded in 1907, and edited for six years, himself contributing, besides numerous editorials, 13 signed articles. His personality and outlook pervade the whole magazine, and his own interests and commitments are reflected in many of the articles written by the students.

Altogether, it will be seen, Andrews' literary output during his missionary years was as prodigious as it was to remain for the rest of his life.<sup>22</sup> The course of events in 1906, therefore, through which he found himself a champion of Indian interests and moved quickly to exploit the opening that this presented, represented a most important breakthrough to the literary career which, a year or so earlier, was no more than an idea. As a career, it appears to have been a source of some tension. An early observation of Allnutt's suggests a degree of irritation at a missionary exercise which did not fit into the usual Delhi pattern.

Andrews is quite an uncertain member of the staff, and in point of fact destined himself for literary work.<sup>23</sup> The situation seems never to have been resolved wholly satisfactorily. Two year's after Allnutt's comment, the observation of a visitor from England was passed to the Secretary of S.P.G., Bishop Montgomery, by B.K.Cunningham.

Andrews should be relieved of his College work...because of the position he has won for himself in India. He has entry to the Indian Press.<sup>24</sup>

In the year following, Rudra was calling for an additional permanent member of the college staff, "to permit Mr Andrews to devote more of his energies to literary...work".<sup>25</sup> The surprising thing is how much energy Andrews was able to find for this work.

Inevitably, such an output had its dangers. To be made as welcome as he was by the Indian press tempted him into writing too much, and there are signs of a tendency to give utterance on every conceivable occasion and every conceivable topic.<sup>26</sup> The overall impression of these early writings is of freshness and vigour, but the prolixity and wooliness, with a tendency to lapse stylistically into something like the complacent authoritativeness of the Victorian sage, with the confident certainty that everything he said would be well received, which was to spoil some of his later work, is already something that it is possible to envisage.<sup>27</sup>

Many missionaries, of course, wrote and published a good deal as a part of their work. In an earlier generation, John Murdoch, with immense industry, had written and published scores of tracts, establishing his own system of distribution. Another, contemporary approach was that of J.N.Farquhar, whose work appeared in the form of books and tracts, or in the relatively enclosed world of Christian journals, and only very occasionally in the established Indian press.<sup>28</sup> Another way was that of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta with their Epiphany, and of Macnicol and Robertson with the Indian Interpreter, two slightly different, and in their ways successful attempts to penetrate the mission field of the educated classes. What distinguished Andrews' approach, at least in its most impressive and distinctive aspect, is what might be designated an 'incarnational' approach, whereby he worked in and through the existing and accepted secular channels created by the educated classes themselves.

There can be no doubt that he saw his literary venture, especially with regard to the "educated native Community", as essentially a missionary enterprise. Certainly, writing for that particular readership, he used its own language. Thus, in the Tribune, he called for "every energy of the Press, the pen", to advance social reforms,<sup>29</sup> insisting that public opinion had to be instructed, the whole attitude of society changed;<sup>30</sup> the entire employment of the press, "probably....the greatest formative power in India today", was to accomplish the "making of India".<sup>31</sup> Indeed, Andrews subsequently went so far as to suggest that "the intellectual thought about the National movement...grew in some measure" from his own writings in this period.<sup>32</sup> Writing, however, for a Christian audience, he called his literary work "a true Christian opportunity", an attempt, "outside the Christian fold, in the great Mission field of the non-Christian world...to reach and influence the centres of thought and movement in the East", "to keep the Christian ideal before the minds of educated men".<sup>33</sup> The content and significance of this venture, we must now proceed to consider.

NOTES : Chapter 3.2. "The iron of India's subjection"

- 1 T.G.P.Spear India, Pakistan and the West (1949) p.192;  
P.Mason op.cit. p.95.
- 2 C.Bolt Victorian Attitudes to Race (1971) pp.157-205 for  
a general survey of these years.
- 3 DMN Oct 1904.
- 4 "From the Head of the Mission" DMN Jan 1906.
- 5 M.Darling op.cit. p.38.
- 6 P.Mudford Birds of a Different Plumage (1974) p.215; for  
a more general and slightly later comment on Anglo-Indian  
ignorance of educated Indians, see Bevan op.cit. p.84.
- 7 Andrews' footnote to his poem "Nicholson" in The Motherland  
and Other Poems (1916).
- 8 Tribune 11 Apr 1906.
- 9 DMN Jan 1907.
- 10 Reproduced in DMN Jul 1907, and also published as a pamphlet  
(S.P.G., n.d.)
- 11 Ibbetson to Minto 23 Mar 1907 (N.L.S. Minto Papers. Letters  
to and from Persons in India. Letter No.153)
- 12 "Rulers and Ruled in India" Punjabee 2 Jun 1906 P.N.N.R. XLX.22(19)
- 13 Allnutt to Stanton 16 Mar 1906 (C.M.D. Letters 1891-1918).  
Andrews proposed that his earnings at Sanawar should go towards  
salary increases for 2 Hindu members of the College staff,  
Raghubar Dayal and Khub Ram - Andrews to Allnutt 10 May 1906  
(C.M.D. "College History").
- 14 Allnutt CC 1907; Biog pp.83-4.
- 15 Andrews' report 29 Sept 1906 (S.P.G. Missionary Reports.  
Originals. 1907).
- 16 Biog p.84.
- 17 ibid. This was not Rudra's only experience of this sort;  
another more seriously touched upon his life in the church:  
Andrews records that Rudra's daughter "was not allowed to go  
to our Diocesan Hill School, because she was not a Eurasian,  
but an Indian Christian, and she was obliged, therefore, to  
go to the Roman Catholic Convent which does not make such  
distinctions" - Andrews to Montgomery 24 Jan 1912 (S.P.G. Lahore  
Letters Received).
- 18 Biog p.81.



### 3. "A Noble Englishman to the Rescue"

- 1 quoted in Tribune 29 Aug 1907.
- 2 quoted in Tribune 12 Nov 1907. N.G.Barrier Punjab Politics (thesis) shows that the C&MG had previously been in complicity with the Punjab Govt. intentionally intensifying Hindu-Muslim disagreements, to keep the latter out of the Congress (p.52).
- 3 E.g. "51 Years in India" (18 Sept 1906) refers to the nationalists as "the Bande Mataram herd" (for the use of zoological terms in the context of colonialism, see F.Fanon The Wretched of the Earth (Eng.tr.1967) pp.23-33; also T.Hodgkin "African and third-world theories of imperialism" in R.Owen and B.Sutcliffe Studies in the Theory of Imperialism (1972). "Sagittarius" (23 Sept 1906) is puzzled why Indian people are not altogether "contented and grateful under British rule and guidance"; two other interesting features of the correspondence are 1) "50 Years in India's" emphasis on the sexual threat that the new attitudes among the educated classes represent for the English women in India, cf. P.Mason op.cit. p.97 "sexual contact is condoned as long as it does not imply equality"; 11) the correspondence includes a letter signed "Mussulman" expressing dislike of educated Indians (7 Sept 1906), an indication of where many Muslims stood at this stage of the national movement. For an earlier series of fulminatory letters in the C&MG, against the Ilbert Bill in the 1880's, see Barrier, op.cit. p.30.
- 4 When it is recognised that a quarter of a century previously, in 1881, there were already some 1500 Punjabis in government employment at salaries above the proposed ceiling, many of them earning several times that amount, the irrationality of the proposal is manifest, N.G.Barrier op.cit., Appendix B.
- 5 Great store was set by the Proclamation among nationalists, and it had been published on the first page of the reports of the Indian National Congress annually from its inception; at the Congress held in Dec 1905, Gokhale made reference to it: "Both the Governments of England and of India appear to me, up to the present moment, unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise which they have uttered to the ear"- quoted in Andrews and Mookherjee Rise and Growth of the Congress (1938) p.76. Andrews reference was, then, judicious.
- 6 Quoted in MR Aug 1908.
- 7 Tribune 1 Aug 1907.
- 8 SM Dec 1906.
- 9 signed "An Englishman" 4 Sept 1906.
- 10 This echoed the interpretation of Curzon, who had emphasized the words "so far as maybe" Andrews and Mookherjee op.cit. p.118.
- 11 16 Sept 1906.
- 12 19 Sept 1906.

- 13 2 Oct 1906, 3 Oct 1906, 4 Oct 1906, 5 Oct 1906, 12 Oct 1906 - this last, from a much-respected missionary, J.L.Pennell, supported Andrews' position.
- 14 L.L.Rai The Story of My Deportation (1908) pp.237-8.
- 15 Tribune 29 Nov 1906.
- 16 Minto to Morley 2 May 1907 in Mary, Countess of Minto India : Minto and Morley 1905-1910 (1935) p.123.
- 17 Parliamentary Debates 4th Series, Vol.170, 1228 (11 Mar 1907).
- 18 Biog pp.84-5.
- 19 quoted in Tribune 23 Sept 1906.
- 20 22 Jan 07.
- 21 14 Sept 1906.
- 22 14 Sept 1906.

#### 4. "The worthy Bishop"

- 1 Lefroy's charge to the diocese of Lahore, 6 Nov 1906; the full text in Tribune 11,12,13 Dec 1906; an abbreviated version in H.H.Montgomery Life and Letters of George Alfred Lefroy (1920) pp.170-173.
- 2 Report of Cambridge Mission to Delhi meeting in London, CT 13 May 1904.
- 3 F.J.Western "The Lahore Diocesan Conference" DMN Jan 1907.
- 4 Lefroy sent Morley a copy of his charge and received a very appreciative answer, H.H.Montgomery op.cit. p.189.
- 5 The Tribune continued to acclaim him as "a true friend and sincere well-wisher of ours" (15 Jan 1910), and to attribute to him "Christian charity and benignity" (18 Feb 1913).
- 6 H.H.Montgomery op.cit. p.191.
- 7 N.G.Barrier op.cit. p.283.
- 8 H.H.Montgomery op.cit. pp.189-190.
- 9 Minto to Lefroy 15 Jul 1907 (cf. Lefroy's reply 17 Jul 1907) (N.L.S.Minto Papers).
- 10 Quoted in Tribune 25,29 August 1907; also "a remarkable letter" Hindu Patriot quoted in Tribune 29 Aug 1907.
- 11 Quoted in Tribune 30 Aug 1907.
- 12 H.H.Montgomery op.cit. pp.174-5.
- 13 CT 29 May 1908.

- 14 The Pan-Anglican Congress 1908 (1908) Vol.V, Sect D. "The Church's Mission in Non-Christian Lands...The claim as realized in India".
- 15 Preparatory Paper for Commission 1.
- 16 ed. J.Ellison and G.H.S.Walpole op.cit.
- 17 ibid. pp.67-69.
- 18 H.H.Montgomery op.cit. p.175.
- 19 W.M.C. Edinburgh 1910. Preparatory Paper for Commission 1.
- 20 Lefroy himself implied that as an Irishman he was not able to identify himself as completely as an Englishman might with current enthusiasm for the empire, J.Ellison and G.H.S.Walpole op.cit. p.69; cf. letter from J.A.P.Lefroy to author 19 Jun 1974.
- 21 W.M.C. Edinburgh 1910. Preparatory Paper for Commission 1.
- 22 ibid.
- 23 re Ghose, Lefroy to Montgomery 22 Feb 1906 (S.P.G. Lahore Letters Received); W.M.C. Edinburgh 1910. Preparatory Paper for Commission 1.
- 24 Lefroy to Montgomery 1 Dec 1913 (C.M.D. College Constitution)
- 25 H.H.Montgomery op.cit. p.131.
- 26 Andrews to Tagore 12 Dec 1912 (Santiniketan).
- 27 Mary, Countess of Minto op.cit. p.407.
- 28 Tribune 2 Jun 1908; the other three were E.Greaves of Benares (London Missionary Society), R.A.Hume of Ahmedabad (American Board of Missions) and W.Miller, retired principal of Madras Christian College (United Free Church of Scotland); Allnutt's name was added to the list in Tribune 16 Jul 1908.

## 5. "Indian Nationality"

- 1 T.G.P.Spear A History of India (1965) Vol 2 pp.174-6.
- 2 ibid. p.177.
- 3 G.Johnson "Partition, Agitation and Congress : Bengal 1904 to 1908" in J.Gallagher, G.Johnson, A.Seal Locality, Province and Nation (1973) p.267.
- 4 D.Argov Moderates and Extremists in the Indian Nationalist Movement 1883-1920 (1967) p.119.
- 5 Andrews' fourth point is more finely balanced as between 'moderates' and 'extremists' than might appear, in that social and industrial development, usually a 'moderate' theme, was strongly emphasised by the Punjab 'extremists' - Barrier Punjab Politics (thesis) pp.103-7,111,123.

- 6 In a letter to the weekly paper of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta just a few days earlier, he had introduced the term more carefully:- "our nation - I use the pronoun 'our' of the land of my adoption" Epiphany 6 Oct 1906.
- 7 Andrews CC 1907.
- 8 report by F.J.Western in DMN Jan 1907.
- 9 Forbes Robinson op.cit.
- 10 SM Oct 1906.
- 11 M.E.Hayes At Work (1909) p.123. There are notes on the retreat (pp.124-5). Based on the Book of Revelation, it seems to have been fairly conventional: Andrews touched in parallels between the Indian Church, "so tiny, insignificant", pressed down by "great world powers of darkness,....idolatry more active, feverish than ever", and the Church at the close of the first century; he depicts this latter oppressed by "the great world-power of Rome, a mighty engine of precision", but the parallels, at least in these notes, are very lightly suggested.
- 12 Bengalee 28 Dec 1906.
- 13 Harkishen Lal was a trustee of the Tribune, leader of the Brahmo faction in the Lahore Indian Association, a banker and industrialist - Barrier Punjab Politics (thesis) pp.55-6,80,93.
- 14 Tribune 13 Nov 1906.
- 15 C.A.Bayly "Patrons and Politics in Northern India" in J.Gallagher etc. op.cit. p.31.
- 16 B.P.Sitaramayya The History of the Indian National Congress 1885-1935 (1935) p.169.
- 17 Tribune 25 Dec 1906.
- 18 Lahore Lecture : Tribune 13 Nov 1906; Delhi lecture ibid. 16 Dec 1906; Allahabad lectures ibid. 25 Dec 1906 and 25 Jan 1907, and HR Jan 1907 (this seems to have been a specially commissioned version; it was reproduced in full in Tribune 22 Feb 1907, and "published and very widely circulated in the form of a pamphlet" Biog p.85); Calcutta lecture Bengalee 28 Dec 1906.
- 19 Tribune 13 Nov 1906, cf. Barrier Punjab Politics (thesis) p.126 "Even when criticizing the British, the Tribune generally defended the proposition that the rulers had the interests of India at heart".
- 20 ibid. 25 Jan 1907.
- 21 HR Jan 1907.
- 22 ibid., cf. Gokhale's line at the 1905 Congress : "a self-governing colony in the Empire".
- 23 Tribune 25 Dec 1906.

- 24 Biog p.85.
- 25 Andrews to Tagore 11 Feb 1914 (Santiniketan). Parmeshwar Lal's comments are in HR Apr 1907.
- 26 Tribune 16 Dec 1906, 25 Jan 1907.
- 27 ibid. 25 Dec 1906.
- 28 ibid. 25 Jan 1907.
- 29 ibid. 13 Nov 1906.
- 30 A fellow-missionary wrote of his "remarkable ease of diction" DMN Jan 1912; a colleague at St. Stephen's College recalled: "he gave a talk to the College about some, probably Government injustice and he put the case so eloquently that I said to myself that were I an Indian I would want to knife the first Englishman I saw!" P.N.F.Young to author 7 May 1974.
- 31 T.G.P.Spear India, Pakistan and the West (1949) p.194.
- 32 Biog p.85.
- 33 Andrews wrote at the end of the first day at the Congress that he had met Bannerjee before, Bengalee 28 Dec 1906.
- 34 After sending no delegates in 1902, the number rose to 28 in 1904, and by 1906, when "Punjabi politicians had moved from disillusionment with the Congress and political apathy to partnership in the Congress and militant agitation", there were 138 delegates - N.G.Barrier Punjab Politics (thesis) p.111.
- 35 For a description of his first visit to Calcutta, NI p.98; a few days after the Congress, Brown, at the annual meeting of the Mission, expressed warm sympathy with Indian "strivings after political freedom, and called on the Church to take a firm stand against racial antipathy" - "A Notable Pronouncement" Tribune 15 Jan 1907.
- 36 HR Jan 1907.
- 37 Andrews and Mookherjee op.cit. p.211, cf Biog p.87.
- 38 quoted in J.Gallagher etc. op.cit. p.267.
- 39 Bengalee 28 Dec 1906.
- 40 Andrews and Mookherjee op.cit. p.211.
- 41 HR Jan 1907.
- 42 Biog pp.86-7; perhaps slightly modifying this assessment is his later comment that Gokhale "stood at this time somewhere between the old and the new" Andrews and Mookherjee op.cit. p.184
- 43 Banerji was a sick man at this time; when he fainted during one of the sessions, Andrews carried him out in his arms, and visited him three or four times at his home. Biog p.86.
- 44 Andrews to Gokhale 24 Jan 1907; he repeated the offer

in a letter of 24 Jun 1907 (N.A.I. Gokhale Collection)

- 45 N.G.Barrier Punjab Politics (thesis) p.314.
- 46 T.G.P.Spear A History of India (1965) Vol 2; after the publication of the Minto-Morley reforms, S.A.C.Ghose made a revealing speech at the Annual Reunion of the College: "....Perhaps my former practice on these occasions has led you to expect nothing but political harangue and tirades from me. I have however abjured politics, not only for this evening, but perhaps for all evenings. And the reason is plain. As long as those in whose hands our destiny lay confidently affirmed that we were children and would ever remain so, and consequently that we had no business with anything beyond our academical occupations, it was inevitable that we should continue and persist in an attitude of protest, which attitude immediately landed us in the dusty arena of politics. But now that the pains and sacrifices of the last three or four years have begun to bear some kind of fruit,... YEA, when one of ourselves, an Old Student of this College, has been elevated to a seat on the Provincial Council, it is I think time for the students of St. Stephen's and the Tutor on its Staff to retire as it were within their respective shells and leave politics henceforth to those whose immediate business they are" SSC Mag Jan 1910.
- 47 Biog pp.87-8; in Andrews CC 1907, he reported that he had been severely criticised, and that Allnutt had asked him to write an occasional paper on the subject - which he seems never to have done, unless this was his 1910 paper, "India in Transition".

## 6. "A true Christian opportunity"

- 1 N.G.Barrier Banned (1974) pp.9-10.
- 2 W.C.Wordsworth "The Press" in L.S.S.O'Malley (ed) Modern India and the West (1941) p.204: Wordsworth quotes an issue of Friend of India in 1851 giving information culled from 13 named contemporaries "and many others".
- 3 N.G.Barrier and P.Wallace The Punjab Press 1880-1905 (1970) pp.42, 57, 104; Stephanian Spring 1973; Tribune 28 April 1914; Barrier and Wallace give Dayal as owner of the Imperial Native Press, while the Tribune (16 Apr 1914) names Amir Chand as manager of the Imperial Book Depot and Press - the connection, if any, is not known. The information on Aftab and Akash is from Sangat Singh Freedom Movement in Delhi 1858-1919 (1972) p.133.
- 4 N.G.Barrier and P.Wallace op.cit. p.149.
- 5 N.G.Barrier Punjab Politics (thesis) pp.125-6, 129.
- 6 In the ensuing discussion of the topic, it was reported that the original proposer intended to name the school "King Edward's" after Andrews' own school at Birmingham, Tribune 5 Dec 1906.

- 7 Nundy's Christian allegiance was certainly a matter of note in the Pūnjab, the Tribune's new rival, the Panjabee warning on 14 Apr 1906, the day after Nundy's first edition, that the paper would eventually champion Christianity and end up as a tool of government - quoted in N.G.Barrier Punjab Politics (thesis) p.150.
- 8 R.MacDonald op.cit. p.192.
- 9 Biog p.116. Two much lesser reviews of the period, the Indian World and East and West (Bombay) carried occasional appreciative references to Andrews, but nothing of great significance e.g. Indian World Dec 1907, Jun 1909, Feb-Mar 1911, East and West Aug 1909.
- 10 The Modern Review carried one article by an Indian Christian (May 1910) and one by another missionary, Andrews' friend, J.S.Hoyland (Jun 1913) during the period.
- 11 Tribune 25 May 1907, quoting from Madras Mail; Modern Review Jan 1911, quoting from the Leader.
- 12 Tribune 20 Feb 1909.
- 13 E.g. the article on "Indian Nationality" vide sup; his "Christianity and Patriotism", NMI Feb 1910, was circulated as a pamphlet by the Young Liberals League, MR Sept 1910.
- 14 World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910 Preparatory Paper for Commission 4.
- 15 YMOI Jan 1910; Andrews CC 1912.
- 16 Cf. Garfield Williams, of the national staff of the Y.M.C.A., on Andrews, "no Englishman has a better right to speak from the Indian point of view, and...no one has a better knowledge of the Indian national consciousness" YMOI May 1909.
- 17 NI p.95.
- 18 ibid p.96.
- 19 Macnicol's prospectus said that "The attitude of the paper will be one of sympathy with all that is worthy in the religions of India and the aspirations of the Indian people, as pointing to and finding their fulfilment in the Christian faith" - quoted in E.J.Sharpe Not to Destroy But to Fulfil (1965) p.238.
- 20 SM Jun 1913. Of his work at building bridges of understanding between the British and the Indians at a later stage, "no-one did more" Hugh Tinker Separate and Unequal (1976) p.10.
- 21 Mary, Countess of Minto op.cit. p.315; Minto's successor, Hardinge commented that "if the angel Gabriel came down from heaven, the Anglo-Indian press would see in him a Mephistopheles" Hardinge to Harcourt Butler 3 Feb 1912 (C.U.L. Hardinge Papers).
- 22 His literary output during these years, and excluding the books published in 1908 and 1912, moved to a peak in 1910,

for which year we have 42 published items, including 30 major articles.

- 23 Allnutt to Stanton 28 Feb 1907 (C.M.D. 'Principal').
- 24 B.K.Cunningham to Montgomery 27 Feb 1909, quoting J.McL. Campbell, (S.P.G. Lahore Letters Received).
- 25 Rudra CC 1911.
- 26 E.g. he felt qualified by 1906 to publish a leaflet, 'Hints to Missionaries' for circulation in England through S.P.G. (leaflet missing from S.P.G. files) (S.P.G. Standing Committee Minutes, 11 Oct 1906).
- 27 But, for his continuing journalistic power, see Jawaharlal Nehru Autobiography (1936) p.66. Nehru, commenting on his pamphlet of 1921, "Independence - the Immediate Need", says "This was a brilliant essay...and it seemed to me not only to make out an unanswerable case for independence but also to mirror the inmost recesses of our hearts. The deep urge that moved us and our half-formed desires seemed to take clear shape in his simple and earnest language".
- 28 Murdoch, a presbyterian missionary who combined utilitarianism with a Victorian religious earnestness, exercised his "ministry of literature" in India for over 50 years, until his retirement in 1902, through the Religious Tract Society (forbear of the C.L.S. and the U.S.C.L.) and the Christian Vernacular Education Society, and, in relation to his times, prior to the "new era" beginning around 1905, had a range of influence among the educated classes as remarkable in its own way as that of Andrews. Although Andrews later criticised him for being insufficiently sympathetic to Indian religious reform (Swarajya 18 Dec 1921) there is much that he would have appreciated in Murdoch's work, such as his promotion of social reform, his stress on vernacular education, his growing sympathy with Indian nationalism. See A.W.McClymont The Travelling Bookman (1947) Re Farquhar, Sharpe op.cit. p.368, cites only 3 articles in the Indian reviews.
- 29 Tribune 23 Aug 1910.
- 30 ibid. 13 May 1910.
- 31 SSC Mag Jul 1909.
- 32 Biog p.110 This 'incarnational' approach did not convince everyone. An Indian writer claimed that it was looked upon as "Barefaced bribery" (Tribune 30 Oct 1909), but this view seems never to have been widely expressed. Later, an English critic complained of some of his articles in MR, with "never an allusion in them to Christ or the Gospel" (letter C.R.N. Blakiston CT 12 Dec 1913; the following week, B.K.Cunningham argued that the Indian response to Andrews left no room for doubt that he was held to be "beyond question and primarily a great Christian" CT 19 Dec 1913.
- 33 Andrews CC 1909; TEW Oct 1907; YMOI Apr 1911.



CHAPTER 4. TOWARDS A THEOLOGY OF NATIONAL RENAISSANCE

1. Introductory

The object of the Cambridge Mission, to be a new Alexandria, meant an engagement with the Indian people in that which most deeply moved and concerned them. In his first two or three years in India, Andrews had discovered that from one end of Asia to the other, a vast process of change was under way, to which, in India, the somewhat inadequate term, "the national movement", was applied, and that this was the deepest source of thought and feeling amongst those from among the educated classes whom he met, and with whom he had so remarkably quickly established himself. It was to remain close to the centre of his attention throughout his time in Delhi.

His first two or three years in India had coincided with an historic stage in the development of Indian nationalism. After the 'awakening' of 1905-6, the next really serious development had to wait upon the 1914-18 war and its effects,<sup>1</sup> and upon Gandhi's rise to power, but the "surging, heaving ferment"<sup>2</sup> continued throughout Andrews' missionary decade. This was, around 1907 and 1908, the period of what was widely known as "the Indian Unrest",<sup>3</sup> in which the Punjab and Delhi had their own singular part as "storm centres of the seditious movement",<sup>4</sup> and Andrews wrote later of "the wounds of those terrible years".<sup>5</sup> Thereafter, the tempo relaxed for a time and in some respects. In 1909, "after a long and serious delay", the Indian Councils Act, usually known as the Morley-Minto reforms, was passed, "a great step", Andrews believed, towards representative and responsible government.<sup>6</sup> The royal visit at the end of 1911 can only have been undertaken on the assumption that all was serene, or at least under firm control,<sup>7</sup> but the respite was short-lived, and Gandhi's return to India at the end of Andrews' missionary decade meant that the national movement would soon

move into a new gear.

Andrews continued during these years, to an observer, "a radical in politics and an enthusiast by temperament,....advanced in his ideas"<sup>8</sup>, although he was not again caught up so closely as in 1906 in the more directly political side of the national movement until the very last year or so and his visit to South Africa and the beginning of his association with Gandhi.<sup>9</sup> These were, nevertheless, years of prodigious activity in his new-found journalistic vocation, as he pursued the opportunities opened up by the sequence of events in his first two years in India, and sought "to reach and influence the centres of thought and movement in the East", and, in doing so, developed what we may call a theology of national renaissance.<sup>10</sup>

## 2. "Imperialism and its ethics"

If there existed in Anglican circles any sort of theological interpretation of the situation in India at the beginning of Andrews' missionary decade, it could be summed up in what he himself later called "a Church and Empire creed"<sup>1</sup>. This is hardly surprising, taking into account both the special character of "the Church of England in India" as an "Ecclesiastical Establishment" closely tied to the Government of India, and also the fact that the British empire, extending over more than one-fourth of the globe, and in direct influence over nearly one-third of the people of the world, was still expanding at this time and reached its greatest extent only in the 1920's. The fact of British rule had long attracted theological appraisal by Anglicans. In the late nineteenth century, the views of Westcott on "Imperial duty" became for many the classic Christian version of liberal imperialism. These views continued to find expression in church circles during Andrews' missionary years, in, for example, the symposium, Church and Empire, published in preparation for the Pan-Anglican Congress

of 1908 (itself described as "the 'Imperial Conference' of the Church")<sup>2</sup>; the book's subtitle, "Responsibilities of Empire", conveys the general attitude of the contributors. At the same time, these years witnessed also, in the judgement of Lefroy, "the spread....amongst Englishmen of thoughts and phrases connected with the Empire and Imperialism" which filled him with the utmost apprehension for their revelation of "low and selfish purposes"<sup>3</sup>. Accompanying these was a view among Christians which was, if anything, more than complacent about the fact of empire, speaking of "imperial Christianity", and of the Church's role as to "sanctify the spirit of Imperialism"<sup>4</sup>. In the Church and Empire essays, this view is represented in the claim that the British empire was "internal to Christianity", "an expression of the Christianity which the Church has to guard"<sup>5</sup>. A contemporary Liberal critic, J.A.Hobson, accused the Church of "mystification", saying that language of this kind enabled "imperialism...(to) escape general recognition for the narrow and sordid thing that it...(was)"<sup>6</sup>. Such criticism, however found no echoes at the Pan-Anglican Congress.

Where did Andrews, who was later to be identified as one of a very small band of "atheists of empire"<sup>7</sup>, stand with regard to the empire during these years? We can begin to answer this question by looking at his treatment of the commonplace idea of the providential nature of British rule. We have seen how Lefroy acknowledged, if with substantial qualifications, the place of the British empire within the divine providence: he yielded to none in recognising "the vast benefits that on the whole, in the Providence of God", had accrued to India from her connection with "England"<sup>8</sup>. Allnutt, no more complacent than Lefroy, took a similar line, acclaiming the imperial beneficence "the most unique and noble spectacle the world has ever seen,...a Christ-like enterprise" upon which, he was sure, "the divine blessing must rest"<sup>9</sup>. This sort of view continued to be reiterated throughout the period,

even by moderate Indian nationalists, such as the President of the 1911 Congress, Bishan Narayan Dar, for whom British rule was "still the greatest gift of Providence to my race".<sup>10</sup> Andrews seems to have been reticent and careful in this matter. In a paper on "Missionary Service", written in 1911, he makes use of the analogy of the Roman empire, pointing out how St. Paul "used quite fearlessly in laying down the lines of advance...its organisation, its great roads of commerce, its imperial functions and authorities, its language and literature", but he calls these "world forces", and justifies Paul's use of them by saying that "All belong by right to Christ, and all may be made a part of the great citizenship of the Church, for all are Christ's, and Christ is God's".<sup>11</sup> This view is more reserved than that of the 'Providentialists', suggesting a desire to define rather cautiously the way in which the British empire might be viewed as a gift of God, that is, only as an opportunity for Christian mission. The same qualified approach is evident in his sermon, "Imperial Responsibilities", preached at Cambridge the following year.<sup>12</sup> Elsewhere, he seems to have referred only once to the empire's being "committed to us for direction",<sup>13</sup> but this is so isolated a reference as to be quite untypical, and its tone, even so, is much more restrained than that of Lefroy, with his reference to "the splendour of the position to which.....the British Empire has been called in the world".<sup>14</sup>

In spite of this evident unwillingness to justify the British empire theologically, Andrews clearly had in many respects at this time a very positive attitude to the empire. This comes out particularly in reflections which he shared with his Indian readers. Thus, his view of the history of the British period in India - and he frequently alluded to the question "as a student of history"<sup>15</sup> - was that it had followed upon a situation in which, "to a people sunk in anarchy and disorder,.... reform from within had become impossible",<sup>16</sup> so that "the needs of peace

and settlement and strong central control were primary"<sup>17</sup> If the process had begun with the "intolerable commercial rapacity...and corruption of the East India Company", nineteenth-century India had witnessed, with many lapses, "a slow but steady advance in just and tolerable government"<sup>18</sup> Particularly when addressing this Indian readership, he expressed a marked satisfaction with the way things had developed. He pointed out how there had been built up "the outward fabric of a new civilization,.....framed and elaborated with all the talent that intellect could command"<sup>19</sup> The British, moved by the "great ideals of the great Victorians - men such as Canning and Lawrence, Edwards and Outram, our great and good Queen Victoria - ....(were) tolerant conquerors", imposing a "mild subjection" as the necessary price for slow but steady advance.<sup>20</sup> Nor did he envisage this advance, even when it led to "the fullest expansion of nationality", as ever being incompatible with loyalty to the British crown.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, he was remembered by one of his students at this time as "a staunch believer in British rule"<sup>22</sup> and this would certainly appear to be the view which he intended to convey to Indian people during most of this period.

Andrews subsequently recalled that it was about 1909 that he became inescapably aware of a contrast "between the free life of a nation...and the sham life of an Empire",<sup>23</sup> but this is certainly not reflected unambiguously in his writing. The occasion of the royal visit to India in the winter of 1911-12 furnished an instructive illustration of his attitude. The main public event of the visit at which important policy decisions were announced - regarding the reunification of Bengal, and the transfer of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi - was the durbar which was held in Delhi, and St.Stephen's College was involved in a small way, with the playing fields taken over for a visitors' camp, and students employed as stewards. To one former student whom Andrews knew, Har Dayal,

the event disclosed nothing more clearly than the "sham life of an Empire". To Har Dayal, these were "dark days of shame", concerned quite specifically with the fostering of an illusion:

The jaded King of England was trotted out to Delhi....to impress the grandeur of the 'Empire' on the minds of the assembled hosts of Hindustan.

He was certainly correct in seeing the transfer of the capital as "the final culmination of the empire-building process in India",<sup>24</sup> for that was exactly what it had represented to the man who had first put the idea to the Viceroy, and he, too, had spoken in terms of appearances, of "the outward and visible sign that the British Raj" was there "(humanly speaking) for ever".<sup>25</sup> Others at St. Stephen's College saw things very differently from Har Dayal. The royal visit made them, one student wrote, "the happiest and noblest of men".<sup>26</sup> Certainly, there is nothing to suggest that Andrews' colleagues were among those who, after the King and Queen had left the durbar, "made obeisance to the thrones",<sup>27</sup> although to Rudra the durbar was an occasion to offer "homage and love",<sup>28</sup> and it deepened Raghubar Dayal's "love to the British Throne".<sup>29</sup> Andrews shared this enthusiasm, and, while his mind was also on the practical implications for mission strategy of the transfer of the capital, he saw the presence of the King and Queen as "the triumph of goodness and simplicity and love", doing much to dispel the bitterness and resentment among educated Indians which lay behind the "Indian Unrest",<sup>30</sup> and he was even moved to write an article for Indian readers on the royal visit as exemplifying the virtue of imperial duty.<sup>31</sup> The contrast in his mind between the free life of a nation and the sham life of an empire, is, then, far from evident in his writing about the royal visit.

If Andrews developed any sort of critique of the empire as such at this time, it was with regard to the economic base. This he addressed

to an audience in Britain, through a paper commissioned for the Pan-Anglican Congress, on "India and England : Some Moral Aspects of the Economic Relation".<sup>32</sup> It is, in some respects, surprising, in view of his own earlier work, in Britain, on the conflict between capital and labour, and in view also of the acknowledged influence of Rudra, who taught economic history, that he did not make more in his writing of the fundamental economic structure of the imperial system. This one attempt, nevertheless, was very notable. With extensive quotation from the Indian "economic nationalists",<sup>33</sup> he deals with the "moral aspects" of the economic relation in four ways. He deals with "English predominance" as deterring Indian initiative and so forcing "a steady contraction of innate powers", a process which he describes as "Evil". The "drain" of wealth from India to Britain creates financial strains which are unjust. Tariffs such as the Cotton Excise Duty are "iniquitous". The system of land revenues leads to pauperization and "immense..... possibilities of human suffering". He concluded by drawing attention to "a new school of Indian economists, sometimes called by the name of 'Extremists'", with their main doctrine summed up in the word 'Boycott'. Andrews is cautious in his judgement of this movement, but concludes with a speculation that the Swadeshi movement as a whole might prove in certain directions "the economic salvation" of India. This was an extremely radical departure, in the face of the otherwise absolute complacency of the Pan-Anglican Congress with regard to the economic basis of the empire.<sup>34</sup>

How are we to interpret the co-existence of this criticism, for a British audience, of economic imperialism, with his positive assessment of British rule for an Indian readership? One way is by saying that he seems to have seen his role at this time - as indeed he did throughout the rest of his life - as to build bridges of understanding between Britain and India, and so promote the slow evolution of India within

the empire. We see him pursuing such an aim quite explicitly in 1908 in a correspondence with the Viceroy's Private Secretary, Dunlop Smith. Andrews wrote to Dunlop Smith thrice at this time, as one "in a peculiarly favourable position to hear daily from the inside what the Moderates.... (were) saying". He was anxious to "stiffen the backs of the Moderates against the Extremists", and, to this end, urged upon the Viceroy both the principle of consultation, and the notion of "a really warm and kind-hearted pronouncement of sympathy". This would "make them patient and cheerful".<sup>35</sup> A similar interpretation can be placed on his correspondence with the succeeding Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, in 1913, with regard both to the role of the Arya Samaj and also the plight of Indians in South Africa.<sup>36</sup> Andrews was, then, by no means a revolutionary in his attitude to the empire during most of his missionary decade, any more than were most of the Indian nationalists, and in some respects, like them, he was a vigorous collaborator. In this context, a visitor from England at the time noted that,

Men who were inclined to criticize British methods always ended up by saying that Englishmen of Mr. Andrews' type were doing more to bring about a true and deep Imperialism, founded upon trust and affection, than people in England usually understood.<sup>37</sup>

Certainly, he himself said that "an imperialism which proceeds through conquest and protection, to uplift to a level of equality either backward or decaying nations" could be, "in part, or even wholly, Christian in its "spirit and purpose",<sup>38</sup> although he nowhere identifies this theoretical imperialism with British practice in India, and several times, speaking of "imperialism and its ethics", he said that it was essential to work out "the whole question of....'empire'...de novo from the Christian standpoint".<sup>39</sup>

Another way of interpreting Andrews' ambivalence, however, is to say that his critique of empire was only developing gradually and



unevenly - that in some respects during this period he continued to voice the Westcottian ideals of liberal imperialism, though never with any enthusiastic affirmation of "a Church and Empire creed", while in others he began to be attracted by the sharper criticism of the 'Extremists'. This perspective makes room for a marked shift in the balance of his views from about 1912.

He had often quoted a remark of J.R. Seeley's in The Expansion of England (1883), to the effect that "subjection for a long time to a foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of national deterioration".<sup>40</sup> At the end of 1912, he alluded to this idea in writing to Tagore.

My thoughts turn more and more to a longing for an India that shall be altogether independent, and yet one knows this can hardly be at present. Only how to get out of the vicious circle of subjection leading to demoralisation (both of rulers and ruled) and demoralisation leading to further subjection - that is the eternal problem!<sup>41</sup>

In discussions with Gokhale in March 1914, he came to the conclusion that this process had to be halted, and that "it was no use working round and round in a vicious circle - producing semi-dependent Indians through entering the Government system and so perpetuating the present dependent system". While he agreed with Gokhale that India was "not ripe" for political independence, nevertheless, unlike Gokhale, he had reached the conviction that "Indians who were patriots" needed to work "outside the present system", because only outside it could "independent character" be formed, and only this independent character could be "the ultimate emancipator of India".<sup>42</sup> Behind these thoughts lay Andrews' experience of working with an Indian of just such independent character, Gandhi, in South Africa in January and February 1914, though the thoughts were decidedly Andrews' own. They did not amount to anything like the repudiation of the imperial relationship that he was to make by about

1920-1, and which Gandhi himself only came to in 1929, but they mark the direction of his changing ideas unmistakably.<sup>43</sup>

If a "Church and Empire creed" had ever made any sense to Andrews, it had ceased to do so before the end of his missionary decade, and any theologizing on what was going on in India would have to have, for him, a quite different starting point. Before we turn to Andrews' thinking about Indian nationalism, however, there is one aspect of the imperial phenomenon that troubled him more than all the others, racialism, and to this we must turn first.

### 3. "The Ethics of Race"

We have seen how racial feeling was an acute and increasingly bitter problem in India in the early years of the century, accentuated no doubt by the growing self-awareness of the educated classes.<sup>1</sup> For Andrews, the question of race was, though distinct, closely associated with the question of "imperialism and its ethics", and he sometimes referred to "the ethics of 'race' and the ethics of 'empire'" together.<sup>2</sup> We have seen that behind his concern was his sympathy for his Indian friends, like Rudra,<sup>3</sup> but that he was also responding to a great deal of public evidence of a "rapidly developing colour prejudice" at the time,<sup>4</sup> to the "bad, wicked race dominance, ...the perpetual social insolence of the military Anglo-Indian" which he saw embodied in the Commander-in-Chief, Kitchener, attitudes which were indeed recognised by both the Viceroy and the Secretary of State as "one of the potent causes of the Indian unrest".<sup>5</sup> The "race-problem" would be, Andrews claimed, "the most serious difficulty for the church of the twentieth century to meet and overcome", a judgement in which Allnutt concurred.<sup>6</sup>

In every aspect of the question "an ultimate moral principle" was involved and a Christian attitude needed, and there was required

of the Church's leaders and thinkers "something of the same kind of work which has been undertaken during the last few years with regard to the home social problem"<sup>7</sup>. He therefore suggested that "the work of raising the Christian standard with regard to the treatment of races" required "a Christian literature of its own"<sup>8</sup>. Andrews' writing in this field, addressed to a large extent to a readership among the 'dominant race', represents a pioneering effort in this matter, a uniquely early effort to initiate such a Christian literature.<sup>9</sup>

In his earliest writing on the subject, he suggested cautiously that the Christian commentator should not enter into details but simply define and boldly declare principles.<sup>10</sup> Soon, however, so critical did he judge the matter to be, he was advocating "a careful analysis....of concrete modern instances" where the problem was acute.<sup>11</sup> His own most elaborate analysis, of what he called "the Sahib spirit", occurs in his book of 1908, North India, which Lefroy called "quite the ablest and best....statement....I have seen anywhere".<sup>12</sup> With vivid illustration from his own Punjab experience, he examines "the position of a 'Sahib', with all the dominance which that name implies",<sup>13</sup> treating systematically of the 'sahib' as "(i) a foreigner, (ii) influential, (iii) oberbearing, (iv) patronizing".<sup>14</sup> He did not confine his concern to the Punjab, or even to India, but drew attention, as, indeed, did "thoughtful Hindus", to "colour prejudice....gathering....alarming volume in South Africa, Australia, America, and even in Europe itself".<sup>15</sup>

Andrews was clearly aware of the theorizing on race that had gone on in the nineteenth century; his own opinion on aspects of it was most clearly expressed in his W.S.C.F. paper of 1911.

The early theory of the nineteenth century nationalists, that 'race' and 'state' must always exactly correspond, is contrary to the Christian idea of liberty and progress. There are no

'natural rights', with a divine sanction, by which races may claim to remain always separate. The fallacy is of the same kind as that which Rousseau propounded concerning the 'natural rights' of individuals. Humanity is an organism in which both individuals and races are closely and intimately inter-connected. It is also a growing organism, which does not look back to the past for its ideals, but looks forward to the future. The 'noble savage' is no more an ideal for humanity than the pure, unadulterated race. The theory of the 'natural rights' of races, if carried to its extreme form, would justify the stratification of caste, which was racial in origin. The argument on which it is based becomes, from the Christian standpoint, a reductio ad absurdum, a contradiction of all the Christian postulates. Indeed, the Christian argument works entirely in the opposite direction. It involves racial contact and intermingling, leading on to a brotherhood of Christian nations, leading on to a commonwealth of man.<sup>16</sup>

This passage discloses several of the "Christian postulates" which he made so much of during these years, the "Christian idea of liberty" and of "progress", and, more importantly, his notion of human solidarity, of humanity as an "organism".

Andrews worked out the "Christian argument" in several places. His fullest consideration of it was in his address on "Racial Unity" given at Calcutta in 1907.<sup>17</sup> This is largely a study of the ideas of St. Paul, who, starting as "a Pharisee of the Pharisees, prouder than the proudest Brahmin of his religious position, more keen than the keenest Englishman on his race superiority", became "the great unifier of races", for whom "the mystery of racial unity in Christ" was the "great life-principle", its fulfilment "the object of his apostolate". Andrews' procedure is to trace through the Epistles the course of

"the great struggle", and the arguments deployed in securing the recognition of Jew and Greek as "fellow-heirs, fellow-citizens, of the same Body". He was conscious that his approach might seem to be an eccentric reading, and in the course of anticipating that criticism, he reviewed some of the main points of his argument, and went on to place the issue in a wider context.

Was it simply a question of racial unity on which St. Paul was ready to stake, as it were, the whole Christian position?

Yes, in a sense, it was all; for in that one principle, Christianity did really stand or fall....to admit privilege was to deny that one foundation, "Christ crucified"; to give up the one ground of acceptance, "By grace ye are saved".

Yes, in a sense, when Jew and Greek partook of the one Bread and shared the one Cup, and gave each to each the kiss of Peace, it was all, the mystery was revealed; for all the marvellous and glorious future of Christianity was included, was foreshadowed in that one act. Yet in another and wider sense it was not all, but was only the beginning. It was to St. Paul a pledge and foretaste of a unity which should never cease developing, until in wider and wider circles all were "one Man in Christ"; until the many races of mankind became one humanity.

The application of this to contemporary India, to the relationship between "the proud Englishman and the sensitive Indian", Andrews did not find difficult, although he limited the full expression of racial unity to those who shared the Christian faith, who, as Christ's body, "redeemed and unified humanity", were "the nucleus of that Unity". We shall look later at Andrews' treatment of this aspect of the question.

In this early paper, Andrews makes a point that is to recur

thereafter, that the racial division in India was not only between Indian and European, but also within Indian society, itself "divided into a thousand separate communities". The caste system was itself a sacralizing of racial dominance, and as such a warning as to how injustice can be given almost permanent form, a history "written over the whole of India in letters of untold suffering and hopeless misery", and lying still "like an incubus in the land".<sup>18</sup>

What was most crucially at stake in his judgement, however, was the implication for mission of the racial question as raised by the conduct of British people in India, and of "the white Governments".<sup>19</sup> Because of the identification of British people with Christianity, this question was "the most pressing missionary problem in India", as he stated in virtually every publication with a British readership to which he had access.<sup>20</sup> He conceded that a debate such as that which Farquhar had initiated in the Contemporary Review on the divinity of Christ and its challenge to the position of "the Hindu enlightenment" was deeply interesting, but insisted that it paled into insignificance beside "the glaring contradiction between Christian theory and public practice" in the matter of race. Younger Indians saw Christianity going "hand in hand with acts of oppression and cruelty to the coloured races of mankind", and acts of this kind loomed so large and were so constantly brought forward that they practically filled the picture.<sup>21</sup>

Men may go on for ever arguing about the comparative value of the Vedantist or Christian conception of the universe. I do not wish to minimize the importance of such philosophic speculations ....But the bulk of thinking, struggling, feeling, sensitive men and women, who have their own difficult, practical problems to face day by day, will look, and rightly look, not to philosophy but life. If the moral supremacy of the Christian

faith is constantly lowered in their eyes by what they see around them in practical Christian conduct, then all the philosophic argument in the world will not convince them that Christianity is the One True Religion for the whole human race.<sup>22</sup>

Not all missionaries agreed with Andrews about the racial situation, and at least one publicly denied that "the character of the English in India was such as to hinder the spread of the Gospel".<sup>23</sup> At the Pan-Anglican Congress in 1908, speaking on the Church's progress as affected by "Race Problems" in India, Lefroy refrained from deep denunciation of Anglo-Indian life because it had "a strong and worthy side", although he admitted that it was "the Englishman rather than the native who was on trial", and, in 1910, that innumerable pages of the history of British rule in India were defaced by, inter alia, "haughtiness of race and contempt of others".<sup>24</sup> Andrews agreed about the "worthy side",<sup>25</sup> but judged that 'balance' did not meet the urgency of the situation, and that it was time that "Missionary Statesmen, those who try to gauge the real situation", took cognizance of this fact.<sup>26</sup>

In this cause, he persistently gathered and presented evidence of "the real situation", pointing out, for example, how, in a single week in 1908 he had counted, in the few Indian papers that he read, as many as 12 allusions to the failure of Christian public morality, the failure in racial relations.<sup>27</sup> However impressive the exceptions, his assessment was that the "prevailing" Anglo-Indian spirit of domination was shared by "the bulk of the English laity".<sup>28</sup> To illustrate the effect of this spirit, he quotes at length, on several occasions, a Hindu writer in the journal Indian World, pointing out that the sting of the quotation lies in the repetition of the word 'Christian'.

What can we think of the Christian missionary who never cares

to raise his voice against the failure of Christian justice, against Christian tyranny, against Christian high-handedness and repression? When we study the heartless, and sometimes shameless, way in which independent states and people are brought under subjection by Christian nations; when we glance at the treatment accorded to coloured peoples all over the world and, above all, when we consider the supreme contempt with which all subject peoples are looked upon by their Christian conquerors, we not only begin to lose faith in Christian civilization, but we almost begin to have a lurking antipathy against Christianity itself.<sup>29</sup>

This particular aspect of British rule in India, then, undermined the Christian mission in a very damaging way.

Preaching before the king at the Durbar at Delhi in 1911, the Bishop of Madras affirmed that the permanent value of any empire lay in "its power of making real and effective in the world the ideal of brotherhood".<sup>30</sup> Andrews had seen enough of "another imperialism" which implied "the perpetual subjection of one race to another", to convince him that "such an imperialism" as it to a large extent was in India, and as it appeared to Indian people, was "wholly contrary to the Christian ideal", so that any nation attempting it was "dealing a deadly wound at the humanity which Christ came to save".<sup>31</sup> While he continued to acknowledge the necessity of empire as such throughout these years, it is clear that the racial factor, because it offended against Christianity's "central doctrine" of "the unity of mankind in Christ",<sup>32</sup> and so to undermine the Church's mission in a very fundamental way, raised particularly unsettling questions for Andrews.



#### 4. "The great giver of emancipation"

Imperialism presented, for Andrews, a serious obstacle to mission, and, within that framework, the racialism of the British an even more serious one, but the emerging national movement presented to the missionary only "problems", though indeed "a whole new series of problems". Prominent among these was how far nationalism could be welcomed "without trenching upon spheres which...(were) purely political"<sup>1</sup>. That it was to be welcomed, and "bought up" by the Christian missionary, he had no doubt.<sup>2</sup>

The need for a Christian witness within the intellectual processes of the national movement, was expressed in an article at this time by a young Indian Christian, N.C.Mukerji, in the Indian Interpreter.

What we need is a body of teaching which would do for our nationalist movement what Christian Socialism has done for the Labour Movement in England, and thus harness it to the service of Christianity instead of letting it run amuck.<sup>3</sup>

Andrews' own background, "Christian Socialism....in England", was not a bad qualification for this task. Certainly, it was in precisely these terms that an English visitor to St. Stephen's College saw his work.

It has been encouraging....to observe in him and his colleagues how universal in their range are the principles of the Christian Social Union as formed in England, In India, perhaps even more than in England, the Religion of the Incarnation has to justify itself in its social aspects and by its practical bearings upon the reorganization and reconstruction of human society.<sup>4</sup>

To these "social aspects" and "practical bearings", Andrews drew attention in a wide-ranging series of articles during these years.

He seems to have first become aware that the movement was far more than a "purely political" phenomenon when he saw "the varied forces

of national life" embodied in the "social, temperance, industrial and religious conferences gathered round the Calcutta Congress",<sup>5</sup> and he was soon questioning whether the movement was "even mainly 'political'", these aspects of the movement, "simple, wholesome reform" having "the element of permanency which is lacking in party politics".<sup>6</sup> In his preference at this time for "simple, wholesome reform" over "heroics or revolutionary measures",<sup>7</sup> Andrews was identifying with the line of the 'moderate' nationalists, with what has subsequently been described as "liberal nationalism", a tradition shaped significantly in the late nineteenth century by M.G.Ranade, and then embodied in the work of Gokhale, to whom Andrews had offered his services after the Calcutta Congress.<sup>8</sup> His writing during these years discloses an interest in many of the features of this tradition, and he did much to aid its development, as well as to harmonize it with his theology. At one time or another, he took the opportunity to write or speak on almost every imaginable aspect of the "varied forces of national life".

We have already seen how in his paper for the Pan-Anglican Congress, he introduced the ideas of economic nationalism to wider circles. The debate about the extent of "the exploitation of Indian resources...under the conditions of British supremacy" was one which went on in Andrews' own circle.<sup>9</sup> Lefroy regarded the notion of "the drain" as false, and one which the Government of India needed to refute publicly.<sup>10</sup> Rudra, on the other hand, taught Andrews that the "economic drain" upon the masses was "steadily increasing".<sup>11</sup> Andrews soon accepted the latter position in a restrained but unequivocal way.<sup>12</sup> His concern, however, was with the moral and social effect of the economic arrangements, with the conviction, shared with Ghose, that the consequence of British supremacy in this field was a people "sinking lower and lower in pauperizing subjection".<sup>13</sup> It is not surprising, therefore,

that he looked favourably not only upon the swadeshi movement in general, as other missionaries did, but even went well beyond the liberal position in his support for the policy of boycotting English manufactures.<sup>14</sup> Andrews made various practical proposals on the economic aspect of nation-building, but did not develop these ideas in relation to his thinking about the Christian faith.<sup>15</sup> In some respects he must have accepted, since he presented to the public with an enthusiastic introduction, Ghose's statement regarding "subjection for trade purposes", that,

If Christianity is ever to become acceptable to the fallen Indian populations, it must show its power in breaking the chains of the oppressors.<sup>16</sup>

For Ghose, this subjection was an indication of "the magnitude and gravity of the problem before the missionary and the Church", terms which certainly echo Andrews' distinctive opinion at this time.

Mention has been made here of the term, swadeshi, which had in common usage in these years a specific, economic sense. It is characteristic of Andrews' evolving thought that, while not understating the economic aspect of swadeshi, he should want to "idealize" it, claiming that "true Swadeshi is a spirit".<sup>17</sup> This spirit, in those who had it, made for a "spiritual purpose, namely the achievement of national self-consciousness". Specifically, this involved breaking through "denationalizing caste prejudices", forsaking "customs which separate Indian from Indian", uplifting "the submerged and depressed classes", meeting and treating with one's fellow countrymen "on equal and brotherly terms". Presented in these categories, swadeshi was none other than "the constructive power of love and brotherhood". The Christian dimensions of this exercise in "idealization" are clear enough, and, indeed, Andrews went on to elaborate on the notion in the familiar categories of contemporary liberal theology, claiming that developing

"the highest and the best in India for the benefit of mankind" transformed swadeshi into "a spiritual principle which God himself will bless, for it will be in the line of the divine order of the progress of the world".<sup>18</sup> Significantly, the Tribune identified Andrews' "all embracing Swadeshi" as a "new gospel". Even more significantly, however, and it is a measure of his success in communicating as a missionary with the nationalists, the Tribune did so in a special leading article which welcomed his reflections as certain to make for "the highest ideal of Indian nationality".<sup>19</sup>

Important among the issues pertinent to an all-embracing swadeshi was the question of caste. Occasionally, he refers to the system in objective terms, commending its scientific study.<sup>20</sup> Occasionally he acknowledges it as "a living and growing system", representing to Hindus "the social side of life and the social moral code",<sup>21</sup> and one which, at least in the past, had a "protective" value.<sup>22</sup> But usually he is highly critical. His sharpest criticism he reserved for a readership in Britain, representing it as, in origin, "the most imposing experiment in race-alooofness that the world has ever seen", and pointing out "the insidious nature of the evil and its blighting effects", the "untold suffering and hopeless misery" that it created, "as destructive in its moral effect on the higher as it....(was) degrading on the lower castes", a system of "bondage,....slavery".<sup>23</sup> And if this might be dismissed as the inaccurate assessment of a foreigner, he pointed out that the evils of the system were being felt "in educated India" with "a bitterness never experienced in earlier times"<sup>24</sup> quoting on more than one occasion Tagore's assessment of, the hypnotic hold which this gigantic system of cold-blooded repression has taken on the minds of our people, whose social body it has so completely entwined in its coils that the free expression of manhood, even under the direst necessity, has

become almost an impossibility.<sup>25</sup>

To cap his criticism for a Christian readership, Andrews pronounced it "a hopeless contradiction in practice of the equality and brotherhood of man".<sup>26</sup> For his nationalist readers the issue of caste is always stated in the context of nationalism. Thus, he presented the system as "a standing weakness to national unification", its very existence "de-nationalizing",<sup>27</sup> while, in a Calcutta journal, he called its "partitions....even more disastrous" and "far more artificial than that of Bengal".<sup>28</sup>

A closely related area of concern was with regard to the outcastes, known in official parlance as the Depressed Classes. Andrews expressed, from time to time, mingled with his prayers for "the unheeded poor...Lifting dumb hands against the oppressor's wrong", a general concern for "the awakening....of the masses", and while he believed that the destiny of the country was in the hands of the educated classes, expressed the belief that the postponement of "the education of the masses in the very elements of Nationalism and self-development" placed "the most fatal weapon in the hand of those who would wish to keep India in subjection".<sup>29</sup> It is, however, his more specific concern for the most oppressed layers, the Depressed Classes, which concerns us here. This large sector of Indian society, "one fifth of the whole nation", was refused the benefits of education and enlightenment, and regarded as unclean by the other classes of society.<sup>30</sup> Although the Christian missions, including the Cambridge Mission, had been working in this sector for many years, the existence of the outcastes was virtually ignored by the educated classes.<sup>31</sup> Farquhar notes that this began to change around 1903,<sup>32</sup> but in fact the first editorial reference to the "untouchables" in the Tribune occurs as late as 1910.<sup>33</sup> Andrews reported to S.P.G. the following year that the desire to help the outcastes was perhaps the most significant factor in

the increasing momentum of the national movement.<sup>34</sup> From the beginning he drew attention to the importance of the Depressed Classes for the national movement, and, although he wrote only one article specifically on the subject, a short contribution to a nationalist symposium in 1912,<sup>35</sup> he made frequent allusion to the question in the nationalist press. Thus, we have seen how his concept of swadeshi incorporated "a genuine longing to see the submerged and depressed classes....upraised".<sup>36</sup> Here was "the most vulnerable point in Indian politics",<sup>37</sup> a matter so crucial that on it "the whole future of Indian nationalism" depended,<sup>38</sup>

Until Brahman and Sudra can unite in terms of mutual love for their motherland, Indian nationality cannot be achieved.<sup>39</sup>

If at the end of this period he came to recognise that the liberation of the Depressed Classes might involve a "bitter and prolonged.... struggle", and that this would not necessarily have the support of "the leisured classes",<sup>40</sup> his general position throughout was expressed in terms of a unitary view whereby the depressed classes would find their place in a body politic which he depicted under the Pauline metaphor of the body,

It must be shown in practice that,...the depressed classes....are ....members of the Indian nation...(and) that "where one member suffers, all the members suffer with it, and where one member rejoices, all the members rejoice with it".<sup>41</sup>

It is very interesting for our uncovering of Andrews' theology of the national awakening, that he saw Christian involvement in the service of the Depressed Classes as presenting a challenge to Hindu India because it took place on the basis of "consciousness of sin and the unutterable love of God's forgiveness".<sup>42</sup> We will examine this later, and at this point simply note that he insisted through these years on placing the question of the Depressed Classes on the agenda of the national movement.

One of the most striking features of the Calcutta National Congress,

for Andrews, had been "the assembly of Bengali ladies who led the singing of the songs of new Bengal".<sup>43</sup> In missionary work, the belief in the importance of reaching India's women, as a key both to evangelism and to social progress, was a commonplace, and the large number of women from Britain in this work - and there were more women than men on the staff of the Delhi Mission in our decade -, if it tells us something about Britain's social condition,<sup>44</sup> also underlines the seriousness of this belief. Andrews took note of this, and in an important chapter on "Indian Womanhood" in The Renaissance in India examined the "remarkable transformation in modern India" which the education of women represented. In many respects, his picture is conventional enough,<sup>45</sup> but distinctive both in this chapter and elsewhere is his relating this to emergent antionalism. Thus, one of "the most important outcomes of the general stir and upheaval of the National Movement was that it had penetrated the Zenanas".<sup>46</sup> Thus also he noted the active involvement of Indian women, not only in the Christian community and the various Hindu reform movements, in "Muhammadan circles", and in the arts,<sup>47</sup> but also in the passing of resolutions during the "unrest" at pardah meetings often numbering many hundreds of the most influential ladies, in Delhi itself and in every city of Upper India.<sup>48</sup> Thus, too, when two of his former students, on going to Oxford, took their wives with them, he applauded their "patriotism".<sup>49</sup> The publication of the Minto-Morley reform proposals, omitting any reference to women's suffrage, prompted him in 1909 to look ahead to the time when,

the women of India, educated and enlightened, will pour their own treasures of self-sacrifice and devotion into the common cause of the nation.<sup>50</sup>

A further issue which Andrews saw as important for the development of an authentic national movement was that of Hindu-Muslim relations.<sup>51</sup> The formation of the Muslim League in 1906, as a counter to growing

Hindu influence, marked an important stage in a relationship of growing significance.<sup>52</sup> Just as early, Andrews was saying so, that at the forthcoming Congress at Calcutta that year it was imperative that the sympathy of the Muslim community should be retained, because "the union of the two great communities" was "the one final goal of national unity", and because, indeed, without that union there could be no nation.<sup>53</sup> He continued to draw attention to this question throughout these years, to appeal for sympathy, and to suggest practical measures to improve the situation.<sup>54</sup> It was, however, in 1911, when the matter was "at an acute stage",<sup>55</sup> that he applied himself most substantially to the question, in two articles in the Hindustan Review, "The Evolution of Liberty in Europe", and "Lord Acton on Nationality".<sup>56</sup>

Has the Muhammadan invasion and settlement produced a living organism, which may, in the long run, be assimilated, without loss of its own identity, in the greater living organism of India herself, or will the Muhammadan Community always remain an unassimilated factor?<sup>57</sup>

Drawing on Acton's History of Freedom, Andrews' argument was undoubtedly more sophisticated than his usual simple advocacy of unity in the national movement.

If "liberty for the realisation of moral duties" is the chief end of politics, then those states are substantially the most advanced which include various distinct nationalities without oppressing them. Those in which no mixture of races has occurred are imperfect, and those in which the effects of mixture have disappeared are decrepit.<sup>58</sup>

The principle could be applied in various ways to the Indian situation, and he dealt with both caste and the depressed classes before turning to criticise Hindu nationalism and to a concluding review of the question of Hindu-Muslim relations as "the final problem of Indian nationality,



more difficult of solution than all that have gone before.....History is being made concerning it with amazing rapidity, and.....with far too little serious thinking".<sup>59</sup> That Andrews contributed significantly to the nationalists' thinking on the subject is indicated by the very positive nation-wide response to his two articles, with appreciative comments in Indian World, the Tribune, Leader, Madras Standard, Morning Post of India, Indian Social Reformer, Hindu and Mahratta.<sup>60</sup>

Two other aspects of his wide-ranging interest in the national movement need to be mentioned here, the place of art, and the question of physical health. The former is a minor but distinct theme in his reflection on the national movement during these years. His first substantial contribution to the Modern Review, indeed, was an essay, prompted no doubt by his reflections as a teacher at St. Stephen's College, on "Shakespeare and Nationality".<sup>61</sup> After establishing Shakespeare's historical context in characteristic terms, "the triumph of English nationality over Spanish imperialism", he argues that the history plays provided the ideal vehicle for the dramatist's development: "Till the national passion awoke in him, the poet's powers were immature, wayward and unsettled. But in the great days that followed the defeat of Spain, the national spirit gained a strong hold upon his imagination and commanded his highest efforts. A great motive, which was neither subjective nor individual, began to rule him". From this, Andrews developed a general principle.

When a nation as a whole moves forward into higher freedom and self-consciousness, new spiritual powers are awakened and a new environment is fashioned, wherein the highest literature and art may flourish.

He returned to the theme in two further articles. In "National Literature and Art", he wondered whether the time had come when the artistic

awakening in Bengal, seen at its finest in "the delicate tender Eastern painting of Abanindra, the music and poetry of Rabindranath Tagore", had a wider significance, as part of a movement "throughout the whole Motherland".<sup>62</sup> Some of the promise of the Bengali awakening, he suggested, lay in that it was "not merely of a class but of the people", an idea to which he was to return in a slightly later article when he warned of the danger of such a literary revival dwindling down to "the selfish pleasures of a Palace of Art from which the cries of suffering humanity" were excluded.<sup>63</sup> In another article he made a further claim for the place of the arts in the national movement. Deploring the fashion for western art in India as denationalizing, he suggested, citing Plato in support, that "the revival of art in India...would do more for the whole country....than all political changes".<sup>64</sup> Andrews took up and illustrated aspects of this theme in a number of other articles.<sup>65</sup> The Modern Review throughout these years patronized and commented upon Bengali art, but his efforts to articulate the connection between the arts and the national movement seem to have been almost unique, the young art critic, A.K.Coomaraswamy, in his Art and Swadeshi, being a rare parallel,<sup>66</sup> while his recognition that "literature and art, when great and noble, are essentially spiritual things"<sup>67</sup> provided a justification for his own interest as a missionary in the topic, in a very characteristic way.<sup>68</sup>

From his earliest public statements, Andrews expressed a concern about public health. Perhaps the very grim conditions in the Punjab prompted him initially.<sup>69</sup> Certainly, this was a recurring theme throughout these years, and he wrote a number of special articles on the subject, on malaria, and on India's death rate.<sup>70</sup> Associated with this was his advocacy of Hill Schools, "producing sturdy, vigorous sons of Indian gentlemen",<sup>71</sup> of the temperance movement,<sup>72</sup> and of physical drill and gymnastics in education.<sup>73</sup> The striking thing for us to note was how

this concern was almost invariably related to the national movement. Thus, malaria needed to be attacked because it did "more than any other thing to destroy the national vitality"<sup>74</sup> The heavy death-rate was, taking up a very loaded term for the nationalists, a serious economic "drain" and a loss to the nation "of moral and spiritual wealth"<sup>75</sup> Hill schools were necessary to counter the enervating effects of the heat of the Indian plains because these were a "hindrance to the national movement",<sup>76</sup> a "National cause" being taken up with great enthusiasm and then fading,<sup>77</sup> while walking in the Simla hills was a stimulus to those essential virtues of a national movement, "character and courage".<sup>78</sup> Thus, too, an important aim of education was to build up "a strong, healthy, manly character" so that the national movement would gain "new force and activity".<sup>79</sup> The eradication of "the Drink Problem" would "make the sobriety of the Indian people...notable among the nations of the world".<sup>80</sup> It is interesting that, in these years, social-Darwinist ideas about "the survival of the fittest", about health of mind and body, which "exalt a nation in the competition of the universe", were still being applied to the necessities of empire, which required "as its first condition an Imperial Race".<sup>81</sup> It is some measure of the originality and progressiveness of Andrews' views that he was applying, if in a less doctrinaire way, comparable ideas about "the building up of character and race" to the Indian national movement.<sup>82</sup>

One final feature of Andrews' writing on the many aspects of the national movement at this period was his stress upon rationality and the importance of getting one's facts right. To draw on the previous paragraph, he insisted with regard to malaria that,

Only as we intelligently meet the facts and study them in a scientific manner can we hope to deal rightly with....The scourge of the Panjab".<sup>83</sup>

Similarly, the prospect of effectively combating climatic conditions -

a theme in which he found support in the latest writing of H.G.Wells<sup>84</sup> - was good because man was "only just beginning to act in a scientific way"<sup>85</sup> This was an approach which he frequently advocated, and one of which he was to make much subsequent use.<sup>86</sup> In this matter, he was identifying himself with the line of the moderate nationalists, the school of Ranade.<sup>87</sup>

During these middle years, then, Andrews responded positively to many aspects of the national movement. In this he was by no means alone. Certainly, for many British observers, the movement exemplified nothing more than 'unrest', a thing to be deplored,<sup>88</sup> but more liberal elements, including a number of missionaries, echoed a former Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, at the Pan-Anglican Congress, for whom it was "a new birth, not a sickness".<sup>89</sup> But Andrews did much more than respond positively. As we see, he also drew out the importance for the movement of "utilizing every material circumstance which makes for progress",<sup>90</sup> and these he actually promoted with sustained energy. With regard to both the range and the force of his advocacy, he was quite alone. For all the originality of their venture, Macnicol and Robertson, with their Indian Interpreter, and the Oxford Mission's Epiphany, more or less limited to Bengal, the only other significant missionary enterprise in the field at all, achieved a much more modest break-through into the educated classes : their range of concern was much narrower, the tone of their advocacy much more restrained, and their impact much more limited.<sup>91</sup>

Just as Andrews had seen the general strategy of literary work among the educated classes as a missionary venture, so, too, did he regard his advocacy of the particular, diverse strands of the national movement. Thus, in a lecture on "the Spiritual Awakening of the East", which he delivered at the Brahma Mandir in Lahore in February, 1909,

he specifically alluded to his vocation in this connection, concluding, I have spoken of these movements in the East - I, who am a Padre, a Christian Missionary, a man whose calling is to teach religion - I have done this, because I firmly believe that these forces, these movements, in their ultimate analysis are spiritual, not material, are religious in their bearing, not secular. They are forces which will, I believe, uplift from apathy and even from degradation millions of the human race. As such, they cannot be without supreme significance to me in my vocation. I believe that now, in this our day, as at the beginning, the Spirit of God is moving on the face of the waters - the troubled waters of humanity, and is speaking the word of power, "Let there be light", and there shall be light.<sup>92</sup>

The Tribune reported this lecture very enthusiastically, "a great and inspiring address", adding an illuminating gloss,

He sees divine providence in all this, he considers the awakening as the work of the Spirit of the Lord filling the whole Orient.<sup>93</sup>

In at least two other places, addressing a Christian readership, he said the same thing, using not these generalized categories of theism, Spirit and creation, but the more characteristic ones deriving from the synoptics and St. John.

It is possible....to....call these national movements purely secular; yet I cannot see how this can be done by anyone who holds intelligently the faith of the Incarnation, and who believes that Jesus is the Son of Man. Movements of spirit which are taking place in an area including 800,000,000 of the human race cannot be without religious significance to the believer in Him who is "the Light that lighteneth every man coming into the world".<sup>94</sup>

We shall be looking at this point more closely in the last section of this chapter, and here only note that he went on from such statements to express the belief that the most potent source of the new spirit in India was "the message that centres in the One Supreme Personality of Christ,...Christ, the great giver of emancipation.... who has revealed the light of progress to India".<sup>95</sup>

In discussing "these national movements", Andrews never missed an opportunity of exercising his missionary vocation, of buying them up, in a process which was both a disclosure of his own expansive theology and an act of witness, so that, for example, even the work of a "Consumptive Home" run by a Brahmo illustrated for him, he told the Modern Review's readers, "the Easter message of the Resurrection", which came home to him, indeed, "with a new meaning and intensity".<sup>96</sup>

Here then, from within the national movement, rather than from the imperial angle, Andrews was inspired to make Christian sense of what he saw going on. If a survey of modern religious and social movements in India led a missionary observer to the conclusion that Christ's parable of the leaven was "proving itself true in India", Andrews' response to the new phase in the emergence of national consciousness, which began around 1905, was a not insignificant contributory factor.<sup>97</sup>

##### 5. "Furious devotion"

In what is still "the classic account"<sup>1</sup> of modern religious movements in India, Farquhar, drawing substantially on Andrews' observations, devoted a chapter dealing with the years 1895 to 1913, to "a new nationalism", which he tentatively called "Religious Nationalism".<sup>2</sup> He identified two strands, corresponding more or less to the positions of the 'extremist' and 'moderate' tendencies in the national movement, whose emergence Andrews had witnessed at the 1906 meeting of the Congress.

Full proof of the depths to which the Indian mind has been stirred may be seen in this, that in all the best minds, the new feeling and the fresh thought are fired by religion, either a furious devotion to some divinity of hate and blood, or a self-consecration to God and India which promises to bear good fruit.<sup>3</sup>

To both strands we find a response in Andrews' writings, to the former a very negative response, to the latter a very positive.

With regard to the former, to 'extremist' Hindu nationalism, there was in fact an extremely interesting development beneath, as it were, his very nose, that is, among his own colleagues and students in Delhi. Nor was this a merely local matter, for it involved, in the words of the official governmental record of the period, "the two most sinister figures in the modern history of Indian sedition"<sup>4</sup>, one of whom went on to initiate what was "by far the most serious attempt to subvert British rule in India"<sup>5</sup>.

The sequence of events in these matters is complicated and somewhat obscure, but some picture of the sequence, and of the chief protagonists and their motivation, is possible.<sup>6</sup> There were two main but closely inter-related phases, one from about 1906 to 1909, an aspect of the 'Indian Unrest', and a second culminating in the near-fatal bomb attack on the Viceroy in 1912.

The first phase began with the enrolment during 1906-7 of "50 or more" St. Stephen's College students - approximately half the college - into "a secret society to spread agitation on Bengali lines"<sup>7</sup>. Prominent initially was "the new leader of the Delhi public", a Muslim, Haidar Raza.<sup>8</sup> He was a graduate of the College who had returned to teach there temporarily in 1905, and who subsequently edited a new Delhi newspaper,

Aftab?<sup>9</sup> Haidar Raza's "lieutenant" was one of Andrews' own students, Ishwar Das.<sup>10</sup> Haidar Raza attempted to unite Hindus and Muslims in order that they might "triumphantly march together hand-in-hand in the paths of progress and self-government",<sup>11</sup> but the attempt appears to have been frustrated by the setting of "the whole Hindu community against him and the Muhammadans in general",<sup>12</sup> a development in which another of Andrews' students, "one of the most seditious members of St. Stephen's College", Gobind Bihari Lal, was involved.<sup>13</sup> At this time, two of Andrews' colleagues, Raghubar Dayal, teacher of Sanskrit in the College, and Amir Chand, a teacher in the Delhi Mission's school, who was to be a delegate at the critical Surat meeting of the Indian National Congress, appear to have taken an increasing part in the leadership of the group.<sup>14</sup> Certainly, they were prominent during the following year, 1908, organizing large public meetings to felicitate the Punjab nationalist, Lajpat Rai, on his return from a period of deportation,<sup>15</sup> holding protest meetings about taxation - other speakers including S.A.C.Ghose, Haidar Raza and Behari Lal,<sup>16</sup> and leading a deputation to the Deputy Commissioner.<sup>17</sup> Not surprisingly in the atmosphere of the times, the Political Department of the Government filed a report in June 1908 on the "Attendance of members of the educational staff of the Cambridge Missionary Society, Delhi, at political meetings held in Delhi",<sup>18</sup> and Allnutt, under pressure from the Punjab Government, persuaded Amir Chand to sever his connection with the school.<sup>19</sup> S.A.C.Ghose's public abandonment of the political arena on the announcement of the Minto-Morley reforms, with their promise of constitutional advance, may be a pointer to at least one reason for the subsidence of this first phase.<sup>20</sup>

Throughout these years, another graduate of the College, whose name was to be closely associated with the second phase, was much in evidence in the reports of the Director of Criminal Intelligence.



This was Har Dayal, soon to win "legendary popularity as an uncompromising revolutionary nationalist".<sup>21</sup> Har Dayal had already graduated from St. Stephen's when Andrews arrived in 1904, and was initially thereafter studying at Government College, Lahore, where he secured the first First Class M.A. in English ever awarded in the University.<sup>22</sup> He often returned to Delhi, where his parents lived, and actually taught at St. Stephen's in Rudra's place when the latter was visiting Britain in 1905. Andrews got to know him, and when Har Dayal went to Oxford on a government scholarship later that year, Andrews, then on sick-leave, visited him there. Although on his return from Oxford in January 1908, Har Dayal was much in contact with the extremist students around Amir Chand, whose house had become for them "a kind of Jacobin club",<sup>23</sup> there is no record of further contact with Andrews until several years later, although there is a story of Rudra's unsuccessful attempt at this time to dissuade him from his deepening involvement with 'extremism'.<sup>24</sup> He remained in India for only a few months, his name much associated at this time with that of Lajpat Rai, and then, branded by the Political Department, "one of the most violent members of the revolutionary party", he left, to live the remainder of his life in exile.<sup>25</sup> Andrews, in retrospect, saw the tragedy of this sensitive young man, "one of India's noblest children, .....his character true and pure", who "in happier times would have done wonders with his giant intellectual powers".<sup>26</sup>

The second phase of Delhi's extremist politics during these years was overtly and actually violent, culminating in 1912 in two bomb-throwings, a fatal one in Lahore, and, in Delhi, a near-fatal attack on the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, these leading on to the Delhi Conspiracy Trial of 1914, and the hanging of four men including Amir Chand and another former student of St. Stephen's College, Awadh Behari.<sup>27</sup> The attempt to inculcate Har Dayal, in self-imposed exile in America, failed, although his influence "as a power of evil" was much stressed during the proceedings.<sup>28</sup>

The religious ideas of this group of nationalists, in which three strands can be identified, are interesting, though more complicated than the "furious devotion" described by Farquhar. First, there is an equation of India with Hinduism. This is represented, but with modification, in Awadh Behari's reference to India as "holy Bharat",<sup>29</sup> and in a picture found with the books of the conspirators, representing a "divinity of hate and blood", the goddess Kali with a festoon of European heads around her neck;<sup>30</sup> the modification lay in part in Behari's vision of "a great United Nation - apart from Hindu or Islamic Kingdoms",<sup>31</sup> although this view was not shared by Har Dayal, in whose opinion "holy.... virgin soil" had been originally "desecrated" by the Muslims, "the irreverent idol-breakers".<sup>32</sup> The religious element is found also in Behari's reference to the teaching of Krishna, "the Lord himself", that "the Kshatrya must slay the foes of his Motherland....as his duty, and he does it without sin" - although, again, Behari makes the point that not only the Hindu scriptures, "the Gita, the Vedas", but also the Koran "all advocate assassination".<sup>33</sup> The inner resources for a patriotism of this sort was supplied by one of the leaders of the group, Rash Behari Bose, in his teaching on yoga "according to his book Yogi Sadhan".<sup>34</sup> In this, the ideal of renunciation of the world is equated with the willingness to die for a noble cause, sustained by the teachings of the Bhagavad Gita. Perhaps the most independent and striking expression of this Hindu nationalism is in Awadh Behari's reference to the actual bomb-attack on the Viceroy,

The special manifestation of the Divine Force at Delhi in December last has proved beyond doubt that the destiny of India is being moulded by God Himself...The thrower of the bomb on the representative of the tyrannical Government at Delhi was none else but the spirit of the Dispenser of all things Himself.<sup>36</sup>

There is also among the group some small indication of other, Christian concepts and influences. Thus, Awadh Behari's allusion to "penances and sufferings which equip nations to be the fit instruments to carry out His Will",<sup>37</sup> and Har Dayal's call to "bring back the age of St. Francis and St. Bernard".<sup>38</sup> We find more of this second element in the latter's Yugantar Circular, put out at this time, although in his case it has a rhetorical ring to it, perhaps only a matter of borrowing Christian terminology. Thus, in seeking to describe "the moral power of the (Delhi) bomb", Har Dayal calls it "our resurrection" because it seems to open up "a new epoch in the history of the Revolutionary movement in India". The "beloved hero" who threw it is acclaimed in the cadences of Christian liturgy,

His is the wisdom and the glory and the power,  
and there is talk of the British rulers as "the wicked ones of the earth",  
and,

When "Caesar" calls himself the "Son of God", the bomb  
answers that he is but "the Son of Man".<sup>39</sup>

The Christian component in Har Dayal's complicated intellectual make-up is further seen in a letter at this time in which he commended for a young man's education, not only The Gospel of Buddha, but also Thomas a Kempis' The Imitation of Christ, "a book of the highest value for the formation of character".<sup>40</sup>

A third element in the thinking of the Delhi conspirators derived from contemporary western democratic and libertarian movements. We find indications of this in the list of books seized as evidence by the police, with titles like Underground Russia and Conspiracy under the Terror, Michael Davitt's Career of a Nihilist and Tavernier's Making of a Patriot, as well as books on Mazzini and Garibaldi.<sup>41</sup> It is also evidenced in Har Dayal's notion that, because "Deep down in the human heart....lies hidden the yearning for justice, equality and brotherhood",

We instinctively honour those who make war on inequality and injustice by any means in their power....On such occasions, we should recount the deeds and repeat the words of Rousseau and Voltaire, Marx and Bakunin, Vera Vassulitch and Sophie Petrovskie, and all our beloved comrades who have lived and died for the Ideal that we cherish.<sup>42</sup>

- a reminder that Har Dayal did not repudiate the theory of "philosophical anarchism",<sup>43</sup> and also had already published the first Indian study of Marx.<sup>44</sup>

That these three elements, Hindu, Christian and secular, could to some extent co-exist in the thinking of the group is some measure of the intellectual and religious ferment to which the educated classes were subject.<sup>45</sup>

It is not entirely obvious how much Andrews knew of the "secret society" among the college students, with many of whom he must have been in frequent contact as a teacher, or about the Delhi conspirators. He must have been in touch with Amir Chand as late as 1910,<sup>46</sup> and he claimed that the C.I.D. had circulated rumours about his own close connections with this leading conspirator, although he claimed in 1914 that in fact Amir Chand had 'cut' him for the previous three or four years.<sup>47</sup> He also said that he was himself spied upon by students in the pay of the government.<sup>48</sup> In the earlier phase of the Delhi extremist movement, he expressed "very strongly indeed" to his own senior students his indignation at the deportation of Lajpat Rai in 1907,<sup>49</sup> and in his considered assessment lay the blame for this whole development on "police tyranny and espionage of the worst type....the ruthlessness of the police", to which the "underground plots" and "the violence of the conspirators" were only a response.<sup>50</sup> At the same time, he very clearly disapproved of this response. He reported with satisfaction that, on

two separate occasions when anarchist pamphlets had been sent to members of the college, those who had received them immediately brought them to Rudra, and he had handed them to government authorities,<sup>51</sup> while, along with his colleagues on the college staff, he expressed a very public abhorrence of another political murder by a student from the Punjab;<sup>52</sup> he also voiced the college's "horror and detestation", and "condemnation of anarchist propaganda", and later was "thankful beyond words" at the unearthing of "the bomb-conspirators".<sup>53</sup> To do this while abating "not one jot of....earnest appreciation for all that...(was) good and wholesome in the National Movement", was to walk something of a tightrope.<sup>54</sup> He did not walk it entirely alone - both Rudra and Allnutt, with distinct courage, spoke up for Amir Chand at the time of the conspiracy trial.<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless, it was Andrews who was picked out in one of the leading nationalist journals, the Hindustan Review, and praised for his discrimination and courage, as

one of those few Europeans who did not allow their vision to be blurred even during the darkness of the bomb outrages, and who had the courage and the insight to realize the meaning of the struggle, even while the struggle had assumed an ugly shape.<sup>56</sup>

His sympathy was, however, clearly qualified, not only with regard to the extremists' violent methods, but also in the matter of their religious ideas. To the sort of ideas they entertained, he drew attention chiefly in two places, in his book of 1908, North India - both in the chapter on "The National Movement" and in an appendix on "Modern Krishna Worship" - and in an article on "Nationalism and Religion" in the nationalist journal, the Indian Review.<sup>57</sup> Nowhere does he seem to have said much about the secular influences which we have seen among the Delhi extremists, although he published in the college magazine an article by a Muslim colleague who pointed out that these were alien imports.<sup>58</sup> The nearest he got was to criticise the secular approach in general terms : holding up the example of Virgil, who found "in the

simple 'pietas', or, as it might be translated, dharma of his ancestors, the cause of Rome's greatness", he criticised what he called "religious nihilism" as it had been held by Derozio and the early Bengal reformers because it failed to utilize "the enormous forces of good which are inherent in religion".<sup>59</sup> Perhaps he did not take this factor very seriously at this time. Certainly, he observed of the students involved in the contemporary Calcutta conspiracy, that their disgust with British rule was not due to "any lawless atheism", but that "religion was with them a supreme interest".<sup>60</sup> On the Hindu elements in the extremists' thinking, he had more to say. Farquhar had already, in his pamphlet, Gita and Gospel, drawn sympathetic attention to the neo-Krishna literature as an expression of the national spirit, but his interest was apologetic in a narrow sense, and indeed it would be difficult to say for whom his pamphlet was intended.<sup>61</sup> Andrews dealt with the phenomenon in different ways in relation to different readerships. His principal introductory and expository treatment, in North India, was addressed to readers in Britain. Here, pointing out how the "Neo-Hindu revival....(was) at present adding to its strength by its absorption under religious forms, of the national ideal", he illustrated the point by quoting from a variety of nationalist speeches and newspaper articles. When compared with accounts by other missionaries and western observers, his account is strikingly complacent.<sup>62</sup> -

The emotional side is prominent in the new Krishna cult.

The passion of self-surrender is encouraged, and devotion

to country is made equivalent to devotion to Krishna himself.<sup>63</sup>

But, although he detected in the articles, etc., from which he quoted,

"an echo of what....(was) most dear and precious to the Christian",

on the whole his response was negative.<sup>64</sup> Thus, a nationalism which

equated patriotic sentiment with devotion to Krishna as a "national

Avatar" had "an unsubstantial basis".<sup>65</sup> It was irrational, and, "looked

at from the higher ground of truth", could not be "justified or

countenanced", being "impossible to reconcile with progress and enlightenment".<sup>66</sup> At the same time, the past association of Krishna worship with "evil legends and practices" posed the threat of "national degeneration", while he warned that a cynical playing upon the "superstitions, bigotries and fanaticisms" of "the ignorant masses" by the "emancipated" was a tool that would turn back on the hand of the user.<sup>67</sup> Perhaps what he had in mind were the likely political consequences, for, in a letter to the Viceroy, he had warned that "the rapid Hinduising of 'national' ideas going on among the younger men" might "reach the masses" to the advantage of the extremists.<sup>68</sup>

A further objection to this sort of religious nationalism was that it was "reactionary" because of its exclusion of Muslims, Parsees and Christians : were they all to be "boycotted and driven out of the country before anything 'national' could be accomplished?"<sup>69</sup> This last point was clearly a particularly important one to Andrews. In North India, he described an incident which took place early in 1908, which "would have been absolutely incredible" a short time previously.

A large meeting was held to hear a lecture on Bhakti (devotion), at which nearly 3,000 were present, and Mr. Tilak took the chair. Dr. Garde, an elderly and highly-respected and learned Hindu, a friend of Mr. Tilak's, got up to speak, and traced the doctrine of Bhakti in Hinduism from Vedic down to modern times. He mentioned, while doing so, the name of CHRIST as a great Western saint who practised Bhakti. The name.....was received with such shouts and hisses that the speaker was obliged to sit down, and in spite of the chairman's efforts to keep order the meeting had to be closed. As I have said, this would have been quite incredible in India only a short time ago, and in a great part of India it would be impossible still. Yet it shows us what may be expected if the anti-foreign movement becomes anti-Christian.<sup>70</sup>

He saw the "new Krishna cult" as a further aspect of this development,

offering salvation to the multitude by the grace of the legendary Krishna, and representing, because of its obvious appeal in conjunction with nationalism, "the most serious rival of Christianity in the near future".<sup>71</sup>

Here, then was an aspect of the national movement as it was developing, and as it was developing even among his own students, where Andrews could find little common ground, and to which he could not give his support. His role as a Christian missionary committed to reaching the centres of thought and movement in the East, demanded therefore, the energetic promotion of an alternative religious basis for Indian Nationalism.

#### 6. "Self-consecration to God and India"

If the neo-Hinduism of the extremists offered the Christian missionary little scope for a theological accommodation, there was another strand in Indian religious nationalism which, at least to Andrews, did. Farquhar called this "a self-consecration to God and India"<sup>1</sup>, and it corresponded with what Andrews noted as the religion of "those who believe in one God and who love India with a passionate devotion"<sup>2</sup>. From the perspective of his emerging theology, and in particular as this represented a development of the "Religion of the Incarnation"<sup>3</sup> of "Maurice and the Cambridge School"<sup>4</sup>, Andrews gave a great deal of attention to this aspect of the religion of the nationalists, and in very positive ways. He did so chiefly, but not exclusively, in a series of articles in the nationalist press, "The Religious Basis of a National Movement", "Religion and Patriotism", "First Principles of a National Movement", "The Awakening of the East: Its Meaning and Significance", "Nationalism and Religion". He tended to reserve some of his more explicitly Christian reflections for Christian journals and the college magazine, in articles such as



"The Spiritual Force of Christianity", "Christianity in Japan", "Christianity and Patriotism", and "Christianity and the Test of Vitality",<sup>6</sup> although, very significantly, as we shall see, an article on "The Doctrine of Atonement", highly pertinent in this context, appeared in the nationalist Indian Review.<sup>7</sup>

Of the inevitability of a religious dimension to a national movement in India, he had no doubt, for religion was "the strongest indigenous instinct of Indian nature" and this not only among the more traditional,

Young India, in spite of all temptation to accept a materialist solution of her problems and throw aside her spiritual yearnings, remains today irrevocably, incorrigibly idealist, and refuses to lower her standard.<sup>8</sup>

And it was as desirable as it was inevitable. Thus, he appears to have been content to welcome what he called a "spiritual" factor as good in itself.

Nationality, when it touches the heart of a great people, is itself a spiritual thing.<sup>9</sup>

Elsewhere, he underlined the importance of religion from another angle, making much of Acton's theory that a balance between the religious and civil states was a guarantee of political freedom, while a subordination of religion to politics amounted to a position of "great national danger".<sup>10</sup> At the same time, only "some spiritual force" could have the power to "raise the masses of the people" and effect a permanent regeneration.<sup>11</sup> The lack of a religious basis of the sort that he envisaged, he therefore held to be a weakness in a national movement; his remarks on this in a Christian publication were endorsed enthusiastically in the Tribune.<sup>12</sup>

Behind all this, however, there clearly lay the perception that

this "spiritual" factor was a point of contact for him as a missionary. The "spiritual" impulse towards "nationality" touched the anima naturaliter Christiana in India.

In all that is happening,....the thoughtful Christian...can recognise the transplanting of Christian thought in Eastern soil. Nationality, liberty, enlightenment, the raising of the multitudes, these are seeds which have hitherto only struck deep and permanent root in Christendom. They have come to the East from the Christian West. They have touched the anima naturaliter Christiana in India,...and have begun to fertilize.<sup>13</sup>

This reference to a "natural Christian soul" in the context of Indian nationalism had real substance for Andrews. It was to be discerned through, among other things, a study of Indian history, and his references to this represent a particularly interesting and original contribution to thought in the national movement. He first began to develop this idea in his early lecture on "Indian Nationality", where he pointed out that "the civilization of Ashoka and Akbar...(with its) ideals of toleration and peaceful development", ideals which were at that time "unimagined in the West", demonstrated the possibility of "a united India and a progressive development on Eastern lines".<sup>14</sup> His most deliberate exercise in this direction was a lecture, which he published in 1908, "Indian History : Its Lessons for Today", in which he appealed to Indian people to recognise, at least in the Buddhist era, "what Indian genius can accomplish without extraneous aid or interference",

Here, as it were, we are mining in the very bed-rock of Indian mother earth, to see what treasures we can find, and "the gold of that land is good".<sup>15</sup>

This line in Andrews' thinking, so untypical of contemporary British historians, and unique in missionary circles, was welcomed as "remarkable" by the nationalists.<sup>16</sup>

This view of Indian history, then, made it the more possible to take account of contemporary nationalism within a missionary theory inescapably reminiscent of the approach of the Alexandrian apologists.

Nationalism could also be accommodated in terms of the sort of 'fulfilment' theory which Farquhar was making popular in some Christian circles. Rudra did this quite explicitly.

We believe that in...welcoming...the new national spirit... we are acting in accordance with the example of Him "who came not to destroy but to fulfil"<sup>17</sup>

Andrews seems not to have done so in just such terms, although he clearly took a similar line, seeing Indians involved in the national movement as, "though not owning our Master's allegiance,....yet doing His work"<sup>18</sup>

A particularly important area of common ground was with regard to theism. Farquhar claimed that Christianity had made men feel in India that "the only possible religion is monotheism"<sup>19</sup> Much that Andrews wrote during this period was clearly intended to consolidate this common ground in the context of nationalism, to underline "the truly remarkable trend of Hindu thought towards Theism", a trend in which he felt the current was running more strongly than it had done for many generations.<sup>20</sup> Frequently he presented this in terms of the need for reformation:

Patriotism is not to be cultivated by a depreciation of religion, but rather by a purification of religion itself.<sup>21</sup>

His most explicit intervention, in a negative way, was in an early attack on "idolatry", which he said would lead inevitably to the "degradation" of the nation, and in an accompanying proposal,

Would it not be possible for those who believe in one God and who love India with a passionate devotion to take a vow, not

merely to buy swadeshi articles...but, what is infinitely more important, that he will, under no circumstances and on no occasion take any part in, or be present at, ceremonies or festivals in which idolatry is practised?<sup>22</sup>

His approach was usually, however, by a positive advocacy of a reformed religion. Most explicit was his public support for the All-India Theistic Conference,<sup>23</sup> for the Brahma Samaj, with its re-accreditation of Hinduism's own theistic teachings,<sup>24</sup> and for the Prarthana Samaj, with its "theistic principle and rejection of idolatry".<sup>25</sup> He pointed out that these theistic forms of Hinduism were important in relation to nationalism because they represented a real common ground with Islam and Christianity: thus, the trend within Hinduism was itself the result largely of Christian influence, while the unity of God in both Islam and Hindu theism represented lines of convergence which gave "solid ground for a great hope".<sup>26</sup> His usual line, however, is a straightforward advocacy of a theistic faith as, in itself, of service to nationalism.<sup>27</sup> In several places he held up the example of Mazzini as an exponent of the primacy of a belief in "God and truth" for a sound nationalism, explaining that a sound national fabric depended upon moral and spiritual character, itself "the great reward offered to every true and worthy seeker after God", and arguing that the divine aid could only be granted to the movement if the motives appealed to were such as God himself could bless, and if the character of the leaders of the movement were penetrated with the worship of God and truth.<sup>28</sup>

In his contributions to the nationalist reviews and newspapers in these middle years, Andrews' discussion of religion and nationalism did not, except, as we shall see, in one or two particular respects, very often take up overtly Christian, as distinct from these generalised 'spiritual' and theistic themes. There are occasional references in the reviews to the role of Christianity in the west as being among "the

factors which made for nationality", while in the St. Stephen's College Magazine he takes this a little further, referring to "The extraordinary power of the Christian faith to reach down to the foundation of society and penetrate the masses, inspiring a new life", and claiming that it is Christianity that has "evoked the self-conscious manhood of the younger nations"<sup>29</sup>. An article on "The Christian Moral Standard", in the Epiphany shows how the centrality of the Incarnation underlay his support for the nationalists at this time. Thus, "the perfect moral character of Christ", containing all the positive elements of goodness" - not only the passive virtues of life, - forbearance, meekness, humility, but also the more active virtues of uprightness, courage for the truth, resistance of wrong doing", - is "complete for all time" and "morally universal". For this reason, slowly but surely, it takes its place as "the one arbiter of nations" and goes "deep into the moral conscience of modern nations"<sup>30</sup>. In Christ's moral universality, he wrote in the Epiphany a year later, "Indian national thinkers and workers may find a quarry open for them...from which to hew the stones of the great social fabric of New India"<sup>31</sup>.

Chiefly in Christian journals, we find Andrews adopting and developing a way of referring to Christ which he was to carry over in a small way into the nationalist publications, that is, of Christ as "the Son of Man"<sup>32</sup>. Plainly, from his use of the phrase in this latter context, he uses it to express the sense of Christ's universal significance, and his solidarity with the human race.<sup>33</sup> Thus, in a developed expression of the idea, in the Modern Review, we come across the phrase in a discussion of Christian attitudes to the national movement.

When we come to...the national movement, we go for our direct teaching to St. Paul's ideal of the body of humanity, of which Christ, the Son of Man is the head, - "Whether one member suffer

all the members suffer with it; or one member rejoice, all the members rejoice with it". In this ideal of the Body of Humanity, there is the fullest possible scope for national development. It is, indeed, the charter of national rights and liberties.<sup>34</sup>

This passage, however, opens up a theme in which Andrews much more consistently and overtly applied Christian concepts and Christian terminology, though in an uncommonly universalist way, in discussion of the national movement, that is, the theme of human solidarity. This was one of the central elements in his thought, as it had been for both Maurice and Westcott.<sup>35</sup> It was a theme which, in secular or theological terminology, was very much alive at the time : Rudra's son called it "the most vital....discovery...ever made", that "man has discovered man", and we regularly come across it in the nationalist journals and newspapers.<sup>36</sup> It is in this context that we have to see Andrews' series of six substantial articles, written for "the educated and professional classes", "A Review of the Modern World", in which in the recognition that "mankind makes up today one corporate whole to a degree that was never realised in past ages", he discussed the leading contemporary social and political features of each continent in turn, in relation to India.<sup>37</sup> He was familiar enough, of course, with the secular, political categories of the discussion - in fact, he talked them over during these years with Ramsay MacDonald when the latter was visiting Delhi - but his own line is almost invariably to emphasise what he saw as a Christian interpretation of current developments.<sup>38</sup> He expressed this usually in terms of the Pauline metaphor of the body. We find this in his very earliest reflections on the national movement : in an address to a nationalist audience in Calcutta at the end of December, 1906, he applied the Pauline terminology to a specific problem in nationalism.

To quote the words of St. Paul, 'If one member of the body

suffer, all the members suffer with it, and if one member rejoice, all the members rejoice with it'. The great bulk of your fellow countrymen are uneducated, unenlightened and very poor...The national idea can never be realised until the masses are raised and enlightened.<sup>39</sup>

Hereafter, throughout these years, this notion and terminology are a striking feature of his writing addressed to the nationalists.<sup>40</sup>

It is no surprise to find them being taken up and used by Indians, and not only Christians, in his immediate circle,<sup>41</sup> but it is noteworthy that we should find a Hindu at the Congress of 1911 speaking of the Indian people as "belonging to one another,....being members of one body".<sup>42</sup> Nothing can be proved about the origins of this, but no one other than Andrews was promoting such thinking within the national movement in these years.

We find a fuller and more careful development of this theme in his writing for a Christian readership, where they assume a universalism strongly reminiscent of that of Maurice. Thus,

To paraphrase St. Paul's words in this wider connection, "When one member of humanity suffers all the members suffer with it, ....And one race or nation cannot say to another, 'I have no need of thee'. For the body of humanity is not one member, but many. And even the races which seem to be more feeble are necessary : and those peoples which we think to be less honourable, upon them we need to bestow more abundant honour. For God has tempered this body of mankind together, giving more abundant honour to the part which lacked, that there should be no schism in the body, but the members should have the same care one for another".<sup>43</sup>

Elsewhere, he called this "the larger catholic position", that "humanity is one brotherhood in Christ"<sup>44</sup> It is in this context that he developed

the most distinctive and original concept in his theology of national renaissance, the notion of what he called "the Body of humanity", which was for him the "commanding vision,...at the very centre of the New Testament". This unity of mankind was "the true Christian ideal", because "to the Christian, this body of humanity is informed and inspired by the divine life, and the divine life, though infinite in its working and expression, is ever one".<sup>45</sup> The concept is reminiscent of the holistic vision of both Maurice, who had, in fact, used the expression, and Westcott (and also of some of the Fathers), but Andrews very much made it his own.<sup>46</sup>

At first, while the concern for human unity was already important to him, as we have seen from his Burney Prize Essay, the language of 'the body' had had a more restricted application, so that it was the Christians who were "His Body", and, as such, "the nucleus of that unity".<sup>47</sup> Two or three years later, however, his vision of "the body of humanity" has become itself the emerging "spiritual humanity, the Church Catholic".<sup>48</sup> He, nevertheless, continued to the end of our period, to regard the Church as usually understood as having a special, indeed a crucial role.

This brotherhood,...this body of humanity,.....(we Christians) expect to be built up in its spiritual ideal by means of the Christian Church.

For this reason, the church is called upon to "represent" the commanding vision of the body of humanity "before the eyes of men".<sup>49</sup> Elsewhere, he expressed his conviction that Christianity's role in this respect was unique. In doing so, he had behind him Rudra's arguments in his remarkable paper, "Christ and Modern India", where he showed that neither Hinduism nor Islam was capable of providing a basis for an authentic Indian nationhood because they lacked appropriate universal principles.<sup>50</sup> Quoting Rudra at length, Andrews



concluded,

Hinduism and Islam alike have been put to the severest test of all - the test of experience - and they have only proved their own impotence as nation-building forces.<sup>51</sup>

Thus, he was able to speak of the Church's special calling within the context of Indian nationalism, because only the vision of the body of humanity growing up into the fulness of Christ, the Son of Man, "satisfies the aspirations of mankind for a unity and a goal".<sup>52</sup>

We have seen that, by and large, when Andrews addressed Indian nationalists directly, his Christian convictions were expressed relatively discreetly, and that it was chiefly in addressing a Christian readership that there was much elaborated discussion of Christian ideas. One very interesting exception was an article which he wrote for G.A.Natesan's Madras journal The Indian Review, a substantial and very careful presentation of "The Doctrine of the Atonement", printed prominently as the opening article in the issue of June, 1912. Andrews' article stands out not only in that issue, however, but as a quite unique phenomenon in the whole spectrum of the journalistic literature of the educated classes in the period, a carrying of the preaching of the cross into the very heartland of Indian nationalism.<sup>53</sup>

As we would expect, Andrews' exposition falls very much within the category of moral theories of the atonement, and is unmistakably a product of the "catholic movement" in Anglican theology.<sup>54</sup> From the point of view of his own emerging theology, it has to be seen in the context of a tendency, common in the Anglican theology of the period, to stress the Incarnation as the central principle in theology to the neglect of the doctrine of Atonement. To understand the full significance of this article in the development of his thought, it

is helpful to turn to his review of his position as he understood it in 1909,

I find the whole prospect of Christian doctrine widening out in certain directions. I do not now almost exclusively concentrate my thoughts upon the death of Christ as consequent upon the fall of man. I do not view human history, as it were, as one great failure, with nothing else but sin in the foreground, or my missionary work as wholly and solely concerned with sin and its removal. I find that this is not the true balance of the Gospel narrative itself. For I see in that record now more clearly than before the immense, unlimited work which Christ came to accomplish, as the Head of humanity, in building up the 'good'; and that this is in no way inferior to His work of removing the 'bad'. Redemption now implies to me both aspects, not one only.<sup>55</sup>

In spite of this, it is not obvious that "both aspects" of the work of Christ received equal emphasis in Andrews' writing during these years, and the Indian Review article may register a corrective within Andrews' own reflection. It is certainly intended, and this he makes explicit in the article, as a corrective to the trend of contemporary liberal theology as this was assimilated to the religion of the educated classes.

There has been....going on now for more than a century an assimilation of central Christian thoughts, especially the great commanding and correlative thoughts of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. Life is being fashioned on every side upon a more directly theistic basis. Both Islam and Hinduism have felt the power of this impact of thought. The stern monotheism of the former has been made more tender; the vague and uncertain theistic ideas of the latter have been made more defined. But although this great advance has been made, it has hitherto remained in a great measure ineffective

as a social power, transforming human society, because the vision of God's Holiness has not gone side by side with the vision of His Tenderness and Love. The danger is that this modern attenuated creed accepting the Fatherhood of God without the awe of His Holiness, and declaring the Brotherhood of Man in theory rather than in practice - may produce a religion which is a mere comfortable and indulgent sentiment, with no passionate longing for inward purity, no striving after fruits of a true repentance, no spiritual agony for the sin of the world.<sup>56</sup>

Hence, his exposition of the doctrine of the Atonement. At one point, he summarises the doctrine as he is presenting it, and one sees how the 'manward' emphasis of late nineteenth-century Anglican atonement theory is accommodated to the theism of educated non-Christian Indians.

We seem to learn three lessons which form the three parts of the one Sacrifice of God. First, that the Divine Purity shrinks back with unutterable shrinking from contact with human sin. Secondly, that the Divine Love is so infinite as to overpass that awful barrier of moral evil in order to come close to us, to redeem us. Thirdly, that the contact of Divine Purity and Love with human sin involves suffering and sacrifice even in God Himself. The life and death of Christ, who is God Incarnate, is thus the measure and the symbol, in time, of the eternal sacrifice which flows from the Divine Love.

The doctrine is presented largely, however, in psychological terms, as the source of a "mighty, quickening spiritual impulse, which will stir to the very depths the hearts of men". As such, the doctrine is presented to "thoughtful Indians, who see their own need and the needs of their country", offering them "some glimpse of the potentiality of this Christian doctrine of the Atonement, which, when believed

with heart and soul, has power to change the lives of men and send them forth to spend and be spent in unselfish service".

There are no indications in the newspapers and journals of the nationalists of a response to "The Doctrine of the Atonement", but its publication is none the less a remarkable phenomenon, a measure not only of the balance of Andrews' own theology of national renaissance at the end of the main phase of his missionary years, but also of the success of his missionary penetration of the national movement.

The years 1904-14 saw a considerable development in Andrews' views about Indian nationalism, as he came into contact with and reflected upon many aspects of the movement. By his own later standards, his views were in many respects very cautious at this time, and, indeed, he retained a sort of residual respect for some features of British rule, not least, perhaps, because of the liberality of some of the officials that he got to know, Sir John Meston, Sir Guy Fleetwood-Wilson, and Lord Hardinge. That he should have held positive and constructive views of the movement at all, though, and that he should have taken it so seriously as to develop something of a theology of national renaissance, was strikingly original. The World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910, in its Commission on "Missions and Governments", under the chairmanship of Lord Balfour, after taking soundings in India, reported that,

Missionaries in India...are on the whole agreed that a transfer of power to the natives of the soil should proceed pari passu with their advance in enlightenment and moral stability. But very few indeed consider it part of their duty to spend any part of their time and thought in propagating this idea.<sup>57</sup>

That provides us with a measure of Andrews' originality, though he had some support among his colleagues in the Delhi Mission in general, and from Allnutt in particular.<sup>58</sup> For Andrews, as we have seen, the devotion of time and thought to the national movement was central to his whole understanding of his missionary vocation, for it was there precisely that he found common ground as a Christian with "the bulk of thinking, struggling, feeling, sensitive men and women" among the educated classes, discerning among them and their concerns that anima naturaliter Christiana to the discovery of which the Cambridge Mission to Delhi was committed.

NOTES : Chapter 4.1. Introductory

- 1 Shortly after the Great War, Andrews noted that it had brought to an end the "outworn theory of 'Empires'", India and the Empire (pamphlet) (1921).
- 2 WIOC p.214.
- 3 The phrase was much used, for example in Parliament; it was used as the title for the 'Times' correspondent, Valentine Chirol's articles, put together in book form in 1910.
- 4 This is how Keir Hardie put it; he visited Delhi and the Punjab in 1907, J.Keir Hardie India, Impressions and Suggestions (1909) p.57. He attributed the 'sedition' chiefly to "the growth of the military spirit" in official circles, and, especially in the case of Delhi, to British administrative ineptitude. He met several of Andrews' nationalist friends while in Delhi and Lahore, but there appears to be no indication that he met Andrews, Tribune 13 Oct 1907, 24 Oct 1907. For an account of Keir Hardie's visit to India, see D.A.Low in D.A.Low (ed.) Soundings in Modern South Asian History (1968) pp.1-5.
- 5 Andrews to Lady Hardinge, 5 Feb 1913 (C.U.L Hardinge Papers).
- 6 TEW Oct 1912; MR Nov 1909, see also IR Jan 1909. The reforms were regarded by some of those close to Minto in a more cynical light, as a means merely of checking the predominant influence of the educated classes and of accentuating "the antagonism of creeds and groups", Harcourt Butler "Note on the Political Outlook in India" 20 Apr 1910. (Minto Papers, 4E.417. N.L.S.) The Tribune considered that "no real power" had been conceded to the Indian people, Tribune 21 Jan 1912, editorial "India and the Empire".
- 7 TEW Oct 1912. Andrews made a number of references to the pacificatory effect of the visit, for example, YMOI Jan 1912, RI (1912) 'Dedication' p.iii.
- 8 Dunlop Smith to Lady Minto 21 Feb 1908, quoted in M.Gilbert op.cit. p.127.
- 9 Dunlop Smith was quoted as noting in early 1908 that Andrews seemed "not so much a 'progressive' as he was". Minto to Godley, 30 Jan 1908 (N.L.S. Minto Papers).
- 10 The phrase is taken from a chapter heading in M.M.Thomas The Acknowledged Christ of the Indian Renaissance (1970) pp.246ff. Andrews figures largely in this chapter.

2. "Imperialism and its ethics"

- 1 India and the Simon Report (1930) p.115.

- 2 J.Ellison and G.H.S.Walpole (eds.) Church and Empire (1908); for Westcott's influence on this volume, see pp.43ff.,67. J.E.C.Welldon's title for the Congress, The Nineteenth Century and After Jun 1908.
- 3 J.Ellison and G.H.S.Walpole op.cit. p.67.
- 4 J.A.Hobson Imperialism (1902) pp.214,228. Hobson was quoting Lord Hugh Cecil, speaking at the annual meeting of S.P.G. in 1900.
- 5 J.Ellison and G.H.S.Walpole op.cit. p.11.
- 6 J.A.Hobson op.cit. pp.207,210. Cf. p.233 "the false idealisation of...primitive lusts of struggle, domination and acquisitiveness". Hobson was well aware that "most British missionaries" did not take this mystificatory line, though he found some striking examples of those who did (p.214).
- 7 V.G.Kiernan op.cit. p.xxxiii.
- 8 W.M.C. Edinburgh 1910 - Preparatory Paper for Commission 1.
- 9 In a sermon preached at Simla, DMN Oct 1914.
- 10 Tribune 27 Dec 1911.
- 11 This paper was stencilled and circulated in S.V.M.U. circles: copy in S.C.M.Archive, Selly Oak.
- 12 MR May 1913.
- 13 "India in Transition" C.M.D.Occasional Paper 1910. K.A.Ballhatchet compares the views of Andrews and Farquhar with those of "the earlier missionaries", but the comparison could as well be with contemporaries, such as Lefroy and Allnutt - C.H.Philips (ed.) Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon (1961) p.352.
- 14 J.Ellison and G.H.S.Walpole op.cit. p.69.
- 15 Tribune 17 Oct 1906, cf. 16 Dec 1906, MR Nov 1908.
- 16 CT 25 Nov 1910; HR Jan 1907.
- 17 Tribune 4 May 1910.
- 18 IR Dec 1910; RI p.102.
- 19 HR Jan 1907.
- 20 MR May 1913; HR Jan 1907.
- 21 HR Jan 1907; Tribune 7 Jan 1913. By 1909, nevertheless, he rejected some of the solutions being proposed: "India can never be treated as a colony...She may acknowledge England as a conqueror or a friend or a foe; she cannot own her as a mother. For Indians there can be but one mother and one motherland....This truth should be realised frankly when 'colonial' self-government is put forward as an objective" MR Dec 1909.

- 22 Behari Lal - letter to D.O'C. 9 Dec 1974.
- 23 Biog pp.102,103.
- 24 Har Dayal Yugantar Circular : The Delhi Bomb (1913).
- 25 G.Fleetwood-Wilson to Hardinge 22 Jun 1911 (I.O.L. Meston Papers)
- 26 Hari Mohan Chatterji SSC Mag Mar 1912.
- 27 Tribune 9 Jan 1912.
- 28 S.K.Rudra CC 1912.
- 29 SSC Mag Mar 1912.
- 30 RI p.iii.
- 31 YMOI Jan 1912.
- 32 The Pan-Anglican Congress 1908 (1908) Vol.2. The paper was reproduced for an Indian readership, though Andrews pointed out that it was intended primarily for an English audience, and that the terms in which it was commissioned precluded more than minimal comment IR Jun 1908. In his pamphlet "How India Can Be Free" (1921) he wrote, "more than ten years ago...I saw that...it was high time that this economic imperialism...went no further".
- 33 He quotes at length from four of the leading economic nationalists, Naoroji, Ranade, Dutt and Gokhale. For their importance, see B.Chandra Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India (1966) passim.
- 34 The papers in Vol.2, Part 2 of the Congress report dealt with "Morality in Commercial and Social Life". There were no other papers on international or imperial aspects of the question. Part 1, "Speeches and Discussion on Capital", got no closer than Prof. R.M.Burrows' reference to the "never-failing flow of dividends" from India, etc., "while no one thinks, no one cares, no one sends back that tithe of Christian charity that is their very certain due". The Chairman, the Bishop of Columbia, in his summing up, expressed the hope that all who had investments in the colonies would make some return by supporting the religious work there.
- 35 Andrews to Dunlop Smith 28 Jan 1908 (N.L.S. Minto Papers) (In this, he refers to a previous letter, which seems not to have survived), cf. Andrews to Dunlop Smith 1 Mar 1908, quoted in M.Gilbert op.cit. pp.131-5. Andrews' suggestions were not taken up by Minto, in contrast with the response of his successor, Hardinge, although Dunlop Smith clearly appreciated his observations, "He rarely sees Europeans and lives entirely with his students and educated Indians. That is what makes his letter so valuable" Dunlop Smith to Lady Minto 21 Feb 1908, quoted in M.Gilbert op.cit. p.127. Cf. another collaborating missionary, the American presbyterian, J.C.R.Ewing of Lahore, writing to Sir Louis Dane, Lt. Gov. of the Punjab, at about the same time : "The frank goodwill and cordial humour of your words made....a fine impression....."



As an influential Indian said:- 'That is the sort of thing that will do more to bind our hearts to the Government than volumes of dry speeches!!.....I shall be most happy to be called upon, at any time, to perform any service to the rule under which....' etc. Ewing to Dane 24 Dec 1908 (N.L.S. Minto Papers).

36 vide inf.

37 "Indians in South Africa : The Rev. C.F.Andrews' Mission" (anon) CT 5 Dec 1913.

38 "Students and the Application of Christ's Teaching to International and Racial Relations" in Report of the Conference of the World Student Christian Federation (1911) (hereafter, W.S.C.F.) (1911) pp.144-153. The conference was in Constantinople; Andrews was not able to attend, but his paper was read for him, and well received YMOI Apr 1911, Jun 1911.

39 TEW Oct 1914 (written Spring, 1912); CT 25 Nov 1910. Cf. SM Apr 1908, DMN Jan 1909.

40 IR Jun 1908; CT 25 Nov 1910.

41 Andrews to Tagore 12 Dec 1912 (Santiniketan).

42 Andrews to Gandhi 5 Apr 1914 (Gandhi S.S.S.)

43 pamphlet How India Can Be Free (1921) "It is only the bitterest experience of disappointed hopes and shattered ideals, which has made me take up the position that I have now for many moths past publicly declared, that independence and independence alone is the ultimate goal; that for India to remain permanently within the Empire, is for India to forfeit her true independence". Gandhi wrote that it was in 1929 that he finally reached the conclusion that an equal partnership with Britain was impossible, and that he then became "a convinced Independence-wala" Young India 20 Mar 1930.

### 3. "The Ethics of Race"

1 It is clear from the replies of Provincial governors to the Viceroy's demi-official enquiry of 19 Mar 1907 about (inter alia) "race-feeling", that this was held to be a feature of "the professional and graduate classes and (lamentable addition!) .....the students" (Punjab), "a small agitating class in the cities" (N.W.F.P.), "the younger generation in the larger towns" (Central India). (N.L.S. Minto Papers 4E. 384 Nos.153,156.166).

2 CT 25 Nov 1910.

3 In addition to the incident cited above, see Andrews India and Britain (1935) pp.59-60.

4 TEW Oct 1914 (written Spring 1912), also TEW Jul 1910, WSCF 1911. For an Indian reaction, "Equal Rights" MR Aug 1909, also an editorial in the Tribune, "The Racial Barrier", 1 Sept 1908; Cf. "in the racial separation of the Rulers

from the Ruled....there lurk untold dangers and evils", Light 31 Jan 1907, included in P.N.N.R. Vol 1907-8, XX.5.(3).

- 5 Andrews wrote to Archbishop Davidson about this; his letter was passed on to Morley, who reproduced it in his weekly letter to the Viceroy, (Morley-Minto Correspondence, I.O.L. 28 Aug 1907); Minto retorted that it was "sheer nonsense" (18 Sept 1907). Quoted in Hugh Tinker "Anti-Commonwealth Men" (1974). Tinker subsequently wrote to the author on 22 May 1975, confirming that the original letter was by Andrews, "an example of how he could rouse the great by his passion". The views of Minto and Morley were quoted in Tribune 1 Sept 1908.
- 6 W.S.C.F. (1911); Allnut "The Racial Problem" DMN Jul 1911 - Allnut's views developed after a visit to South Africa at this time, his impressions being included in this article. While on furlough that year, he attended the first Universal Races Congress, but was very disappointed with it, DMN Oct 1911.
- 7 TEW Oct 1914; W.S.C.F. (1911).
- 8 W.S.C.F. (1911).
- 9 When J.H. Oldham published his Christianity and the Race Problem in 1924, with its acknowledgement of Andrews' "unique knowledge" of aspects of the subject (p.129), he had not come across any book setting in juxtaposition the Christian ideal for human society and the existing relations between different races. He makes no reference to Mankind and the Church, edited by H.H. Montgomery in 1907, "an attempt to estimate the responsibilities of great races to the fulness of the Church", but this is a very idealistic book, making little direct allusion to the race problem. Andrews was, of course, not alone in identifying the seriousness of the race problem; see Lefroy "The Church's Progress as affected by Race Problems in India" The Pan-Anglican Congress (1908) Vol. VI, p.97ff. and his preparatory paper for the World Missionary Conference, 1910 (Commission IV - also the paper by W. Bonnar). Charles Gore, Bishop of Birmingham told a congregation during the Pan-Anglican Congress that the English character was on trial in India (reported in the Tribune 24 Jun 1908). Andrews' distinction was in providing the sort of approach, in articles if not in a book, that Oldham subsequently attempted.
- 10 SM Apr 1908.
- 11 TEW Oct 1914 (Spring 1912).
- 12 W.M.C. Edinburgh 1910. Preparatory Paper for Commission 1.
- 13 CT 16 Dec 1910.
- 14 NI p.161ff. The military atmosphere of the Punjab accentuated the problem, especially for Hindus, whose "religious ideal.... (was) deeply tinged with Buddhism, which inculcates a tenderness towards all sentient creatures" ibid. p.168.
- 15 TEW Jul 1910, also DMN Jan 1909, W.S.C.F. (1911); for a similarly broad view in Morley, see John Koss John Morley

at the India Office 1905-1910 (1969) p.137.

- 16 For 19th century theorizing, see C.Bolt op.cit. and J.Koss op.cit., Ch.7 "Race, History and Empire".
- 17 Reproduced SM Apr 1908. The occasion was the Consecration Service at the Y.M.C.A. Triennial Convention. For a very favourable account of Andrews' paper see YMOI Oct 1907.
- 18 In this context, racial unity in Christ is presented as the fulfilment of "the highest dream which Hindu Philosophy has ever dreamed", of "an absolute monism,....the summing up of all things in one". Cf. TEW Jul 1910.
- 19 DMN Jan 1909.
- 20 SM May 1907, also NI p.21, TEW Jul 1910, CT Nov 1910, W.S.C.F. (1911), RI p.171.
- 21 DMN Jan 1909; for the Farquhar debate, see E.J.Sharpe op.cit. p.244ff.
- 22 CT 25 Nov 1910.
- 23 J.A.Sharrock, protesting against the views expressed by Andrews' colleague, S.A.C.Ghose, at the Jubilee Church Congress at Cambridge, DMN Oct 1910, Sharrock, a former Principal of the S.P.G.College at Trichinopoly, had already aroused the nationalists' anger with an article, "Misconceptions about India" in The Nineteenth Century and After (Sept 1909), in which he had attacked "a small educated minority" as being "speaking broadly, disloyal". The Tribune called this "Bedlamite nonsense" (25 Sept 1909), "mischievous in the extreme" (28 Sept 1909), "the ravings of this political lunatic" (29 Sept 1909).
- 24 Report Vol.VI p.197; W.M.C. Edinburgh 1910, Preparatory Paper for Commission IV.
- 25 For example, in 1909, Andrews paid tribute to Delhi's Deputy Commissioner, Humphreys, who, during a period of acute unrest, "never lost patience or sympathy, but went on doing his duty with kindness and goodwill" SSC Mag Apr 1909.
- 26 DMN Jan 1909.
- 27 ibid.
- 28 NI p.21.
- 29 Quoted in W.S.C.F. (1911), also TEW Oct 1912, RI pp.169-170.
- 30 Tribune 12 Dec 1911.
- 31 W.S.C.F. (1911).
- 32 TEW Jul 1910.

4. "The great giver of emancipation"

- 1 TEW Oct 1907.
- 2 ibid.
- 3 "The Presentation of Christianity to Hindus" Ind Int Apr 1909.
- 4 J.Carter "Glimpses of Delhi" DMN Apr 1907, cf. A.S.Duncan-Jones' review of NI, "It is not our fancy, surely, to see.... the widening influence of Maurice and the Cambridge School". DMN Apr 1909.
- 5 HR Jan 1907.
- 6 YMOI Sept 1908, Tribune 27 Apr 1910, MR Dec 1909. On subsequent reflection, he judged the extremist line taken at the 1906 Congress "not radical, because it was almost purely political" C.F.Andrews and G.Mukherjee The Rise and Growth of the Congress (1938) p.212.
- 7 Tribune 27 Apr 1910.
- 8 See the chapter on "Liberal Nationalism" in M.M.Thomas The Secular Ideologies of India and the Secular Meaning of Christ (1976) pp.1-34. Andrews laid particular emphasis on the importance of Ranade in RI, p.135ff.
- 9 IW 6 Sept 1910. It is, of course, "a controversy that is not yet closed" - C.H.Philips op.cit. p.227, although for many it is a commonplace that the "obvious purpose" of British imperial rule was "to exploit the rich economic sources of the Country" - F.Thaukurdas, in R.W.Taylor (ed.) Society and Religion (1976) p.15.
- 10 Minto to Ibbetson 7 Dec 1907. (N.L.S. Minto Papers. Correspondence with persons in India. No.170).
- 11 Biog p.102.
- 12 IW 6 Sept 1910.
- 13 IR Jun 1908; cf. Ghose "The stronger races in their national advance are bringing the weaker races into complete subjection for trade purposes" SM May 1907.
- 14 IR Jun 1908. Compare the distinction made by J.G.F.Day, who reported that at St. Stephen's College there was "certainly no student who is not 'swadeshi', i.e. determined to buy Indian-made goods as far as possible"; but added approvingly that there was "no idea of boycotting English manufactures" CC 1906.
- 15 See, for example, his articles about "India's Death Rate" Tribune 18,20,23 August 1910. His suggestion for utilizing "the spare time of 25,000,000 tillers of the soil", not by "building huge town factories and herding the people together", but with "machinery which can be worked by hand" (Tribune 27 Sept 1907) anticipates a central theme of Gandhian economics.
- 16 SM May 1907.
- 17 Tribune 16 Aug 1907. This article, "Swadeshi", contains his

- main ideas on the subject, though he also wrote a letter to the Tribune on the subject (8 Sept 1907), and a second article, "Swadeshi 11" (Tribune 27 Sept 1907), the latter chiefly a commentary on a pamphlet, Swadeshism, by "an old student and friend, Lala Rup Ram Sahib, B.A., Vakil, High Court, N.W.P." Rup Ram worked closely with the Delhi nationalists in 1907-8 - Sangat Singh op.cit. pp.122,126,128.
- 18 ibid.
- 19 Tribune 23 Aug 1907.
- 20 CT 2 Dec 1910, C.M.D.Occasional Paper "India in Transition" 1910. Note, in particular, his commendation of Sir Herbert Risley's authoritative studies of "Caste and Marriage" and "Caste and Religion" in the latter's The People of India, NI p.235.
- 21 W.M.C. Edinburgh 1910, Preparatory Paper for Commission 4.
- 22 C.M.D.Occasional Paper "India in Transition" 1910.
- 23 TEW Jul 1910; The Day of Opportunity (1912) p.68.
- 24 C.M.D.Occasional Paper "India in Transition" 1910. He accused another Western observer, 'Sister Nivedita', of taking a sentimental view of the system - TEW Jul 1910; cf. Rudra's attack on Mrs. Besant's "hypocrisy" in praising the system - YMOI Dec 1910.
- 25 ibid. also CT 2 Dec 1910.
- 26 TEW Jul 1910, also CT 2 Dec 1910.
- 27 Tribune 16 Aug 1907.
- 28 MR Apr 1910. Duncan B. Forrester, in an unpublished paper, "Liberal Missionary Attitudes to Caste", refers to Andrews' "challengingly relevant Christian analysis of Indian society". Cf. Forrester's Caste and Christianity (1980) p.149.
- 29 Poem "The Famine Year" (i.e. 1908) in The Motherland and other Poems (1916); MR Dec 1907; RI p.15; Tribune 25 Dec 1906. His more reactionary comments, to Dunlop Smith on "the awakening of the masses" (vide sup.) were, of course, related to his fears regarding the religious dimension of the movement as he saw this developing in 1908 (vide inf. "Furious Devotion").
- 30 Tribune 13 May 1910.
- 31 For the Cambridge Mission's Work in this sector, see Lefroy's C.M.D.Occasional Paper, "The Leather Workers of Daryaganj" (1884).
- 32 J.N.Farquhar Modern Religious Movements in India (1915) pp.370-4. Fear of the effectiveness of the Christian missions among this class was a spur, for example, to the Arya Samaj. Calling for Arya Samaj orphanages, a writer said, "We must be prepared to do this if we do not want to see the Christian Missionary drain us of our strength" Arya Messenger 29 Sept 1906. P.N.N.R. XIX. 39 (15).

- 33 Tribune 27 August 1910 - interestingly, the terms of the reference are very much like those which Andrews was using, "the beginning of nation-building from the deepest foundations upwards". Srinivas notes that "In its later phase - around 1911 - the Arya Samaj movement in North India seems to have made a strong appeal to 'low' castes in some districts of the Punjab and U.P.....In the Punjab a separate society was formed to raise the status of Untouchables through the Shuddhi movement" N.N.Srinivas Social Change in Modern India (1966) p.101. The first reference to a Depressed Classes Conference in the Punjab is in 1913 (Tribune 21 May 1913), at which the President, Lajpat Rai, acknowledged the challenge presented to Hindus by the Christian missions in this matter. Earlier attitudes are well exemplified in Banerjee's Presidential Address at the Poona meeting of the Congress in 1895, "I was not aware that any responsible Congressman had ever asked for representative institutions....for the masses" - quoted in Andrews and Mukherjee op.cit. p.160.
- 34 CC 1912.
- 35 The Depressed Classes, published by Natesan, Madras 1912.
- 36 Tribune 16 Aug 1907.
- 37 Tribune 13 May 1910.
- 38 SSC Mag Feb 1908, also Tribune 23 Aug 1910.
- 39 Tribune 25 Dec 1906.
- 40 MR Aug 1912.
- 41 Tribune 23 Aug 1910.
- 42 IR Jun 1912.
- 43 RI p.210.
- 44 Curiously, in a chapter on 'the Social and Economic Background of the Nineteenth-Century Missionary', in which he says that "The missionary movement, as described in this chapter was part and parcel of a social revolution in which vast numbers of ordinary people saw the opportunity of bettering themselves and took the opportunity with open hands" (p.51), Warren refers only to male missionaries, M.A.C.Warren Social History and Christian Mission (1967).
- 45 Cf. a typical but early study from the Punjab, Mrs.Weitbrecht The Women of India and Christian Work in the Zenana (1875) and, later, Mabel Stevenson's chapter on missionary work among women, in The Story of the Delhi Mission (1908).
- 46 RI p.231.
- 47 RI pp.207,210; MR Feb 1911.
- 48 RI p.231.
- 49 SSC Mag Dec 1907. In two articles on "How to serve my country" he calls for the social emancipation of women from the

restrictions of life in the zenana - Tribune 27 Apr and 13 May 1910.

- 50 IR Jan 1909. The Montague-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919, in response to a women's deputation of 1917, gave the provinces mandatory power to enfranchise women. Women were first placed on the provincial electoral rolls in 1921, in the Punjab in 1926.
- 51 This issue was no doubt sharpened for him through living in a city which was a great Muslim centre, and where, from the first, he enjoyed some deep friendships with Muslims, but which could also nurture extreme Hindu nationalism, even among the students of St. Stephen's College, vide inf.
- 52 T.G.P.Spear A History of India London 1965 p.178. One of Andrews' closest friends in Delhi, Hakim Ajmal Khan, was a founder-member of the league - Sangat Singh op.cit. p.116.
- 53 Tribune 17 Oct 1906, also Tribune 25 Jan 1907.
- 54 e.g. IR Mar 1909.
- 55 HR Feb 1911, an assessment supported by the editor of the Tribune, "the problem is becoming more and more serious every day" (11 Nov 1911). There had been a query about the state of Hindu-Muslim relations in the Viceroy's enquiry on the current situation in 1907.
- 56 HR Jan 1911 and Feb 1911.
- 57 HR Feb 1911.
- 58 ibid.
- 59 ibid.
- 60 see Indian World Feb-Mar 1911 ("a remarkable series"), Tribune 18 Feb 1911. HR between Feb and May 1911 carried appreciative comments from the other publications referred to.
- 61 SSC Mag Jul 1907.
- 62 MR Jul 1907.
- 63 MR Aug 1912.
- 64 Tribune 27 Apr 1910.
- 65 MR Feb 1911; SSC Mag Feb 1911; MR Mar 1913.
- 66 Commented on editorially in Tribune 20 May 1909, reviewed Tribune 28 Jul 1912.
- 67 MR Nov 1908.
- 68 His encouragements anticipate the commencement a few years later of Farquhar and Azariah's series, "The Heritage of India", to help the citizen of India to be "a Cultured Modern Indian" - editorial preface to the first volume in the series, K.J.Saunders'

The Heart of Buddhism (1915).

- 69 When Andrews first arrived in the Punjab, there were 30,000 deaths registered per week owing to "the increased virulence of the plague" DMN Jul 1904; Andrews drew attention to a Government Report stating that 307,300 died of malaria in the Punjab in two months, Tribune 14 Oct 1911.
- 70 SSC Mag Nov 1908; May 1911; Dec 1911; Tribune 18 Aug 1910; 20 Aug 1910; 23 Aug 1910 (this last was repeated "before the Congress meetings take place" Tribune 25 Dec 1910 and IR Jan 1911).
- 71 HR Jan 1907; May 1907; cf. his advocacy of walking and holidaying in the hills Tribune 2 Sept 1910, MR Nov 1911.
- 72 MR Jun 1910; Nov 1911; Tribune 24 Sept 1911. The Tribune for 21 Mar 1908 reports his attending the annual meeting of the Nasha Nasak Sabha, Delhi, where a Delhi Mission colleague, Amir Chand, spoke on temperance.
- 73 He raised the question in the College, and prepared a compulsory scheme - SSC Staff Meeting Minutes 15 Feb 1907. A correspondent reported this as "a new outlet.....(for) Andrews' energy" DMN Jan 1908. Note the attitude of a pandit to such things, "scholarly inclined Indians do not, as a rule, take active part in games. This dislike is infused in the Indian nature: the Indian mind cannot reconcile sound learning and teaching with romping in the fields" Royal Commission on Public Services in India (1915) Vol. XX p.28; for an application of the ideals of "muscular Christianity" in missionary education in India, see E.D.Tyndale-Biscoe Fifty Years Against The Stream (1930).
- 74 SSC Mag Nov 1908.
- 75 Tribune 18 Aug 1910.
- 76 HR Jan 1907.
- 77 Tribune 16 Dec 1906.
- 78 MR Nov 1911.
- 79 Tribune 17 Sept 1906; HR Jan 1907.
- 80 MR Nov 1910.
- 81 Lord Rosebery, quoted in R.Hyam Britain's Imperial Century 1815-1914 (1976) p.131.
- 82 MR Nov 1911.
- 83 SSC Mag Dec 1911.
- 84 Andrews cited H.G.Wells' latest book, A Modern Utopia (1905) in support of his argument. It is interesting to note a modern development economist complaining that "one can read hundreds of books and articles on development problems without finding any reference to climate" Gunnar Myrdal "Economics of an Improved Environment" Anticipation Jul 1972.



- 85 HR May 1907.
- 86 "Charity is no mere throwing away of money to beggars but rather the careful enquiry into the needs of one's fellow men which makes one able to give the exact help needed" SSC Mag Nov 1908. Andrews' later Assam Congress Opium Enquiry Report (September 1925), "a classic example of opium investigation", was "indispensable, careful and accurate", J.F. Edwards "Public Questions" in J. McKenzie (ed.) The Christian Task in India (1929) p.179.
- 87 Compare the approach of an 'extremist', the Punjab nationalist, Lajpat Rai, for whom, at this period, "nationality" was more important than "rationality", cf. "The Reconstruction of Nationalism" in C.H. Heimsath Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform (1964).
- 88 See note 3 to the introductory remarks in this chapter, also the series of articles in The Nineteenth Century and After Feb 1911, Aug, Oct, Dec 1913.
- 89 The Pan-Anglican Congress 1908 (1908) Vol.V p.90. A Scottish missionary, citing Andrews, called it "a great new movement" - John Torrance in The Missionary Record of the United Free Church of Scotland Mar 1908.
- 90 MR Dec 1907.
- 91 In the reprinting of articles and reference to articles from one journal in others, I have come across no reference in any of the nationalist journals to either the Indian Interpreter or Epiphany for the years 1904-14.
- 92 Tribune 20 Feb 1909; cf. IR Mar 1909.
- 93 Tribune 16 Feb 1909
- 94 TEW Oct 1907, NI pp.190-1.
- 95 YMOI Jan 1910.
- 96 MR Jun 1911. An interesting minor illustration of his "buying up" of the national movement occurs in an article where he tries to provide guidance for discouraged nationalists, drawing on the categories of ascetic theology, specifically "a malady which the old medieval writers called accidie", and its remedy. HR May 1907.
- 95 Farquhar op.cit. p.445.

##### 5. "Furious devotion"

- 1 D.A. Low Lion Rampant (1973) p.144.
- 2 J.N. Farquhar Modern Religious Movements in India (1915) p.354ff.
- 3 ibid. p.355.

- 4 Summary of the Administration of Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, Viceroy and Governor-General of India November 1910 - March 1916 (1916) p.17. The "two" are Har Dayal and Amir Chand.
- 5 O'Dwyer op.cit. p.189 - the reference is to the Ghadr movement.
- 6 The only published accounts are two sketchy articles in The Stephanian Spring and Autumn 1972-3, "At the Altar of National Freedom" and "Glimpses of a Forgotten Stephanian", the former dealing with the 'Delhi Conspiracy' of 1912, the latter with Har Dayal's early revolutionary career. Three books which provide some additional information are Arun Chandra Guha First Spark of Revolution (1971), E.C.Brown Har Dayal (1975), and Sangat Singh op.cit. For a survey which takes Har Dayal and his associates very seriously as part of a wider movement of left/anti-colonial solidarity, see H.Krüger "Indian National Revolutionaries in Paris before World War 1" in Archiv Orientalni (Prague) 4, Vol.45, 1977.
- 7 Home.Political.Report of the Director of Criminal Intelligence, 5 Oct 1907, cf. 21 Sept 1907 (N.A.I.).
- 8 Akhbar-i-Am 1 May 1907 - quoted in P.N.N.R. (I.O.R.)
- 9 Tribune 11 Aug 1907. Haidar Raza replaced at the college, temporarily, the newly-arrived missionary, F.J.Western, who was invalided to Mussoorie, DMN Jan 1906.
- 10 Home.Political.Report of the Director of Criminal Intelligence, 21 Sept 1907 (N.A.I.); SSC Mag May 1907.
- 11 Tribune 18 Aug 1907.
- 12 Home.Political.Report of the Director of Criminal Intelligence, 5 Oct 1907 (N.A.I.)
- 13 ibid., also SSC Mag May 1907.
- 14 Home.Political.Report of the Director of Criminal Intelligence, 21 Sept 1907 (N.A.I.). "They were ably assisted by a good sprinkling of lawyers, cloth merchants and other local leaders" - Sangat Singh op.cit. p.118.
- 15 ibid. 4 Jan 1908; Tribune 26 Jan 1908, reporting a meeting numbering 6,000. Although Andrews may have encouraged the students in their celebration of Lajpat Rai's release, there is no evidence that he actually met him during this period. Later, Rai was to become one of his "greatest friends" True India (1939) p.156, "more than a brother" Chaturvedi. Articles 16(513) (N.A.I.)
- 16 Tribune 28 Jan 1908, 2 Feb 1908.
- 17 ibid. 8 Feb 1908.
- 18 Included in the Index of the Home.Political files (N.A.I.). The report is missing.
- 19 Tribune 11 Apr 1914.

- 20 SSC Mag Jan 1910. Har Dayal took a different view of the reforms, "Then the tyrants...decided to conciliate the people by offering 'reforms' and 'concessions'. Jobs were created for 'educated parasites'; councils were enlarged and expanded for the benefit of ambitious politicians and lawyers. These futile and deceptive measures served to rally the 'moderates' to the side of the government, as dogs are silenced with a bone thrown among them" Har Dayal Yugantar Circular : The Delhi Bomb 1913.
- 21 M.N.Roy, quoted in E.C.Brown op.cit. p.226.
- 22 F.F.Monk op.cit. p.109.
- 23 G.Behari Lal, quoted in E.C.Brown op.cit. p.49.
- 24 Dharmavira, in a "Life Sketch" in Har Dayal Hints for Self-Culture (1960) p.349.
- 25 "Memo on the doings of Lajpat Rai since his release" Home. Political. Nov. 1908. (N.A.I.).
- 26 "Lala Har Dayal. A Noble Patriot and Truth Lover" (handwritten) Chaturvedi. Articles 15(512).(N.A.I.) T.G.P.Spear puts it somewhat less sympathetically, "a rudderless individual, with a passion for liberation but an unorganized though powerful mind" Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 1976 p.173.
- 27 Awadh Behari had joined St. Stephen's College at the same time as Andrews had first arrived there; his tutor was the Sanskrit teacher, Raghubar Dayal - SSC Mag May 1907.
- 28 Letter, Director of Criminal Intelligence to Home Dept. 1 Jul 1913, in Home.Political Jul 1913 No.4, (N.A.I.); also Summary of the Administration of Lord Hardinge...(1916)p.17.
- 29 A.Behari Liberty (1913).
- 30 Tribune 3 Apr 1914 and 28 May 1914. For a missionary criticism of this development, see N.Macnicol "Spiritual forces in India" Contemporary Review Sept 1909.
- 31 A.Behari op.cit.
- 32 Quoted by Andrews in HR Jan 1909.
- 33 Tribune 27 May 1914.
- 34 The press reports on the Delhi Conspiracy Trial describe this as an unpublished manuscript, Tribune 1 Apr 1914 and 3 Apr 1914.
- 35 Tribune 29 Apr 1914.
- 36 A.Behari op.cit.
- 37 ibid.
- 38 Har Dayal Yugantar Circular : The Delhi Bomb (1913). Har Dayal saw this as an age of heroic self-sacrifice.

- 39 ibid.
- 40 Har Dayal to Rana 19 May 1910. (Har Dayal Papers (2388/3), Nehru Library, New Delhi). This admiration, it is important to explain, co-existed with a deep hostility towards Christians, particularly Indian Christians, whom he saw as wholly dissociating themselves from the national movement, E.C.Brown op.cit. p.157, also Tribune 3 May 1914.
- 41 Tribune 2 Apr 1914, 18 Apr 1914, 25 Apr 1914.
- 42 Yugantar Circular.
- 43 E.C.Brown op.cit. p.161
- 44 "Karl Marx : A Modern Rishi" MR Mar 1912 n.b. under the title is printed, from St. Matthew, "And unto the poor, The Gospel is preached".
- 45 It is not always realised that Gandhi had made "an assiduous reading of Kropotkin" G.Woodcock Anarchism (1975) p.218.
- 46 Ram Tirath's collected works, the first volume, (vide.inf.) was published in that year.
- 47 Andrews to Munshi Ram, 22 May 1914. (Chaturvedi.Corr. Munshi Ram N.A.I.).
- 48 Amrita Bazar Patrika 1 Apr 1919.
- 49 Pamphlet "National Education" c.1921; cf. his poem (1907?) "Nicholson"  
     "We....  
     Crush India in her hour of mute distress,  
     Banish her children, stifle every sigh  
     That yearns for freedom"  
The Motherland and other poems (1916).
- 50 Andrews and G.Mukherjee op.cit. p.206. N.b. much in the manner of more recent distinctions between primary, secondary and tertiary violence, "Repression led on to violence, and violence led on to further repression".
- 51 CC 1910 pp.24-5.
- 52 The College Staff sent a minute of their determination to use their influence among the students in upholding "the fundamental principles of law, order and morality" to the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor of the University, and also to the Director of Public Instruction, Punjab - SSC Staff Meeting Minutes, 5 July 1909.
- 53 SSC Mag Jul 1909; Andrews to Lord Hardinge 23 Nov 1913 (Hardinge Papers Vol.59, C.U.L.) Moderate nationalists were no less vocal in their dissociation from this violence: the Tribune's first editorial comment on the Delhi Bomb called it "A Dastardly and Abominable Outrage" (24 Dec 1912), while the next day it called it "as outrageous as sacrilege.... the dastardly attempt, which an all-benign Providence has averted".

- 54 CC 1910 pp.24-5.
- 55 "In cross examination, Mr Rudra said Amir Chand had given up splendid prospects for the sake of truth" Tribune 14 July 1914; Allnutt in evidence traced with sympathy the process of Amir Chand's alienation from the authorities (ibid. 11 Jul, 12 Jul, 14 Jul 1914), and in a sermon at Simla alluded "with profound sorrow" to one of his oldest friends being "on his trial for conspiracy at Delhi at the present moment" DMN Oct 1914.
- 56 In an anonymous review of RI, HR Feb-Mar 1913.
- 57 IR Jan 1910.
- 58 Khwaja Abdul Majid "The Phoenix of New India" - "The cargo of anarchic goods came from abroad" SSC Mag Nov 1908, cf. an article by a student, Hari Ram, pointing out that anarchism was a result of separating religion and politics SSC Mag Apr 1909.
- 59 IR Jan 1910.
- 60 Guardian 16 Dec 1908.
- 61 Madras 1903, especially pp.82-92.
- 62 Nicol Macnicol in "Spiritual Forces in India" Contemporary Review Sept 1909, draws attention particularly to the links between "matri-puja", worship of the mother, and anarchism, cf. Ramsay MacDonald "There is no limb of the vernacular press ....so dangerous, so seditious, as the "song of the Blessed One"....The Indian assassin quotes the Bhagavad Gita just as the Scottish Covenanter quoted his Old Testament. And the Gita is more cruel in the devotion and self-sacrifice it inspires" Awakening of India (1910) p.189; V.Chirol's Indian Unrest (1910) was the locus classicus for an unrelievedly hostile account of the movement - Allnutt quoted from it to contradict S.A.C.Ghose's optimistic account of the "Christianised conscience" of educated India in his "What has happened in India?", DMN Jan 1911.
- 63 NI p.198.
- 64 ibid. p.209.
- 65 ibid. In the same way, although he regarded the currently banned national song, "Bande Mataram" as "wonderful" he thought that "a religion of Mother India" in which "the very soil of India itself has been made sacred" (it probably derived from "a prolonged retention of primitive forms of nature worship") was bound to become "among the educated.... more and more untenable". IR Jan 1910.
- 66 IR Jan 1910; NI p.203. Cf. his criticism of astrology, "this evil legacy of the past", "young India...in the new atmosphere of modern life...(must) awake from dreaming that the future is arbitrary, to believe that not lucky days but noble deeds determine the destiny of man" SSC Mag Dec 1911; also his warning of the danger of "the forces that still make

- directly for reaction...(even though) the 'cycles of Cathay' of which Tennyson speaks exist no longer" MR Nov 1909.
- 67 NI p.209; IR Jan 1910.
- 68 Andrews to Dunlop Smith 1 Mar 1908, quoted in M.Gilbert op.cit. p.131. Cf. his later letter, to Lord Hardinge, "I have an intense anxiety to see the roots of anarchy cut away" - Andrews to Hardinge 5 Jul 1913 (Hardinge Papers C.U.L.).
- 69 IR Jan 1910; HR Jan 1909. Cf. his comment that Neo-Hinduism "shows no signs" of providing a basis for national unity NI p.229.
- 70 NI p.210.
- 71 ibid. p.230. Cf. the slightly later conclusion of Allnut, for whom the emerging popular religion was "the main fulcrum of the lever used by advanced nationalists", as a result of which the national movement was "not simply anti-British, but in the main anti-Christian in its ideals, its objects, and its methods of action" DMN Jan 1911.

#### 6. "Self-consecration to God and India"

- 1 J.N.Farquhar op.cit. p.355.
- 2 Epiph 6 Oct 1906.
- 3 DMN Apr 1907 (J.Carter).
- 4 DMN Apr 1909 (A.S.Duncan-Jones).
- 5 Epiph 17 Aug 1907; Tribune 15 Jan 1908, also in Epiph 25 Jan 1908, SSC Mag Feb 1908; this was originally an address delivered in Forman Christian College, Lahore; SSC Mag May 1908; Tribune 20 Feb 1909, also in IR Mar 1909; IR Jan 1910.
- 6 Epiph 20 Apr 1907, also in SSC Mag as "Great Religious Movements in the West"; SSC Mag Dec 1907; NMI Feb 1910, also in SSC Mag Nov 1910; Epiph 28 Oct 1911.
- 7 IR Jun 1912.
- 8 IR Jan 1910; SSC Mag Jan 1913.
- 9 MR Jul 1907 cf. TEW Oct 1907, YMOI Jan 1910.
- 10 HR Jan 1911; SSC Mag Feb 1908.
- 11 SSC Mag May 1907.
- 12 In an editorial "A Weakness of the National Movement in India" Tribune 2 Oct 1907, and a later editorial, insisting that "Public Work must be spiritualised" Tribune 15 Nov 1907.

- 13 TEW Oct 1907, cf. NI p.190. The words Andrews uses in these two places - emancipation, progress, nationality, liberty, enlightenment, the raising of the multitudes - make a striking cluster of what might be termed "modernization ideals", subsequently to become very important for India's development philosophy - see G.Myrdal Asian Drama (1968) Vol.1 passim., also my discussion of this in "Study of Religion and Social Reality", in Harbans Singh (ed.) Approaches to the Study of Religion n.d. pp.103-7.
- 14 HR Jan 1907.
- 15 MR Sept 1908; the lecture was also reprinted in Tribune 20 Sept 1908, Dawn Sept, Oct 1908, SSC Mag Nov 1908.
- 16 Andrews challenged "the unfair inference" of Vincent Smith, in his Early History of India, that India, having failed in some past periods of self-government, could not be expected to achieve success in the future - MR Nov 1908; leading article "Rev. Mr. Andrews on Indian History" Tribune 8 Sept 1908.
- 17 CC 1909.
- 18 YMOI Sept 1908.
- 19 J.N.Farquhar op.cit. p.434 cf. Andrews' own observation that "the influence of Christian Missionary enterprise has been among the greatest causes....(of) the truly remarkable trend of Hindu thought towards Theism" Tribune 20 Feb 1909.
- 20 Tribune 20 Feb 1909; IR Mar 1909.
- 21 SSC Mag Feb 1908.
- 22 Epiph 6 Oct 1906.
- 23 Tribune 16 Feb 1909. Andrews had read in the Tribune of 26 Jan 1909 an account of a meeting of the Conference at Madras. Farquhar overlooked this organization in his account of modern religious movements in India. It received a grant from the British and Foreign Unitarian Tract Society, ran a Depressed Classes Mission, and seems to have come into being under the influence of the Brahma Samaj.
- 24 Tribune 20 Feb 1909.
- 25 RI p.136. In discussing the Samaj, and in particular the work of one of its founders, the social reformer, Ranade, he quotes Christ's words, "He that is not against us is on our side" ibid. p.143. Andrews' account of the Samaj and Ranade in RI is made the basis of the account in the standard work, R.C.Majumdar's Advanced History of India (1946) p.822.
- 26 Tribune 20 Feb 1909.
- 27 e.g. SSC Mag May 1908, IR Jan 1910.
- 28 IR Jan 1910; SSC Mag May 1908 (also Feb 1908). Mazzini was much quoted and read among the nationalists. The Delhi

Conspirators had a book on him by the Punjab nationalist, Lajpat Rai (Tribune 9 Apr 1914), and a local official at Lucknow reported that the life of Mazzini as published by Lajpat Rai was taught there in "undesirable night schools" ("The whole tone of the teaching is said to be to make the boys independent and to do things for themselves, an excellent object but one not unlikely to be mixed with the teaching of sedition") J.W.Hove to Sir H.A.Stuart 10 Sept 1908, in Home.Political Nov. 1908, No.7 (N.A.I.). A missionary in Bengal, W.W.Pearson, later to become a close friend of Andrews, published with an introduction an Indian edition of Mazzini's Duties of Man in 1909 (Ind Int Jan 1909)..

- 29 MR Dec 1907, also HR Jan 1907; SSC Mag May 1907. In this respect, a favourite quotation is Tennyson's, contrasting the forces for dynamic change in Europe with "the cycles of Cathay", but he only quotes it to refute its relevance to contemporary Asia (e.g. MR Nov 1909). His references to "progress" in the nationalist press invariably have a ring of his Christian presuppositions about them; thus, only as the Swadeshi movement is motivated by "love and brotherhood" can it become "a spiritual principle which God will bless" for only then will it be "in the line of the divine order of the progress of the world" Tribune 16 Aug 1907, also IR Jan 1910.
- 30 Epiph 15 Oct 1910, 25 Nov 1911 and 2 Dec 1911. This is very close to Westcott on the "universality of Christ's character" in a sermon on "the Unity of Humanity in Christ" The Victory of the Cross (1888) pp.39-54, esp.46.
- 31 Epiph 18 Jan 1913.
- 32 The chief passage on this is in Ind Int Oct 1909.
- 33 e.g. "the One Perfect Moral Ideal of the human race" YMOI Jan 10. The term was central to the incarnational theology of contemporary Anglicanism, as in Westcott's "the Son of Man, the perfect representative of the whole race" op.cit. p.44, or Scott Holland "He is the only Son of Man...He gathers up all humanity into Himself....The character in which He makes himself most entirely human....is the very title by which He assumes a position so entirely alone", "How to read the Synoptic Gospels" SM Dec 1909.
- 34 MR May 1913.
- 35 "All that he thought, and said and did....was the embodiment or the application of this consuming passion for unity". C.B.Young The Stephanian Jun 1940.
- 36 Sudhir Rudra "The Call of India" YMOI Jan 1914; Kalinath Ray IW Aug 1908, Hiralal Halder MR Nov 1909, E.Willis MR Sept 1910, Tribune 31 Dec 1911.
- 37 MR Nov 1909 to Apr 1910; the final article was reproduced in the Tribune 8 May 1910. His review proved, he claimed, "the truth of the saying that 'when one member of the body suffers....' etc." MR Nov 1909.
- 38 MacDonald stayed with Andrews in Delhi in Oct-Nov 1909 and



Dec 1913, and explained his "economic and social ideas", which "differed from those of Karl Marx" and "diverged radically from the strictly communistic idea" but were "on....organic lines, treating human society as an organic structure" - "J.Ramsay Macdonald. A Reminiscence" Indian Daily Mail 2 Feb 1924 (Chaturvedi.Press Clippings N.A.I.)

39 Bengalee 28 Dec 1906.

40 e.g. MR Nov 1909, Tribune 23 Aug 1910.

41 Rudra : "We may look upon the new leaven of nationalism, which involves brotherhood, as a dim prophecy of that fitness of life in Christ which has been portrayed by St. Paul in his figure of the body" - "Indian National Missionary Work" YMOI Dec 1910; also Sudhir Rudra : "The entire world...no longer a world of isolated fragments, but a whole in which the different countries and peoples are united to form a body of humanity" - op.cit.; also a temporary teacher at the College, a Hindu, Munshi Ram : "The whole human race is a sort of family...hence....if one single member of the family suffer the whole family is doomed to decline" - "The Need of a Religious Reformer" SSC Mag Nov 1908.

42 Speech of Bhupendra Nath Basu, Tribune 31 Dec 1911.

43 TEW Oct 1914 (written Spring 1912).

44 NMI Feb 1910.

45 TEW Oct 1914 (written Spring 1912). He developed this using the related Pauline categories of the Holy Spirit : "there are diversities of gifts, given to each race and nation, but the same Spirit. There are differences of administrations in commonwealths and governments, but it is the same Lord. And there are diversities of operations between different branches of mankind, but it is the same God which worketh all in all. And the different national manifestations of the one Spirit are given to each people for the profit of the whole. And all the varied operations of the races of mankind are directed by that one and the self-same Spirit, who divides his gifts to every nation severally as He will". Cf. "To the Christian, the body of humanity is informed by the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of Life" - W.S.C.F. (1911).

46 "It was the business of Christ's ministers to proclaim that there could have been no families, no nations, no social impulses, no laws....if there had not been one living centre of the whole body of Humanity, one Head of every man" F.D.Maurice Lincoln's Inn Sermons (ed.1892), Vol 1V, p.9; Westcott may not have used the phrase but the idea is very important for him: "The brotherhood of men seen in Christ is a question not of genealogy but of being. It rests upon the present and abiding fatherhood of God, Who in His son has taken our common nature to Himself....A conviction not only of the brotherhood of men but of the several offices of the many nations as organs in one body is essential..." B.F.Westcott Social Aspects of Christianity (1887) pp.9,57. (Interestingly, Westcott goes on to demonstrate, from an exhibition/

of "the marvellous products of Indian industries at Kensington", Hinduism's inability to provide a basis for the realisation of "the vital unity" of "our Race" : "You will search in vain, I think, in all that multitudinous display of ornament, rich in exquisite harmonies of colour and in delicacy of patient skill, for one trace of reverence of man", an observation which only serves to confirm his conviction about the missionary obligations imposed by Britain's imperial role, "the office towards mankind to which England has been called" pp.59,60); R.C.Walls has indicated to me a patristic use of the term, 'body of humanity' : "He was made man of a virgin so that he might receive the nature of flesh : that the body of humanity as a whole might be sanctified by association with this mixture" Hilary of Poitiers De Trinitate 2.24.

- 47 SM Apr 1908.
- 48 W.S.C.F. (1911).
- 49 TEW Oct 1914 (written Spring 1912).
- 50 SM Jan 1910.
- 51 RI p.248 cf. Westcott's observation in n.46, above.
- 52 TEW Oct 1914 (written Spring 1912).
- 53 The only penetration remotely comparable is Farquhar's intervention in the controversy in The Indian World in 1908 over his article "Christianity in India", and this was by no means an exercise in preaching. See E.C.Sharpe op.cit. pp.245-7.
- 54 See A.M.Ramsey From Gore to Temple (1960) pp.44-59.
- 55 Ind Int Oct 1909. A variant occurs in W.M.C. Edinburgh 1910, Preparatory Paper for Commission IV.
- 56 A good illustration of the position that Andrews was seeking to correct, with an explicit rejection of the Atonement, had occurred in an item in the Tribune, which Andrews might well have seen. T.L.Vaswani of Karachi, speaking in London to the Liberal Christian League (founded by R.J.Campbell) of the Hindus' "own interpretation of the life of Christ - his pure humanity, his perception of the divine in all things natural ...the full brotherhood of Man", maintained that "there was no room in India for the doctrine of blood" Tribune 22 Nov 1910. It would be difficult to find a better illustration than Andrews' article, of M.M.Thomas' point about the corrective role of Christianity within the national movement. If "on the whole the Indian liberals made the character of Jesus their own human ideal, and made it part of their scheme of values for a regenerated India", Thomas goes on, "Evangelical Christianity, in calling the liberals to recognise the fact of evil in the higher self of man, and the consequent powerlessness of moral idealism to realise itself without Divine Grace, was a constant corrective to their easy optimism about human nature and historical progress" The Secular Ideologies of India and the Secular Meaning of Christ (1976) pp.32-3 - but there were no Evangelicals addressing the

'Liberals' in their own journals, only Andrews (who, nevertheless had already shown himself appreciatively aware of the strength of the strictly evangelical position in a review of P.T. Forsyth's The Person and Place of Jesus Christ in SM Jun 1910). Andrews' position even some years before he made it so clear in the IR article, was acknowledged by an anonymous reviewer of NI ("this noble little book") : "The attitude suggested by the New Theology we had occasion to notice last year in dealing with B.Lucas' The Empire of Christ. Mr. Andrews, being a loyal churchman, would not adopt for a moment the position of surrendering to the National Movement the very features of Christianity for the sake of which it is worthwhile to promote it, as Mr. Lucas would do" CQR Jul 1909. Lucas was a London Missionary Society Worker in India. For his championing of the 'New Theology' of R.J.Campbell, see E.J.Sharpe op.cit. p.324).

- 57 Missions and Governments (Report of Commission VII) (1910) p.34.
- 58 A visitor to Delhi in 1911 noted that there was among the missionaries in general, "and Mr. Andrews in particular", a sympathy with the Indian people, whereas "Elsewhere he had heard missionaries speak disparagingly of native aspirations" DMN Jul 1911; Allnutt wrote, "It is the Church's task.... to moralise the movement towards nationalisation" DMN Jan 1907.

CHAPTER 5. TOWARDS AN INDIAN CHURCH1. Introductory

Andrews' penetration of the national movement was a striking feature of his early, missionary years in India, the Christian witness which he bore within it a unique achievement, and the development of his theology in the context of nationalism of considerable interest. If these had represented the sum of his work during these years, they would have marked a prodigiously creative ministry. But, in addition to reaching "the rapidly growing educated Native Community", he had from the beginning set out to reach also "the rapidly rising Native Christian Church". This, too, he did in interesting ways.

His activity in this respect included participation in the ordinary institutions of the church, religious community and parish, school and college, mission and diocese, in the preparation of candidates for baptism and confirmation, and the training of ordinands, as also in the conducting of retreats and quiet days, and in such movements as the Y.M.C.A.<sup>1</sup> We also come across him in connection with a number of newly emerging institutions and movements, the formation and development of the S.V.M.U.'s short-service scheme, the training of missionaries in an "Indian School of Study", the Indian student movement which was to become the S.C.M. of India, a new religious community known as the Brotherhood of the Imitation, and the National Missionary Society.<sup>2</sup> He was also involved in international movements and meetings in a small way, in the world convention of the Christian Endeavour movement, and by the contribution of papers at the Pan-Anglican Congress, the Constantinople assembly of the W.S.C.F., and the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910.<sup>3</sup>

As in the question of the national movement, his interest and

concern were reflected in his writing. His two books written during these years were both essentially about the church, North India in a series called "Handbooks of English Church Expansion", and The Renaissance in India, subtitled "Its Missionary Aspect", written for mission-study circles in Britain. He also wrote a certain amount for journals such as the Oxford Mission's Epiphany, the Y.M.C.A.'s Young Men of India, the National Missionary Society's National Missionary Intellegencer, and his own Cambridge Mission's series of Occasional Papers, as well as missionary-society magazines in Britain, the two leading Church of England newspapers, the Church Times and the Guardian, and the S.C.M.'s Student Movement. In addition, he did a considerable amount of editorial work, publishing two collections of prayers, preparing, with Allnut and two C.M.S. missionaries, a new lectionary "for use in Indian Christian congregations", and - a major exercise running from 1906 to 1913 - serving as general editor for a series of "Indian Church Commentaries" on the New Testament.<sup>4</sup>

In the course of all this, Andrews' own theological understanding developed and acquired greater definition, well beyond the question of a 'theology of national renaissance', as we shall see, but it is as important to note here the widespread influence which he exercised on the thinking and activity of others in the church. In addition to his immediate circle, Rudra and Ghose, the members of the Brotherhood and Bishop Lefroy, we find him co-operating in one way or another with many leading Indian Christians of what he called "the more 'national' type", V.S. Azariah, K.T. Paul and P. Chenchiah, for example.<sup>5</sup> Such Christians were of the opinion that no one expressed better than Andrews "the general opinion that prevails in the New India on matters of vital importance that affect the spread of the Gospel".<sup>6</sup> There was also much substance in the observation of a Bengali visitor to Delhi

that he had "succeeded in indoctrinating a noble band of youthful English missionaries with his own high ideals", though his influence in the church spread far more widely.<sup>7</sup> His editorial work, both informally, as in his assistance to the Scottish missionary, J.N. Farquhar with his Crown of Hinduism, and formally on the "Indian Church Commentaries" earned him expressions of deep thankfulness for "unwearied help and counsel".<sup>8</sup>

In many ways, then, Andrews made a lively and influential contribution to the development of an Indian church.

## 2. The Church and the National Movement

From the day after his original arrival in Delhi, Andrews had been aware of weaknesses in the Indian church, not least among them its foreign appearance and connections. In the context of the new wave of the national movement from 1905 onwards, these weaknesses appeared to him dangerously accentuated : the "foreign aspect" of Indian Christianity was closely linked with "ideas of subjection to a foreign yoke".<sup>1</sup>

One particularly serious effect, which Andrews often pointed out, was that the Christian community appeared to be, as Westcott had indicated many years before, largely "denationalized".<sup>2</sup> In this context, he plainly had in mind Christian sympathy, or lack of it, for the national movement in its more strictly political sense. He illustrated this on one occasion by quoting at length the remarks of a representative of the older generation of Indian Christians in the Punjab, who, with a simple faith in the providential nature of the empire and in the Christian duty of obedience towards "the man of...(God's) choice", looked upon the very word 'national' as anathema, and described the fruits of the

national movement as "rebellion, bloodshed, disobedience", a movement which, if it was ever granted its rights, would destroy the church.<sup>3</sup> This position was certainly disputed by other Christians in the Punjab, but one of them admitted that "there are only 5% amongst us who have a love for their country and do earnestly discuss its political situation".<sup>4</sup>

Along with the denationalizing tendencies in the church, Andrews drew attention to a further effect, which he called "pauperization".<sup>5</sup> By this, he meant a demoralizing sense of dependence on outside support, which very often accompanied the transplanting of colonies of Christians outside the city to live round the missionary's bungalow, the too-easy access to educational bursaries, and the excessive employment of the "paid agent" system within the church, all of which led to the assumption among many Indian Christians, as Andrews was told by one of them, that the chief duty of the missionary was "to improve the position and prospects of their own flock".<sup>6</sup>

While he was willing to concede that there were historical reasons for both the denationalizing and pauperizing tendencies which were understandable, he pointed out that, in the context of the new, national spirit, they were a serious impediment to the church's life and mission, inhibiting the development of "the true Christian character....in indigenous ways".<sup>7</sup> He noted that they were driving many of the most independent thinkers among the Indian Christians into "a kind of unattached Christianity",<sup>8</sup> while to the nationalists who were not Christians, even when they were prepared to acknowledge the progressive impact of Christianity, the church was "an enemy to be avoided", and they shrank from becoming Christians because this represented "a rejection of their Indian aspiration" as well as "a death blow to their Indian life".<sup>9</sup>

It is not, therefore, surprising, that Andrews sought to influence the development of the Indian Church on several fronts during these years in relation to the national movement.

Firstly, he challenged the assumption among non-Christians that Christianity was inherently denationalising. The assumption was often enough made, as one or two other missionaries were also noting.<sup>10</sup> Andrews himself no doubt noticed a Bengali's comments in the Modern Review that "Indian Christians are for the most part non-patriotic, if not unpatriotic",<sup>11</sup> and he quoted "a deeply earnest....Hindu" to the effect that "if India ever became Christian, the saddest of all calamities would happen, India would then become at last completely denationalized".<sup>12</sup> He challenged this assumption briefly in a letter to the Epiphany, but more substantially in an address given at the College on 3 December, 1907. Exploiting the current enthusiasm among Indian nationalists for Japan, "second to none in the world for patriotism, achieving nationality as no other Eastern nation has yet achieved it", he drew attention, with lengthy quotations from Japanese educationists and writers, to the current enthusiasm for Christianity in Japan, and rejection of Buddhism, and the acknowledgement that Christianity had been "one of the most vital factors.....in the National Movement".<sup>13</sup> If the Indian situation was very different, and the church's position there, in relation to the imperial system, bore little relation to circumstances in Japan, at least the point was made that Christianity in an Asian context was not inherently denationalizing. This was not, however, a line which he often took.

The second area of his concern was in the matter of mission strategy. The most remarkable growth of the church in India, and not least in the Punjab, had been, and continued to be during the first few years of the century, through the mass movements among Hindus of



the lowest castes and those right outside the caste system.<sup>14</sup> The success of the movement, however, posed problems and raised questions, and these were put challengingly, early in 1907, by H.A. Whitehead, Bishop of Madras, in whose diocese the mass movements were also particularly significant.

The Church seems always to be about twenty years behind its opportunities, largely because we persist in spending our best energies year after year in preaching the gospel to people who show no readiness to accept it. The present disposition of our forces in India is a striking illustration of this policy. Four of our strongest and best equipped missions are established in Calcutta, Cawnpore, Delhi and Poona...and in all these four places the Christian community has been almost entirely unprogressive for the last thirty years....But what a contrast this presents to the state of the S.P.G. mission in the Telegu country. Here we have a really remarkable movement among the pariahs of Hindu society.

Such a situation demanded, Whitehead argued, a radical change of policy, and a shifting of the church's resources from education in the city centres to evangelism in the country districts.<sup>15</sup> He called for a full public discussion of the problem, and to this Andrews and his colleagues in Delhi responded.<sup>16</sup> Not surprisingly, all of them opposed the main proposal. Lefroy, whose episcopal oversight comprehended the mass-movement areas of the Punjab, had much sympathy for Whitehead's position.<sup>17</sup> He insisted, nevertheless, at both the Pan-Anglican Congress and the World Missionary Conference, on putting education first "as that which.....has probably contributed the largest share of the influences and elements which are at present operative on behalf of the spread of the Gospel,....remembering....the wave of life and movement...which is passing over the country".<sup>18</sup> It is this last point which Rudra emphasised: because those who sought higher education, from the higher castes,

represented the progressive forces at a time when a "new India" was coming to birth, "missionary colleges should exist in the fulness of intellectual, moral and spiritual efficiency, so as to set before youthful India the perfect Image of the Divine"<sup>19</sup> This was Andrews' line also. The context of mission was, and would be "for the next thirty years", nationalism, and higher educational work, as every leading Indian Christian whom he met told him, was "the key to unlock the future"<sup>20</sup> In this context, and especially in the climate of the 'Indian unrest', the witness of the Christian Church as it was did not really help but, rather, repelled, because it "remained outside the new movement"<sup>21</sup> This, however, was not the case with the missionary colleges, which, in the face of a distinct reaction against Christianity, held their place in the esteem and respect of the people because they were seen to be sympathetic to all that was best in the new spirit,

There is...a good prospect that if we hold strongly the almost commanding position we have obtained in the Universities, we may still keep the National Movement in touch, and even in sympathy with progressive Christian thought, until the witness of the Christian Church itself grows stronger, her foreign dress is shaken off, and her contribution to the life of the nation is recognised.<sup>22</sup>

Andrews was by no means uninterested in or disparaging of the church's mass-movement work, and he included in North India a careful and sympathetic chapter on the subject.<sup>23</sup> His criticism of Whitehead's position, however, was that it was "short-sighted" and failed to "discern the signs of the times".<sup>24</sup>

In the long run, as the National Movement advances, and ideals of social service advance at the same time, the witness of such a Church of the poor...will tell among the more thoughtful educated Indians. But this can hardly happen in the North for another thirty years.<sup>25</sup>

Meanwhile, to stem and reverse the deepening "estrangement from the church", the church's work in higher education, "the link of connection ....(with) the new forces", needed to be consolidated.<sup>26</sup>

Whitehead had pointed out that the church's work in higher education had produced very few baptisms, and he specifically quoted the case of the Delhi Mission.<sup>27</sup> This point was taken very seriously, and over the ensuing years, Andrews and Rudra, and several of their colleagues, enunciated in reply, their own 'theology of mission'.<sup>28</sup> Andrews did so himself in many places, but perhaps most substantially in a preparatory paper for the World Missionary Conference, and in an article in the Indian Interpreter. In the latter, he wrote,

I am led more and more, by my missionary experience, to regard the conversion of India, not as the aggregate of so many individual conversions, but far rather as a gradual process of growth and change in thought, idea, feeling, temperament, conduct - a process which half-creates and half-reconstructs a truly Christian religious atmosphere, Indian at its best and Christian at its best. In such an atmosphere, once formed, the spiritual growth of the countless millions of India may go forward and fresh fields of spiritual victory may be won.<sup>29</sup>

He called this process "assimilative", and, following Rudra, found a warrant for it in the parables of the leaven and the seed growing secretly. It amounted to a praeparatio evangelica among the educated classes as remarkable as that represented by the Jews of the Diaspora in the Roman Empire, and a chief instrument of it was the church's higher educational work, which set forth "her highest and noblest moral and spiritual ideals...to the rising generation".<sup>30</sup>

Andrews, and Rudra, were alive to the dangers of simply creating "a vague and ill-defined Christian atmosphere".<sup>31</sup> Rudra claimed that

educational missions had effected "a most remarkable baptism of thought" but this was not sufficient.<sup>32</sup> If India was to reconstruct herself on a stable basis, "a strong Indian Church" would be required to counter "the forces of inertia and conservatism".<sup>33</sup> Andrews, too, thought that "the assimilative ideal" was becoming "alarmingly popular",<sup>34</sup> he saw a place also for confrontation and challenge, and for carrying college-teaching forward "up to the highest point, where Christianity alone provides the remedy for sin and the life-giving power for good".<sup>35</sup> In terms of missionary strategy, however, the church would have to be content during the current political ferment to sustain its colleges as homes of a new spiritual life which was not yet wholly Christian, but which was, nevertheless, "poles apart from the old Brahmanical system with its superstitions and idolatries", and pointed forward to a time when India would find its fulfilment "within the Church of Christ, the Son of Man".<sup>36</sup>

Bishop Whitehead's arguments were by no means conclusive. Montgomery, the Secretary of S.P.G., after visiting north India, was persuaded that the church there had to "hold on to the positions which they..already occupied and await the course of events".<sup>37</sup> At the Pan-Anglican Congress the following year, the main trend of the discussion of the question recognised the importance of both approaches.<sup>38</sup> The World Missionary Conference, in the Report of Commission III, headed by Gore, significantly entitled Education in relation to the Christianisation of National Life, in which Andrews views are quoted extensively,<sup>39</sup> deplored the "waves of anti-educational sentiment which....(had) in times past checked or undone the educational work of missions", and suggested that the missionary colleges in their influence on "some at least of the more thoughtful Indians", and the mass movements were together the two great factors compensating for "the evil of an exotic non-national Christianity".<sup>40</sup>

If Whitehead's initial proposal never looked like being accepted, it at least drew Andrews and others into the debate and led to a sharper definition of the issues involved.

Andrews' third point about the church in relation to the national movement concerned the part which Indian Christians should take in the movement, a debate which had sharpened since the developments of 1905. His approach was sometimes simply a matter of exhortation, to "Love India with Christ's love", but he also argued that patriotism was a Christian duty with a spiritual basis.<sup>41</sup> His most careful case, however, was presented in an article, "Indian Christians and the National Movement" in the Indian Y.M.C.A.'s journal, warning that, just as the Church of England, by allowing itself to be "too fast-bound to the governing classes" and standing aloof from the Labour Movement in its early, struggling days, had alienated itself from the mass of the people, so in India a great opportunity would be lost and a like fate befall the Indian Church if it stood aside from the national movement and failed to help in the creation of a casteless nation : if it did this, it would set a premium on "retrograde forces" and itself become merely a new caste.<sup>42</sup> The issue was urgent, a "great and noble opportunity" was presented to "direct, guide, restrain, inspire", while the movement was still at a formative stage, but this would be lost in one or more generations. Some of the characteristic stresses of his emerging theology are disclosed as the case is made. A "deep love of country" is "worthy of the Master who loved his own city, Jerusalem, and wept over her and longed to save her", and is "divinely implanted in the human heart". Thus, non-Christian nationalists, though not owing the Master's allegiance, are "yet doing His work", and Christians ought to be working alongside them. Indeed, if the "new movements of humanity" embodied in what was happening all over Asia had in them elements which made for "a higher humanity", then Indian Christians had a special

part to play, particularly with respect to "the fallen,...the weak, ...the depressed,...the masses", whom they had been taught to look upon as "neighbour,...brother, and ...friend". Christians, particularly therefore, represented "the forces of enlightenment and progress", and had been "trained, as it were, as engineers to cut the channels for fallen humanity", and held in the Bible "the guiding construction plans for human progress".

The article had a mixed reception. A Bengali Christian, J.J.Ghose, replying in the same journal, reiterated the commonplace fear that Indian Christians could expect from national rule dominated by non-Christians nothing but "humiliation, indignities and even persecution";<sup>43</sup> the same note was struck at the Lahore Diocesan Conference the following year by Canon Ali Bakhsh, who, however, sought to make a virtue of the Indian Christian predicament by suggesting that the community might have a mediatorial role to play between the imperial government and the nationalists.<sup>44</sup> Others, however, responded more favourably. Rudra expressed, in his own distinctive terms, an almost identical point of view.<sup>45</sup> K.T.Paul, representing a younger generation, and destined to become "one of the great Christian leaders of India",<sup>46</sup> defended Andrews: distinguishing more cautiously than Andrews would have been prepared to do between the "patriotism" of the "National Movement" and the "propaganda" of the "Nationalists", he nevertheless pointed out that "long after Britain's political mission to India was finished", the Indian Christians would still be Indians, and that the movement presented "a Divinely appointed opportunity to demonstrate to our non-Christian compatriots that Christianity has made us not less, but even more patriotic than everyone else".<sup>47</sup>

Reviewing these years in 1912, Andrews was prepared to acknowledge that "since the great national revival,....both missionaries and

congregations...(had) been inspired with a new spirit", but he was equally, painfully conscious of lost opportunities which the church might have seized "if she had been more prepared".<sup>48</sup> No one had done more than Andrews to foster this inspiration and alert the church to its opportunities.

### 3. "Religious Swadeshim"

If, as Latourette has shown, the achievement of an indigenous leadership and a maximum of self-government is the primary prerequisite in the transplanting of Christianity and its taking firm rootage, the church situation in India during the early years of the century called for urgent changes.<sup>1</sup> The massive preponderance of foreign missionaries in all positions of leadership in the non-Oriental churches was a striking feature of the situation.<sup>2</sup> Andrews was quick to notice this and to draw attention to it,

No Indian bishop or even archdeacon,....after a hundred years of missionary effort!<sup>3</sup>

This contrasted unfavourably with the early Church's practice of encouraging indigenous leadership and initiative from the outset.<sup>4</sup> It was also particularly damaging, as Rudra pointed out, in the light of the new national aspirations, the "present foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction" being "widely interpreted as further political subjection", and so repelling "the more independent Indians who love their country".<sup>5</sup> There were also the unfortunate effects of the missionary being, as Andrews put it, "not only a Western but a Sahib, ...linked in a hundred ways with the ruling class".<sup>6</sup> Attitudes of superiority and contempt were carried over into the treatment even of "the noblest and highest Indian Christians". The "continual subordination" to which they were subjected, was, moreover, "not a good soil for the growth of originating and governing powers", and a "change of temper and spirit" was required among missionaries: "to decrease that the Indian may increase...must..."

be...an integral part of missionary principle"<sup>7</sup>.

Not surprisingly, in the new circumstances following 1905, the call went up from within the Indian Christian community for "religious or missionary Swadeshism"<sup>8</sup>. We find this reflected in Andrews' circle, in papers presented by two of his colleagues at the Lahore Diocesan Conference of 1906 on "Self-Support, Self-Government, and Self-Propagation"<sup>9</sup>, and in a general conclusion that the time was coming when the English missionaries should gradually withdraw themselves from church leadership - though such views were, as Lefroy pointed out, distinctly heterodox among missionaries, restricted to "a very few of the very best"<sup>10</sup>.

One of the areas in which Andrews was active in this question was with regard to the development of synodical government. This was a particularly necessary matter for Anglicans; their overarching organisation, the Indian Ecclesiastical Establishment was an increasing embarrassment, in Andrews' judgement, "with the great proportion of its clergy in the pay of a foreign Government", and that, as an Indian friend pointed out, at the Indian tax-payer's expense,<sup>11</sup> and "acting as State officials"<sup>12</sup>. For Andrews, the State Establishment would have to go because it was an anachronism and an offence, "the position of Bishops and priests as paid government servants...becoming more and more liable to hopeless misunderstanding" as the Indian national spirit advanced.<sup>13</sup> For Rudra, the witness of the church was "compromised,... almost desperately compromised...(by) these fetters"<sup>14</sup>. Not surprisingly, Lefroy, quoting Andrews on the subject, was soon himself saying that the gravity of the position could hardly be exaggerated.<sup>15</sup>

The Anglican bishops had for some quarter of a century been committed, in theory, to modifying these arrangements through a movement



towards 'ordered freedom' by way of the development of synodical government, but it was only with the Episcopal Synod of 1908 that the first definite moves were made, and then not least because of the reinforcement of the Synod by "two staunch advocates of reform", Foss Westcott, Bishop in Chota Nagpur, and Lefroy.<sup>16</sup> Undoubtedly, Andrews and his circle influenced Lefroy's attitude.<sup>17</sup> Rudra went on to play a unique part in the first Provincial Synod four years later, as it consolidated the movement to dissociate the church from the imperial government and towards autonomy.<sup>18</sup>

A second important aspect of the development of indigenous initiative at this time was the formation of the National Missionary Society. This originated in the south, under the inspiration of two Y.M.C.A. secretaries, V.S. Azariah, who had previously, in 1903, founded the Indian Missionary Society of Tinnevely,<sup>19</sup> and G.S. Eddy, an American. The first meeting was held at Serampore on Christmas Day, 1905, the object of the Society being "to evangelize unoccupied fields in India and adjacent countries, and to lay on Indian Christians the burden of responsibility for the evangelisation of their own country and neighbouring lands".<sup>20</sup> Andrews was appointed, with ten other missionaries, to the original Advisory Board, which was "wholly and solely" to maintain a link with the foreign missionary societies.<sup>21</sup> Although he was to report "but a cold welcome" to the Society in many English mission stations,<sup>22</sup> his own colleagues, and in particular Lefroy and Allnutt, welcomed it with great enthusiasm and admiration.<sup>23</sup> Both were soon to report, with equal enthusiasm, that many of the younger Indian Christians in Delhi were interested and had formed a local branch.<sup>24</sup> Lefroy, almost overwhelmed at the immensity of the missionary task in his diocese, "grotesque if...not so appallingly sad and humiliating", found in its formation "a true cause for thankfulness".<sup>25</sup>

Andrews was soon involved in an almost unique way for a non-Indian.<sup>26</sup>

He went with Eddy to intercede with Lefroy for the recognition of the

Society in the Punjab, and when the Punjab provided "the first Missionary and the first Mission-field", Andrews, as a member of the Advisory Board, was called in to discuss the question of the young man's ordination.<sup>27</sup> Although he found that his membership of the Board brought him "a considerable amount of most interesting work and correspondence", he was always emphatic that the Society and its work should be entirely in the hands of Indian Christians.<sup>28</sup> A criticism in the Gwalior Mission Journal that the Society was over-centralized and "all engineered on European lines", drew him to its defence to point out that if it was to be national, some organization was essential : the "immense power" which a Hindu movement like the Arya Samaj derived from good organization indicated that organization was in itself "neither Eastern nor Western".<sup>29</sup>

Andrews was present as the only European participant in the first conference of the Society, held in Delhi at Easter, 1912; not only did he speak, but he also took the chair when the chairman, K.T.Paul, General Secretary of the Society, whom we have met as a defender of Andrews views on Indian Christians and the national movement, spoke.<sup>30</sup> It is some measure of his own place in the emerging Indian Church, that the 'swadeshi' principle was overlooked in his case.

A third area in which Andrews was involved in the question of indigenous initiative and leadership in the church, was with regard to the Principalship of St. Stephen's College, "the most honourable office in the Mission".<sup>31</sup> Hibbert-Ware had gone on furlough early in 1906, and the thought had occurred to some of appointing temporarily in his place the newly-arrived Andrews, or even the much younger F.J.Western.<sup>32</sup> However, the Mission Council in Delhi, made up of the members of the Brotherhood, had had little difficulty in agreeing to appoint Rudra, who had been on the staff for twenty years, and Vice-Principal for several, as acting Principal. This worked extremely well,

and Allnutt reported with pride and satisfaction that the appointment was an unqualified success.<sup>33</sup> Andrews added that the new context, "national enthusiasm", had made the appointment of "a loyal and patriotic Indian" the more significant.<sup>34</sup> With Hibbert-Ware's decision, however, later that year, to leave educational for village work, the question arose of the permanent Principalship, and here the issue appeared more difficult.

The Cambridge Committee were unanimously in favour of Rudra's appointment, but wished to leave the decision to the people on the spot.<sup>35</sup> Among the latter, a vigorous debate ensued. The first step was that the members of the Brotherhood agreed to submit for common consideration memoranda on the issue as each of them saw it. Of the ten who did so, in January 1907, five were unequivocally in favour of Rudra's appointment, or, in principle, of the appointment of an Indian Christian, two were uncertain, and three strongly opposed. The general issue of the appointment of an Indian was complicated by a sense that the college was "a distinctive gift of Cambridge to Delhi", and that therefore the link with Cambridge should be embodied in the Principal.<sup>36</sup> Four of the supporters, G.A.Purton, N.C.Marsh, Western and Andrews, regarded the Cambridge link as a subordinate issue. Western, indeed suggested that the issue was the leadership of an "Indian college", so that the insistence on the Cambridge factor was indefensible, while Marsh and Purton argued that "the liberal lines" of the work and method at Delhi, deriving from the 'Cambridge ethos', themselves required the giving of opportunities of leadership to Indians - Marsh's only condition being that "the Missionary work and Religious Influence in the College" should be a paramount concern of the Principal. B.P.W.French maintained that it was precisely and primarily the effect which Christianity had produced, "the influence of Christianity on a man's whole personality", which had produced distinguished Indian candidates. French's note was,

in some respects, the most radical of all, with his observation, extraordinary for 1907, that "it may well be the case that the time has not come for a general exodus of all European missionaries", but that "to continue to hold the inhabitants of a country in subjection is opposed to the basis of Christianity", so that those who laid stress on the religious aspect of politics had a duty to do all in their power to encourage the movement for self-development. If Andrews, in his note, took the matter any further, it was by pursuing the question to the point of action by insisting that it was "not a principle" of the Mission that a Cambridge man should be the head of the College, but that "the appointment of Indians to responsible positions" as soon as possible was a principle of all the Mission's work, and a principle so vital that his whole position in the Brotherhood would need to be reconsidered if there was any departure from it.

Of the two who wrote ambivalent memoranda, one said that for him the only significant factor was Rudra's attitude towards "intending converts" - was he going to encourage them?<sup>37</sup> The other, Allnutt, felt that the pros and cons of appointing an Indian were so nearly balanced that he could only take "an opportunist position". While Andrews, despite his ability and devotion to the College, had to be discounted because his "intense sympathy with the nationalist movement" would be liable to alienate Government - source of important grants - from the College, Rudra, on the other hand, had given proof of possessing remarkable qualifications for the position, so that the policy of appointing him was by no means one of despair. Allnutt added, in a letter to Stanton, that Rudra was so eminently fitted for the post in every way, that not to appoint him would be "a slur on the Indians".<sup>38</sup>

The opposition to the appointment came from three of the oldest, and, apart from Allnutt, most senior members of the Mission, W.S.Kelley's

objections were the most mildly put : apart from a reservation about "the uncertain tone of the Indian religious mind at the present", he could see the value of showing a "legitimate sympathy with a National movement", but feared that Rudra, though as nearly ideal a Vice-Principal as could be hoped for at the time, would fail generally in his dealings with government officials. H.C. Carlyon made the point about government grants, and the link with Cambridge, and indeed saw nothing wrong with appointing "a young man fresh from Cambridge when an experienced Indian ....(was) at hand". He noted that under Indian leadership, work had "a tendency to stagnate". The nationalist factor was a ground for not appointing an Indian,

I consider that the present time of feverish excitement is most inopportune for making any radical change...Let us strive by all legitimate ways in our power to hasten the spread of the Gospel but let us remember that men are continually hindering it by not exercising sufficient patience.

Finally, Lefroy, recognising "very great force indeed" in some of Carlyon's arguments, wrote a lengthy note. Affirming that the special aim of the College was to bring to bear on the great problem of the evangelisation of India the thought and devotion of the Christian Church "in the particular form, with the particular ethos, which Cambridge ....(had) gradually made their own", he believed that, "at any rate from this point of view", the ideal Principal would be an Indian graduate from Cambridge. But there were other points of view, and Lefroy admitted to "an old-fashioned belief in a Western effectiveness and energy and grit and grip", which was far ahead of anything that India could supply at that time.<sup>39</sup> Also, he very greatly regretted that "a fiercely political, and in large measure anti-English, spirit" had been allowed to supplant the Missionary motive in the College, and, having intimate opportunities of knowing how very seriously the authorities viewed this as characterising St. Stephen's "in quite special - and, as they would hold, objectionable -

measure", he feared that "the attitude of the Punjab Government towards the College would be....most injuriously affected" by the appointment of a permanent Indian principal. In the circumstances, until a suitable Englishman could be found, Rudra, - whom Lefroy liked as much as possible and wholly believed in as a true Christian man, though he was nothing like a born leader<sup>40</sup> - should be asked to continue as acting Principal,

It might seem almost ungracious to ask this of him, if not intending to let him have the substantive post, but I believe his genuine Christianity could respond to the test.

With the circulation of these memoranda as a preliminary to a Brotherhood meeting, a further stage in the debate was introduced. Western and Andrews both produced second papers, commenting on those of Carlyon and Lefroy. Western's was a careful refutation of their arguments. Andrews' paper, quite the longest in the entire exercise, was equally careful and systematic. With regard to the special link with Cambridge, the bishop's position was a dangerous half-truth, the other and equally important half-truth being the need to evoke "an Indian Christianity, a College imbued with an Indian Christian spirit and not Anglicised",

We have in Rudra a man who is steeped in Cambridge traditions.

The whole trend of his thought is Westcottian : he reveres Westcott our Founder...At the same time he has that which is still more important from our point of view, viz. a passionate love for his own country. He combines Cambridge with India, India and Cambridge.

Westcott and Hort would surely have welcomed the appointment of an Indian as principal, which would, indeed, be an answer to "the prayers and longings of our pious Founders". As to the bishop's concern for vigorous and effective leadership, Rudra had startling qualities and was strong where many of his countrymen were weak, in discipline, firmness and powers of hard work; these had developed remarkably during his acting principalship, and latent qualities had appeared which the

bishop had not had opportunity to see. As to the bishop's remarks about the college being "fiercely political", these only showed how out-of-touch Lefroy was with both St. Stephen's College and the student world as a whole.

When most of the Colleges are seething with discontent and smothered disloyalty, our students are almost to a man strong and loyal nationalists, - and this was due in large measure to Rudra's influence. Andrews was convinced that Rudra's Christianity would stand the test of an extension of his acting position at the end of which he would step down, but, he added sharply and perceptively, "would ours?" He concluded by throwing back at Lefroy his own words at the Diocesan Conference, that it would be madness to come to India with "our ideals of personal freedom,...and then expect nothing to happen", and by repeating that a vital principle was at issue for him, and that if Rudra was passed over at this point, "the whole ideal of my missionary work would be shattered". This was a spirited and challenging paper, and a powerful contribution to the argument. Throughout, we find his characteristic argument about the relationship between mission and nationalism, his conviction that the spread of the Gospel would be hastened by sympathy with the Indian point of view and the exercise of the principles of equality and brotherhood. The question was one of profound significance for "the whole Church of India", a matter of Christian principle but also of "Christian.... statesmanship". Rudra's confirmation would be a demonstration of a genuine desire to build up "an Indian Church with Indian leaders", and would thus represent "a new and important step forward" for the church.

Allnutt, at least, seems to have considered that Andrews' and Western's second memoranda answered his own uncertainties, and when the Brotherhood came to vote on the question, he joined Rudra's supporters and the matter was substantially carried.<sup>41</sup>

It should be added that Lefroy made the most public confession possible of his mistaken judgement of Rudra, in a preparatory paper for the World Missionary Conference, while he spoke at Church House, Westminster on how splendidly the experiment had succeeded, and how important this was in the context of the 'Indian Unrest'.<sup>42</sup>

The mechanics of Rudra's confirmation went ahead, and Allnutt wrote to him on 2 June, 1907, confirming the appointment in a moving and enthusiastic letter, expressing pleasure both personal, and at the principle acted upon, "the one called for by the growth of the Indian Church".<sup>43</sup>

The principle was one to which Andrews would frequently refer over the coming years, almost invariably citing the case of Rudra's appointment and his subsequent statesmanlike and brilliant leadership in its vindication.<sup>44</sup>

#### 4. The Eastern Ideal

To the extent that the "Sahib spirit" characterised the ministry, the church was dangerously, if not fatally compromised, and, indeed, Ghose went so far as to say that it rendered the missionary's work quite useless.

The young missionary...imperceptibly enters into the possession of a vast heritage of accumulated prejudice against the Indian as such...I could point to many missionaries in this sad plight - living a sort of withered existence, unloving and unloved.... This official tone....turns him into a stone. It is a blight which touches hearts once active, living, liberal and makes them barren, hard, and fruitless.<sup>1</sup>

It was essential, therefore, that an alternative model should be found



for the Christian ministry in India. Rudra put this into words, words which T.V.French might well have used in his thinking about the needs of the Indian Church.

We need a body of spiritual Christian men eminently fitted by learning and temperament to pursue a life of study and contemplation, to be like swamis and paramhansas, fitted to set a new standard of Christian holiness which shall appeal to the New India of the future. Such men would have a Mission to Indian Christians as well as non-Christians. They would supply an indigenous centre of authority and an indigenous interpretation of the Christ-life, based on their own true Indian Christian character and learning and wisdom. If they formed a true Christian asram, their title would not be derived from foreign churches, but from their own intrinsic spirituality. It would be a title bestowed upon them by Christ Himself and His Spirit. Imagine a Christian Chaitanya or a Christian Vivekananda!<sup>2</sup>

During these years, some interesting developments in this direction took place in the Punjab, and with these Andrews was closely associated.

In the summer of 1907, while staying at Simla, he visited, with Lefroy, the small village congregation at Kotgarh, where the latter was to administer confirmation. Among the candidates was a seventeen-year old Sikh convert who had been baptised two years previously. Andrews noted that, though "very humble and quiet", his face was "gloriously aflame with his first love for Christ"<sup>3</sup>. This was Sundar Singh, later to become "perhaps the most famous Indian Christian who has yet lived"<sup>4</sup>.

In September 1905, Sundar Singh had been sent up from Ludhiana to get him away from the excitement which his conversion had aroused there, in the care of a young American 'free-lance' missionary, S.E.Stokes, and

Stokes had arranged for his baptism by J.Redman, a C.M.S. missionary at Simla.<sup>5</sup> Thereafter, in the summer of 1906, under the influence of Stokes, he had donned the saffron robe of the sadhu and begun to develop his distinctive ministry, which was to have such a unique impact, both in India and in the western world.

While Acting Principal at the Military School at Sanawar during the hot weather of 1906, Andrews had heard of Sundar Singh, who was at that time working with Stokes among lepers in nearby Sabathu, but did not meet him then. A first proper meeting had to wait until some months after Sundar Singh's confirmation, when Andrews visited him while he was working in the plague camp near Lahore in about November 1907.<sup>6</sup> Thereafter, he was able to write of a "growing friendship" and of their becoming "like brothers together",<sup>7</sup> as, over the next four years, he and Rudra spent their summer vacations in the Simla hills and met Sundar Singh between his evangelistic itinerations in the Indo-Tibet border areas, or, in the winter,<sup>8</sup> welcomed him at the College. He also visited Sundar Singh whenever possible while the latter was at the Divinity School at Lahore, between December 1909 and August 1910.<sup>9</sup>

Sundar Singh was clearly already capable of profoundly influencing those whom he met. Thus, Rudra wrote his fine paper, "Christ and Modern India", with its vision of an authentic Indian Church centred on "devotion to a Supreme Person...without any obscuring medium,...in keeping with the natural bent of Indian and Eastern character",<sup>10</sup> when he was, Andrews noted, "in almost daily touch with Sadhu Sundar Singh".<sup>11</sup> Similarly, the Christian students at St. Stephen's College, who sat up with him far into the night, were more deeply influenced as Christians by him, Andrews recalled, than by the "conventional lives" of Rudra and himself, and the course of life of several of them was dramatically changed.<sup>12</sup> He also clearly made a deep personal impression on Andrews himself,

bringing him "nearer to Christ", and he wrote many years later that when he was with him during these early years, "he strengthened my own faith and helped me to keep the pure flame of Christ's love burning bright".<sup>13</sup>

He used to talk about him frequently with Rudra, and discuss his way of life, and Andrews saw from the first how very highly significant Sundar Singh was as a sign for the Indian Church in his development of the ministry of a Christian sadhu.

The whole future of the Christian faith in India seemed to centre in the ideal he put before us.<sup>14</sup>

It has been suggested that Sundar Singh's theology was even more important than his way of life, but this had at that time hardly begun to develop.<sup>15</sup> Andrews only took serious account of this, his "creative power of thought", many years later.<sup>16</sup> What mattered at this time was the adoption of an Indian form of consecrated life in the service of Christian ministry and evangelism.

Sundar Singh, by his creative personality, set forward a true type for Indian Christians to follow...To the East the Sadhu brings the message that Christ belongs to them no less than to the West; that it is their function to express Him truly as belonging to the East. It is theirs to offer to the West a new vision of Christ as He walks the Eastern road and dwells among the Eastern village folk in lowly poverty, simplicity and self-denial.<sup>17</sup>

After these middle years of Andrews' missionary decade, he saw much less of Sundar Singh, but his estimate of his significance for the Indian Church remained high, surviving a public campaign denigrating his integrity.<sup>18</sup> Well over twenty years later, he wrote his Sadhu Sundar Singh: A Personal Memoir to sustain interest in what Sundar Singh represented,

based largely on these early years in his Christian life, "the greatest and the best years".<sup>19</sup>

During these same years, and closely linked with the ministry of Sundar Singh, there were other novel developments in Christian mission in the Punjab. These relate to the work of the young American, Samuel E. Stokes, who had come to India at the age of twenty-two early in 1904; had worked for a short time "in connection with the S.P.G. mission at Delhi", and had then moved on to the Simla hills.<sup>20</sup> There, in August 1906, he distributed his possessions and, after three days alone in prayer, assumed "the Friar's robe and the obligations of a Friar's life" as he understood them, "the life of poverty and conformation to the earthly life of our Lord", believing that if this could be "applied to the life of this land, and lived here, men could not but believe in Jesus Christ".<sup>21</sup> It was not the first time that the Franciscan life had been regarded as speaking with special significance to India, nor was it to be the last.<sup>22</sup>

Stokes and Sundar Singh, who met in the summer of 1906, worked in close association over the next few years, tending the sick in leper and plague camps, and, "barefooted and bareheaded, wearing the ochre-coloured sadhu's dress", on evangelistic tours towards Tibet, when they were invariably "received and listened to with reverence".<sup>23</sup>

At this stage - presumably during the hot weather of 1907 - Andrews had "long and intimate talks" with Stokes, and lived with him for "more than a month".<sup>24</sup>

Stokes' own account of his and Sundar Singh's work during this phase is interesting and also intensely moving. He describes in detail his work in a plague-infected village in the plains in the spring of

1907, his gradual acceptance by the villagers being the more remarkable in that this was at the height of the Punjab's agrarian unrest, when feelings against foreigners were especially bitter. In his own understanding, Stokes was a friar, trying to conform his life to his vision of "the perfect friar", to the vision of "the homeless, suffering, serving Jesus".<sup>25</sup> It is some measure of the effectiveness of this Franciscan approach, that in the eyes of the villagers he was a true "Bhagat of God", and even "their" bhagat, and "Maharaj".<sup>26</sup> That Stokes was not romanticising his ministry and its effectiveness is made clear by Lefroy, who was filled with "thankfulness and hope" at Stokes' work. He referred at the World Missionary Conference to his "personal holiness and nearness to Christ", to his ministry, its "love and...practical good sense and brightness", and to its "priceless value" as a witness to Christ, which appealed "directly and in the strongest way possible to the religious instincts of the East and realises their ideals".<sup>27</sup>

Stokes' discovered that "a thousand doors which had remained closed to him as a Sahib" opened gladly before him "as a poor Religious": "that barrier which all earnest missionaries in India keenly feel", which had formerly been his despair, had been removed. This encouraged him to propose an extension of his ministry.<sup>28</sup> He travelled to England and the U.S.A. in 1908, speaking and writing of his experiences and of his plans for a Franciscan Brotherhood, or, as he came to call it, a Brotherhood of the Imitation of Jesus. He also discussed the question with Lefroy who agreed to support the venture. With the latter's approval, he published in S.P.G.'s The East and the West specific proposals, that, for example, the Brotherhood should be devoted to the service of "all who are afflicted", and that it should do educational work, in existing institutions.<sup>29</sup>

In the next year or two, the Brotherhood of the Imitation began to

take shape in a modest way. A recruit from England came out under the auspices of the C.M.S. in November 1909.<sup>30</sup> More significantly, perhaps, two Brahmin sanyasis who had become Christians under Stokes' influence, Swami Isananda<sup>31</sup> and Swami Dhar Tirath,<sup>32</sup> came to be associated with the community. Stokes' principal and only full associate, however, was F.J. Western, who had joined the Cambridge Brotherhood, like Andrews, in 1904, and in September 1909 moved over into the Brotherhood of the Imitation, of which he was to remain a member for just over two years, before returning to full membership of the Cambridge Brotherhood.<sup>33</sup> His move into the Brotherhood of the Imitation was noted respectfully in the Tribune, in a news-item entitled "True Self-Sacrifice", a further indication of the missionary significance of Stokes' approach.<sup>34</sup> Others were associated with the community.<sup>35</sup> Among these, Sundar Singh remained "entirely a free-lance", but "retained the most friendly relations" with the Brotherhood.<sup>36</sup> Andrews described himself as "an Associate Member" and "Chaplain of the Order", and clearly saw himself as closely connected, though not formally admitted as a member.<sup>37</sup>

Although Stokes himself preferred to continue with his work among the lepers and in the plague camps, he also pursued a very interesting line with regard to educational work. As early as 1907 he was reported as wishing to establish "a Christian Gurukula", that is, a school staffed by a teacher or teachers who were men of religion, the life of the school being grounded in religious commitment.<sup>38</sup> In pursuance of this, he published a prospectus, "A Scheme for a Christian Gurukula" setting the need for such a school in the context of the emerging nation; never more in need of "true men, with high ideals and earnest purpose, consecrated body and soul to the service of God and their motherland". The proposal is very much a mixture of east and west, with its call for an institution for the sons of Indian gentlemen, which may combine "all the advantages of the ancient gurukula of the Aryans with those of a first-class modern boarding

school", in which "each instructor will aim so to live Christ in the midst of the boys, and to do it in such a simple and manly manner, that the Lord may become for all within the walls of the Gurukula, a living Personality, and the figure of all that is noble, manly, bold and to be desired".<sup>39</sup> In June 1909, he submitted proposals to the C.M.S. in London to take over and reshape the Society's Primary School at Kotgarh, with Western in charge, the enterprise to be modelled on the Arya Samaj's Gurukula at Hardwar.<sup>40</sup> Allnutt reported the scheme enthusiastically in the Delhi Mission News, hoping that the C.M.S. would recognise its importance as a necessary, Christian counterpart to the Arya Samaj's institution.<sup>41</sup> The scheme was approved and, though Western did not remain long in charge, Stokes was able to report its establishment in 1910 as part of the "work accomplished" in the previous year.<sup>42</sup> The Tribune followed this development with interest, also.<sup>43</sup>

Another aspect of the Brotherhood of the Imitation's activities was a small amount of publishing, under the imprint of the Christian Literature Society. This included an anonymous study of the incarnation, Divine Incarnation, in which the Christian doctrine is compared and contrasted with Hindu beliefs, and, by Stokes himself, The Historical Character of the Gospel, an anthology of Jewish, Roman and Greek background documents for the origins of Christianity. Andrews contributed to this latter a short preface, emphasising the fact that "Christ was no mythical figure, but stood forth in the broad daylight of history", in this respect "differing altogether from the Krishna Legend", and the Modern Review gave it an enthusiastic welcome.<sup>44</sup>

The Brotherhood of the Imitation did not last very long. In August 1911, Stokes announced that he was to marry a wife from within the Kotgarh Christian community. This he did in the autumn of 1912. In explaining his decision, he disclosed developments in his thinking

which represented a criticism of the Brotherhood, for he made it clear that it was not simply a matter of his leaving the community, but rather of his conviction that "the Brotherhood as such must go".<sup>45</sup> While he acknowledged that the ideal of the Brotherhood expressed "a very real side of the Gospel message to men", it was open to misunderstanding, particularly in India, because it confirmed the mistaken Eastern conception that the truly religious life was to be attained only by freeing oneself from the "net" of worldly affairs, including "all the relationships of normal life, home, family, and friends".<sup>46</sup> The "Gospel of the Incarnation", on the other hand, that "in Jesus of Nazareth the Son of God became not merely a man but Man", represented a call "to grow not super-human, but more human", and to work for the consecration of these "relationships of normal life".<sup>47</sup> The "principle of the Incarnation" could also be applied in another sense, in that by uniting himself by marriage with the Indian community, he might reverse the conventional missionary approach of working "from without inward", a method which weakened and pauperized. Stokes added a third point, that an interracial marriage represented his "fierce protest" against the "ancient racial prejudices" which he discerned in the church.<sup>48</sup>

Stokes' decision effectively brought the Brotherhood to an end. In November 1911, Western told Lefroy that he did not feel capable of carrying the work on;<sup>49</sup> he returned to the Cambridge Brotherhood, retaining his belief in what he called "Franciscanism", and insisting on continuing such a style of life.<sup>50</sup> It would be, though, as Andrews put it, "something much less naturally visible to the world....but keeping closely to the inner spirit of poverty and devotion to the poor".<sup>51</sup>

It remains to say something of Andrews' own reflections on these developments, to which he was so close.<sup>52</sup> The early and most informal phase of Stokes' ministry gave Andrews more food for thought than anything



else that he had seen in India,

It was all Christianity pure and simple, expressed in a language "understanded of the people".<sup>53</sup>

He wrote at some length in North India of Stokes' approach, and of what he called "the Franciscan ideal", the "full life of holy poverty and renunciation", because it seemed both to represent, as the 'missionary as sahib' never could, "the life of the Crucified", and also to reflect "perhaps the strongest religious instinct....among educated and uneducated Indians of all creeds", that is, renunciation.<sup>54</sup> This was a point which he made frequently over the next few years with his Indian Christian readers.<sup>55</sup> He sometimes qualified his advocacy, however, suggesting, for example, that "Eastern Christianity....will have....its ascetic, mystical, formless side; but it will also clothe itself in beautiful garments of its own, and appeal to the home, the family, the people, as well as to the solitary idealist".<sup>56</sup> It is notable that Andrews was saying this in November 1909, when the Brotherhood was just being formed, and a couple of years before Stokes was expressing his own similar reservations. At the same time, Stokes' ascetic line chimed in with Andrews' own deepest impulses, and he sought to exemplify in his own life "the laying stress on the literal imitation".<sup>57</sup> This he did with evident effect, imbibing to "a wonderful degree the Eastern ideal of a religious life".<sup>58</sup>

On the Brotherhood of the Imitation itself, his most extended consideration occurs in an article, "The Indian Missionary Ideal", published early in 1911, and based on a letter which he wrote to "a Scotch missionary" who had sought his opinion as to whether he considered the Brotherhood suited to contemporary India.<sup>59</sup> In this, he considers three possible missionary methods. The first of these, the transmission of all that is precious to the missionary in his own, personal western experience of Christianity, he takes little time over,

because it creates merely "hybrid" converts.<sup>60</sup> The second and third methods he discusses at much greater length. The second he calls the assimilative ideal, "I must become an Indian to the Indian in order to win the Indian". This, he says, had proved immensely attractive to younger missionaries two or three years earlier; but then had come the third approach, "a life which went deeper", the ideal of the literal imitation of Jesus, "not the Western model, not the Eastern model, but the primitive model of the earliest Christian days, when love and sacrifice and renunciation were the very salt of the Christian life". The strength of this approach is that it places the cross at the centre, rousing the church from an over-trust in the busy activity of organisations and institutions, and pointing to "the one final power of Christianity upon the lives and hearts of men", while the assimilative ideal is liable to bypass the cross. For this reason, "the biggest truth of all for India at the present time" lies in this imitative ideal. To start with "assimilation to Hindu ideals" and possibly bypassing the cross creates the risk of "Christianity being merged with Hinduism".

Christ is indeed the Fulfiller of each world religion, yet He is something infinitely more. He is the Crucified...(and so) Hinduism, great and lofty as it is, must die and be reborn before it can live to Christ.<sup>61</sup>

Assimilation, nevertheless, as "the fuller catholic ideal", must follow, and in due time "the young and vigorous Church of India will build up its own living fabric out of those very truths of Hinduism which are today showing signs of decay and death". The Brotherhood of the Imitation was correct for that particular time in setting forward "the pathway of that renunciation which must precede the new birth in India".

Andrews was more sad than he could say about Stokes' "hasty withdrawal" - as he regarded it - from the Brotherhood of the Imitation, though he agreed with him that "the Hindu ideal...had crept in in certain

ways".<sup>62</sup> Indeed, he was soon publically stating again, at the first conference of the National Missionary Society, his reservations about what he called on that occasion "the sadhu ideal", namely that it did not recognise the worth of the domestic ideal, and that it created the false impression that there is "merit" in renunciation, and that inaction is necessary for greater spiritual development.<sup>63</sup>

Andrews' enthusiasm, nevertheless, for the sort of developments represented in the person and ministry of Sundar Singh, and of Stokes, and in the Brotherhood of the Imitation, and his publicising of them, is a clear indication of the general direction in which he wished to see the church moving with regard to modes of ministry and common life. It was a direction in which there were subsequent developments, in which Andrews' advocacy may well have been influential.<sup>64</sup>

##### 5. One Body

During the middle years of his missionary decade, Andrews' theology of national renaissance ran over into a conception of an emergent Body of Humanity, of which Christ as Son of Man was Head, and throughout these years, though he was led to affirm his belief in the actuality of a church far wider than the company of the baptised, he nevertheless held on to the conviction that Christianity was "the one final religion of universal brotherhood and the one unifying religion of the whole human race", and that the church was "the nucleus of that unity".<sup>1</sup> It is not, therefore, surprising, that within such a strongly holistic perspective, he saw, or came to see the question of church unity as very important, and he reported that he was "continually thinking and working towards a unity that is infinitely varied, Catholic, all-embracing".<sup>2</sup>

The decade preceding Andrews' own arrival in India marked the

beginning of the movement towards church union in India and Asia generally.<sup>3</sup> In this the Anglicans were, in a small way, involved.<sup>4</sup> Andrews' own involvement in the student community, in which so largely the ecumenical movement began, provided him with "a living inspiration", the W.S.C.F. recovering for him and many others "the sense of the unity of Christendom".<sup>5</sup>

Anglicanism itself presented a not entirely united front, so that in the Diocese of Lahore the work of S.P.G. and of C.M.S. went on in comparative independence. While it is clear that other members of the two societies were anxious to co-ordinate their work, and even see the societies disappear, "and the Church to appear to be what it is, a real organic whole",<sup>6</sup> it is noteworthy that moves in this direction were at Andrews' instigation.<sup>7</sup> With other Christian bodies, likewise, - the Baptists in Delhi, and Presbyterians in other parts of the Punjab - cooperation was developing. Allnut in particular among the members of the Delhi mission, was vigorous in the promotion of practical union with the local Baptists.<sup>8</sup> Andrews made his own practical contributions, in, for example, introducing "definite safeguards" against compromising the Anglican position,<sup>9</sup> and, on the other hand, in participating in a service of holy communion at which a Presbyterian minister presided.<sup>10</sup> His chief contribution however, was in the promotion of the new movement and thought about it through his writings.

He dealt with two aspects of the matter of church unity. First, he gave some consideration, though rarely at great length, to the theological problems of church union as usually understood. His views on this were never the chief subject of a major article, but we are able to build up something of a picture of his position as it developed during these years.<sup>11</sup>

Although he claimed to be "a High Churchman" in matters of church unity,<sup>12</sup> and was indeed so regarded,<sup>13</sup> and warned the W.S.C.F. against any suggestion that "the Reformed Churches of the West" represented the whole of active Christendom,<sup>14</sup> his Indian experience gave him "an intense passionate longing....for corporate organic unity", and led him to advocate "close and effective co-operation between the different missions".<sup>15</sup> With regard to this, making much of the cooperation already achieved in Delhi with the Baptists, he worked out and proposed a theory of "practical union".<sup>16</sup> Characteristically, he prefaced this with a discussion of what he called "outer co-operation", that is, "work among non-Christians of a very close and spiritual character". "Inner co-operation", that is, cooperation among Christians groups, he believed to be possible for Anglicans with other Christian bodies, provided that these fulfilled three conditions: they must be such as "(i) Recognise order and discipline and membership in a Church as essential. (ii) Regard the sacrament of baptism as imperative for converts. (iii) Are orthodox concerning the Person of our Blessed Lord and Saviour". More important, perhaps, was his enunciation of a principle which, many years later, was to guide the ecumenical movement, namely,

Practical union in work and prayer up to the point where in practice our principles are seen to diverge, adding, "If I had written 'where in theory', I am afraid we should have made very little progress; for we all imagine our own theories to cover far more ground than they really do".<sup>17</sup>

On this question of cooperation, he acknowledged that his proposed principle could be held in conjunction with "a strictly denominational position", beyond which he did not believe that Anglicans were at that time prepared to go. He himself, however, admitted in 1909 that he had moved far from a narrowly "denominational position", a development which clearly parallels his developing thought about human solidarity, "the

Body of Humanity",

I could not now speak of....Episcopacy as of the 'Esse' of the Church, or regard a Quaker who had conscientious scruples as to Baptism as not belonging to the 'Body of Christ', or consider a Presbyterian or Congregational Sacrament of Holy Communion as ipso facto invalid, or speak as I used to do of nonconformity as outside or half outside the covenant. The world of the Mission-field has made me long for corporate organic unity with an intense passionate longing, but it has made me also realise that the pathway to Corporate Unity is not so narrow and exactly defined as I had imagined and that the variety in the One Body is as important as the unity.<sup>18</sup>

Andrews spelt out this new position in a preparatory paper for the World Missionary Conference. Some indication of where he stood may be seen when one compares this with the attitude of the large number of S.P.G. supporters in England who presented a "Remonstrance" in July 1910, against the formal recognition of the Conference, in order to check any further association on the part of the Society "with the principles of Inter-Denominationalism".<sup>19</sup> The shift in Andrews' position is fairly typical of the experience of missionaries in India at this period.<sup>20</sup>

Inevitably, in his case, the national movement was a significant factor: of the imposing of Western divisions on Indian Christians, he told the National Missionary Society, "we are beginning to feel the enormity".<sup>21</sup>

A few months later, he pointed to the example of the development in the early church of "an Alexandrian Christianity distinct in tone and colour from that of Ephesus or Antioch...Rome or Carthage", the church in each great racial or national area having its own autonomous life, the meeting together of these autonomous churches on an equal footing being "the highest conception of Church Unity and Catholicity that has ever been presented to the world".<sup>22</sup>

It was, in fact, essentially Indian conditions which shaped Andrews' developing viewpoint about church unity. This does not mean that he was prepared to abandon distinctive Anglican principles. Indeed, he affirmed in 1912 his conviction that the Anglican contribution was "a vital one, for the Indian Church",<sup>23</sup> and he urged non-Anglicans when they met to deal directly with controversial subjects, the questions of "valid Ordination and valid Sacraments", and to "meet each other's real difficulties".<sup>24</sup> Interestingly, he spelt out, if briefly, the significance of these two particular issues for the Church in India. Thus, he suggested that, as in no other country in the world, "the supreme value of the episcopate" stood out in India,

Loyalty to a central person is an instinct among India's great unlettered rural population. Furthermore, India is a land of traditions, a land in which the past counts for more than the present. To be linked with the Church of all the ages, to be in a distinct historical succession from the Apostles themselves.... - these are ideas singularly vivid to the Indian mind.<sup>25</sup>

In this, Andrews was anticipating by over a decade a view which was to gain recognition at the conference on church union at Tranquebar in 1919, a meeting so crucial in the history of ecumenism - "Episcopacy is in accordance with the genius of India, the Tranquebar men seemed to say".<sup>26</sup> Thus, too, in an article for a Presbyterian publication, observing that in Europe "Form" and "Spirit" - the sacramental and the non-sacramental views - had been set one against the other "and division rather than harmony" had ensued, he suggested that what was needed was "a people of spiritual genius and intense religious fervour" who might in future be able to harmonize these two positions, and that India might be the setting for such a synthesis, for the two positions appeared already to exist in harmony in Hindu life.<sup>27</sup> He went on to explain that they were to be seen in "the India of the devout Brahman, every act of whose daily household life is a sacrament leading to the unseen", and "the

India of the homeless sanyasin, who has left all earthly ties to follow his ideal, and has laid aside all ceremonies and forms in the free life of the Spirit". Against such a background, it might be possible to look forward to "an Indian Church harmonizing the sacramental and the mystical".

At another level, however, Andrews saw that "the reunion of the Church" would not merely mirror an existing Indian phenomenon, but would provide a saving alternative and answer, that is, to India's "inherited communal instincts and its pathetic longing for unity".<sup>28</sup> Over against this, as he was to write a little later, must be posed a visible unity, "simplicity of doctrine combined with a clear visible expression of the Christ-life of unity and love shown forth to the world in an organized society".<sup>29</sup> In this respect, reunion lay "at the very heart of the Indian missionary problem", and was the essential precondition of "Indian acceptance of the Faith".

The ideal of a United Christendom would mean more to India than to any other country.<sup>30</sup>

Significantly, among the many reviews of The Renaissance in India, in which this passage appears, it was a Hindu who acknowledged the cogency of this particular argument.<sup>31</sup>

Andrews called this visible unity of the church the "social expression of Christianity", and it was with regard to a more specifically social problem that he was most concerned about the unity of the church.<sup>32</sup> A sympathetic observer drew attention to his devotion to "the great and worthier ideal of a united Catholicism which shall gather East and West together and shall have no race distinctions".<sup>33</sup>



We have already seen how important was the question of "the ethics of race" in the public sphere for him. If the church's mission was critically damaged by the conduct of "the white Governments", its own internal handling of the racial question was also very important, was, indeed, "the greatest moral problem before the Indian Church.... - the union of two divided races, Indian and English, within One Body"<sup>34</sup> Apart from his anatomy of "the Sahib spirit" in North India, he did not make many allusions to specific offences against this unity, but chiefly, probably, because it was so obvious. Thus, it was news when Allnutt reported in 1910 that in Delhi "some of the native Christians of the Mission had on occasions communicated at the Church where the English people worshipped" and vice versa; Allnutt called this a very necessary assertion of "the principle of Christian unity"<sup>35</sup>

Andrews alluded to this question throughout the period, and wrote several substantial articles on the subject, in particular, in addition to his early paper on "Racial Unity", a series on "Race Within the Church"<sup>36</sup> In the earlier paper, delivered in late 1907, he had traced through St. Paul's letters his "life struggle" for racial unity in the church. Although he had applied the principle universally through his figure of "the Body of Humanity", he showed how for St. Paul it was in the church that the struggle had first to be won, so that the unity of the church might be "a pledge and foretaste of a unity....to embrace all creation". This was now a struggle that had to be fought again within the Indian church, the struggle for a "Christian unity....which makes no distinction of race or colour or caste", and which would drive out "our miserable privileges, our worldly prejudices, our wretched superiorities" and reveal to the world "the 'mystery' which has never been realized before in this land"<sup>37</sup> To this dimension of Christian unity in India, Andrews drew attention in several other articles during these years.<sup>38</sup> He also made the point in North India by drawing attention to examples of racial

unity, such as the collaboration of the Brahmin convert, Goreh, and the English religious, O'Neill, "one of the most beautiful things ever witnessed in the Indian mission-field - European and Indian, of one heart and one soul in Christ, living as brothers together"<sup>39</sup>. This is a recurring theme of the book, and its concluding paragraph brings the issue back to the centre of attention: "Ultimately, the present difficulties and perplexities of the Indian Church resolve themselves into the one great problem of the intermingling of races within one Body", the solution of which at the same time defines the mission of the Church in India, to be "the true nursing mother of the Indian nation,"

For that which Neo-Hinduism shows no signs of accomplishing, the Christian Church, coming victorious out of her own internal struggle, may at last achieve. She may first learn within herself, then give to India, the spirit of unity.<sup>40</sup>

In his early paper on "Racial Unity", he had drawn attention to the importance in "the Pauline Churches" of the Lord's Supper, at which Jew and Greek shared, acknowledging one another in the Kiss of Peace. In the January, 1910 issue of The East and the West, there appeared an article by R.F.Callaway, "Colour Antipathies : A Study of Conditions of Church Life in South Africa", in which the author argued that "whatever fellowship is desirable within the sphere of religious life may legitimately be kept within that sphere and not intruded into the domain of social life". His reason for this was his belief that the profound racial antipathies experienced in South Africa, however indefensible "in the sphere of religious life", were such that they seemed only to be surmountable under the impulse of "lust".

Does not this suggest to us the thought that within the sphere of social life there is a limit beyond which fellowship is neither desirable or good?

In other words, as Andrews characterised Callaway's position, "the races should part, as it were, at the church door"<sup>41</sup>. Andrews recognised that

this position was an advance on "those terrible portents of our time, race-churches and race-sacraments", but that it did not go nearly far enough, and he was led in the first of his articles on "Race Within the Christian Church" to a careful but unequivocal advocacy of inter-racial marriage, "whenever and wherever it is the natural outcome of Christian sympathy and pure Christian love".<sup>42</sup> Pointing to the caste system as "the most imposing experiment in race-alooofness" that the world had ever seen, he noted that most missionaries were agreed that the overthrow of the system was only finally effected when Christians of different castes intermarried, and that it was "the voice of bishops and synods, that 'the distinctions of caste must be abandoned decidedly, immediately, finally".<sup>43</sup> The Indian experience, then, underlined the error of Callaway's position and exposed it as "hypocrisy and cant", and pointed to a contrary conclusion.

The editorial introduction to Andrews' article took his bold and provocative argument very seriously,

Those who have been accustomed to shudder at the suggestions which it contains will feel, after carefully perusing the arguments of its writer, that the question cannot be settled by a shrug of the shoulders, or by any of the stock arguments which have done service in the past.

This response was echoed in other places, in both India and Britain.<sup>44</sup> The general reaction, however, was very different, and Andrews later recalled that the article "probably brought upon myself more odium among Europeans in India and even in England than even my political views".<sup>45</sup> Certainly, when he raised the issue again two years later, at an S.P.G. Summer School in England, Bishop Montgomery vigorously attacked his position, and "the summer school was in a hubub".<sup>46</sup> It was some consolation to Andrews that Charles Gore supported him.<sup>47</sup>

During these years, he wrote a further two articles with the same title, taking up again the now familiar theme of the racial division between Indian and British in the Indian Church, and going so far as to wonder whether St. Paul, if he had been present, would have recognised "we Anglicans in India....as Churchmen at all".<sup>48</sup> On a number of specific issues, he was criticised by European correspondents and praised by the Modern Review, but neither article was as radical or attracted as much attention as the first in the series.<sup>49</sup> They are valuable, nevertheless, for their continuing insistence on the importance of what were to come to be known as 'non-theological', or, more correctly, 'cultural and social factors' in the ecumenical movement.<sup>50</sup> Nowhere else in the missionary literature of the period do we come across any such serious and sustained handling of this "strange and portentous phenomenon in Christendom"<sup>51</sup> which so offended against the fundamental principles of Andrews' thinking on the human race and unity of the Body of Christ.

#### 6. "Theology from the Eastern point of view"

Before he ever came to India, Andrews had been encouraged by Westcott to expect the emergence of a distinctive Indian theology, for, "as Greece had been the leader of Europe, India would always be the leader of Asia...These, he said, were the two great thinking nations of the world".<sup>1</sup> His earliest impressions, however, as we have seen, were of "spiritual usurpation" in the church, and he alludes several times to the theological and doctrinal aspect of this, the imposition, for example, of sixteenth-century English "Articles of Religion" upon the Indian Church.<sup>2</sup> He appears to have been influenced by Rudra in this matter. The latter several times alluded to an "intervening Western medium",<sup>3</sup> and to India's need to go direct to "Christ the fountain head of inspiration and new life...not further down the stream, where human controversies have disturbed the clear waters".<sup>4</sup> Rudra clearly felt very

strongly about this. The Indian Christian community, he wrote,

In the expression of its deepest thoughts...has been taught to learn foreign formularies, and foreign systems of theology, ...elaborated and recast, renovated, elaborated and recast again. The indigenous mind naturally loses all freshness, elasticity and vitality under this ecclesiastical schooling ....This lack of vitality, the half-dead and half-alive spirituality, which is the present characteristic of the Indian Church, is due to enforced conformity to Western standards...Indian Christianity...is not the true expression of Indian thought and aspiration.<sup>5</sup>

Nor did this criticism come only from within the church. The editor of the Modern Review pointed to the contrast he claimed to see between Christian converts, to whose achievements Andrews had drawn attention, and the lack of creativity among later generations of Indian Christians, born and brought up within the church, and so out of touch with those springs of vitality in the non-Christian community on which the first-generation converts had drawn.<sup>6</sup> Andrews took this criticism very seriously.<sup>7</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that he should have turned his attention to the promotion of what he called an "Indian Christian Theology", or, in terms more reminiscent of Westcott, "the contribution which Indian Christianity may make towards the interpretation of the great Catholic Doctrines of the Church".<sup>8</sup>

One way in which he did so was to publicise such Indian Theology as he knew to have been written at the time. Rudra, who himself made a modest but striking contribution, on "The Christian Idea of the Incarnation",<sup>9</sup> reported in 1909 that there was so far very little indigenous Christian thought known to him, and he went on to mention the work of Krishna Mohan Banerjea, Nehemiah Goreh and Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya.<sup>10</sup> Andrews also knew of these, and introduced them to a wider public.

He devoted some space to Banerjea and Goreh in North India.<sup>11</sup> Important as he saw them to be, however, he regarded them as much less constructive and important than Brahmabandhab, to whom he devoted a substantial article in the Church Times, later reproduced in part in The Renaissance in India.<sup>12</sup> Andrews made the point that he had himself lived "in close contact with" one of Brahmabandhab's most intimate disciples, though it is not clear who this can have been.<sup>13</sup> The article is made up largely of extracts from the writings of Brahmabandhab, including translations of his two Sanskrit hymns, to The Blessed Trinity and to the Word Incarnate, which Andrews calls respectively "A Hymn of Adoration"<sup>14</sup> and "the canticle of the Incarnation".<sup>15</sup> While pointing out that Brahmabandhab was "ready to go further than most of us would regard as the bounds of the Christian intellectual and social ideal in his approximation to Hinduism", he concedes that he made very careful distinctions between Hindu and Christian doctrines.<sup>16</sup> He concludes that Brahmabandhab's work is evidence that, "when the period of Western imitation is over and Europeanizing tendencies have ceased, the Indian Church may have an important contribution to make to Catholic theology". To have introduced Brahmabandhab's work, still regarded as "the most successful example of a true adaptation or incarnation of the faith in India",<sup>17</sup> to a wide audience in the West so early is an indication of Andrews' perspicacity in the matter of Indian Christian theology.<sup>18</sup>

It has been suggested that in Brahmabandhab's work, for all its remarkable force, "Aquinas looms too large and the Bible too small".<sup>19</sup> Certainly, Andrews himself regarded the bible as of central importance as a basis for an Indian theology, and he was involved in a sustained effort over a number of years to make it, and the best modern interpretation of it, accessible to Indian Christians. This he had an opportunity to do through his appointment in 1906 as General Editor, under "the general Episcopal supervision" of Lefroy, for a series of "Indian Church

Commentaries", which were published in accordance with a resolution of the Synod of Anglican bishops in India of 1900. Andrews appears to have been responsible in this way for the general editing of some six commentaries published over the next seven years, and it is clear from the prefatory acknowledgements of the editors of the individual volumes, that he had an important and often indispensable part in their making.<sup>20</sup>

The aim was that these commentaries, "while presenting a direct and scholarly interpretation of the New Testament based upon the work of the great English Commentaries", should at the same time include "references to Indian religious thought and life", to make them serviceable to both Christian and non-Christian in India.<sup>21</sup> In this latter respect, these commentaries are lively and colourful. In Walker's Acts, for example, he underlines the parallelism between the Roman Empire and British rule in India. Thus, Festus, conferring with the council on St. Paul's appeal to Caesar, is like a Bengal question being discussed by "the Government in Council"; Agrippa going "to salute Festus" is like "the Maharajah of a Native State paying his respects to a new Viceroy or Governor"; Felix, "having more exact knowledge of the Way", is like "a Hindu magistrate who may have a general impression that Christianity is a good religion, without having really studied the New Testament". In the same way, Weitbrecht's St. Matthew, to exemplify the house built on the sand, recalls "the former palace of the Nawab of Mandot on the Sutlej, ... built on the sandy cliff overlooking the river", which collapsed during the rainy season; "Strain out the gnat" recalls "Jains and Jogis", while, with regard to Christ's "But I say unto you" in the Sermon on the Mount, "The tremendous nature of such an utterance we may realise if we imagine a Mohammedan teacher quoting some fundamental command of the Quran, and adding a modification of it prefaced by the words, 'But I say unto you'. The commentaries were well received. Lefroy found the first of them "most fascinating and valuable", and supplying "a great need",<sup>22</sup> and Eugene Stock, reviewing the first five

of them for the Church Missionary Review, found them "very impressive" and "valuable".<sup>23</sup> McLeod Campbell reported from India that the reception of the first volume indicated "the felt need for such literature".<sup>24</sup> This view was corroborated by Andrews' report in 1912 that Walker's Philippians had reached a second edition and had been translated into three leading vernaculars.<sup>25</sup>

Andrews' most energetic attempt, however to encourage the development of an Indian theology was with regard to the training of ordinands. At the end of 1908 he had noted of ordinands in India that they spent a great proportion of their time in studying matters that to them were "almost valueless".

They cram up the various sixteenth-century heresies mentioned in the English Thirty-Nine Articles, they labour at the Gallican and Sarum Uses for their English Prayer-book paper, they learn by heart the names of early Saxon saints and Puritan divines.<sup>26</sup>

He had also earlier noted that the tendency of a past generation of missionaries to undervalue Hindu philosophy and literature meant that a theological method like that of the early church when coming into contact with Hellenic culture, as described in Harnack's Expansion of Christianity, had hardly begun to be attempted.<sup>27</sup> He feared that without urgent development in ordination training, church life in India would "drift into a backwater, away from the main current of newly-awakened national consciousness".<sup>28</sup>

His opportunity to do something about this came at the beginning of 1909, when Lefroy initiated an enquiry among the clergy about the ordination subjects of examination in his diocese. The syllabus current at this time at the Divinity School, Lahore, indicates the general approach. The doctrine course for deacons, for example, is based entirely on the Thirty-Nine Articles, while for priests is added an exclusively English



reading list, Hooker, Butler, Wace, Liddon, Moule, etc.; "Other Religions" were taught in the course for senior catechists, and the approach is indicated by the recommended texts, the essentially controversial Christianity compared with Hinduism and Islam by W. Hooper,<sup>29</sup> and Pfander's Mizan u'l Haqq.<sup>30</sup> By late January or early February 1909. Andrews had sent to Lefroy a substantial letter and a rough outline of a new syllabus for deacons and priests.

For want of a body of theology written "from the Eastern point of view" by either Westerners of the stature of Westcott or Indians not caught up, as Imad-ud-Din and Goreh had been, in passing controversies, Andrews proposed that the Bible should form the basis of study, being "a truly Eastern book", every one of whose writers was an Asiatic; as a possible supplement he recommended the theology and history of the first four centuries, which show "the mode of general interpretation when thought was nearest to the East and nearest also to the source"; he included also, the study of "living Hinduism and living Islam" - "Hindu Theism or true Mohammedan religious earnestness" - these, rather than English church history, the Articles and Prayer Book, being the "rock whence...Indian deacons were hewn". Among a great deal of more specific argument, he makes the point, so close to T.V. French's original hope for the Delhi Mission of "attempting to introduce the Alexandrian School system and programme", that those who teach ordinands are "what Socrates would have called 'midwives', not parents - helping to bring to the birth the seed in them", an exercise in which Indian teachers in the diocese, Ali Bakhsh of Lahore, and Ghose, should have a very special part to play. Some idea of the main thrust of his proposed syllabus itself can be seen in four recommendations, namely, that there be reference to i) Hindu and Muslim traditions and conceptions, with a special study of the theme of "Christus Consummator, with reference to the fulfilment in Christ of Hinduism and Islam",<sup>31</sup>

ii) "the great Eastern Fathers of the Church", iii) "modern Indian missionary conditions", and iv) questions of "national and social righteousness".

Lefroy clearly liked Andrews' proposals, and, while he considered that they went "too far in the direction of excluding Western theology and influence", he was clear that they represented a proper direction for the development of the study of doctrine. He consequently circulated them for comment to representative bishops and clergy in India, China, Japan, Africa, Britain and Ireland, and, more importantly to Andrews, to a number of Indian Christian correspondents. Lefroy subsequently noted that this ventilation of the subject made it plain how very widespread an interest in it existed, and also that there was "a remarkable consensus in the acceptance of" Andrews' general principle. A strong criticism from, among others, Copleston, the Metropolitan of the Anglican Church in India, which Andrews conceded, was of his characterisation of the Bible as "Eastern" - but this he turned to good effect, pointing out that if the Bible represented rather "a meeting point of East and West", that made an even stronger case for making it the basis for ordination study. There was also criticism of his application of "the Socratic principle". On this, he wrote to Lefroy that St. John's description of the Logos as lightening every man, invited the exercise of the principle; he also pointed out that the method was Christ's own, for Christ "looked for the light,....for the faith" and found them already present in "the heathen Syro-Phoenician woman" and the "pagan Roman centurion". He also took up this point from another angle, later in his reply: arguing that the influence of the "anglicizing" process in theology was so overpowering as to threaten to put a stop to all "truly indigenous, original Indian Christian thought", he noted that several correspondents had assumed that the introduction of continual references to Hinduism and Islam in his draft syllabus was

for "a kind of controversial artillery",

Nothing was further from my thoughts. It was rather in order that Indian Christianity should become deep-rooted in the soil of all the good religious instincts already existing among the Indian peoples. Those to whom such a thought of Christian assimilation is still unfamiliar should read Harnack's Expansion, and see what happened in the first four centuries. If we regard, and rightly regard, these centuries as models, if, as Anglicans, we take our ideals from them, then we must be prepared to follow the early Church in this, perhaps the greatest mark of her Catholicity, and not refuse to allow an entrance of the 'glory and honour' of the 'nations' into the Holy City.

In July, 1909, Andrews sent a second, revised syllabus to Lefroy, together with these comments on the correspondence. The revision did not substantially affect the thrust of the first draft. It is most interesting indeed, in its elaboration of the earlier version, and its more precise disclosure of Andrews' objectives. The proposals, revised proposals and correspondence between Andrews and Lefroy, were then put together and published in 1910 as an Occasional Paper of the Delhi Mission. This clearly aroused great interest as being "so poignant for the future of Indian Christianity".<sup>32</sup> That the future which he envisaged is still largely awaiting its fulfilment, is a comment on his exceptional foresight in the matter.<sup>33</sup>

Behind such an enterprise as Andrews' work on ordination study lies, of course, the sort of presupposition that we find in the work of a number of missionaries and others in India at this time, that the non-Christian religions will find their fulfilment in Christ. Andrews' proposals went further, however, in seeking to create the sort of space in which an Indian theology might emerge, "conserving all that is good in Indian religious tradition and looking for an indigenous development

of the Christian faith on Indian soil"<sup>34</sup> He was never under any illusion that he, or indeed any western Christian, was qualified to work this out. "All that we foreigners can do is to dig the ground and put up some useful scaffolding. We cannot ourselves erect the final building"<sup>35</sup> Some of his own insights and reflections seem, nevertheless, to have been of some service in this respect.

In 1911, Andrews spelt out the necessities of this theological task in a pamphlet, The Indigenous Expression of Christian Truth, in which he suggested that among the tasks awaiting completion, "we need....those who....will separate carefully that which is purely Western in the Christian message (and therefore not binding upon India) from that which is universal".

This does not mean a vague, undogmatic, invertebrate Christianity, with no backbone of belief, but it does mean an essential Christianity, which can take as soon as possible local colour from its surroundings, and thus become, at one and the same time, indigenous and catholic.<sup>36</sup>

This "essential Christianity" was something that Andrews was himself searching for in a very personal way during these years, as if his own inner quest corresponded with what he believed to be the general requirement. His fullest expression of this occurs in a paper entitled "A Missionary's Experience", where he set out to answer the question, "What difference has the complete change of environment from England to India made in your outlook upon Christianity?"<sup>37</sup> Some of his answers to the Commission IV questionnaire for the World Missionary Conference, which must have been written at about the same time, cover the same ground and supplement the picture. Although he called his answer "fragmentary and inconclusive", the editors of the Indian Interpreter found it "stimulating...valuable and important"<sup>38</sup> Certainly there is nothing to compare with it for its open and thorough self-scrutiny in

the answers of other correspondents to the World Missionary Conference.<sup>39</sup>

The most distinctive feature of these two papers is the testimony to "a widening of the idea of Christ's work and presence in the world".

I now look at all human life and human history more from the central standpoint of the Incarnation. I think more of the extension of the Incarnate life in wider and wider reaches of humanity, till all is summed up in Christ himself.<sup>40</sup>

A handful of other missionaries were noting at this time a similar development in their thought.<sup>41</sup> Andrews' elaboration of it is distinctive as well as much fuller than that of other World Missionary Conference correspondents. There are a number of strands in his Christological reflection. First, and "deepest of all", there is the importance for him of the person and teaching of Christ in the Synoptic Gospels, and particularly the Sermon on the Mount, Andrews' "daily companion". These sources appear to him increasingly "elemental, universal, simple", in their presentation of Jesus as "the Son of Man,.....the Head and Representative of the human race". In the light of this understanding of Jesus, "every spiritual gift,....every noble act, every deed of service to mankind" builds up "that larger Church, the Church of aspiring Humanity, the Church of Him who is the Son of Man". Another main strand derives from the Johannine writings, to which he turned "continually". He calls this "a deeper appreciation of the work and Person of Christ, the Eternal Word, the Light and Life of all mankind". This way of understanding Christ leads him to see himself as, in India, "as often a learner as a teacher", discovering in Hindu experiences of "Christ, the Eternal Word", much that is "very beautiful indeed and full of illumination", while in his college work likewise he finds himself having to learn a new approach.

I find myself dwelling more and more on the underlying thought of St. Clement of Alexandria, namely, that Christ the Word is

Himself the Teacher, who teaches in His own inward way, through the innate instincts, and traditions, of all those His children who have been feeling after Him if haply they might find Him.

In some further reflections in his Commission IV paper, he spoke of how the Epistle to the Ephesians, along with the Johannine writings, had become for him "more and more luminous and inspiring". Perhaps it is in this setting that we have to understand his reflections on the Eucharist, and especially his reference to "the consecration of... Christian friends and...Hindu friends...(with their own special gifts and treasures) to Christ, to make up His Completeness".

Not surprisingly, Andrews went on in this paper to speak of his conscious desire "to stretch all dogmas to their widest limits, the Sacraments, the Church, the Incarnation itself, the Atonement", though in his Indian Interpreter version of this paper, he went back to "the supreme need of reducing western religious experience to its simplest forms, in order to make it intelligible to Indian minds", and suggested that in this simplification it was desirable that "even the idea of the Church" should be "germinal rather than mature", and "the fully developed sacramental form of Christianity" must give way, for the time being, to "a more elementary type".

It is this last, then, a faith centred upon "the simplicity of the primitive Gospel" and upon the Son of Man who is also "the Light of all mankind,...the Eternal Word", which stood out "with some distinctness" as the starting point for "an eastern embodiment of Christianity". If Andrews derived this to some extent from the "liberal catholic" incarnational theology of Westcott and others, as undoubtedly he did, it equally points forward to, and to some extent helped to shape, one of the most distinctive developments in Indian

Christian theology to date, the important theme of "the humanity of Christ and the new humanity" which we find in the work of Chenchiah and Chakkarai, Devanandan and M.M.Thomas.<sup>42</sup>

A central feature of French and Westcott's dream of a new "Alexandria" in India, was the emergence of a truly Indian Church, something far greater, Westcott had said, "than collecting scattered congregations round English clergy who may reflect to our eye faint and imperfect images of ourselves". This would be "an organization of the Faith" which would preserve and not destroy all that was "precious in the past experience of the native peoples", hallowing to the service of that Faith every possible "mode of influence...- the asceticism - the endurance - the learning, which are indigenous to the country".<sup>43</sup> While, over 30 years later, Rudra was still lamenting that "the Christian Church in India had so far had "little scope to develop its own organic life",<sup>44</sup> Andrews' labours during his missionary decade represented a substantial contribution towards that end. In the last months of the decade, the Church Times hailed him as "the arch-representative of the Catholic Christianity which would put into the background the essentially English features of the Christianity which we present to India, and would lead our Indian brethren to look towards their own form of Catholic Christianity".<sup>45</sup> The assessment was judicious.

NOTES : Chapter 5.1. Introductory

1 "religious community" - In a resolution on Andrews' leaving the Cambridge Brotherhood in 1914, the 6 members present expressed their gratitude to him. "Besides the help and inspiration which his breadth of vision and deep sympathy with all that concerns the welfare (temporal and spiritual) of the people of this land, have afforded to the Church as a whole, the Brotherhood has special cause to thank God for the way in which his example and not seldom his exhortation has helped it better to realise a truer ideal of brotherhood especially in regard to the obligation it owes to the Christian community. They wish to recognise the value of his literary gifts especially in regard to the devotional side of the Brotherhood life, of which the preparation of its Intercessory Manual will be an abiding record...." Minutes of the 209th Meeting of the Brotherhood, 9 July 1914. In addition to his own brotherhood, he visited and knew well the Oxford Mission Brotherhood in Calcutta and the brotherhood at Cawnpore NI pp.97ff, 109ff.

"parish" - In addition to work at the local church in Delhi, St James-within-the-Kashmere Gate, we have already come across him helping out in a parish at Rawalpindi, and preaching at the Cathedral at Lahore. He also preached at Christ Church, Simla. Chaturvedi and Sykes op.cit. p.87.

"school" - e.g. his seven months in charge of the school at Sanawar. CC 1907.

"college" - In addition to teaching, he was Vice-Principal, founding editor of the college magazine 1907-13, much involved in sport and physical training and the organization of student social work. SSC Mag passim.

"mission" - The C.M.D.'s connection with S.P.G. widened his involvement, so that, for example, he took part in the latter's summer school while on leave in 1912, and contributed to their journal, TEW, as well as DMN. We have seen his early reference to the C.M.S.'s work in the Punjab; there was increasing cooperation between the Delhi missionaries and the C.M.S. during these years. CC 1908.

"diocese" - We have come across him speaking at a Diocesan Conference, and also his diocesan, Lefroy's acknowledgement of his helpfulness.

"Baptism" - vide sup.

"confirmation" - Sudhir, son of S.K.Rudra, was one of those whom he prepared.

"ordinands" - "Andrews has at present time under training for Orders several Indian graduates....of good family and high character" Allnutt to Montgomery 11 Sept 1911, also 22 Feb 1910 (S.P.G. Lahore Letters Received).

"retreats" - vide sup. He also conducted a Quiet Day for C.M.S. clergy at Allahabad in 1907. NI p.107; He organised a retreat for Indian students (including a Brahmin) and some younger missionaries - see S.S.Singha "A Retreat near Delhi" SM May 1909; Singha later described this retreat as "the turning point in the lives of the three Christian students who were there", and reported that 22 of the 45 Christian students in the Punjab attended a subsequent camp in 1910 SM Mar 1911.



Also DMN Jan 1912.

"Y.M.C.A." - He read a paper at the Triennial Convention in 1907 CC 1908. He was on the College Sub-Committee and the Student Department Committee YMOI Mar 1908 and May 1910.

- 2 "S.V.M.U." - The original idea seems to have been Rudra's; certainly he and Andrews discussed it constantly, while Andrews worked out the practical proposals which brought the scheme to effect. The development of the scheme can be traced in Andrews to T.Tatlow 9 Feb 1908; Andrews to B.K. Cunningham 11 Feb 1908; Andrews to "The Student Movement" n.d.; Andrews, V.S.Azariah and J.N.Farquhar to the S.C.M Conference at Baslow, 9 July 1908; a printed Memorandum on the scheme (S.C.M.Archives, Selly Oak). For the original telegram from Andrews, Azariah and J.Carter of the Y.M.C.A. to the S.C.M. annual conference at Conishead in 1907, appealing for volunteers to work with students in India on a short-term basis, see Chaturvedi and Sykes op.cit. p.67.
- "Indian School of Study" - A participant explained the origin of this: "A great deal of talk, many committees and a lot of correspondence covering several years had resulted in nothing. Bishop Westcott had written an article...yet still nothing was done. Accordingly...Andrews...let it be known that he was going to Kotgarh for six weeks in May and June..." A.C.Pelly "The First Summer School of Study in India" SM Oct 1911. Andrews gave lectures on "Indian Religious History", the other two lecturers being F.J.Western of the Cambridge Brotherhood, and S.E.Stokes; Andrews also conducted a Quiet Day for the School. 14 other missionaries attended DMN Jan 1912. Andrews reported, "the mingling together of young missionaries from different missionary societies...the pathway to that reunion for which we labour and pray" CC 1912. It has not been possible to see the account of the School printed by "the Cawnpore printing press" DMN Jan 1912.
- "S.C.M." - Andrews was "a member of, and a moving spirit in, the Committee appointed a few months ago by the Indian National Council to help develop the Indian Student Movement" J.R.Mott to Maj. Young 6 July 1910; cf. Mott's expression of appreciation for his contribution, J.R.Mott to Andrews 5 Jul 1910. Andrews had written to Mott on 30th March 1910 on the need for "an indigenous and truly spiritual Indian Student Movement" (S.C.M.Archives, Selly Oak). He took up this theme again in his Constantinople paper, "there is not yet an indigenous Indian Student Christian Movement. I do not forget the very promising signs of the last few years, but those are signs of promise, not of fulfilment...the course of a facile but fatal imitation has too often been followed" W.S.C.F. 1911. Andrews had reported enthusiastically news of the beginnings of such a movement among Syrian Christian students in South India, Guardian 25 Mar 1908 (see C.P.Mathew and M.M.Thomas The Indian Churches of St. Thomas Delhi 1967 p.124). On Andrews, "No one has done so much in recent times for the Indian Christian Student" S.K.Rudra C T 23 Jan 1914.
- "Brotherhood" - vide inf.
- "N.M.S." - vide inf.
- 3 "Christian Endeavour" - "One of the modern movements within evangelical Christendom which ignores minor denominational differences in a strong loyalty to the living Christ" N.Macnicol Ind Int Jan 1910. Andrews gave a paper, "Christ and educated

India" at their Agra convention, 20 Nov 1909 YMOI Jan 1910. "Pan-Anglican Congress" - Published in Volume II of the official report, and in IR Jun 1908. Rudra also contributed a paper "Missionary Education in India" in Vol.V. "W.S.C.F." - Published in the official report, 1911. "W.M.C." - He wrote preparatory papers for Commission III, Education in Relation to the Christianisation of National Life (Andrews' paper is missing from the well-known collections; the report quotes from NI), and Commission IV The Missionary Message in Relation to Non-Christian Religions. The Delhi Mission was represented at the Conference by F.J.Western : see his report DMN Jul 1910. Andrews was a member of the Interim Literature Committee of the National Missionary Council which was established in India as a result of the Conference, Continuation Committee Conferences in Asia 1912-1913 (1913) p.135.

- 4 "collections of prayers" - The first of these he mentions in a report, "I have recently published at the Cawnpore Press a little tentative book of Eastern Prayers taken from the Eastern Liturgies. It is true that the 'East' of Asia Minor and Egypt, of Basil and Athanasius, is not the 'East' of India, but it is at least a half-way house, and nearer to India than the Thirty-nine Articles, which still figure largely in our Indian Deacons' and Priests' Ordination Examinations" CC 1909. This book has not been seen. The second was Oremus. An Office Book for the Use of Missionary Communities in India (1911) : in April 1908, the Brotherhood commissioned him to collect suggestions for alterations to the Office Book; he wrote around to various other Brotherhoods for suggestions, completing and publishing the new edition in 1911. This considerably modifies the earlier edition of 1905, including, for example, "A Litany Chiefly taken from the Litanies of the Greek Church" and a number of other prayers which appear to derive from similar sources, while the prayers for China and Japan show an appreciation of their heritage which does not appear in those of 1905. J.D.M.Stuart to D.O'Connor, 18 Oct 1976 and 6 Nov 1978. "lectionary" - CC 1910. "commentaries" - For these "Indian Church Commentaries", vide inf. Andrews also reported that he was "hoping to take part in the Urdu revision of the Psalter" and that he was "collaborating with the Rev. W.E.S.Holland...in preparing a commentary on St. John" CC 1910. This latter may well have been in the series known as "The College Commentaries", of which the only other volume published during Andrews' missionary years was Farquhar's The College St. Matthew 1909. The B.M.Catagogue describes the series as "under the editorship of J.N.Farquhar, Rev.C.F.Andrews, Rev.W.E.S.Holland". Andrews also reported that he had promised Longmans "an independent work entitled Readings in the Gospels, but there is no evidence that this project ever reached fulfilment CC 1910.
- 5 Preparatory Paper for Commission 4, W.M.C. Edinburgh 1910. For Azariah, see note 2 above. Andrews must also have met Azariah in his role as Hon.Gen.Sec of the N.M.S. Azariah also spoke at the College during the winter of 1907 on the subject of Japan, which he had visited as a delegate to the 1907 W.S.C.F. Conference DMN Jan 1908 (Andrews' report). Andrews likewise knew K.T.Paul through the N.M.S. Chenchiah published an article of Andrews', "Christianity and Patriotism", as the first leaflet

- of the Young Liberals' League, NMI Feb 1910, MR Sept 1910.
- 6 Devadasen David, reviewing NI; NMI Mar 1910.
- 7 "Bengalis and Northern India" by 'A Bengali Tourist' MR Feb 1912. Amongst those so indoctrinated were A.C.Pelly of the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel, Allahabad, who wrote so enthusiastically of the Indian School of Study, The younger missionaries at Andrews' retreat of 1909 included A.Davies and N.Tubbs of Agra, F.J.Western and Colin Sharp (the first of the S.V.M.U. short-service volunteers at St. Stephen's College) from Delhi, D.J.Fleming of Lahore (also from Lahore, an Indian teacher, S.K.Datta) and S.E.Stokes (vide inf.).
- 8 In his preface, Farquhar expresses "very special thanks" to Andrews, "who read the whole work in manuscript with extreme care and made many suggestions of great value" J.N.Farquhar The Crown of Hinduism (1913) p.4; E.H.M.Waller The Revelation Of St. John the Divine (1909) p.viii, cf. T.Walker Philippians (1909) p.viii.

## 2. The Church and the National Movement

- 1 Preparatory paper for Commission 4, W.M.C., Edinburgh 1910.
- 2 Westcott had said that "missionary teaching has...been not only secondary and individual, it has been also denationalising" The Religious Office of the Universities (1872) pp.37-38; cf. Andrews, "Though Christ is venerated by the intellectual Indians,...the Church appears the Church of the foreigner... To become a member of the Church is to them to become denationalised and semi-European" TEW Oct 1907, also NI p.179, YMOI Apr 1911. For an Indian Christian on denationalised Indian Christians, see S.C.Chatterjee TEW Apr 1914.
- 3 CT 21 Oct 1910, the first of a series of six articles on "Indian Church Problems" which he presented through the words and written statements of Indian Christians. Allnutt called the series "most instructive" DMN Jan 1911.
- 4 "A Punjabi Christian", in a letter to the Tribune (21 Aug 1906) on "Indian Christians and Patriotic Work". He concluded with the call, "Let 'Pro Patrio'(sic) and 'Bande Mataram' be our motto", and he was supported by "A Bird of the Same Feather" who called upon the Christians to give up English names and customs, quoting the good example in this respect of "Professor G.N.Chatterji, Kanwar Harnam Singh, Mr Golak Nath, Advocate, and M.R.Rallia Ram, Pleader" Tribune 26 Aug 1906. More typically, another of them, 'Diogenes Mohi-ud-din Khan', advised his co-religionists to "let the British lion sleep. You should continue to fan him whether acknowledged by him or not.... Let the jackals twist his tail; wait and see patiently the result when he wakes up in his fury" Tribune 31 Aug 1906.
- 5 NI p.179.
- 6 SSS p.114; NI p.178; NI p.171; SSS p.111; NI p.173., cf. the call to "stop the wasteful expenditure on education in this

- country. Have it diverted towards a free residential college for Indian Christians" Tribune 31 Aug 1906.
- 7 IR Dec 1910; cf. CT 16 Dec 1910, IR Dec 1910, NI pp.215-6.
  - 8 CT 16 Dec 1910, also NI p.159, Ind Int Oct 1909, SM Nov 1909. Writing of the South Indian Christians around Chakkarai at this time, Sundkler describes them as "largely critical of organised Christianity" Bengt Sundkler Church of South India (1954) p.86. Cf. Rudra's vision of an Indian church with "no rigid hard-bound system,..no regulations of a Book" SM Jan 1910. S.A.C.Ghose was among those almost lost to the institutional church, "We sent him to Bishop's College at one of its feeblest epochs and he came back disgusted, fed up with westernisms and having no word for his own country" Andrews to Montgomery 5 Nov 1909 (S.P.G. Lahore Letters Received).
  - 9 "progressive impact" e.g. the Bengalee on "the indirect gain accruing to India from the presence of the missionaries", quoted in MCCR Nov 1904, cf. MR Dec 1908; "an enemy" NI p.216; "a rejection" YMOI Jan 1910.
  - 10 Andrews quotes the observations on this of "one of the Oxford Mission Brotherhood at Calcutta - a Brotherhood which is most closely in touch with educated India at its greatest centre" YMOI Jan 1910. W.E.S.Holland also drew attention to this, "To become a Christian is to cease to be an Indian" Preparatory Paper for Commission 1, W.M.C. Edinburgh 1910.
  - 11 C.L.Mukerji "Equation of Nationality" MR Dec 1908. He is less likely to have noticed an observation in an Urdu newspaper that "all Sahibs, from British-born white feringhees (foreigners) down to black Native Christians....despise the people" Sadik-ul-Akhbari 17 Jan 1908 (P.N.N.R.).
  - 12 YMOI Jan 1910, cf. NI p.225.
  - 13 Epiphany 9 Nov 1907; SSC Mag Dec 1907. For current interest in Japan among the nationalists, see "Japan as a Model" and "Wonderful Japan" Tribune 12 Feb 1907, 20 Jul 1907.
  - 14 This was true for many parts of India. In the Punjab in the first decade of the twentieth century, the Christian population grew by 431.6%, almost entirely through mass movements - G.E.Phillips The Outcastes' Hope (1912) p.34. Delhi had had a little earlier its own mass movement among the leather-workers (see Lefroy "The Leather-Workers of Daryaganj" C.M.D. Occasional Paper, 1884), and there was to be another among the chamars in the villages near Mehrauli just outside Delhi in 1913-14 - L.F.Henderson (ed.) The Cambridge Mission to Delhi: A Brief History (1931) p.21. It was later estimated that 90-95% of the Protestant community in the Punjab were products of the mass-movements - J.W.Pickett Christian Mass Movements in India (1933) pp.313-4.
  - 15 TEW Jan 1907. Whitehead argued his case in several other places also, the Guardian, The Nineteenth Century and After, etc.

- 16 For example, Rudra "Missionary Education in India" (Paper for the Pan-Anglican Congress, 1908); Allnutt Tribune 16 Jul 1908; G.A.Purton DMN Jul 1909; J.G.F.Day DMN Apr 1910. Even Hibbert-Ware, whose paper, "The Place of Education in Missionary Work" (C.M.D.Occasional Paper 1904) had been described as "the best defence of educational work as an integral part of missionary work" (TEW Jan 1905), after he had resigned the principalship in order to work in a mass-movement area (see his farewell speech to the students, "Christ and the Oppressed Classes of India" Epiphany 17 Aug 1907), continued to support educational missionary work, Guardian 20 Jun 1907, and his chapter in The Story of the Delhi Mission (1908) p.75.
- 17 "I wholly agree with the Bishop that it is impossible to imagine a more powerful argument on behalf of the Faith..... than the sight of these outcastes...raised up and transformed into decent and self-respecting citizens by the power of the Holy Spirit", Preparatory Paper for Commission 1, W.M.C. Edinburgh 1910.
- 18 ibid.
- 19 "Indian Students, Their Training and Guidance in Missionary Colleges" C.M.D.Occasional Paper, 1910; cf. CC 1907, and his "Missionary Education in India" (Pan-Anglican Paper 1908).
- 20 "Conishead and India" draft article for SM, sent to Tatlow 9 Feb 1908 (S.C.M.Archives, Selly Oak); TEW Oct 1907.
- 21 Andrews to B.K.Cunningham 11 Feb 1908 (S.C.M.Archives, Selly Oak), cf. NI p.217.
- 22 NI pp.218-9.
- 23 Chapter 3 "Chhota Nagpore and Mass Movements" NI pp.35-60. He called the work to which Hibbert-Ware moved in South India "the highest and noblest work - the work among the poor" SSC Mag May 1907.
- 24 TEW Oct 1907; SM Nov 1907.
- 25 NI p.215.
- 26 ibid. p.219.
- 27 "Our Mission Policy in India" Guardian 4 Sept 1907. He was quoting Hibbert-Ware's report, which had said, "we cannot record a single conversion sealed by baptism among the students" CC 1905. Hibbert-Ware had already faced up to this question very constructively in his Occasional Paper of 1904, "The Place of Education in Missionary Work".
- 28 Rudra wrote of the Christian Colleges, "the work they are doing for the future of Indian Christianity is of inestimable worth. Their work is like that of leaven, slowly but surely altering the thoughts and ideals of the country. Leaven cannot be measured statistically. There is now a mighty movement of intellect going on in India. If the Christian Church were to withdraw at such a time from the work of higher education,

it would be almost suicidal" CC 1907. Allnutt specifically justified the college's work in terms of influence upon the national movement, Tribune 16 Jul 1908, cf. Lefroy DMN Apr 1910.

- 29 Ind Int Oct 1909, Cf. Andrews on the growing appeal to him of "the Catholic side of Christianity", - "not a single narrow scheme or plan of salvation dominating my thoughts as in times past - a salvation concerned solely and entirely with individual souls, as so many atoms or isolated units, but a redemption, a reconstruction, a consecration of all life, of society as well as the individual" Preparatory Paper for Commission 4, W.M.C. Edinburgh 1910. Ramsay MacDonald quoted the passage from the Indian Interpreter, with approval, as representing a new attitude among missionaries, The Awakening of India (1910) p.224.
- 30 DMN Apr 1908; YMOI Mar 1911. He cited the case of Keshab Chunder Sen, "India's noblest spiritual genius of the last century" as an example of an acknowledged assimilation of Christianity YMOI Jan 1910. He also saw in the poet, Tagore's call for an "overwhelming influx of higher social ideals", a call "not to come over to India merely to count up converts by statistics, or proselytize by any and every means, fishing in troubled waters, but rather to come over in Christ's name to help a whole people in distress and anguish of spirit; to be content to sow the good seed of Christian thoughts of brotherhood and fellowship, of freedom and enlightenment, of service and sacrifice, and thus fulfil Christ's words, "...ye did it unto me". CT 2 Dec 1910.
- One of the ways in which this assimilative process was advanced, nevertheless, was through moral and religious education in the colleges. Andrews advocated "a 'conscience clause' exempting non-Christians from the scripture period" well in advance of the nationalist agitation on this question, believing that "the Christian faith is degraded if it is made to connote compulsion". He forecast that "In a very few years we shall certainly have a demand made by Indian publicists for a 'conscience clause'", and he recommended that it should be "voluntarily admitted, without waiting for any Government legislation...We ought...to make every effort...to show that we are on the side of freedom of conscience" CC 1911. Writing to Rudra when the agitation had just begun, Gandhi said that compulsory attendance was "calculated to turn out a race of hypocrites and scoffers" M.K.Gandhi to S.K.Rudra, 7 Feb 1917 (C.M.D.Correspondence 1911-22). Andrews also had a good deal to do with the inclusion of non-Christian staff in the moral-instruction classes from 1910 (SSC Mag Nov 1910). He reported that this was regarded among non-Christians as "a singular mark of Christian fairness" (Tribune 27 Sept 1911), while Rudra claimed that "The supreme strong Christian position of equity and truth enables us to do this" CC 1911.
- 31 RI p.53; also TEW Jan 1911. Cf. The Punjab missionary, H.U.Weitbrecht's comment, "To put Christianity in the air is a very excellent thing, but to put it in the heart and life is the objective" Preparatory Paper for Commission 1, W.M.C. Edinburgh 1910.
- 32 "But this, we are beginning to feel is not sufficient. The divine character of Christ is not yet made manifest in a living

form. The glory of His Person is not seen clearly and unmistakably shining in our institutions....The great need, if definite conversions are to be looked for from educational missions, is intensive influence....with the direct object of making a supreme Christian impression rather than a diffused Christian atmosphere" - "Missionary Education in India" (Pan-Anglican Paper, 1908).

33 DMN Jan 1911.

34 TEW Jan 1911.

35 CC 1911. In this connection, he welcomed the English translation of Schweitzer's The Quest for the Historical Jesus (1910) as a providential antidote to an over-emphasis on the idea of assimilation, the picture given in "that strange last chapter" being "the very reverse of evolution, assimilation" (TEW Jan 1911). It is impossible to relate the dialectic of Andrews' thought on this question to any sort of chronology. Even while he was writing most enthusiastically in 1909 about the assimilative ideal, he was also noting how "The Apocalypse has...become a new book to me in the Mission Field...the martyr-struggle of the early Church as it tried to keep pure from the 'mark of the Beast', to avoid...idol-pollution and all its concomitants, undergoing social ostracism and persecution of the most cruel kind. These worst forms of persecution in India now are not as common, but one meets today, and honours as 'Confessors' those who have come out of the great tribulation....The social ostracism which still takes place gives me even now a glowing and vivid picture of Asia Minor at the end of the first century, and the Book in consequence has become an open Book" Preparatory Paper for Commission 4, W.M.C. Edinburgh 1910. Likewise his reservations about this ideal in 1911 are accompanied by enthusiastic reference to the picture in Harnack's Expansion of Christianity of "comprehensive assimilation" TEW Jan 1911. Essentially, he seems to have wanted to see both approaches used as circumstances required: "The Apostles...discussed the Logos doctrine and the doctrine of the Universal Church long before the period of assimilation began in the first Christian centuries; and we may try even now to define Christian lines of contact with Hinduism, though we may not be able to adopt Hindu ritual or accept Hindu social organisation. For the present generation at least, there must be, instead of this, a readiness to 'give up all', which is the first test of discipleship. There must be the complete break with idolatry and caste and all their intricate and complex associations. Christ the Fulfiller of Hinduism is also the Lord and Master who said: "I came not to bring peace, but a sword" TEW Jan 1911, cf. the missionary needs "to set in the very forefront the teaching of repentance from past sin and conversion to a new life of righteousness. The Epistle to the Romans is as essential for the higher-caste Hindu as for the low-caste. But the doctrine of Christ, as the Light of the World, can never be subtracted from Christian theology without the danger of serious misstatement" RI p.180.

36 RI p.259.

37 TEW Jul 1907.

38 "Strategic Problems. Village Populations versus Educated Classes"

Pan-Anglican Congress (1908) Vol.V, pp.151-9. Bishop Whitehead's call for "a gospel to the poor" (151-3) was supported with reservations by Lefroy (158-9); Foss Westcott argued that the two approaches were complementary (153-7), while Copleston of Calcutta favoured the mission to the educated classes (157).

- 39 The Commission presented their Ch.VII, "The Relating of Christian Truth to Indigenous Thought And Feeling" as central. In this chapter, the most extensive quotations from missionary correspondents are extracts taken from NI, while Andrews' proposals regarding Ordination training in India are cited in the summing up of the chapter. Westcott is also cited twice, for his advocacy of "Alexandrian Christianity as the type of Christianity most akin to the Indian mind". The only other missionary correspondent named in the Indian section of the chapter is A.G.Fraser; Bigg's The Church's Task under the Roman Empire, of which Andrews, as we shall see, made considerable use in his thinking about education in India is treated as an important authority. Gore, in opening the discussion of the Report, names also William Miller of Madras as a supporter of the educational line (p.407).
- 40 ibid. pp.258-9.
- 41 NMI Jan 1908, cf. YMOI Jan 1910; NMI Feb 1910 (also in SSC Mag Nov 1910).
- 42 YMOI Sept 1908.
- 43 YMOI Nov 1908.
- 44 DMN Oct 1910 "...in case of any tension of feeling between the rulers and the ruled, the Indian Church can render valuable service in removing such tension. It is evident that the Indian Church cannot be disloyal to the British Government, because not only is the existence of the Indian Church due to English people, but also its permanence (humanly speaking) depends upon the British Raj. At the time of any national rising, it will be the Indian Christians who will fall victims to it.....Therefore it is the obligation of the Indian Church to win confidence with the Indian people on one side, and to prove themselves faithful and loyal to the British Government on the other side". Ali Bhaksh's views are echoed by a Bengali Christian, M.C.Roy on "Indian Christians and the National Movement" MR May 1910.
- 45 Rudra was speaking at the same Diocesan Conference as Ali Bhaksh, and he claimed that a truly Indian Church would only find its goal in "a completely independent India" SM Jan 1910. F.J.Western, in reporting on the Conference, indicated that Bhaksh was expressing the majority within "the Indian Christian body" DMN Jan 1910.
- 46 K.L.Butterfield in the I.M.C.Report, The Christian Mission in Rural India (1930) p.42.
- 47 YMOI Jan 1909.
- 48 RI pp.167-8. This account of the church's response to the



national movement takes no account of developments in south India around Chakkarai, K.T.Paul, and others, though the latter's championing of Andrews' position provides a connection.

### 3. "Religious Swadeshism"

- 1 K.S.Latourette "Indigenous Christianity in the Light of History" IRM (1940) Vol IV, pp.429-40.
- 2 "When we recall that there were only twenty Nationals at the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910 we have a hint of the subordinate position of native Christians" D.F.Ebright The National Missionary Society of India 1905-1942 (1944) p.17.
- 3 TEW Oct 1907, cf. NI pp.29,227-8, Guardian 30 Dec 1908, YMOI Apr 1911, RI p.256. The first Indian bishop of the Latin rite was consecrated in 1921.
- 4 YMOI Mar 1911; many of Andrews' ideas in this article seem to derive from the important chapter 7 of the W.M.C.Report, Commission 3.
- 5 "Missionary Education in India" (Pan-Anglican Paper 1908).
- 6 NI pp.160,163. "With the sensitiveness of an intellectual nature, the Hindu....declares that Hindu hearts can be conquered by...the patient, suffering Oriental Christ, but not by.... a Western Christianity brandishing the sword" ibid. pp.169-70, cf. an observation in the nationalist press, "Western Christendom has totally abandoned Asia's Christ and has made Satan its chief leader. It is now difficult to distinguish the magistrate from the missionary; all possess equal meanness and selfishness, claws and teeth, and the same blood-thirstiness" Navasakti 15 Nov 1907 (quoted in Weekly C.I.D.Report. 30 Nov 1907. Bengal, Home.Pol.,N.A.I.)
- 7 NI pp.29,225-6.
- 8 D.L.Joshi "A Call to Indian Christians" CMI Mar 1906.
- 9 Report by F.J.Western DMN Jan 1907. Allnutt, a year earlier, had called these "the three main fundamentals of sound Missionary policy" DMN Jan 1906.
- 10 Lefroy, Preparatory Paper for Commission 1, W.M.C.Edinburgh 1910. Other sympathetic missionaries in Andrews' circle included those who attended the retreats referred to above, see "Young India: Extracts from the Journals of W.E.S.Holland" CMI May 1910.
- 11 NI pp.185-6. A correspondent to the Tribune pointed out that, though the Anglican church was the smallest Christian body in India, the Bishop of Calcutta received annually Rs.72,620, "nearly twice as much as all Roman Catholic Archbishops, Bishops, Priests together" Tribune 26 Jul 1913.
- 12 TEW Oct 1907.

- 13 NI p.226 cf. Guardian 30 Dec 1908. Andrews later pointed out that "practically the first political document of constructive statesmanship emanating from an Indian public body" was a petition from the British Indian Association to Parliament in 1852, which included an objection to supporting bishops and others out of the general revenues of the country - Andrews and Mukherjee op.cit. pp.103,104. Andrews quotes "an Indian Christian friend" to the effect that the sight of "a chaplain travelling at double-first class fare at the tax-payer's expense, and living in every way like a Sahib", led to inevitable conclusions about missionaries, because "the Church is one and the clergy are one" NI P.186.
- 14 "Missionary Education in India" (Pan-Anglican Paper 1908).
- 15 Preparatory Paper for Commission 1, W.M.C.Edinburgh 1910.
- 16 C.J.Grimes Towards an Indian Church (1946) pp.107,109.
- 17 Lefroy quotes from NI on the subject in Preparatory Paper for Commission 1, W.M.C. Edinburgh 1910. The announcement at the Durbar in 1911 of the development of provincial self-government and of the removal of the capital to Delhi, inspired Lefroy, about to leave the Punjab to become Metropolitan, to consult his fellow-bishops about the significance for the church of the announcement. It is not possible to say when Andrews came into the discussion, but within a few days he was weaving schemes "as easily as a spider does its web" Allnutt to Lefroy, 23 Jan 1912, quoted in H.H.Montgomery George Alfred Lefroy (1920) p.212. (The proposal was made at the Durbar in mid-December and within a month he had proposals to Lefroy, who invited Allnutt's comments, to which Allnutt responded in this letter). He proposed the establishment at each new centre of provincial government of a resident bishop, and for the appointment of an archbishop in Delhi, as Metropolitan of India and Ceylon. The fullest surviving exposition of his ideas is in an article, "The King's Announcement at Delhi : Its Missionary Bearing" in TEW Jul 1912; he also wrote to the CT on the subject (date? Cutting marked '1912' in 'Newspaper Cuttings', C.M.D.) A casual glance at his proposals might lead to the conclusion that he had lapsed into an uncharacteristic erastianism; but this was not the case. It was "of the highest possible" importance that there should be "direct touch with the imperial centre" because in India a single word from the centre could change the destinies of 315,000,000 people; at the same time, the church, if present in a formal way at the new provincial capitals, "the radiating centres of the new forces and influences", would be in a position to "represent and interpret the spiritual side of these advancing areas of self-government and indigenous national growth" TEW Jul 1912.
- 18 Rudra's speech, pleading for the title, 'Church of India', is the only verbatim quotation in the minutes of the Synod, "Let us have a title which will rouse enthusiasm among Indians. It is not that we are going from one Church into another. It is that the Church of England is evolving into the Church of India. The Church of India will thus be a gift from England to India. Give us something for which we can live and die; and you will see that we can do it" Grimes op.cit. p.115.

- 19 The object was "to develop by an indigenous organisation the missionary spirit of the native Church in order to spread the Gospel in India and other lands" Ebright op.cit. p.67.
- 20 C.E.Abraham The Founders of the National Missionary Society (1947) p.28.
- 21 NMI Feb 1908.
- 22 This was the case where "the lowering of the spiritual standard of our paid agents" had given the Indian Christians a poor reputation among Missionaries, NI p.172. Elsewhere, Andrews wrote that the N.M.S. appointments were warmly welcomed throughout India, NMI Feb 1908.
- 23 CC 1907. Allnutt called it "a noble enterprise, conducted so far with singular wisdom, with entire absence of parade or ostentation". For Lefroy, see Preparatory Paper for Commission 1, W.M.C. Edinburgh 1910.
- 24 Allnutt CC 1908; Lefroy ibid. Allnutt compared the movement with "the original Diaconate, a new thing in the Church of the first days, and like it, this movement must be allowed...to take its own course, and develop, without undue interference, even if it goes on lines that we may not altogether like" M.E.Hayes op.cit. p.136.
- 25 Lefroy ibid.
- 26 A photograph, "The National Missionary Society, North India Conference" includes Andrews, the only non-European, with 20 Indian members, RI facing p.266. Eddy appears similarly in a photograph "The Founders of the Society", C.E.Abraham op.cit. frontispiece.
- 27 G.S.Eddy A Pilgrimage of Ideas (1935) p.216. (There is not much other indication of Andrews' contact with Eddy, though the former clearly made a strong impression on the latter. Andrews was one of the five "most Christ-like characters" Eddy had ever met when he wrote his Pilgrimage of Ideas, p.216); NMI Feb 1908.
- 28 CC 1908.
- 29 NMI Feb 1908. He was, nevertheless, sensitive to this objection, and wrote slightly later, "We have...a very delicate and tender plant to rear and foster in the Indian Christian life...It may be that their 'method' of the spiritual life differs materially from our own, and depends far more on personal affinities and attractions, as its connecting bonds, than on defined organization such as we seem to need...Would not organization come much better - in a much more living way - if it grew up from within, in Indian ways, not Anglo-Saxon? Would it not then have much more missionary power and attractiveness?" SM May 1909.
- 30 NMI May-Jun 1912.
- 31 Allnutt CC 1908. Except where otherwise stated, the data for

the rest of this section is drawn from the correspondence and memoranda in a file marked 'Principal of St. Stephen's College' in the C.M.D.Archives.

- 32 Stanton to Allnutt 19 Sept 1905, (C.M.D.Letters 1891-1918).
- 33 CC 1907. Allnutt added, "The appointment has been an important step in our Mission towards the assertion of the principle which I hope will more and more animate our policy, that whenever an Indian Christian is found both worthy and capable of rising to the charge of the higher posts in the Mission, no racial consideration shall bar the way to his selection for them, even when, as in the present case, the promotion involves the subordination of our own men to him".
- 34 CC 1907.
- 35 Stanton To Allnutt 7 Feb 1907, 18 Mar 1907 (C.M.D.Letters 1891-1918).
- 36 Lefroy memo. Jan 1907.
- 37 This is the only unsigned memo, presumably that of the only other member at the time, A.Coore.
- 38 Allnutt to Stanton 3 Jan 1907 (C.M.D.Letters 1891-1918).
- 39 Compare Allnutt's more constructive approach, "Rudra...has.. shown distinct capacity for leadership of the kind we should naturally expect from an Indian. We know we forego much of the strenuousness and élan and resourcefulness which an Englishman possesses as a rule in larger measure than Indians otherwise his equals.. But...the lack is compensated for in various ways which if Indians are more and more to come to the front we must of set deliberate policy recognise and welcome" Allnutt to Stanton 28 Feb 1907.
- 40 Allnutt wrote to Stanton, discounting Lefroy's judgement on this question : "his knowledge of him dates from 8 years ago when he had never acted in any way other than a subordinate position", and, he added, "he has no direct knowledge of how he has acted as Principal for now 10 months" 28 Feb 1907.
- 41 This account may go some way to dispel a myth that still has widespread currency in India, that Rudra's appointment was the work of Andrews alone, in the face of the united opposition of his colleagues in the Delhi mission - for example, "This seeming miracle in the India of the first decade of this century was wrought by the faith and courage of Andrews" S.K.Bose Stephanian Jun 1971, cf. Hollis Paternalism and the Church (1962) p.50, cf. the similarly mythical presentation in "Trayee" a musical production on Andrews, Gandhi and Tagore, by 'Ravi Gitika', performed at the National Seminar and Exhibition on Andrews in the National Museum Auditorium, New Delhi, on 20 Nov1971. Andrews' own later references to this question do not entirely help. Although he wrote an account of the proceedings in 1925 which was fair and accurate (YMOI Dec 1925), his account in his autobiographical What I Owe to Christ in 1932 upset F.F.Monk, who was at the time writing the College history. Andrews had written, "I spoke out very strongly against such an injustice

(i.e. the passing over of Rudra), and also did everything possible to obtain his appointment. In the end, though with much misgiving among the older members of the mission, this was accomplished" (p.163). Monk commented that this created the impression "that it was only your insistence on his appointment in the face of general opposition that prevented his being passed over as an Indian....This has of course been my own impression ever since I knew anything of the College, that you forced the step on a racially-prejudiced Mission. It has therefore been a considerable surprise, on studying the old Reports, etc.,...to come across evidence of a very different general outlook..." Monk to Andrews 31 May 1932 ('Monk's File' St. Stephen's College). Andrews thanked Monk for pointing out "the error", and drafted a revised version for subsequent editions, including the passage, "...injustice, and other members of the Cambridge Brotherhood took the same point of view. In the end, Susil Rudra's appointment as Principal was both accepted and confirmed". Andrews explained to Monk that he was obliged to offer his resignation, "so greatly did.... (he) fear that the Bishop's influence would carry the day". Andrews to Monk 20 Jun 1932 (Monk's File' St. Stephen's College). In his autobiographical notes dictated to Chaturvedi, he acknowledged that Western was an ally in Rudra's cause, but claimed that his own threat of resignation "really turned the scale" Biog p.78.

- 42 Preparatory Paper for Commission 1, W.M.C.Edinburgh 1910; CT 29 May 1908.
- 43 'Monk's File' St. Stephen's College.
- 44 e.g. TEW Oct 1907, NI pp217-8, DMN Jul 1909, also his evidence given in November 1913 before the Royal Commission on the Public Services, Royal Commission on the Public Services in India 1915, Vol.XX pp.26-50. The example of Rudra's appointment was also cited in the Report of Gore's Commission at the W.M.C. Report of Commission III pp.32-3.

#### 4. The Eastern Ideal

- 1 S.A.C.Ghose "The Indian Nation and Christianity" SM May 1907. This represents one of the most succinct and incisive expressions of an Indian 'Liberation Theology' that I have come across. Ghose wrote the article at the request of Andrews, who, in his prefatory remarks, claimed that it represented "the suppressed feeling of a very large and growing number of earnest Indian Christians". Lefroy noted that "Missionaries...fail very largely in getting rid of an air of patronage and condescension", and pointed out that "Indian Christians feel this...far more acutely than we have, for the most part, any idea of". Preparatory Paper for Commission 1, W.M.C. Edinburgh 1910, cf. J.G.F.Day in DMN Apr 1910. It was in the context of his discussion of "the sahib spirit" in NI that Andrews introduced to an English readership the work of Sundar Singh and Stokes, the subject of this section - NI pp.164ff.
- 2 YMOI Dec 1910.
- 3 NI pp.153-5; Christ in the Silence p.18

- 4 R.H.S.Boyd Indian Christian Theology (1969) p.92.
- 5 Redman to Heiler 25 May 1925, and Stokes to Hosten 22 Sept 1923 (Hosten Papers, Vols. 38 and 36).
- 6 NI p.155. Hosten suggests that it was in the November that Sundar Singh, was working in the plague camp, Hosten Papers Vol. 37 pp.5-7. This conflicts unimportantly with Andrews' later recollection that he and Rudra first met him at Kotgarh Sadhu Sundar Singh p.105 - the contemporary account in NI is most likely the correct one. Andrews also met Stokes at the Lahore plague camp NMI Nov 1910.
- 7 Sadhu Sundar Singh pp.109,14.
- 8 ibid. pp.109-11.
- 9 "Whenever it was possible to do so, I used to visit Sundar Singh in his room at Lahore during his time at the Divinity School, for I felt from the first time I met him there, that he was very unhappy. Fortunately, my university duties called me often to Lahore at that period, and I would make a point of going round to see him in order to give him good cheer" ibid. p.93. Western later noted the reason for Sundar Singh's brief time there, "...while his ordination was still being discussed the Bishop told him that he would not be able to give him a general licence to preach and celebrate the Eucharist under any conditions and to any congregations" Western to Hosten, 3 Jun 1925 (Hosten Papers Vol.38). Andrews put this more positively, "he decided to remain unfettered by any ecclesiastical bonds....the Sadhu retained the 'liberty of Propheying' which is one of the true marks of a living Church" Sadhu Sundar Singh p.93.
- 10 SM Jan 1910.
- 11 Sadhu Sundar Singh p.124.
- 12 ibid. pp.109-114. For a student's recollections, see Shoran Singha More Yarns about India n.d., p.164.
- 13 Sadhu Sundar Singh p.165.
- 14 ibid. p.128.
- 15 This is Boyd's judgement in his Indian Christian Theology p.109.
- 16 Sadhu Sundar Singh p.188. Looking through Sundar Singh's small library at Sabathu, and noting the many underlinings and annotations, Andrews said that "it was quite a revelation" to him to find out how widely he had studied. ibid. p.190.
- 17 ibid. p.237. How important this was, must have been immediately evident to Andrews, who had read in "a leading Indian review" of the inevitable foreignness of the English missionary, "The Gospel of the Prophet of Nazareth that he brings is like Eastern nectar in a Western bowl - not quite palatable therefore to Oriental taste" NI p.166.
- 18 The details of this do not concern us. Much of the data on

which this campaign was based is to be found in the Hosten Papers. It is noteworthy that those who knew Sundar Singh in these early years did not doubt his integrity: thus, Stokes recalled "his very manifest sincerity" Stokes to Hosten, 22 Sept 1923 (Hosten Papers Vol.36), and Redman, who had baptised him, continued to speak of him as "a faithful and earnest follower of our Lord" Redman to Heiler, 25 May 1925 (*ibid.* Vol.38).

- 19 Sadhu Sundar Singh p.9. Stokes seems to have been disappointed with Sundar Singh in his later years, "I confess that on this last visit to Kotgarh I was much less favourably impressed with his manner than in earlier years" Stokes to Hosten, 22 Sept 1923 (Hosten Papers Vol.36). Perhaps Hugh Tinker's assessment is the right sort - "taken over by the West as a Wise Man from the East, and not at all reluctant to adopt the role. He remained naive, innocent perhaps; but very responsive to his audience...I don't suggest he was a fake...He lived a good, and probably very useful life!" Tinker, however, seems to be confusing the young Sundar Singh with the later, over-exposed celebrity, when he says that "the Sundar Singh who CFA wrote about...existed only in his (CFA's) mind...he was not CFA's wandering Sadhu" Tinker to author, 6 Sept 1974. There seems in fact to be no reason to doubt Andrews' picture of these early years, substantiated as it is by the recollections of Stokes.
- 20 Hosten "Some facts and dates in the life of Mr. Samuel E. Stokes Jr." (Hosten Papers Vol.37).
- 21 "Interpreting Christ to India" TEW Apr 1908; Stokes to Western, summer 1911, quoted in Stokes Love of God (1908) p.xxxvii.
- 22 Henry Martyn records an illuminating incident a century earlier: "The Italian Padre came to Dinapore again on Saturday...The Catholics crowded around him by hundreds, and in a tone of triumph pointed out his dress - that of a Franciscan friar - to the Protestants, contrasting it with that of a Clergyman of the Church of England, booted and spurred, and ready for a hunt" Henry Martyn to Daniel Corrie, 4 Jul 1808, in J.Sargent A Memoir of the Rev. Henry Martyn, B.D. (1830) p.298. Andrews himself had noted how the work of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta had been likened to "the great Franciscan movement" and was "the proper counterpart in this generation". The observation was made by Chancellor Dibdin in 1902, quoted in NI pp.88-9. For an interesting variant in nineteenth-century Punjab, see H.D.Griswold "A Christian Fakir" TEW Jul 1904, and Farquhar's summary, "The Chet Ramis", Modern Religious Movements in India (1915) pp.150-6. For subsequent developments, please see below.
- 23 NI p.155.
- 24 ibid. p.180. Hosten records that Stokes was doing plague work in the plains in the Punjab in the spring of 1907, and was back in the Simla hills in June - Hosten Papers Vol.77, pp.5-7.
- 25 TEW Apr 1908. He also, however, used the term 'sadhu' of himself. "The Lay Reader" Jul 1908, quoted in The Love of God (1908) p.29, and Sundar Singh referred to Stokes' accepting the "life of a faqir" Nur Afshan 21 Jul 1916, quoted in translation in

Hosten Papers Vol.35, p.164; the Tribune referred to Stokes' colleague, Western, as a "sanyasi", 30 Oct 1909.

- 26 TEW Apr 1908. Stokes interprets bhagat as "a person who devotes his life to religious exercises", and explains that "Maharaj" means "great King" and is the title by which bhagats are commonly addressed in Northern India.
- 27 Preparatory Paper for Commission 1, W.M.C.Edinburgh 1910.
- 28 TEW Apr 1908.
- 29 TEW Jul 1908. Also, while in England, Stokes' discussions with the C.M.S. led to his being appointed on 16 Sept 1908 as a missionary of the Society with "a Roving Commission", though he did not ask for any financial commitment, nor did the Brotherhood become a C.M.S. institution. C.M.S. Punjab and Sindh Précis, 11.5, 1904-10, 10 Mar 1909, 15 Dec 1909, 21 Sept 1910.
- 30 The C.M.S. recruit was called Branch. He joined Stokes on 18 Nov 1909; he did not stay long - Stokes reported on 13 Jul 1910 that he was leaving the Brotherhood because of his objection to one of the rules. ibid., 15 Dec 1909, 21 Sept 1910.
- 31 W.E.S.Holland wrote in his journals of "Swami Isananda, a Brahman sanyasi who was baptised not long ago and who has joined Stokes as a Brother of the Imitation" CMI May 1910.
- 32 Stokes wrote in a printed letter to friends in America on 3 Feb 1910, of the year 1909, "Sri Swami Dhar Teratha, a very learned old Brahman holy man, who for forty years had lived the life of a Hindu monk, came up with me and was baptised in the little church at Kotgurh" - quoted in Hosten Papers, Vol 38, pp.518-24. Andrews subsequently published "'The Work of a Christian Preacher' by Swami Dhar Tirath, formerly a Brahman Sannyasi.....a translation of the aged Swami's words dictated by him in his room at Kotgarh..." Ind Int Oct 1911. A Delhi Mission correspondent reported that among their cold-weather visitors was Stokes, who "for the last two years has been living the life of a sadhu... He hopes that others...may join him and form a sort of Franciscan brotherhood, and he has already the nucleus of this in two Indians who have become Christian through him" DMN Jan 1908.
- 33 "Western was I think not very happy about that brief period of association with Stokes, a highly unsatisfactory person, and Sadhu Sundar Singh" S.Neill to author, 10 Feb 1972. We must place beside this comment on Stokes, Lefroy's unqualified (and contemporary) enthusiasm for him; Neill did not himself go to India until 1924, though he knew Western "perhaps as well as anyone has ever done".
- 34 He is described as having left "his fashionable rooms in the S.P.G. Mission House" and "turned a sanyasi,...living in a very small room in the School Boarding House...a dhoti, a long over-garment, a rug and a matting form the necessities of his daily life...maintaining himself on 6 rs. a month". The whole venture is seen as "an example of true self-sacrifice and...an eye-opener to most of our Indians" Tribune 30 Oct 1909.



- 35 Sundar Singh referred to "Mr. Branch, Mr. MacMillan, Mr. Jacob and...Mr F.J.Western M.A." who, "having given up their wealthy condition, began to serve here, having accepted the life of a faqir" Nur Afshan 21 Jul 1916, quoted in translation in Hosten Papers Vol.35, p.164.
- 36 Western to Hosten, 23 May 1925, Hosten Papers Vol.38, p.446.
- 37 Biog p.101; Andrews to Montgomery 27 Oct 1911 (S.P.G.Lahore Letters Received). He described himself as "in that way a member of it, though not able to lead the full life". It was on grounds of health, he says, that Rudra and Stokes deterred him from full membership - Biog p.101, while to E.S.Talbot he wrote, "If I hadn't had so much malaria and been so physically unfit, I should have joined Stokes himself and settled simply - too simply - in that manner my own heart questionings. I can see now if I had done so, I should have been wrong: for while Stokes was clearly called to the villages, I was as clearly called to the English-Educated...my health kept me, in God's Providence, from taking that false move" Andrews to Talbot n.d. (after mid-1914) (Roadarmel Papers. Berkeley).
- 38 This was reported, interestingly, by Munshi Ram (vide inf.) at the Arya Samaj Anniversary at Lahore Tribune 5 Dec 1907. Had Stokes consulted Munshi Ram, head of the Arya Samaj Gurukula?
- 39 "A Scheme for A Christian Gurukula" n.d., a pamphlet "For Private Circulation Only" (Cambridge Brotherhood Library). The pamphlet is anonymous, but a number of Americanisms suggests that it was written by Stokes, and parts correspond to passages in a printed letter sent to friends in America on 3 Feb 1910 (Hosten Papers Vol.38, pp.518-24).
- 40 C.M.S.Punjab and Sindh Précis 11.5, 1904-10, entries for 7 Jun 1909, 30 Oct 1909, 15 Dec 1909, 11 May 1910.
- 41 DMN Jul 1909. "...it will not be directly propagandist. It is to be the force of the example offered by the daily life of the Christian teachers, aiming as they will at a simple imitation of the Vita Beata, which will be the fulcrum on which the lever of their influence is to rest".
- 42 Printed letter to friends in America, 3 Feb 1910 (Hosten Papers Vol.38, pp.518-24).
- 43 Tribune 30 Oct 1909.
- 44 CLS 1913. Longmans also published a London edition in the same year as The Gospel According to the Jews and Pagans. N.b. the Modern Review's welcome: "Christ's noble life and teachings... have influenced and will continue to influence the Indian mind, and Indians will always reverence those among the followers of Jesus who, like...Andrews...himself, try to mould their lives after him" Nov 1913.
- 45 Stokes to Bardsley 28 Aug 1911, quoted in The Love of God (1908) pp.xi-xxviii.
- 46 ibid.
- 47 Stokes to Western n.d., quoted in The Love of God (1908) pp.xxxiii-

- xlvii. This letter begins with an indication of Andrews' close association with the Brotherhood: "Andrews told me yesterday that you had written to him and that he was going down to see you. I can not say much therefore which he does not know and will not say for me..."
- 48 ibid.
- 49 Hosten Papers Vol.38 p.446.
- 50 Western to Allnutt, 22 Aug 1912 (C.M.D. Letters 1891-1918) He was, nevertheless, full of praise for the Cambridge Brotherhood, "I know of no other missionary society or body... such noble ideals and aims as its living inspiration...such sound methods of work, and, above all, such capacity for progress in ideals and methods".
- 51 Andrews to Montgomery, 27 Oct 1911 (S.P.G. Lahore Letters Received).
- 52 His contacts with Stokes were not restricted to his visits to the Simla hills. In the cold weather of 1907-8, Stokes visited the Mission in Delhi (DMN Jan 1908), and a year later he took part in the retreat near Delhi which Andrews had done so much to organize (SM May 1909).
- 53 NI pp.180-1.
- 54 ibid. pp.182,162,163-4. Cf. the views of a Brahma, reviewing NI: "We admit the mundane uplifting power of Indian Christianity, there being so much money and organisation behind it. But it is by the test of spiritual power that a faith is judged" MR Jul 1909.
- 55 NMI Feb 1908, YMOI Jan 1910, NMI Nov 1910.
- 56 SM Nov 1909.
- 57 Andrews to E.S.Talbot, n.d. - after mid 1914 (Roadarmel Papers. Berkeley).
- 58 "In order to be easily accessible to...our country and all her people,...he imbibed to a wonderful degree the Eastern ideal of a religious life, and was content to live a life of simplicity and poverty" S.N.Mukarji in The Stephanian Jun 1940.
- 59 TEW Jan 1911.
- 60 cf. "We must make up our minds once and for all to be free from the spirit of what Sir George Birdwood has called 'egotistical religious proselytism'...The manufacture of exotic Christians of a Western type, out of touch with their own countrymen and their country's ideals, must come to be a thing utterly abhorrent and repugnant to the soul of every missionary who understands Church principles" Guardian 30 Dec 1908.
- 61 cf. Farquhar The Crown of Hinduism pp.50-51, "In the philosophy and theistic theology of Hinduism there are many precious truths enshrined; but...Hinduism must die in order to live. It must die into Christianity". Something of what Andrews meant is

indicated in RI : "The Church in India will soon represent a far more important element in national life than is now apparent, and, when the dangers of relapse into idolatry and caste are overcome, she will assimilate as largely as possible the ancient traditions of India, and make them a vital part of her own constructive growth. The fact that such assimilation has not already taken place more rapidly is due not merely to the European missionary, but also to the supreme need of a strong ethical revolt against the corrupter forms of Hinduism" (pp.167-8)

- 62 Andrews to Montgomery, 27 Oct 1911 (S.P.G. Lahore Letters Received).
- 63 NMI May-Jun 1912. Andrews was sympathetic enough about Stokes' desire to marry across the racial divide; indeed, probably before the latter had begun to think on these lines, Andrews had advocated inter-race marriages (TEW Jul 1910). Nor was Andrews the first Punjab missionary to do so. H.U.Weitbrecht had described it a year earlier as "the most powerful source of influence" which a missionary could exert on social and national life - Preparatory Paper for Commission 4, W.M.C. Edinburgh 1910. When a Cambridge Mission teacher, N.G.Leather announced that he was to marry an Indian Christian in 1913, Andrews commented that such marriages were altogether desirable if humanity was ever to be one - Andrews to Munshi Ram, 11 Jun 1913 (Chaturvedi Corr. N.A.I.).
- 64 There was in the next few years a good deal of enthusiasm for the idea of Indian forms of Christian ministry, e.g. D.G.M. Leith "The Sannyasi" Ind Int Oct 1912, R.G.Milburn "The Unity of the Indian Church" Ind Int Jul 1913. Another member of the Cambridge Mission, F.F.Shearwood lived the life of a Sadhu in the Simla hills at about this time; he had "no organic connection with anyone else, though he was very friendly with Sundar Singh" Western to Hosten, 23 May 1925 (Hosten Papers Vol.38, p.446). For a rigorous examination of the relation of these possible developments in Christian ministry in India to the Hindu tradition, see the chapter "The Yellow Robe" in Farquhar The Crown of Hinduism (1912). One particular development where Andrews' influence may have been direct was the formation of the Christa Seva Sangha at Poona, which J.C.Winslow began in the Ahmadnagar district in 1921, almost simultaneously with the formation of the Christukula Ashram at Tiruppur, usually regarded as the first Christian ashram in India (Boyd op.cit. p.160) J.C.Winslow Eyelids of the Dawn (1954) pp.78-9. Winslow says that the impulse "to become an Indian to the Indians" came to him from Andrews, "It was this man's life and writings which first kindled my desire to enter more deeply into the spirit of India and to be more closely identified with her people" (pp.74-5). His first meeting with Andrews was in 1906 (Winslow to O'Connor, 6 Feb 1973). N.b. H.V.Elwin, an early member of the Sangha: "The future usefulness...of the whole church of India, will be in proportion to its Franciscanism" The C.S.S. Review Oct 1931. The Franciscan movement in the Church of England, the Society of St. Francis, had its roots in the Christa Seva Sangha (Denis, S.S.F. "Indian Jubilee 1922-1972" The Franciscan Sep 1972). It is noteworthy that Friedrich Heiler, who began a Protestant third order of the Franciscans in Germany after becoming a Protestant in 1919, developed an interest in Sadhu Sundar Singh at about the same time - see

Latourette Christianity in a Revolutionary Age (1964) Vol.4, p.128, and A.J.Appasamy's Introduction to the Indian edition of F.Heiler The Gospel of Sadhu Sundar Singh (ed. 1970) p.1.

### 5. One Body

- 1 Ind Int Oct 1909; SM Apr 1908.
- 2 Preparatory Paper for Commission 4, W.M.C. Edinburgh 1910.
- 3 The two chief studies of the subject indicate this well enough; Bengt Sundkler's The Church of South India (1954) has as a sub-title "The Movement Towards Union" and the dates "1900-1947", while Hans Ruedi Weber's Asia and the Ecumenical Movement (1966) has "1895-1961".
- 4 Sundkler op.cit. p.50ff.
- 5 W.S.C.F. 1911.
- 6 Allnutt CT 10 Jun 1910; also S.A.C.Ghose, who went with Allnutt, as delegates, invited by C.M.S., to the "annual conference of the Central Mission Council Conference" at Lahore in April 1909 - DMN Jul 1909. E.F.E.Wigram of the C.M.S., Lahore, reported in early 1909 that they were "just beginning to feel our way towards a linking up...with...S.P.G. and the Cambridge Mission to Delhi", a matter of importance "as affecting the question of larger Reunion" - Preparatory Paper for Commission 2, W.M.C. Edinburgh 1910.
- 7 G.A.Purton, speaking at the Delhi Meeting at Church House, Westminster, on 18 May 1909, said "we are also, at Mr Andrews' instigation, trying to come into closer touch with C.M.S. workers in the Diocese" DMN Jul 1909.
- 8 "Promotion of Closer Relations with the Baptist Mission" DMN Jul 1910. "Allnutt....noted some pieces of work in which attempts at co-operation had lately been made, these including a realised unification of work in the Christian Primary School for boys, work done in the College by Messrs. Joel Waiz Lal and C.B.Young, and efforts, not yet complete, to cooperate in bazar preaching" etc. DMN Jul 1910.
- 9 CT 19 Dec 1913.
- 10 The Good Shepherd p.21. The minister was Dr. K.C.Chatterjee, a convert of Alexander Duff, who had had a remarkable ministry at that time of some forty years in the Punjab. For some account of his life's work, see his Preparatory Papers for Commissions 1 and 2, W.M.C. Edinburgh 1910.
- 11 Two items only concentrate on this subject, "The Decennial Conference" IW 7 Mar 1911, and a letter "The Problem of Reunion" TEW Jan 1912.
- 12 IW 6 Sept 1910. He also said in 1909 that he was "more a sacramentalist...more a 'Churchman' than ever", rejoicing "in the continuity of church life, in the thought of the

'Body of Christ'. Preparatory Paper for Commission 4, W.M.C. Edinburgh 1910, cf. W.S.C.F. 1911.

- 13 - by Dr. William Huntly, a Presbyterian, of Agra IW 16 Aug 1910.
- 14 W.S.C.F. 1911 "The presence at this conference of those who represent the ancient Churches of the East is another step forward of even greater significance" (than that of the "High Anglicans"). He also welcomed an indication of Roman Catholic interest in the W.M.C. IW 6 Sept 1910.
- 15 Preparatory Paper for Commission 4, W.M.C. Edinburgh 1910; RI p.52.
- 16 TEW Jul 1912.
- 17 Cf. the 'Lund principle', "Should not our Churches ask themselves ....whether they should not act together in all matters except those in which deep differences of conviction compel them to act separately?" E.H.Robertson Lund 1952 (1952) p.71.
- 18 Preparatory Paper for Commission 4, W.M.C. Edinburgh 1910.
- 19 The Remonstrance was signed by more than 900 Incorporated Members of the S.P.G. A speaker at the 1911 Annual Meeting of the Delhi Mission, at Church House, Westminster, Fr. Bickersteth, was critical: "Something like four percent of the Christianity of India was due to the labours of the S.P.G.; and then they were told that the S.P.G. was self-contained and self-sufficient, and had nothing to learn and nothing to teach at Edinburgh" DMN Jul 1911. The Standing Committee of S.P.G. had originally, in 1908, declined an invitation to be officially represented, but this decision was subsequently reversed, and delegates, including the Secretary of the Society, were appointed.
- 20 Sundkler op.cit. p.52.
- 21 NMI Nov 1910.
- 22 YMOI Mar 1911.
- 23 TEW Jul 1912.
- 24 IW 7 Mar 1911.
- 25 NI pp.45-6.
- 26 Sundkler op.cit. p.133.
- 27 Ind Int Oct 1909. The possibility is one which Weber still poses, at the conclusion of his study of Asia and the ecumenical movement, though in the terminology of a later period: "What is true or false mysticism, pietism or secular holiness? Are the two trends...really opposed to one another or can they go together in the same Church?" op.cit. p.296.
- 28 RI p.265.
- 29 Epiph 12 Jul 1913.

- 30 RI p.265.
- 31 T.Rajagopalachari, IR Mar 1914.
- 32 Epiph 12 Jul 1913.
- 33 CT 19 Dec 1913. This correspondent went on, "It is no small achievement to have raised this ideal in Delhi".
- 34 SM Nov 1909, also Ind Int Oct 1909.
- 35 CT 10 Jun 1910. In the same year, Lefroy gave to a proposal to make a joint celebration of holy communion a monthly event his "warm approval" DMN Apr 1910; Andrews noted that the same proposal had been implemented at Lahore, but at Simla had met with very little response TEW Oct 1912. Andrews did draw attention to some other features of the situation: thus, his reference to the necessity for separate cemeteries for Indian and English Christians, "as though the colour-bar must continue even after death" RI p.204; he also drew attention to schools which admitted Eurasian children whose father was English and mother an Indian Christian, but refused those whose mother was English but father an Indian Christian TEW Oct 1912. In this article he makes the point that the situation is particularly critical for "we Anglicans" - "Among the English laity in India, owing chiefly to the State establishment, which is cut off from missionary work, there has grown up in the course of time an aloofness from Indian Christians which is wholly deplorable".
- 36 TEW Jul 1910, Oct. 1912, Oct 1914.
- 37 SM Apr 1908.
- 38 YMOI Feb 1908, Ind Int Oct 1909, C.M.D. Occasional Paper "India in Transition" 1910, YMOI Mar 1911.
- 39 NI p.69., also Abdul Masih as "companion" to Daniel Corrie (p.11), Imad-ud-Din and Bishop French (pp.126-7), Bhola Nath Ghose and Rowland Bateman (p.144), Sundar Singh and Stokes (p.154). Perhaps we are able to deduce another example from the dedication of the book "To my friend Susil Kumar Rudra" (p.ix).
- 40 ibid pp.228-9.
- 41 TEW Jul 1910.
- 42 He makes the point with a claim that "the Holy Communion was intended to cover the whole of life,...to symbolise and lead on to the most intimate human friendship and affection between the members of Christ's Body".
- 43 Andrews was quoting at this point Bishop Daniel Wilson of Calcutta (1832), as he had done in NI p.20.
- 44 IW 26 Jul 1910, CT 5 Dec 1913.
- 45 Biog p.107. Allnutt was uneasy with Andrews' "panacea" DMN Jul 1911.
- 46 Hugh Tinker "Anti-Commonwealth Men: C.F. Andrews and his influence"

(unpublished paper, Feb 1974).

- 47 Biog p.107.
- 48 TEW Oct 1912.
- 49 The Lahore Diocesan secretary of the G.F.S. demonstrated that her Society welcomed Indian members and an anonymous military writer gave several examples of inter-racial fellowship in areas where Andrews had been critical, schools, the C.E.M.S., the army. Lefroy conceded that for Andrews' main contention there was "sadly, much to be said", but he argued that Andrews spoilt his case by exaggeration, having misrepresented the restrictions on the authority of a newly appointed Indian Archdeacon in the diocese TEW Apr 1913; Editorial note MR Nov 1912.
- 50 It is interesting that it was from South Africa a little later that Andrews, in a letter to CT, placed his concern for unity in the matter of race in relation to those other aspects of unity which were so preoccupying the Anglican Church at the time in the form of the Kikuyu controversy : "It may be that when we have seriously and penitently endeavoured to remedy this growing schism of race which exists, almost unchecked, inside our own community today, that God in His great mercy will open the way by which we may remedy those schisms of faith which divide and distract us" CT 6 Mar 1914.
- 51 TEW Oct 1912.

6. "Theology from the Eastern point of view"

- 1 Biog p.47.
- 2 e.g. NI p.227.
- 3 TEW Jul 1913.
- 4 SM Jan 1910 : Andrews uses exactly the same metaphors a little later, in "Ordination Study in India" pp.8,17.
- 5 YMOI Dec 1910.
- 6 Review of NI in MR Jul 1909.
- 7 He quotes the MR comments in "Ordination Study in India", and observes, "There is too much truth in this comment to pass it over with indifference".
- 8 NI p.72; CT 4 Nov 1910.
- 9 A paper which he read at a 'Convention of Religions' at Allahabad, which he and Andrews attended in January 1911. It was reproduced in full in the Allahabad nationalist newspaper, the Leader, 31 Jan 1911, and as a pamphlet (C.L.S. 1911), and, in a shortened version, as "An Indian Christian's Confession of Faith" SM Jun 1912. The most striking feature is a discussion of the Incarnation in relation to the "Vedantic doctrine of God"; his treatment of what Boyd (op.cit. pp.233-7) calls "the

nirguna-saguna polarity" differs from that of Goreh, and may have been influenced by Brahmabandhab; Andrews quotes from this part of Rudra's paper in RI, p.84. A second feature, about "solidarity, the Christ-life within the individual linking him to all humanity and creating organic forms, corporate bodies, inspired with a single spirit and life", seems to echo the thought of Westcott and, perhaps, Maurice, though it is not inconceivable that he is, again, also influenced by Brahmabandhab's understanding of the Church, which was for him, like the Incarnation, "a stupendous fact - more stupendous than creation itself" and to be understood as the Adi-purusha, the "first man" of the new creation (see Andrews' quotations from Brahmabandhab, CT 4 Nov 1910.)

- 10 Preparatory Paper for Commission 3, W.M.C. Edinburgh 1910. He also refers here to two Europeans who had made some contribution, Dr. Mill, the first Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta, who had written a life of Christ in Sanskrit, and George Westcott, son of Bishop B.F. Westcott, who had recently published his study of Kabir and his followers.
- 11 He describes some of Goreh's writings as "classics of Indian Christian Theology" NI p.72. Elsewhere, he says that Goreh and Imad-ud-Din, preoccupied with abstruse points of controversy, were too specialised to be of general interest CT 4 Nov 1910.
- 12 "Indian Church Problems II : Interpretation of Christian Doctrine" CT 4 Nov 1910. The much shorter version of this, in which he equates Brahmabandhab's interpretative work with that of Tertullian, Athanasius and Basil, appears in an Appendix to RI, pp.289-91.
- 13 Rudra, a Bengali committed to the indigenizing of Christian faith, recognised that Brahmabandhab had made "a splendid effort to link Christianity to the wisdom of the Hindus" (Preparatory Paper for Commission 3, W.M.C. Edinburgh 1910), but this is the only indisputable reference to him in Rudra's writings. Andrews spent a good deal of time at the Calcutta Congress of 1906 with Kali Charan Banerji, Brahmabandhab's uncle. Andrews had not at this time, of course, met Tagore, with whom Brahmabandhab had been closely associated in the founding of Santiniketan. It is interesting to add here that Brahmabandhab was led towards baptism, at Hyderabad in Sindh in 1891, by two C.M.S. missionaries, one of whom, J.M. Redman, later baptised Sundar Singh at Simla.
- 14 This is the title he gives it in RI; The Sanskrit title is Vande Saccidanandam.
- 15 It is not clear where Andrews came across these. Most of Brahmabandhab's English writings, including the two hymns in his own translation, had appeared in his monthly publications, Sophia and The Twentieth Century. A small two-volume study, including the hymns, had appeared in Calcutta in 1908, edited by Brahmabandhab's friend, Animananda.
- 16 For example, and Andrews quotes Brahmabandhab on the point, "between the Hindu doctrine of the Avatar and the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation".



- 17 G.Gispert-Sauch in Religion and Society Dec 1972.
- 18 The only other known early reference in Britain to Brahmabandhab is that of "Dr. Fairbairn of Oxford" who, presumably during the former's visit to Oxford in 1902-3, prophesied the victory of his ideas (F.Heiler op.cit. pp.244-5. Heiler himself first heard of Brahmabandhab from Von Hügel, who had also met him on his visit to England - ibid. p.243).
- 19 Boyd op.cit. p.77.
- 20 The six were : Philippians ed. T.Walker, 1909 (Preface dated Jul 1906); Revelation ed. E.H.M.Waller 1909 (Preface dated Mar 1908); I-III John ed. H.Pakenham-Walsh 1910; Acts ed. T.Walker 1912; Matthew ed. H.U.Weitbrecht 1912; II Corinthians ed. A.Crosthwaite 1916 (Andrews resigned from the General Editorship in 1913, but Crosthwaite acknowledges his help in his Preface dated Jan 1916).
- 21 General Preface by Lefroy.
- 22 Lefroy to Allnutt 6 Dec 1906, quoted in H.H.Montgomery op.cit. p.186.
- 23 CMR Jan 1913, Feb 1913. Four of the first five were done by C.M.S. missionaries.
- 24 Quoted in B.K.Cunningham to Montgomery, 27 Feb 1909 (S.P.G. Lahore Letters Received)
- 25 CC 1912.
- 26 Guardian 30 Dec 1908.
- 27 NI p.199.
- 28 C.M.D.Occasional Paper "Ordination Study in India" 1910. All the information in the rest of this section is taken from this paper, unless otherwise stated. The components of the paper are as follows : a) pp.7-11 Original letter to Lefroy, and first syllabus (Jan-Feb 1909); b) p.12 Lefroy's covering note to circulate with a) (12 Feb 1909); c) pp.12-14 Summary of replies to a) and b) (n.d.); d) pp.14-26 2nd letter to Lefroy and Revised Syllabus (Jul 1909); e) pp.5-6 Lefroy's published Introductory Note (3 Jan 1910); f) pp.7,11 Andrews' partial account of 1909 proceedings; g) pp.3-4 Preface to Paper (Jan 1910); h) pp.27-31 Appendix : Current Lahore syllabus.
- 29 2nd ed. Madras 1896.
- 30 Original ed. 1835.
- 31 Westcott had published a book on the Epistle to the Hebrews under the title Christus Consummator, with the sub-title, "Some Aspects of the Work and Person of Christ in Relation to Modern Thought" (1886).
- 32 This was the conclusion of a meeting of English and Indian

clergy, convened by their Bishop, at a C.M.S. Conference at Agra in March 1910 - CMI May 1910. Lefroy wrote to the Secretary of S.P.G., enclosing Andrews initial proposals : "Andrews, of course,...goes too far, but I am sure he is on right lines and that some move of the sort will have to be made sooner or later" Lefroy to Montgomery 17 Mar 1909 (S.P.G. Lahore Letters Received), and a little later, the S.P.G. Standing Committee recorded its receipt of them "with great interest" (Minutes 6 May 1909).

- 33 Boyd, who was subsequently moved to write a book with the title, India and the Latin Captivity of the Church (1974) in which he observed that "Nothing could have been further from the minds of the (Westminster) divines than the thought that one day their document would be the doctrinal standard of an Indian Church independent of European control, living under a secular state and surrounded by Hindus!" (p.36), writes at the beginning of his Indian Christian Theology, in 1969, "the teaching given in theological colleges throughout India has been, and still is, dominated by western theology, as a glance at any syllabus will show" (pp.1-2). Boyd has subsequently published his own attempt at a corrective, in his Khristadvaita : A Theology for India (1977). The same problem seems to face the Roman Catholic Church in India - see, for example, Abhishiktananda Towards the Renewal of the Indian Church (1970), especially the section "Ministers' Training", and G.Gispert-Sauch on "The Teaching of Religion in Catholic Seminaries and Universities : History and Present Position" in Harbans Singh (ed) Approaches to the Study of Religion (n.d.) pp.74-92.
- 34 Ind Int Oct 1909.
- 35 Occasional Paper "Ordination Study in India" 1910.
- 36 YMOI Mar 1911, Apr 1911.
- 37 Ind Int Oct 1909, variant in SM Nov 1909.
- 38 Ind Int Jul 1909, Oct 1909.
- 39 Question 10, addressed to the missionary correspondents by the commission, was "Has your experience in missionary labour altered either in form or substance your impression as to what constitute the most important and vital elements in the Christian Gospel?" Andrews' answer ran to some 4 pages; a few others reflected, though with brevity and little self-disclosure, a similar shift (e.g. G.S.Eddy said that his "views of God's dealings with mankind" had broadened; R.A.Hume, that his views had greatly altered, "a much fuller conception of God as the Father of all spirits...the effective universality and activity of the Holy Spirit"; Bernard Lucas said "Undoubtedly...from the propagation of the Christian creed to the propagation of the Christian spirit".), but an equal number said little more than, "On the contrary..." (W.Bonnar), "Not at all" (W.S.Boggs), "No, not in the least degree" (A.Campbell). Preparatory Papers for Commission 4, W.M.C. Edinburgh 1910.
- 40 Preparatory Paper for Commission 4, W.M.C. Edinburgh 1910.
- 41 See note 39 above.

- 42 The phrase is the sub-title of an article about these four Indian theologians by F. Whaling, SJT Vol.31, pp.319-33. Andrews influence is direct and acknowledged in the case only of Thomas. Although, he was, as we have seen, in touch with Chenchiah in these early days, there is no evidence that he directly influenced him, although there is much in his writing that is very close to Andrews' own theology, not least his observation "India will not be afraid of claiming Jesus as belonging to our race as the head of humanity, as the Son of Man" A.N.Sударisanam (ed.) Rethinking Christianity in India (1938) p.27. Andrews' impulse towards "a more elementary type of Christianity...in which even the idea of the Church is yet germinal rather than mature" (Ind Int Oct 1909) is a main theme in Chakkarai - see especially his article on "The Church" in Rethinking Christianity in India pp.101-123, cf. T.V.Phillip "Chakkarai and the Indian Church" in R.W.Taylor (ed.) Society and Religion (1976) pp.153-165. M.M.Thomas has clearly been much attracted by Andrews' thinking, see especially The Acknowledged Christ of the Indian Renaissance (1970) passim. in particular, note his observation that Andrews "has carried the idea of the Divine Humanity of Christ...to a new stage of development" p.143. Boyd notes that of all the Christian writers whom Thomas discusses, the two whom he commends with least reservation are Rudra and Andrews, and he concludes his examination of Thomas' "Massive and consistent theological statement" by observing that in its central features it "comes close to the view...of C.F.Andrews" op.cit. pp.324,330.
- 43 On Some Points in the Religious Office of the Universities (1873) pp.38-9.
- 44 "Missionary Education in India" (Pan-Anglican Paper) 1908.
- 45 CT 5 Dec 1913.

## CHAPTER 6. MEN OF OTHER FAITHS 1904-14

1. Introductory

Andrews' capacity for deep friendships across the racial divide was by no means limited to men, like Rudra and Ghose, within the church. From the very beginning of his missionary decade, we find him entering into comparable relationships with men of other faiths, relationships deep, emotional and unreserved. In these, the religious component was always of great interest and significance to him, and this in its turn determined considerably his evaluation of other faiths, and his own developing theological understanding of them.

His interest in other religions was not, of course, limited to that derived from these friendships, and we find him in several other ways during these years seeking to understand them better, and to encourage mutual understanding, appreciation and sympathy.

He learned a certain amount from literary sources, and his comments on some of these suggest that he made earnest efforts at understanding.<sup>1</sup> Thus, we find him commending classical Hindu texts such as that of the Vedanta-sara, while among his notes there survives a life of the prophet Muhammad carefully transcribed from the narration of a Muslim friend.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, he turned to Hindu expositions of Hinduism, such as Lala Baij Nath's Hinduism Ancient and Modern, as well as to serious Western expositions such as those of Deussen on the Vedanta and Risley on caste and religion.<sup>3</sup> One interesting aspect of his interest in Hindu literature was with regard to a work called In Woods of God-Realization, the collected English writings of a neo-Vedantist from the Punjab, Swami Ram Tirath (1873-1906).<sup>4</sup> The first four volumes were published at Delhi by Amir Chand, and Andrews wrote by request the Introduction to the first volume.<sup>5</sup> Though confessing to "only a faint and distant sympathy..with the

philosophy of the Advaita Vedanta", and making some sharp criticisms of its "illegitimate shortcut to the simplification of the problem of existence", he was appreciative of "the poetic spirit of Swami Rama"<sup>6</sup>. Amir Chand was delighted with Andrews' introduction; it was reproduced as an article in the Arya Samaj's journal, the Vedic Magazine and Gurukular Samachar<sup>7</sup>. It was also fulsomely praised in two nationalist journals<sup>8</sup>.

St. Stephen's College provided a setting in which to develop some of his ideas about religions. Rudra himself reported that in 1908 he wished to encourage among the students "a serious study of comparative religion", this to be based on Westcott's Gospel of Life, and a little later we find Andrews delivering a course of lectures in college on the "Religious History of India"<sup>9</sup>. He reported at about the same time "a term's work on the fundamental principles of Christianity, showing wherein it differed from all the other religions of the world"<sup>10</sup>.

A similar title, "Indian Religious History", was given to his series of lectures at the Indian Missionary School of Study.<sup>11</sup> At about the same time, a visitor to Delhi observed that his "methods of missionary work and...intelligent appreciation of Hindu and Mohammedan thought" were "exhibited in the life and work of...the numerous body of younger missionaries who...(were) inspired by his brave and hopeful spirit"<sup>12</sup>.

Andrews also did a great deal to introduce developments in Hinduism to people in Britain. Thus, he wrote a number of articles, "A Hindu Apologetic", "A Modern Hindu Apologetic", "What is Hinduism?"<sup>13</sup> and on such contemporary movements as the Dev Samaj and the Prem Sangat.<sup>14</sup> In addition, there were his comments on "Modern Krishna Worship" in North India, while his series for the Church Times, "Indian Church Problems", included a substantial amount of description and illustration of contemporary

Hinduism.<sup>15</sup> His most masterly survey, however, was in The Renaissance in India. Though he himself came to feel that the editorial committee in Britain had pressed upon him a view of some features of Hinduism which lacked proper sympathy, the book was widely welcomed.<sup>16</sup> One or two reviews in Britain found it too sympathetic.<sup>17</sup> Its reception by reviewers in India, however, was uniformly enthusiastic. Among missionary reviewers were Farquhar and Macnicol, the latter of whom said that it was "an amazingly complete and luminous account of the Hindu situation, written with a knowledge that perhaps no other observer could command".<sup>18</sup> The Indian Christian community was also very positive.<sup>19</sup> Very significant was its warm welcome in nationalist circles, the Hindustan Times making the quite remarkable observation that much of it might have been written "by an Indian thinker of the Reform School".<sup>20</sup>

This last point is important, that Andrews' appreciation was at this time largely of the reforming movements within the Indian religions. One reviewer of The Renaissance in India pointed out that Andrews represented "modern English-educated Indians", and that it was plain that he did not know much of "the ways of thinking of some of the old Pundits in Benares and Muttra".<sup>21</sup> That was so, and, indeed, his whole approach to missionary strategy rested on the significance which he attributed to the former class. But it may also help to explain why Andrews' very positive approach to Indian religions was not universally appreciated. An S.C.M. visitor to India, Nathaniel Micklem, struck by "the unspeakable vileness and degradation of heathenism", was emphatic that Andrews' views in The Renaissance in India did not represent Hinduism "as Hinduism appears to most of the missionaries working there".<sup>22</sup> Of the religion of the educated classes, however, he clearly had a unique understanding.

Within that chosen sphere, it was his friendship with individuals that was perhaps his most unusual achievement during these years, an

achievement the more remarkable in the light of a contemporary comment that "few Indian Christians were in real touch with non-Christians"<sup>23</sup>. To this, the greater part of the present chapter will be devoted.

## 2. The New Islam

Although Islam represented only the second largest religious community in India as a whole, during Andrews' missionary decade it was quite the largest in the Punjab, with more than half of the Province's population among its adherents<sup>1</sup>. This made the Punjab, as a contemporary study said, "the most important Mohammedan diocese in India"<sup>2</sup>. Delhi itself had only a slightly smaller proportion, and visually was still the city of the great Mughuls, its largest building the mosque, Jama Masjid, "a great epitome of Indo-Saracenic art"<sup>3</sup>, while the Delhi Mission was described as "one of the greatest of Moslem mission enterprises"<sup>4</sup>. It is not, therefore surprising, that Andrews' first sustained encounter with men of other faiths was with Muslims.

As a result of the British imperial presence and "the stimulus of Christian assault"<sup>5</sup>, a unique feature of Indian Islam was a movement which Andrews called "the New Islam"<sup>6</sup> and which could be described as a renaissance or reformation<sup>7</sup>. The leading figure in this movement was Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-98), "The Erasmus of Delhi"<sup>8</sup>, who exercised a considerable influence both as an individual and through the reforming institutions which he established<sup>9</sup>. Because much of his work centred on Aligarh, where he founded the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College in 1877, his principal followers and supporters came to be known as 'the Aligarh School'<sup>10</sup>. During his missionary decade, Andrews got to know some of this group, his first meetings going back to his very first year in Delhi. Among them were Hakim Ajmal Khan, an expert in Yunani medicine; Andrews visited him "constantly" during these years,<sup>11</sup> though there is little record of what passed between them at this time. Particularly,

however, he got to know two elderly Delhi Muslims, Nazir Ahmad (c.1832-1912) and Zaka Ullah (1832-1910).

These last two had been close friends from their earliest years in pre-mutiny Delhi. Nazir Ahmad was "the leading Urdu prose-writer and novelist of the nineteenth century",<sup>12</sup> while his translation of the Quran into literary Urdu, the first such translation, and his theological commentary on it, were very influential.<sup>13</sup> Zaka Ullah, who had been Professor of Vernacular Learning and Science at Allahabad for 37 years, was perhaps most important for his work in translating scientific text books into Urdu.<sup>14</sup> Both had attended the old Delhi College in the 1840's, when it was the centre of the remarkable 'Delhi Renaissance', in which Western scientific learning had played such an important part.<sup>15</sup> Both had been close friends, supporters, and "passionate disciples" of Syed Ahmad Khan, Zaka Ullah being on the board of his M.A.O. College at Aligarh from its foundation to the day of his death.<sup>16</sup> Both had also had long associations with St. Stephen's College, publicly associating themselves with the College's work, and helping with the teaching when possible.<sup>17</sup> Andrews met them both in 1904, and acquaintance ripened into friendship; by 1907, he was able to say that they had shown him, "a missionary", every kindness and courtesy, and had given him their "confidence and friendship".<sup>18</sup> A little later, he wrote of them as treating him "as a son rather than as a foreigner and alien", and until their deaths in the later part of his missionary decade, he was "constantly in their company, sharing their affection".<sup>19</sup>

Nazir Ahmad, Zaka Ullah, and "a small group of intellectual companions", the "leading men of Old Delhi", used to meet for discussions in the evening in the Public Library, and there Andrews would come and join in, his own latest article being often the subject for consideration. "It would have been difficult", he wrote later, "to find in the North of



India a more distinguished intellectual circle than these courtly old men,.....members of all creeds,...who used to gather round...Zaka Ullah... each evening".<sup>20</sup> In Zaka Ullah's last illness, in 1910, Andrews visited him daily, and also conveyed messages from him to his ailing friend, Nazir Ahmad. Zaka Ullah's last conscious words were prayers to God, "and along with them" - addressed to Andrews - "the one word of human affection, 'Beta, Beta!' - 'My son, my son!'"<sup>21</sup>

In the few months remaining to Nazir Ahmad, whom Andrews called "the greatest of all the learned men of Old Delhi", he wrote for Andrews, in Urdu, a memoir of his "oldest and most intimate friend", Zaka Ullah, whom he called "a model of true Islamic culture".<sup>22</sup> The sense of Delhi's past which this conveyed, was one of the things which Andrews greatly valued in these friendships, for Zaka Ullah personified for him "the ancient courtesy of his own ancestral house and also of the Moghul Court of Delhi" in which he had been brought up, and Nazir Ahmad "the old high culture of this ancient capital of India".<sup>23</sup> Andrews was sad to see "the old beautiful Moghul art of Delhi" passing away before his eyes under commercial pressure, and "the old beautiful poetry and music perishing unheeded".<sup>24</sup> Zaka Ullah, whose family had been for many generations teachers of the royal princes of the House of Timur, and who could remember Delhi as a purely Oriental city almost untouched by Western civilization, and who himself "revered the past with its glorious traditions of Arabic learning and Persian culture", talked with Andrews for hours about these things.<sup>25</sup>

Andrews' first substantial encounter, then, with men of other faiths, was with these reforming Muslims. It was from them that he derived his understanding of Islam.<sup>26</sup> Central to this was his acknowledgement that, however much in the Quran was derivative, "Islam in itself is a new creation, a new spirit in religion,...one of those startling and

momentous births in the religious history of mankind"<sup>27</sup> Of the central place of the Quran he also learned from Zaka Ullah, who often recited passages to him, and told him that there was never music in the world "like the music of the Arabic of the Quran Sharif"<sup>28</sup> Andrews also drew attention to other normative features, its "hard clear-cut Deism", its "rough-hewn moral ideal, massive and simple", its power, "at its best in moulding character and creating an atmosphere of reverence"<sup>29</sup> Andrews' appreciation of Islam, thus briefly outlined, is much more positive than even that of Lefroy, for whom Islam's moral ambivalence was always inescapable - the conclusion that "nowhere have light and darkness been so interwoven the one with the other"<sup>30</sup> At only one point was Andrews sharply critical, that is, with regard to the "subjection of womanhood", which carried "countless evils in its train". Characteristically, this placed "an insurmountable obstacle in the way of national development"<sup>31</sup>

It is not difficult to identify some of the distinctive characteristics of the Aligarh movement in his friends, particularly Zaka Ullah, for whom Syed Ahmad Khan had been his "greatest living hero"<sup>32</sup> It was, for example a "movement favouring contemporary British culture"<sup>33</sup> and Zaka Ullah had "frankly accepted western science and a great deal of western thought. He recognised that a new age had come, the age of the West...he recognised that the effete Moghul dynasty was not capable of ushering it in successfully; therefore a change of dynasty was natural"<sup>34</sup> In the light of these views, he had written Victoria Namah, in which he portrayed "the imperial house of Victoria" as "continuing the traditions and the glories of the great house of Timur"<sup>35</sup> The more political side of this, again reflecting Syed's position, was that, though he favoured improved relations with Hindus, and "disbelieved entirely in any policy of Muhammadan isolation", he "could look forward to no period...when the mediating influence of a third and neutral factor such as the English, would be rendered unnecessary"<sup>36</sup> At the same time, personal loyalty to

the Syed necessarily involved acceptance of the British Liberals' position, so that Gladstone and John Bright were still much admired, to Andrews' surprise, in Zaka Ullah's circle.<sup>37</sup> Most importantly, however, if Syed Ahmad Khan's "greatest life work" was his insistence that his community must learn modern scientific methods,<sup>38</sup> then Zaka Ullah was indeed an important and typical disciple, for he devoted nearly fifty years of his life to one literary pursuit, the preparation of science text books in Urdu. Andrews recorded that "his were the books that were most widely read as text books in schools", and that he thus "exercised an extraordinarily powerful influence in Urdu writing at a most critical time of transition".<sup>39</sup>

Zaka Ullah was, nevertheless, in one respect, an independent reformer, that is, in his attitude to Hindu-Muslim relations. The usual line of the Aligarh School, following Syed Ahmad Khan's opposition to any sort of political alliance with the Hindus, was, by the turn of the century, to look upon the Muslim community as a separate entity: thus the first foundation of Muslim nationalism was laid in India.<sup>40</sup> At the same time, British policy during Andrews' missionary decade was designed to accentuate "the antagonism of...Hindus and Mohammedans".<sup>41</sup> Zaka Ullah, however, through an early influence during his student days, was consistently opposed to any policy of Muhammadan isolation.<sup>42</sup> He "held firmly the view that harmony and reconciliation were always possible".<sup>43</sup> This attitude was reciprocated among Delhi Hindus, and Andrews even heard of one Hindu household where "every evening, when they lighted the lamps as an act of worship in their ancestral home, they included the name of....Zaka Ullah, in the prayer that is repeated at that time".<sup>44</sup> Andrews was clearly much attracted by this side of his old friend, for it chimed in with his own vision of "India's greater unity", and he went so far as to say, on Zaka Ullah's death, that he chiefly associated his memory with Christ's beatitude on the peacemakers.<sup>45</sup>

In 1907, Andrews had noted that there was in India "an entirely new development in the faith of the Prophet, which eagerly embraces modern science and modern social ideals, and aims at the highest Western culture, combined with a simplified creed and doctrine"<sup>46</sup> This last, in Zaka Ullah's case, was accompanied by an abandonment for the greater part of his life of many of the outward observances of his religion, though he remained in many respects a conservative figure, indeed, "outwardly the most conservative man in Delhi"<sup>47</sup> His position earned Zaka Ullah, Andrews says, the reputation in Delhi of being a "free-thinker". The latter seized upon this term of disparagement, and made of it a virtue, and in the process, gives us an extremely illuminating religious portrait of Zaka Ullah.

If the phrase "free-thinker" means that he thought freely and sincerely and with an open-mind about Religion, and regarded the spirit of his Islamic faith to be more important than the letter, then the phrase is nobly true concerning Zaka Ullah, and he well deserves the title. For it would have been hard to find a man more free from formalism and bigotry, more open-minded and tolerant....He venerated, indeed, and openly respected those, like his father and grandfather, with whom the formal side of religion was a living reality, which clearly helped to sustain the spiritual life...With his own hard-earned money he sent his parents to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, prescribed by Islam in its formal code, and he rejoiced in their devotion...But his own nature, in this respect, was different. He lived a life of simplicity and comparative poverty, with the consciousness of God's presence ever about him; and he left off during the greater part of his life many of the outward observances which were connected with his Islamic faith. Yet never by any word that passed from his lips in my presence (and we talked freely and intimately about these very things) did I gather that he

regarded himself as anything else than a true Muslim.<sup>48</sup> Andrews' estimate, therefore, was that his life "was all of one piece", and that, despite his "changed...mind", he had "kept his own soul".<sup>49</sup> In this, he represented in typical form what has been called "the working faith of modern India,...the solution of synthesis".<sup>50</sup> This Andrews recognised, claiming that he deserved a place among the great Indians of the nineteenth century as "a singular and beautiful example of the combination of the past and the present, of the East and West", and also, for this reason, in Andrews' judgement, as "a true prophet of the future".<sup>51</sup>

Before Zaka Ullah's death in November 1910, Andrews had already made some literary reference to him, both in North India and in a rather slight article in Student Movement, in which he wrote appreciatively of Islam as he had learned of it from Zaka Ullah, and called for "a Living Church, filled with the Holy Spirit of Love" as the only appropriate Christian response to the continuing vitality of Islam.<sup>52</sup> Within the months following his death, he wrote a slight tribute for the Tribune, and, for the Modern Review a much more substantial evaluation of the importance of his educational work for the renaissance of Islam.<sup>53</sup> More importantly, however, he responded to a wish that Zaka Ullah had himself expressed, that Andrews should write a memoir based on their conversations over the years, and thus publicise views which Zaka Ullah was convinced remained valid. For this, Andrews gathered information over the next two years, although it was not until the 1920's that this found final form, in a series of articles on "Old Delhi" in the Modern Review, and as the book Zaka Ullah of Delhi.<sup>54</sup> This last has proved a useful source for students of pre-Mutiny Delhi and its renaissance.<sup>55</sup> More importantly for us, it reflects the scope and nature of Andrews' first sustained approach to men of other faiths, and, in the Introductory Memoir by Nazir Ahmad, as we shall see, carries a valuable external

testimony to its significance.

On two occasions during these years, Andrews' concern and affection for the Indian Muslim community took a more active form. The first was relatively slight, when, early in 1907, he accompanied Zaka Ullah and Nazir Ahmad to Aligarh, at their request, to help in the resolution of a conflict between the students and the European Principal of the M.A.O. College.<sup>56</sup> The other, though a trivial incident in itself, involving a dispute between the Muslim community and the imperial authorities with regard to a road-building scheme which threatened a building related to the Machhli Bazar Mosque in Cawnpore, came to assume, in 1913, in the Viceroy's judgement, "an Imperial rather than a provincial aspect",<sup>57</sup> and was, in fact, the first Muslim issue in India with an avowedly nationalist significance.<sup>58</sup> Andrews' part in this was to represent to Sir John Meston, Lt. Governor of the United Provinces, the views of 'moderate' Muslims, as he learned of these in particular from a new friend, Sir Ali Imam, the Law Member of the Viceroy's council.<sup>59</sup> More 'extreme' elements in the Muslim community expressed something of the new Pan-Islamic sentiment, and a growing disaffection with British rule. Andrews was in touch with them also.<sup>60</sup> However, he clearly took the older, 'moderate' Aligarh line, for he proposed that the Government should receive sympathetically a deputation of "thinking Mohamedans", and so strengthen "their power and willingness to work with" the Government;<sup>61</sup> this would be a proper response to the "incredible amount of genuine religious feeling, widespread and deep", which had been aroused. It would also, as Meston interpreted the proposals, isolate the 'extremists'.<sup>62</sup> Andrews' intervention, as he himself recognised a few days later, "did very little good",<sup>63</sup> and it took a personal visit of the Viceroy to Cawnpore to effect the necessary compromise. Meston's comment, however, that Andrews was "such a good fellow", and so sincerely anxious that justice and righteousness should prevail that the utmost respect had to be paid to his suggestions, indicates with what

earnestness Andrews was prepared to promote the interests, as he saw them, of a religious community other than his own.<sup>64</sup>

These interesting forays into public affairs serve to illustrate the most striking feature of Andrews' encounter with Islam during his missionary decade, that is, his desire to work out personally the meaning of membership of "a living Church filled with the Holy Spirit of Love", which he had claimed was the only appropriate Christian response to Islam. In a sense, the ground for such an approach was already prepared in the Delhi Mission. Although the older approach through formal, public disputations, still continued,<sup>65</sup> and although elements in contemporary Indian Islam could still speak of the Church's "implacable hatred towards Islam",<sup>66</sup> Lefroy had already dispensed with what he called "the old, hard, knock-you-down-with-a-brick style of controversy", and developed "a better and more Christian type", which he saw, not as the confrontation of an enemy, but the winning of "the disguised friend".<sup>67</sup> This was an approach built on a theory of fulfilment, and it acknowledged that Islam had a "most definite and valuable" contribution to make to the life of the Church.<sup>68</sup>

What Andrews was to do in relation to his old Delhi friends, was to move the Christian-Muslim encounter onto a quite new plane, and the testimony to this and its importance we find in the observations of Nazir Ahmad.

We, Musalmans, have been accustomed from our childhood to read in our sacred books the different accounts of the friendly relations between the early followers of Islam and their Christian neighbours, especially in the neighbouring kingdom of Abyssinia. Now, lately, we have seen with our own eyes, in the city of Delhi, a living example of the same kind of cordiality existing between Musalman and Christian. For the friendship between Munshi Zaka Ullah and....

Mr Andrews, is of this character.

Neither of them had any worldly object to pursue in cementing their devoted friendship. Their love for each other was pure and disinterested. Both of them had penetrated deep down into the inner fundamental truth of religion itself, apart from creeds and dogmas. Their mutual affection, which was so profound and sincere, was really love for the sake of God. It did not depend on man..... If Musalmans and Christians in India could learn to love one another as these two friends have already done, then the time would soon arrive when the followers of both religions would begin to chant the following lines of the poet,

I should become one with you,

And you would become one with me:

I should be the body,

And you would be the soul.

Then no one would be able to say

That I am different from you,

Or that you are different from me.<sup>69</sup>

If this was a fulfilment of Syed Ahmad Khan's "principle of friendliness",<sup>70</sup> it also represented a new discovery for Andrews, a confirmation in experience of what he was saying about the work of Christ the Eternal Word. Later he was to write of how Zaka Ullah had shown him, by the beauty of his life, "what Christ's own character must have been like in its meekness and humility".<sup>71</sup> Even at the time, some four months after Zaka Ullah's death, there were already intimations of this later conviction, when he wrote,

As I recall his pure and beautiful character, so simple, so transparent, so gentle, another beautitude comes before me, the most sacred of all, - 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God'.<sup>72</sup>

Andrews and Nazir Ahmad were both equally clear that there was never any



question of Zaka Ullah changing his religion and becoming a Christian.<sup>73</sup> This did not mean that Andrews abandoned any idea of proclamation. "We need to tell", he insisted, "with the passion and fire of Christian love, our Beautiful Names of God". This was to be done, however, only in a context such as that which had been established and shown to be possible in this case, a relationship of friendship and mutual acceptance. Zaka Ullah's own words describe the terms of mission to men of other faiths, as Andrews was beginning to identify them.

"What is the use", my old Musalman friend once said to me, "what is the use of argument and controversy? Let us speak together of the Attributes of God. Tell me your 'Beautiful Names' of God and I will tell you mine".<sup>74</sup>

### 3. "The Divine Preceptor"

Of the movements favouring vigorous reform within Hinduism, undoubtedly the most influential in the nineteenth century was the Brahmo Samaj, centred on Bengal, its founder, Ram Mohan Roy being himself "the pioneer of all living advance, religious, social and educational, in the Hindu community during the century"<sup>1</sup>. Although by the beginning of the twentieth century, the Brahmo Samaj was, like the other more radical reforming movements which demanded complete separation from caste, either stationary or declining, it nevertheless still attracted in Andrews' judgement, "some of the choicest souls in all India", men who were doing "the noblest constructive work"<sup>2</sup>.

It was within this community that Andrews entered into his second, and profoundly influential friendship with a man of another faith.

Visiting Bengal only briefly and infrequently, in the earlier years of the decade, Andrews had not at first been much aware of the significance of the Brahmo Samaj<sup>3</sup>. His first contacts of any note were through the

Bengali dispersion in the Punjab : thus, in 1909, he lectured in the Brahma Mandir in Lahore<sup>4</sup>; he must also have been learning something of the movement through his Bengali friends in the province<sup>5</sup>. His evaluation of the movement during these middle years was, unlike that of a number of earlier Christian observers, very positive<sup>6</sup>. He saw it as deriving from the influence of the Christian missionary enterprise, as well as from an ancient Indian theistic tradition, and commended it to his readership in Britain for the help that it rendered to "the spread of Christian ideas"<sup>7</sup>. At the same time, he claimed that no religious body in India represented "a nobler zeal for social reform and moral and spiritual progress"<sup>8</sup>.

No single individual at this time was more representative of the Brahma Samaj than Rabindranath Tagore, whose father had succeeded Ram Mohan Roy as leader of the movement and done so much to consolidate its force as a movement for reform of religion and society. Some ten years older than Andrews, Tagore was, by the first decade of the twentieth century, an established Bengali poet and dramatist, indeed, "the acknowledged king of Bengali literature"<sup>9</sup>. He was also an educationalist, a committed supporter of the national movement and an energetic leader in the Brahma Samaj<sup>10</sup>.

We have already found Andrews quoting with approval Tagore's heterodox views on caste. Before meeting him, he went so far as to call him "perhaps the greatest living Indian thinker"<sup>11</sup>. He also noted the impact of Tagore's poetry and songs, and read what few translations were then available<sup>12</sup>. On this basis, he hailed him in some verses early in 1912 as "lord of a new world of song", sent to give his nation birth<sup>13</sup>. It was only in the month of the publication of these verses of Andrews' that Tagore began the translations which were to make up the collection known as Gitanjali, "Song Offerings". These were to lead to his 'discovery'

in the West and to his winning the Nobel Prize for Literature. It was also at the point of Tagore's discovery in the West that Andrews first met him.

Tagore visited England in the second half of 1912. He took with him, adding to them on the voyage, translations of some of the poems which he had written originally between 1900 and 1910, an intensely religious phase of his life.<sup>14</sup> Although he told his niece after the publication of these in November 1912 under the title Gitanjali, that writing in English seemed a delusion to him, they were immediately taken up in London, initially by the painter, William Rothenstein, and W.B. Yeats, and then by "all the literary lions of the day".<sup>15</sup> Andrews, visiting England in the summer of the same year, partly to see his parents, partly on college business with Rudra, met Tagore at Rothenstein's when Yeats first read the poems to the assembled guests.

This meeting was to mark the beginning of a lifelong relationship, and one which was soon to affect very markedly the course of Andrews' life.<sup>16</sup> His account of the evening and of some of his subsequent meetings with Tagore, he detailed in two articles sent back to the Modern Review in India, "An Evening with Rabindra" and "With Rabindra in England".<sup>17</sup> These reflect, as do even more his many letters to Tagore from this time onwards, in their mixture of enthusiasm and an almost cloying emotion, both the depth and the unsatisfactoriness of this relationship.<sup>18</sup> On Tagore's side, he clearly already knew of Andrews, no doubt from the unique place which he had secured in the nationalist press, and he respected what he knew.<sup>19</sup> To this was soon added a reciprocated affection, so that a little over a year later he was able to say, in phrases which Andrews himself might have used, that the latter was more than a brother to him, and his love one of the most precious gifts that had fallen to his share in this world.<sup>20</sup> It was a friendship that was to last, with its own particular vicissitudes,

throughout the remainder of Andrews' life.<sup>21</sup>

Andrews saw as much as possible of Tagore during the last two months of his leave, visiting him often in London and taking him for a holiday in the Staffordshire countryside. During these two months, he read the proofs of Gitanjali, learned a great deal about the Bengal renaissance in general and Tagore in particular, and began to form a determination to visit his school at Santiniketan as soon as possible after his return to India. Each of these had its consequences.

One consequence was that to a large extent he took over Tagore's business and literary affairs with his publisher in the West, Macmillan, a task which he continued to perform for many years.<sup>22</sup> While he probably did this very badly, there are indications that Tagore came to rely on Andrews' judgement with regard to his writings in English.<sup>23</sup> Certainly, however, Andrews' interest in Tagore's literary work provided a starting point for their relationship.

During their conversations at this time, Tagore told Andrews much about his own life, and about the history of the literature of Bengal.<sup>24</sup> The latter made remarkable use of this information. There was an article for readers in Britain, in the Contemporary Review,<sup>25</sup> but more particularly a lecture, delivered over the next two years on various interesting occasions, in a deliberate attempt to emphasise contemporary Indian cultural achievement and so to challenge attitudes of racial contempt. First, and perhaps most remarkably, in May 1913 he delivered it at the Viceregal Lodge at Simla before 100 invited guests, the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, presiding.<sup>26</sup> His aim was to improve understanding between "poor, sun-dried, fossilised Anglo-India" and the Indian people by evoking respect and understanding for Tagore's achievement.<sup>27</sup> Though the whole event seemed to him, he told Tagore, "strangely unreal",<sup>28</sup> he was heard with "rapt

attention"<sup>29</sup> by what the Anglo-Indian Pioneer called "a large and most interested audience"<sup>30</sup>. A Bengali commentator concluded that the lecture would "rehabilitate the Bengalis in the opinion of the rulers of the land"<sup>31</sup>. He went on, characteristically, to deliver the lecture elsewhere in Simla, in the Arya Samaj Mandir, at the Bengali Kari-bari Club, and at the Brahma Mandir.<sup>32</sup> The most interesting subsequent presentation of it, however, was in South Africa some months later, where he had gone to support Indian interests. There he gave the lecture in the City Hall in Cape Town, "before the Members of the Parliament" and others.<sup>33</sup> The effect was such that the chairman of the meeting, Lord Gladstone, concluded that it would "do much to induce a feeling which would help to a solution of the troubles which had stood in the way of good relations between India and South Africa".<sup>34</sup>

Andrews was greatly attracted by all that he heard from Tagore about his school at Santiniketan. Located at the ashram founded there by his father, Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, it seemed to represent, as indeed was its aim, the best in the spirit behind the movement for 'National Education' as this had been propounded in recent years, particularly in Bengal.<sup>35</sup> It was also a place "where music and song.... (had) been made, as in Plato's 'Republic', the very warp and woof of the texture of education".<sup>36</sup> A new English friend, W.W. Pearson, had sailed back to India with Andrews, to take up private tuition work in Delhi.<sup>37</sup> Caught up with the same enthusiasm, Pearson paid an immediate visit to the school, and on his return to Delhi helped to confirm Andrews' determination to visit Santiniketan.<sup>38</sup> This was to play a considerable part in determining a new direction in the outward circumstances of Andrews' life. What concerns us at this point, however, is that Tagore's school struck him as a successful synthesis of the Hindu educational tradition and the requirements of an emerging nation in the modern world, or, as he

put it a couple of years later, a successful attempt "to get behind that vandal and iconoclast, Macaulay, and be truly conservative (while progressing) in this conservative country".<sup>39</sup>

Most important of all, however, was Andrews' discovery of Tagore himself as a religious man, his understanding of Tagore's position, and his attitude to him. The basis of all this lay in their friendship. For both of them, this had, from the earliest days, a religious significance. Thus, Tagore told Andrews that he needed his friendship, but he also explained that he saw this as a religious "realization in love" which contrasted with the sort of inter-religious encounter that was no more than "the triumph of dogma or sect".<sup>40</sup> In reply, Andrews claimed that the "harmony" that they had discovered in the matter of religious faith was "the deepest root" of friendship, though he went further to suggest that "the love of friendship" was itself the path along which he had "found the way to God".<sup>41</sup>

What was the basis of this harmony? Andrews admitted that the deepest joy of his friendship with Tagore derived from the latter's "appreciation of the Christian spirit in its purest form", and its profound influence on his work, though he was concerned to acknowledge that the source of Tagore's appreciation of Christianity lay in his "deep study of the Upanishads, in the Buddhist ideal, in the Vaishnava Hymns, and the sayings of Kabir". Even a poem so "wholly Christian in spirit" as the well known Gitanjali 10, which sees God especially present "among the poorest, the lowliest, and the lost", could be paralleled, "symbolically expressed", in "a hundred passages in the early Vaishnava hymns".<sup>42</sup> In other words, the highest values which he knew as a Christian, he identified and acknowledged as present within Tagore's Hinduism itself. He deprecated the tendency of some Christian commentators like Evelyn Underhill, who were "obsessed by the arrogant thought" that everything in Hinduism which

had a Christian ring about it had been derived from the Syrian or Nestorian Church, and therefore was "non-Hindu".<sup>43</sup> In the same way, he was ready to acknowledge certain central features of Tagore's religious outlook, his "realization of the spiritual in and through the material", for example, and his "leading idea of the Jivan-Devata", for which he suggested no Christian equivalents, as "the glory and the wonder of Rabindranath", "great and noble conceptions".<sup>44</sup>

Other particular features of Tagore's religion were very significant for Andrews. He saw, for example, his "love of nature...glorious optimism...grasp of the fulness of life"<sup>45</sup> as an important corrective to "popular Hinduism", with its stress on renunciation.<sup>46</sup> We may recall here Andrews' reservations about what he regarded as the over-emphasis on asceticism in the Brotherhood of the Imitation as unwisely reinforcing this stress. Here, in Tagore, was a Hinduism which, however alien to contemporary Hindu ideals, was "not foreign to...ancient Hindu thought", and was a "true pathway to salvation", in harmony with the Christian affirmation of the goodness of creation.<sup>47</sup> Indeed, it sent Andrews back to read "over and over again" Christ's life in the light of his new vision from Tagore's eyes, and to find there "something really optimistic, not pessimistic", - "His joy in little children, in married life, in home friendship, in the beauty of the world of birds and flowers and trees", all of which made "joy, pure innocent joy, the end not suffering".<sup>48</sup>

Tagore had not, however, stopped at that point. Andrews pointed out that the poet had "passed on from the period of sheer unbounded delight in nature and physical beauty, to enter into the mystery of the sorrow and suffering of the world".<sup>49</sup> A letter of Andrews' at this time indicates that Tagore had gone into this question with some care, writing to him "so fully about suffering in God", in a way which made him feel that he had himself held "the old Christian beliefs...far too crudely".<sup>50</sup>

There was, then a clear sense that his own faith was enriched in this encounter with a man of another faith. There were a number of other aspects to this. In the first place, there was a very personal element, whereby Andrews was soon able to ask Tagore to pray for him, and to ask for his "spiritual help and counsel".<sup>51</sup> By the end of 1913, he was able to say that through his love for Tagore he had found "a new confidence and a new assurance".<sup>52</sup> Through sitting at his feet, he was confident that increasingly he would see the truth and the truth would make him free.<sup>53</sup>

In addition, he shared, in a measure, in the religious practices of his friend.<sup>54</sup> After his first visit to Santiniketan, he referred to "our prayers in the Mandir",<sup>55</sup> and he continued, in spirit, in Delhi, to join with the members of the ashram in their prayers so that he felt that it had all become a part of his inner life, the Ashram with its Mandir "a sanctuary and a shrine" to him.<sup>56</sup> More surprisingly, on one occasion, we find him using an explicitly Hindu category, when, shortly after his mother's death he wrote that he found her "presence" in the Ashram, and he exclaimed to Tagore, "The goodness of the Shivam is unutterable, and ever meets us in the hour of our deepest need".<sup>57</sup> Whatever was in Andrews' mind at this point, and he gives no indication, he had written to Tagore a few months previously that through his love for him, he had "entered into the spiritual heritage of India herself, and been made one with her spiritual experience and felt its depth and power".<sup>58</sup>

The third aspect, was, as we have seen, that he claimed that he had been granted a new vision of Christ from Tagore's eyes. Much of what he wrote to Tagore at this time, of the "Universal Compassion" and the "Universal Charity" of Christ, which was so contradicted by "the old conventional Christianity" of the "dominant races and rulers", was in essence very similar to what he had been saying for some years.<sup>59</sup> What was



new was his conviction that this "Christ of the Gospels" stood in "a spiritual relationship" with what he called "the Hindu-Buddhist ideal".<sup>60</sup> He expressed this publicly at the time in his lecture at Viceregal Lodge, in which he concluded,

May it not come to pass that, in the higher ranges of ancient Hindu thought on the one hand, and in the higher ranges of primitive Christianity on the other, there will be found a great mountain chain which, when fully explored, will unite the East and the West together, and offer at length an unbroken highway for the great onward march whereby humanity shall reach those shining tablelands "to which our God Himself is Moon and Sun".<sup>61</sup>

There is an extravagance in such speculations, and even more, as Andrews himself later acknowledged, in those in his private letters of early 1914, on the possible historical links between Jesus and "the Hindu-Buddhist stream".<sup>62</sup> They were certainly no more substantially based than the position which he criticised in Underhill.<sup>63</sup> What led him into these speculations was the profound impression made upon him by some of his new neo-Hindu friends, among them Tagore himself. Tagore was a Hindu, drawing his inspiration, as Andrews acknowledged and insisted, from his own Hindu heritage.<sup>64</sup> In spite of this, he was capable of evoking from Andrews a most remarkable affirmation.

The strongest belief I have in the world is that which you have put into poetry for all time in 10 and 11 of Gitanjali.<sup>65</sup>

He refused to explain this in terms that he had found adequate only months previously.<sup>66</sup>

I had been obsessed by a piece of theological jugglery (I can call it now by no other name) which made out that Christ, as the Logos, was the Logos of the Buddha, etc. But my conscience, as well as my reason, has stood up in revolt at last against such shuffling. It is disingenuous; it isn't honest. It tames Jesus into an artificial, theological figure, not the true Son of Man. As the latter I can

worship him, not as the former.<sup>67</sup>

The religious difficulties of Andrews' middle years in India are beginning to be evident here. The strong testimony about Christ as "the true Son of Man" - a phrase which indicated for him, as we have seen, the universal significance of the Incarnation<sup>68</sup> - nevertheless requires to be noted. It finds a striking echo in Tagore's lines in Gitanjali 11.

Our master himself has joyfully taken upon him the bonds of creation; he is bound with us all for ever.<sup>69</sup>

It was echoes of this sort which enabled Andrews to speak of the harmony which the two friends had discovered in regard to their religious faith.

By any estimate, Tagore is a major figure in modern Hinduism. In calling him "the great sentinel"<sup>70</sup> Gandhi was recognising the unique role he earned as the guardian of the moral integrity of the national movement. Gandhi also called him "Gurudev", however, the divine preceptor, for the specific values which he maintained were significant beyond the questions raised by that movement, and were indeed pertinent to "the greatest of all the problems in India.... the cultural problem, the great quo vadis? of the Indian spirit".<sup>71</sup> His solution, which has been called, like that of Zaka Ullah, the solution of "synthesis",<sup>72</sup> took an extremely subtle form. If it is true that "he more than anyone else has captured and expressed in words that even Western man can understand, if he will, the subtle flavour that pervades the whole majestic fabric of Hinduism",<sup>73</sup> he nevertheless did not see himself as an orthodox Hindu, and his Neo-Hinduism in fact took the form of a most "radical challenge to the traditional spirituality" through its support for "personal values".<sup>74</sup> It was this that Andrews recognised and hailed, his own expansive and expanding understanding of the Incarnation finding fresh vindication precisely in that which distinguished the religion of Tagore.

#### 4. "In the Heart of the Universal Mother"

As the Brahma Samaj was essentially a Bengali movement, so the Arya Samaj belonged in particular to the Punjab. Both movements represented responses within the Hindu Community to the Western, and more specifically Christian presence in India, so that, inevitably, they had much in common - their organizational structure and approach to worship, their monotheism and opposition to caste. At the same time, there were distinct differences. The overt and extreme syncretism of the former, exemplified in its earliest phase in Ram Mohun Roy's The Precepts of Jesus, severely restricted its appeal. The latter, with its insistence on the authority of Hindu scriptures - however much these might be manipulated to legitimize radical religious and social reform, as in Dayananda's Satyarth Prakash (1875) - maintained a much more conservative appearance than its Bengali counterpart, and had a much more extensive appeal.

From the founding of a branch at Lahore in 1877, the Arya Samaj grew dramatically in numbers, activity and influence, so that by the census of 1911, there were some quarter of a million members, making it quite the largest and most dynamic movement within the Hindu community in India in this period.<sup>1</sup> A number of factors, over and above its conservative appearance, account for this remarkably impressive development, but for us the most important is the challenge represented by the nexus of imperialism and Christianity to which it was a response. This challenge was felt in the Punjab particularly strongly, where the harsh tradition of imperial administration was accompanied by a remarkable expansion of Christianity, inescapably evident both on the ground and in the figures published in the decennial census.<sup>2</sup>

If the Arya Samaj numbers were a response, so was its style. Just as Dayananda's "aggressive and uncompromising...faith fitted the mid-Victorian atmosphere of dogmatic Christianity and imperial arrogance"<sup>3</sup>

so the Samaj's reputation and practice as militantly anti-Christian had its origins in that same nexus, and was one of its most striking features at this period. Western and Christian religious and social values were undoubtedly assimilated,<sup>4</sup> but invariably presented as "Vedic" in contradistinction from a demonic Christianity.<sup>5</sup>

The normal view of the Arya Samaj among missionaries at this time appears to have been unremittingly hostile, and a number of them specialized in anti-Arya literature, much of it characterized by aggressiveness and contempt.<sup>6</sup> From the beginning, the response within the Delhi Mission was more ambivalent. The Samaj had established itself in Delhi during the 1880's,<sup>7</sup> and from this time it was felt that it could not be ignored as it attracted numbers of St. Stephen's students.<sup>8</sup> Curiously, it was an S.P.G. missionary associated with the Delhi mission during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, R.T. Williams, who was the "sharpest and most bitter"<sup>9</sup> of all the Samaj's missionary antagonists.<sup>10</sup> Others, however, - Bickersteth, Allnutt, Lefroy and Rudra - recognised and acknowledged some of the reformed and progressive features of the movement,<sup>11</sup> though no one before Andrews could be said to have taken to heart the call in the Delhi Mission News to adopt the approach of "the great Alexandrian teachers of the Early Church" in dealing with the Arya Samaj,<sup>12</sup> unless this was true in a modest way of a young member of the College staff, Colin Sharp, who took a party of students to visit one of the Samaj's institutions, the Gurukula at Hardwar, in 1910.<sup>13</sup>

Perhaps it was Sharp's visit that activated Andrews' interest. Certainly it was at the Gurukula that he was to take the Christian encounter with the Arya Samaj to new, and probably still, unique levels of intimacy and reciprocity. He had, of course, been aware of the Samaj from the first, writing an account of his meeting with "a new Arya convert" on a railway journey during his first year in India,<sup>14</sup> and was, during

these years, a regular reader of a paper, the Aryan, and also saw the Samaj's journal, the Vedic Magazine.<sup>15</sup> It also has to be noted that the Samaj made its presence felt in Delhi with fresh vigour in the early years of the century, Allnutt reporting, for example, that the movement was "'booming' largely" in the city in 1909.<sup>16</sup> Most of Andrews' comments during the middle years were sympathetic. He was critical of the intellectual basis of the Arya Samaj's apologetic : he several times repeated that it could not possibly stand "the light of modern criticism and historical research",<sup>17</sup> but even on this point, he believed that Dayanand was right on the main issue for which he contended, because "the Vedic religion, though it might be very far from all that he described, was infinitely purer and nobler than popular Hinduism".<sup>18</sup> He had even fewer reservations about the Samaj's practical aims and achievements in the fields of religious and social reform, and education, seeing these as clearing the ground for a great moral and religious advance.<sup>19</sup> This he regarded as far more significant from a Christian point of view than the "bitterly hostile" anti-Christian propaganda, because it indicated a possible convergence.

The more the Samaj proceeds on modern lines and meets with modern social and educational difficulties, the more nearly will it approach that Faith which has shaped those lines of progress.<sup>20</sup>

All this was before he had made any significant personal contact with the Samaj. This, when it was to come, was within the more militant wing of the movement, which had developed from the late 1880's in response to very specific Christian challenges.<sup>21</sup> In contradistinction from the moderate wing, which was more rational and secular in its ideals, the militant wing, deeply committed to attacking caste and ritual, saw the movement primarily in religious terms and pioneered such developments as preaching missions, the publication of tracts, and the practice of shuddhi,

whereby Muslims and Christians were re-converted and the depressed classes found a place within the radically reformed Hindu community which the militant Aryas sought to create. The moderates retained control of the Samaj's first major higher educational institution, the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore, affiliated to the University of Lahore, while militant hopes came to be focussed in the Gurukula at Hardwar, opened in 1902, and teaching English and Science only as secondary and subordinate to Sanskrit and Hindi, and "Vedic truth", its promoters despising the current University system as incompatible with "sound scholarship in Vedic learning".<sup>22</sup> The Gurukula established itself rapidly, so that the Anniversary Celebrations in 1908 attracted 60 to 70,000 visitors,<sup>23</sup> and the following year the Tribune could claim that "the eyes of the whole country" were fixed upon it.<sup>24</sup> By 1913, it had 300 Brahmacharis, or students.<sup>25</sup> Andrews wrote appreciatively of the Gurukula on the basis of what he heard about it, of its "high religious ideal of education".<sup>26</sup>

The dominant figure in the militant wing was Munshi Ram (1857-1926), a convert of Dayananda, and head of the Gurukula from its inception.<sup>27</sup> It is not clear when Andrews first met him, but it was in January 1913 that he was able to pay a short visit to the Gurukula.<sup>28</sup> There ensued further visits.<sup>29</sup> There also ensued a variety of involvements for Andrews with the Arya Samaj, and, above all, a profound friendship between himself and this leader of militant Aryanism, reflected most vividly in a series of letters written between them in that first year of their friendship.<sup>30</sup>

The various aspects of Andrews' involvement with the Arya Samaj are in themselves very interesting, but must be touched on only briefly here. To start with, Andrews, as both a teacher and a supporter of the movement for National Education (and already looking forward to visiting Tagore's school at Santiniketan), was interested in the Gurukula as "the

only Institution in India", as Munshi Ram claimed, "where an earnest effort is being made to....impart education on...truly Dharmic lines"<sup>31</sup>. Looking at the Gurukula's work in detail, as he did at Munshi Ram's request,<sup>32</sup> he found it possible to write with unqualified enthusiasm about the emphasis on physical health,<sup>33</sup> on the practice of brahmacharya, or "chastity", as he translates it, on the use of the vernacular, on the emphasis on "Vedic Literature" and Sanskrit. His only substantial criticism was regarding the claim that the actual "applications of modern knowledge may be found in Vedic literature instead of the principles which underlie modern knowledge". If at this point, he found "a final divergence of opinion" with his new Arya friends, his acknowledgement of what he calls "the fresh and vital...principles of the great Vedic past" - though he nowhere defines these - helped to soften his criticism and ensure that the divergence did not impair friendship, "or cause a loss of spiritual sympathy" between them.<sup>34</sup> The important thing was that the Arya Samaj appeared to have created in the Gurukula an institution in which "the impulse from the West" could be assimilated "in harmony with the genius of the country, not against it". The Gurukula, thus, disclosed, in the terminology of Andrews' increasingly expansive theology, "the hand of the great Artificer, making all things new"<sup>35</sup>. He was not the first missionary to make a positive evaluation of this institution - his friend, W.E.S.Holland, after visiting the Gurukula 6 years previously, concluded that the Arya Samaj was "a schoolmaster to bring this people to Christ",<sup>36</sup> but no one else followed through the implications of such a conclusion as Andrews was to do.

One of the barriers that prevented missionaries and others from a sympathetic view of the Arya Samaj was the reputation that it had acquired of being actively seditious, the Gurukula producing, as one admirer sarcastically observed, "yellow-robed sedition-mongers.... available to roam over the country, nominally as Samaj propagandists"<sup>37</sup>.

Munshi Ram was particularly energetic in opposing Arya involvement in nationalist politics.<sup>38</sup> He blamed the reputation for sedition on missionary propaganda.<sup>39</sup> Andrews found himself caught up in this aspect of things in several ways. Thus, in 1913, at the request of Munshi Ram and his colleagues,<sup>40</sup> he wrote to the Anglo-Indian newspaper, the Pioneer, to repudiate as an "utterly false representation", the accusations and implications of a newly-published novel, Siri Ram, Revolutionist, that the Gurukula was harbouring "budding anarchists".<sup>41</sup> Andrews' spirited defence of the Samaj not only elicited an apology from the author, but also admiration from the nationalist press for the action of this "high-souled" Englishman, and, most notably, votes of thanks from branches of the Arya Samaj at Ambala, Gurdaspur, Sargodha and Delhi.<sup>42</sup>

More remarkable was what he made of the relationship which he had established with the Viceroy and Lady Hardinge following the assassination attempt of December 1912. Throughout 1913, he exploited the relationship to the full to promote the cause of the Arya Samaj and the Gurukula with the imperial authorities. This cause he understood to be the dissociation of the Samaj from extremist nationalism in the mind of the authorities, and the official recognition of the movement as essentially a religious one which was at the same time 'loyal'. To this end, he involved Munshi Ram as fully as he could in the organization of Lady Hardinge's "Children's Day"; this was an 'all-India' event which Andrews helped to organize as a thanksgiving for the Viceroy's survival of the attempt upon his life.<sup>43</sup> Andrews subsequently told the Viceroy that Munshi Ram had called it "the best day in India since the King's visit".<sup>44</sup> Similarly, he secured 300 pictures of the Viceroy and Lady Hardinge "specially for the Gurukula Brahmacharis", and arranged a meeting between Munshi Ram and the Viceroy.<sup>45</sup>

How are we to evaluate these moves? The liberal Lt. Governor of



the United Provinces, Sir John Meston,<sup>46</sup> identifying "the growing importance of the Arya Samaj as a moral force", recommended consulting it whenever possible so as to "win over the more moderate elements to our side".<sup>47</sup> Munshi Ram himself seems to have been happy to go along with a rapprochement of this sort, and made his own gesture of loyalty by turning in to the imperial authorities several extremist leaflets by the Delhi conspirators that he had received, calling them "un-Aryan".<sup>48</sup> Andrews' own position would appear to have been that he regarded collaboration between the Arya Samaj and the government as serving Indian interests. To secure the sympathy of the Viceroy, "our noble raj-rishi", and so to frustrate "the forces of reaction" in government, which were so hostile to the Samaj, while preserving the educational independence of institutions like the Gurukula, was to promote these interests.<sup>49</sup> So it was that he saw his activities at this time as a work to which God had called him, and he felt, as he told Munshi Ram, that "the hand of the Divine Master" was in all that he was doing.<sup>50</sup> It was also "an opportunity such as never was given....(him) before of witnessing for the Motherland and helping forward the cause...of this dear country".<sup>51</sup>

That Andrews regarded himself as witnessing not only for "the Motherland", but also for Christ, becomes evident, however discreetly, in the intimacy of his friendship with Munshi Ram.<sup>52</sup> Of considerable interest in this respect is a recollection of Andrews and Munshi Ram together at the Gurukula, written by a Quaker missionary friend, J.S.Hoyland.

Munshi Ram was a magnificent figure of a man, with a thin ascetic face, and a huge hooked nose. He looked like an Afghan. Many, indeed most, of his ideas were poles asunder from those of C.F.A.

He was very emphatic, sometimes definitely dogmatic, in his statement of his views. But C.F.A. listened patiently, made no comment on what was repellent but took pains to bring out by further questioning and discussion what was of permanent value. In those conversations one could see 'that of God' in the intellectual outfit of Mahatma Munshi Ram being reached, emphasised, developed, by the quiet and humble fashion in which C.F.A., ignoring the less worthy aspects of his friend's views, asked for further information on and implied his deep interest in the more worthy parts. The two personalities acted and re-acted on each other in a remarkable way. Munshi Ram's personality was by far the more striking and in a sense 'effective'. C.F.A. was content to take a very secondary place, to sit back and listen most of the time, now and then throwing in a suggestion or asking a question which strengthened 'truth' in his friend. In this way was vindicated and established, not Indian 'truth', or British 'truth': not Hindu 'truth' or dogmatically Christian 'truth', but a new universal Truth.<sup>53</sup>

The basis for this, and for all that was to follow, was plainly, it is important to say, friendship. What Rudra called "this meeting of truly kindred spirits" was, for Munshi Ram and Andrews a joining of hearts together, comparable with the relationships with Rudra and Tagore, but more intimate, he felt, than with the latter at least.<sup>54</sup> It involved, as with Tagore, a complete openness about his increasing uneasiness with his missionary role.<sup>55</sup> In connection with this, there were requests for Munshi Ram's prayers and "spiritual advice".<sup>56</sup> Human affection, of which there is a great deal, is almost invariably expressed in the correspondence in close association with expressions of a sense of religious communion. Thus, the more "close and human" the relationship, so "perhaps...the.... more divine".<sup>57</sup> Andrews goes so far as to suggest that this experience

represents for him the fulfilment of the process begun at his conversion in 1890, "a crown and completion of my heart's longing,....the yearning for the nearer presence of God".

I found that fulfilled during those days at the Gurukula, and it came through you, my dearest friend. God has used you and your work as His spiritual temple, and I was treading, all unworthy, in its courts.<sup>58</sup>

Dialogue at this level meant for Andrews not merely an exchange of statements, but an expectation of new things to be learned from his Hindu friend in the sphere of religious experience, and this entailed a corrective to his previously solely Christianity-centred perspective.

I had (before I came to India) a kind of sense that from Palestine (which we call the Holy Land) the light had gone forth and spread in wider and wider circles. I had left out of account (strange as it may seem to you) in my view of history the vast spiritual expanse which has been going on developing, all the while, on the other side of the world, in Asia itself. Here, on this side, I see clearly now, there was one Holy Land, one sacred soil, from which all the deepest religion sprang - the Holy Land of India. Herself. It is that which I am now as it were exploring and finding every day in its fresh beauty. It is, as it were, a fresh world to me, with beauties all its own, and I long, my dearest friend, more and more to join hands with you and walk together through it; for you who are sprung from the very soil of this sacred land itself can explain it to me and teach me more than all books, for you can give me the living spirit. That is what I shall claim from your love and I know I shall not ask it in vain.<sup>59</sup>

If this is somewhat vague, a slightly later letter indicated what Andrews hoped to gain from this encounter, that is, a corroboration of his conviction about the significance of Christ which yet found place for a proper valuation of Hindu faith, and in particular of the Vedas, so

important to the Arya Samaj.

Shall I tell you what is becoming more and more the longing of my life and the goal I am dimly striving towards? You must have guessed it already, but now I can express it more clearly...It is to relate the figure of the meek and gentle Christ, yet withal so brave and fearless and true, with the teaching of the Hindu Shastras. I do not find this picture as yet in the Vedas so clearly - you may help me there - but I do find it in the Upanishads and in all the ideal of Hindu India which flowed out of them, and out of Buddhism, and out of the character of Rama and Sita and the teaching of Krishna as revealed in the Gita. I can see how India has preserved this ideal, wonderfully preserved it for mankind; and that it can be quickened again in these new ages of the world. And in the union of spirit which is contained in this unity of teaching, East and West may become truly one.<sup>60</sup>

There are moments in this profound encounter when Andrews' enthusiasm carried him beyond orthodox Christian categories - as, for example, when he agreed with Munshi Ram that it was "indeed,...the Loving Mother Herself" who had drawn them together, and went on later to volunteer, "I.....join with you in your early morning quiet and my heart meets your heart in the Heart of the Universal Mother who has bound us Her children together in love",<sup>61</sup> - but throughout he continued to affirm the centrality of Christ for his own faith.

It is the Christ of the Gospels who draws me and fills my life and has filled it from my youth up.<sup>62</sup>

Presumably it was because his presentation of his own Christian position was always unthreatening, that he was in a position to confront and challenge the more abrasive anti-Christian polemic which was a feature of the Arya Samaj. Thus, when Ram Deva, one of Munshi Ram's assistants, published in the Vedic Magazine an attack on the Bible, Andrews,

referring to Shudhir, S.K.Rudra's son, wrote, "If I were to tell Ram Deva that such a careless, unthinking statement made by him (whom Shudhir respects and loves) might sow a poisonous seed in Shudhir's heart and destroy his fresh young faith in Christ which has made him the beautiful character he is, he would be horrified and indignantly deny any such intention".<sup>63</sup> There are several other examples of the way in which profound sympathy enabled him to introduce alternative views in ways that were obviously acceptable.<sup>64</sup>

It is unfortunate that so few of Munshi Ram's letters to Andrews have survived, but one in particular is very important in indicating the reciprocal character of the relationship.

Your letter of the 21st instant has made me to feel what I have not felt for the last 28 years. I had been an atheist of some 9 years standing when the vision came to me which poured a balm into my lacerated soul. I had laid my doubts before the great Dayananda thrice and had been silenced in discussion, but I was not convinced. And when I repeated this a third time the great Yogi said "You asked questions and I replied to them. I never had the presumption to say that I would convince you. It is He alone who can convince you of His reality". And the time came and I was not only convinced but felt the Presence and a calm which I cannot describe. And then I had to struggle and struggle in the Arya Samaj. Ah! The Divine Mother alone knows how many times this heart of mine has been hit hard during the last 28 years. But the balm has come again. As I read your account of the unsophisticated pure young heart's true conversion, all the wounds which I had received were healed at once and I again had a taste of the pure joy after 28 years. I thanked the Divine Mother for this new blessing for I felt that I had not lived in vain.

Proceeding, Munshi Ram commented on Andrews' developing disagreement

with some of his missionary colleagues, thanking the "Divine Mother" for giving Andrews "the strength to act with true Aryan (in other words Christ-like) patience".<sup>65</sup> This open, if limited acknowledgement of Christ at the heart of the Arya Samaj, is, especially in the light of the treatment of Christ in Dayananda's Satyarth Prakash, truly remarkable. It is some measure, not only of Munshi Ram's liberality, but also of the significance and effectiveness of Andrews' approach.

##### 5. "A saint of action"

If the middle years of Andrews' missionary decade were comparatively uneventful after his initial dramatic entry as a missionary into the political nation, the last twelve months found him involved in this sphere as never before, in what he later called "in certain ways the most exciting time in all my life".<sup>1</sup> In the process he established a further, extremely interesting friendship beyond the Christian fold, in the neo-Hindu community, with M.K.Gandhi.

The context of this was the struggle of the Indian community in South Africa, to which Gandhi had belonged for some 20 years. The community was made up of two elements.<sup>2</sup> There was, first, a large number of labourers who had been taken to South Africa (as to many other British colonies) under the indenture system, a form of virtual slavery operated by the British authorities to provide cheap labour for British colonial commercial enterprises.<sup>3</sup> A smaller element consisted of traders and professional people, known increasingly inappropriately as the 'free Indians'.<sup>4</sup> The lot of the former group had always been wretched, and was becoming a cause of concern both to the nationalists (a concern reflected in the columns of the Tribune<sup>4</sup>) and, partly in consequence, to the Government of India,<sup>5</sup> while deepeningly oppressive legislation against the 'free Indians' had attracted resolutions in the Indian National Congress from the early 1890's, further discriminatory legislation in 1906 and 1913

arousing much concern in India.<sup>6</sup> While economic factors were important, race hatred was "the vital driving force" behind the legislation.<sup>7</sup> As white oppression increased, and with it the South African Indian resistance, so, too, did the stature of Gandhi as leader of that resistance, and this was noted in India, not least through his enlistment of Gokhale as spokesman in India for the community's cause.<sup>8</sup> Gandhi's development of a distinctive form of organised resistance, which he called satyagraha, was followed with admiration in the nationalist press.<sup>9</sup>

Because of the association of the white element in South Africa with Christianity, the treatment of the Indian community appeared to have very serious implications for the Church's mission in India. Thus, a Hindu acquaintance of Andrews suggested that Jesus Christ himself, as an Asiatic, would have been turned away from the Transvaal by "the white Christian plutocracy".<sup>10</sup> The course of events was followed with concern in the Delhi Mission.<sup>11</sup> Lefroy spoke on the subject while visiting Britain, and wrote a very substantial article for The East and the West, "British Indians in the Transvaal : An Empire Problem", in which he traced with indignation the deepening degradation of the community at the hands of the white colonists, particularly following the incorporation of the Republic in the British Empire.<sup>12</sup> His "brave words" were noted among the Indian nationalists, and the Tribune announced that the Punjab was grateful.<sup>13</sup> Rudra made his concern public in a letter to the Times,<sup>14</sup> and Allnutt noted the "appalling effects" in India of the developments in South Africa.<sup>15</sup> From early in his missionary decade, Andrews was alive to the issue and its implications. At the meeting of the Indian National Congress that he had attended in 1906, there was a resolution about the situation in South Africa, and about indenture there and elsewhere, and a debate which must have enabled him to judge the intensity of feeling which the issue aroused;<sup>16</sup> he noted, too, how every offensive episode in South Africa was recorded in the nationalist press.<sup>17</sup> This, he claimed,

was leading the educated classes in India to conclude that "the Christian talk about the brotherhood of man is hypocrisy and cant", and was affecting every mission station in India where higher educational work was going on.<sup>18</sup>

As well as publicising such views among church people, Andrews made a number of efforts to have pressure exerted on the South African authorities. Twice, for example, he tried to do this through the Viceroy. On the first occasion, in January 1908, when indignation was running particularly high in India at developments in the Transvaal,<sup>19</sup> he wrote an open letter to Lord Minto.<sup>20</sup> He followed this with a private appeal asking him to make "a really warm and kind-hearted pronouncement of sympathy with the suffering and difficulties of the Transvaal Indians, and a very strong and almost indignant declaration that Government is not indifferent".<sup>21</sup> This intervention was welcomed by the Tribune as truly voicing the feelings of the Indian public;<sup>22</sup> it may have helped to inspire the "strong representations" which the Government of India was reported to be making later during Minto's viceroyalty.<sup>23</sup> He made a further attempt to persuade the Viceroy, in this case Lord Hardinge, in 1913, to champion the cause of Indians in the Transvaal and other colonies "directly, immediately, drastically and publicly".<sup>24</sup> When the Viceroy did speak out, in a speech in Madras in the November, Andrews' appeal had no doubt played its part, for Hardinge had told him that he valued his views on the question, and was very grateful for them.<sup>25</sup> Similarly, Andrews tried during the later months of 1913 to mobilise the Anglican bishops in India, through Lefroy, by this time Metropolitan, to exert pressure on their opposite numbers in South Africa to intervene in the "very terrible situation" there. This would help to overcome the "terrible...effect" on Indian educated thought of "the silence of the Church".<sup>26</sup> Lefroy was sympathetic.<sup>27</sup> He accepted Andrews' proposed draft letter to South Africa without amendment,<sup>28</sup> but failed to get agreement



among his colleagues about the wording<sup>29</sup> and had to be content with a private letter to the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, to which he got a rather frosty reply.<sup>30</sup>

By the time the Indian bishops' involvement in the question had run its largely ineffectual course, Andrews was making his own most remarkable contribution by actually going to South Africa to meet and associate himself with Gandhi in the struggle of the Indian community. His first significant information about Gandhi and his activities must have come from the latter's close associate, Henry Polak, whom Andrews met while Polak was touring India in 1909 and 1910 to publicise the cause of the Transvaal Indians.<sup>31</sup> Polak's interpretation of the significance of satya graha, with its combination of "meekness...and steel-like courage", as a putting into practice of Christ's teaching about returning good for evil, which made the Transvaal Indians better Christians than their persecutors, cannot have escaped Andrews' notice, and perhaps helped him to make his initial assessment of Gandhi, before actually meeting him, as "the most saintly and heroic Indian of modern times".<sup>32</sup> It was, however, through meeting Gokhale again, Gandhi's political guru, while Gokhale was campaigning on the South African issue in the later part of 1913, that Andrews was persuaded to visit South Africa. Early in November, Gokhale had appealed throughout India for funds.<sup>33</sup> Andrews' response was immediate, both in persuading Gokhale to visit Delhi to launch the appeal there personally ("the first public one among the students" Andrews was proud to note), and also in placing at Gokhale's disposal anything he personally had to give, "time, money - everything".<sup>34</sup> This offer was accepted, and Gokhale asked Andrews, as "one of the best-known and most respected Englishmen in India", to go to South Africa as his representative "to report on the situation".<sup>35</sup> Andrews decision to go was criticised, though not universally, in European circles,<sup>36</sup> while the nationalists saw it as a "unique...act of loving

self-sacrifice" which had "laid the country under obligation".<sup>37</sup>

A delay in the passage of the steamer to Natal provided Andrews with an opportunity for further reflection on the issues involved, and he wrote an article advocating a strenuous campaign to halt the recruitment of indentured labourers. "The ground taken should be the highest, namely that it is unworthy of a civilised country to allow its citizens to sell themselves into virtual slavery".<sup>38</sup> Although the particular issue of the indenture system as such was not an issue during the subsequent weeks in South Africa, he was able to begin to see there the enormity of the system. This article, written before setting out, marks the beginning of a phenomenal endeavour whereby "virtually on his own, Charlie Andrews...carried through a reform almost equal to the abolition of slavery".<sup>39</sup>

Andrews was in South Africa from 2 Jan 1914 for a month and a half, and wrote in great detail on every aspect of his time there, in telegrams and letters to Gokhale, numerous letters to Munshi Ram and Tagore, and a series of articles for the nationalist and other publications in India, South Africa and Britain.<sup>40</sup> It was a time of prodigious activity, which included public addresses to both the white and Indian communities, in both secular and religious settings, a full involvement in the negotiations with Smuts, and the closest of encounters with the leaders of the Indian struggle and in particular with Gandhi.<sup>41</sup> He wrote for Gokhale a very full account of his part in the official negotiations : it is clear from this that by establishing an immediate understanding of Gandhi's inner motivation, he was able to make a significant contribution.<sup>42</sup> He put this in a letter to Tagore.

I had no difficulty in seeing from the first Mr Gandhi's position and accepting it; for in principle it is essentially yours and Mahatmaji's (Munshi Ram) - a true independence, a reliance upon

spiritual force, a fearless courage in the face of temporal power, and withal a deep and burning charity for all men.

His watchword is "We Indians must cease being mendicants.

We must be ready to suffer anything rather than take that position of degradation and be ready to win back our moral position in the world by suffering".<sup>43</sup>

Although involved in the detailed presentation of the Indian case, his main achievement, as he saw it, was the establishing of this principle, of what he called Indian "honour", with Smuts, and of securing the latter's public acknowledgement of it "for the Back-Veldters and Natal planters to see".<sup>44</sup> The final settlement of this phase of the South African Indian struggle had to wait upon a bill in the South African parliament six months later.<sup>45</sup> When it came, Gandhi and his associates modestly attributed its achievement principally to the "suffering of thousands of resisters" over the previous 8 years;<sup>46</sup> they were also, however, deeply grateful for Andrews' "great assistance" in the form both of "wise counsel" and of spreading "a spirit of sympathy and love all round".<sup>47</sup>

In India itself, the Tribune vindicated both Andrews' original argument about the missionary significance of the South African situation, and his intervention, admitting that his work and example had "helped to remove a certain prejudice which mere proselytism caused in the minds of people", and compared his work to Christian missionary involvement in such issues as the emancipation of slaves.<sup>48</sup> Andrews himself saw his achievement in terms of a much closer identification, through this mission, with the Indian people. He wrote to Munshi Ram on his return journey to India,

I am now a child of Aryavarta not merely in name and thought,  
but in deed and act.

- though he also made it clear to Munshi Ram that it was quite specifically as a Christian that he had been motivated.<sup>49</sup>

Even more important in the long run, however, was the establishment during these days of a deep friendship with Gandhi.<sup>50</sup> Because "no life lived" at that time "could be more moving" than Gandhi's, Andrews had envisaged his journey to South Africa as "a pilgrimage to touch his feet".<sup>51</sup> We can nevertheless trace through his frequent letters, particularly those to Munshi Ram and Tagore, the steady development of a deeply affectionate relationship, so that they were soon "close as brothers and closer".<sup>52</sup> He found in Gandhi "a new Indian element the Gujerati character", and missed a sense of what he called "unity of spirit" which he associated with Tagore.<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless, he was soon able to tell Gandhi that he was a part of his life "as Mahatmaji and Gurudev (Tagore) and Sushil (Rudra) are".<sup>54</sup> (it is right to note here that he drew these friends not only to himself, but also to one another, so that important links were made for the national movement).<sup>55</sup> Andrews' affection was immediately reciprocated, and Gandhi later wrote, "When we met in South Africa we simply met as brothers and remained as such to the end", while at the time he spoke of "the loneliness there would be" for him when Andrews left.<sup>56</sup>

An important aspect of this friendship was Andrews' interest in the religious dimension of Gandhi's political work. For Gandhi himself, of course, the initially pragmatic political technique of passive-resistance had already become satyagraha, or 'truth-force', with its concomitant ahimsa, or non-violence, an important expression of his emerging philosophy of life as a search for truth. Andrews' first few days in South Africa confirmed for him that Gandhi was essentially a religious man, "a saint", though "of the heroic type, a saint of action rather than of contemplation",<sup>57</sup> while the form this took seemed to have universal significance, representing "that which we have all been groping after - a moral equivalent for war".<sup>58</sup>

Andrews' handling of the question of the sources of Gandhi's ideas is important. Gandhi had himself many years before discovered "Tolstoy and his interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount",<sup>59</sup> and had subsequently corresponded with Tolstoy - a correspondence which Andrews saw at this time.<sup>60</sup> Not surprisingly, then, Andrews saw satyagraha as "the Hindus, under Mr. Gandhi....presenting to the world almost literally the ideal of the Sermon on the Mount".<sup>61</sup> He went so far, indeed, as to claim that he had "found Christ and worshipped him, amid the little groups of Indian passive resisters fresh from prison - Hindus almost all of them".<sup>62</sup> Andrews nevertheless acknowledged the importance of Gandhi's Hindu sources, and gives us an interesting account of how the latter developed his theory.

The principle of 'passive resistance'.....has been taken.... originally from Tolstoy's writings. But this has been.... drastically remodelled and re-interpreted in the light of Hindu religion. The parallel to Hinduism was found by Mr. Gandhi in his recollection of the methods by which caste discipline was silently and effectively observed in Kathiawar, without the aid of external law, or the use of weapons of force. But later on, the principle was carried by him much deeper still, back to the very heart of Hindu religion. Its parallel was found, on the one hand, in the doctrine of ahimsa, on the other hand, in the doctrine of the supreme reality of the atman.<sup>63</sup>

In the matter of the former 'doctrine', of ahimsa, Andrews found in Gandhi a new illustration of the phenomenon discovered in his encounters with Tagore and Munshi Ram, namely a correlation between his understanding of "the Christ of the Gospels" and "Hindu India and its ideals", but a more significant one in this case because it was at the important level of "ideas....(applied) to the test of action".<sup>64</sup> Andrews developed this further in a letter to Tagore shortly after leaving South Africa.

The Hindu ideal is often termed 'passive'....This is of course

outrageous. The real touchstone is ahimsa. Is physical force, domination, aggression, the true attitude in life, or is ahimsa? There is the dividing line. The Jew, the Roman, the modern Englishman would instinctively say the former : Christ says the latter:- 'My kingdom is not of this world, else would my servants fight, but now is my kingdom not from thence....He that is of the Truth heareth my voice'.<sup>65</sup>

The implication here is clear enough, that a Hindu like Gandhi, in his practice of ahimsa, had his part in that kingdom.

His response to Gandhi's "doctrine of the supreme reality of the atman", as he understood it, was, if anything, even more enthusiastic. Though later he differed radically over the latter's "equation of the essential self of man with the atman and the consequent rejection of the body and all matter as the source of all selfishness", it is evident that he was looking at the concept, at this stage, from another angle.<sup>66</sup> "The message of the Upanishads, that man's deliverance comes through realisation of the Atman", had assumed for him "a new and living meaning".

The pure human spirit is in essence one with the divine. This alone gives the clue to mortal existence. Without this all human life becomes chaos and despair.

If there seems to be here a tendency towards an anthropology more Hindu than Christian, the main point that he is trying to make would seem to be that in this doctrine there was an affirmation of the dignity of the human person over against the denials implicit in South African oppression: the chief lesson that he had learned from Gandhi in South Africa, he explained, was of "the supremacy of 'spiritual independence' over all other human forces". He saw this supremacy embodied in Gandhi, and it had been attained in and through "the struggle".

His spiritual realisation in action has been so complete, during all these years of conflict and imprisonment, that I

long merely to bow my head in silence and thus express my reverence.

If some of Andrews' commentary on Gandhi's "doctrine" is somewhat ambiguous, the point he is trying to make seems clear enough. Nor was there much room for misunderstanding in his concluding observation. He had seen in Gandhi, he wrote, "the fulfilment in action of those ideals which as a Christian I longed to realise"<sup>67</sup>.

His own Christian allegiance, in other words, he did not regard as in question, though it is clear from what we can gather from his first surviving letter to Gandhi, written a week after setting sail from Cape Town, that he now clung to the primacy and "distinctiveness" of Christ amid almost overwhelming confusions. His desire to "meet... (Gandhi's) own mind, and that of others", would, he could see, mean "a lonely pilgrimage", in which he would be regarded by everyone in the West whom he knew and loved as "a heretic of the most dangerous kind", led away by his "pro-Indian bias and infatuation", and yet, in the same letter he affirmed, tenaciously though never less offensively, his faith in the universal significance and primacy of "the meek and lowly Christ" as "the child of the East and the West in one", in whose coming "something far greater" than all that Indian tradition had yet produced, even in the Buddha, took place, because Christ "lived" what had previously been only "beautiful thoughts"<sup>68</sup>.

Testing out some of his related new ideas on "the organic development of religion"<sup>69</sup> in this letter, Andrews asked Gandhi for his criticisms. He recognised that there were bound to be points of disagreement in the dialogue now opening up, but he was confident that Gandhi's love for him would grow, provided only that he could remain certain that Andrews was "struggling towards the truth and not shirking the task". Regrettably, we have no indication of Gandhi's response to

Andrews at this time, other than his gratitude for his help in the negotiations with Smuts and his deepening affection and respect for him. For the dialogue which they were to develop over the next quarter century, only the foundations had been laid. These, nevertheless, clearly were laid, in the deeply affectionate relationship which had been established, in Andrews' unfeigned admiration for Gandhi's achievement, his willingness to acknowledge that this had its roots close to "the very heart of Hindu religion", and his continuing sense of freedom to affirm both the primacy in his own faith of the person of Jesus Christ, and Christ's universal significance.

Thus began a further relationship with a man of another faith. Andrews arrived back in India, by way of London and a deepened friendship with Gokhale,<sup>70</sup> on 17th April, 1914. The Tribune summed up his visit to South Africa as a "mission of love".<sup>71</sup>

#### 6. "The sympathetic school of Mr. Andrews"

Andrews' missionary years, the years of these friendships, or of the beginning of them, coincided with the emergence in India of what came to be known as the "fulfilment school", a group of missionaries and Indian Christians who saw Christ or Christianity as, in one way or another, 'fulfilling' the other religions, and who, in consequence, looked upon these religions with a new sympathy.<sup>1</sup> "The great sages of India were schoolmasters to bring the Indians to Christ", said the Bishop of Bombay at the Pan-Anglican Congress.<sup>2</sup> His claim, however, that this notion was "behind the whole conception of modern missions", was somewhat exaggerated, and there were a number of opponents of this approach, "the sympathetic school of Mr. Andrews", as one critic called it.<sup>3</sup> One Anglican missionary wrote that before coming to India, he had believed many good things of Hinduism,

My ideas...were moulded very much on the lines C.F. Andrews



always follows. Most of my opinions have changed...Some of us get severe shocks if we read too much 'Andrewsism' at home,<sup>4</sup> Another critic said of Andrews' expectation of finding good in Hinduism, that "It would be just as reasonable to expect to draw sweet water from a bitter spring".<sup>5</sup> There is, nevertheless, some justification in describing the "sympathetic school" - not least after the popularisation of these ideas at the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910 - as "the new orthodoxy".<sup>6</sup> Andrews, his name several times coupled with that of Rudra, was regarded by many as a representative exponent of this important development in the Christian attitude to other faiths and their adherents.<sup>7</sup>

In spite of this, Andrews' appreciation of other religions, and in particular of Hinduism, was not without qualification. In particular, he had little sympathy with popular Hinduism as he saw it at this time. When, for example, he saw cows receiving acts of devotion at Benares, he exclaimed, "How repulsive it was, and yet how full of pathos!"<sup>8</sup> From his first report written for S.P.G. in February 1905, through to The Renaissance in India, he markedly failed to appreciate what he called "idolatry", and he frequently criticised it as a source of spiritual and moral degradation within the Hindu community.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, he attacked astrology, and the ideas which lay behind it.<sup>10</sup> He was critical as we have seen, of certain social expressions of Hinduism, in particular of aspects of caste, the more serious because he recognised caste as "still the real church of Hinduism",<sup>11</sup> "at the very centre of Hinduism".<sup>12</sup> In the face of much, then, of which he was critical, he was clear that "a Reformation...(was) needed in India as well as a Renaissance".<sup>13</sup>

Not surprisingly, therefore, it was in what he called Hinduism's "higher religious history",<sup>14</sup> and in the reforming movements that he found most to admire, and in the latter that he made his close friendships

beyond the Christian community. Although he often drew attention to passages of "spiritual beauty and moral insight" in the classical texts of the Indian religions,<sup>15</sup> and went on to claim that "the Eternal Word was the Light of the Buddha and Tulsi Das in their measure, even as He was, in so much greater a degree, the Light of the Hebrew Prophets",<sup>16</sup> it was largely in relation to the modern movements and the "intellectual, strong and independent men" who supported them,<sup>17</sup> that he developed his more sympathetic reflections, his "Andrewsism".

He justified this sympathy from the New Testament. His most distinctive contribution here was to go behind such relatively commonplace concepts, as they had during these years become, as that of the Johannine "Eternal Word",<sup>18</sup> and cite Christ's own attitude in the Synoptics, whereby, for example, "When Christ chooses His example of truly noble conduct; He selects not a Jewish Priest, but a Samaritan for His word of commendation", because "moral and spiritual character is the only criterion of Christ,....(and) race, birth, religion even, are as nothing compared with character", pointing out that "Christ recognised kinship in the things of the Spirit far beyond the limits of any one religion, according to His own great saying - 'He that doeth the will of My Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother....'<sup>19</sup> "I lay stress", he reported to Commission 4 of the Edinburgh Conference, "...on the picture of Christ in the Synoptic Gospels as he accredits and approves this person and that, not as belonging to God's chosen people, but as being humble, devout, sincere, unselfish". It was not only on the basis of such criteria, however, that Andrews justified his welcome for the reforming movements in Hinduism and Indian Islam. He also said that, because the predominant new religious factor which had given rise to the reforming movements in British India was Christianity, some of them were "on the very borderland of the Christian faith",<sup>20</sup>

and, because they had assimilated certain central Christian thoughts, "especially the great commanding and correlative thoughts of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man", were functioning as a "Christian leaven....penetrating the great mass of Indian life".<sup>21</sup>

In consequence, new attitudes were called for.

There must be no longer the desire to capture converts from Hinduism, by any and every means, and take advantage of her hour of weakness and desolation; but rather the desire to come to her help in the needful time of trouble, and to aid her in the fulfilment of duties which she has long neglected...If we sincerely believe the great words of our Lord, "I came not to destroy but to fulfil, we shall hesitate before we undertake destructive work in a country which has aimed so high as India".<sup>22</sup>

The Christian attitude must, nevertheless, be discriminating, India's religious development could not be merely a "smooth, graduated evolution", for there was "much in Hinduism that must perish,....much that must die and be reborn".<sup>23</sup> At the same time, Christianity itself might hope to benefit from this new encounter : there were, for example, crude features of Western Christianity, "transcendent ideas of God,....individualistic ideas of human personality,....creationist theories of the universe", to which "the Vedanta Philosophy" might offer a corrective, leading to "a more balanced and complete Christian philosophy".<sup>24</sup>

It is not difficult to see why the term "Andrewsism" was coined. Andrews had not set out, like Farquhar in The Crown of Hinduism, to work out a comprehensive argument about the relationship between Christianity and Hinduism, but, writing briefly and in a wide variety of places, he clearly sought to encourage a new attitude of openness and sympathy as an appropriate Christian response to people of other faiths, and especially to the reformers among them. The invitation in early 1911 to write a book on Christianity and the "educated Hindu classes"<sup>25</sup> nevertheless gave

him an opportunity to draw together much that he had written over the previous years, and to write, inter alia, a sympathetic survey and evaluation from a Christian standpoint of the reforming movements. The Renaissance in India, completed by mid-1912, sums up the sort of approach for which Andrews had become known over the previous 6 or 7 years.

Almost simultaneously with its publication, however, Andrews met Rabindranath Tagore, and entered into the first of that series of profound friendships with three of the most important figures in Neo-Hinduism, which was to fill the last two years of his missionary decade. At the end of a chapter on "The New Reformation" in The Renaissance in India, he had written that "a wide sympathy and tolerance for the work of others, such as Christ inculcated, should only deepen and enlarge our own faith".<sup>26</sup> Certainly, the impact of these three drove him to a serious re-consideration of his own position, in contrast with which, the approach he had previously sought to popularise looks relatively conventional. We can trace the course of his thinking in his letters to Tagore, Munshi Ram and Gandhi at this time.<sup>27</sup> There are two central and related main points with which he was exercised. First, a view of religious history which gave a very high valuation to Indian religious experience. He first tried out his ideas on this with Munshi Ram,<sup>28</sup> and later with Gandhi. To the latter, he wrote that there were "two great races which possessed religious genius, - the Semitic and the Indo-Aryan"; nevertheless, he continues, "the mother source of inspiration was India" demonstrably influencing both East, and, in thinkers such as Plato, the West.<sup>29</sup> It was in this context that he made his second point, about Christ. He wrote to Tagore of his growing conviction "that both the Semitic and the Hindu-Buddhist element are to be found in the Christ of the Gospels : that the two great fountain heads of higher religion - from Palestine and from India - actually met and gave birth to Christianity in its essential

primitive form"<sup>30</sup>. His fullest exposition of this "new discovery" as he called it, is to be found in a letter to Tagore, written on 2 March 1914, the "main issue" being that, in contradistinction from the "old, hard, aggressive Jewish....view of life",

Christ, the Jewish peasant, lived instinctively, as a part of his own fundamental nature,....(a) non-Jewish ideal, which...(was) so akin to Hinduism. He lived it, not artificially, not as a superimposed creed, but as naturally and freely as the birds of the air and the lilies of the field lived out their nature...He has the Universal Compassion for all nature and all mankind... He has also the Universal Charity, like that of God...and this nature wells up at all times. It is as marked in the agony of crucifixion as on the sunny Galilean hills...If this is really so, then surely the life of Christ cannot be unrelated to the only soil which, up to then, had produced....this type of nature,.... the Hindu-Buddhist stream, which....had for long ages been the greatest moral and spiritual force in all the world.

The relationship, he suggested, was not dependent on any direct historical links, for which he conceded that there was no evidence, but was "spiritual", and so its identification was dependent on "a fine spiritual instinct...like a good ear in music". About the main issues in this long and interesting letter - later very sympathetically but severely criticised by Farquhar<sup>31</sup> it is clear that Andrews was not entirely confident himself, and he asked Tagore whether he did not think him "extravagant and speculative". Certainly, he had moved far beyond the "new orthodoxy" of the "fulfilment school", but the context of the letter at least helps us to understand how it came to be written. Andrews had only just met Gandhi (he wrote the letter while at sea, 11 days out of Cape Town) and it was clearly the impact of the latter, this following closely upon the deep impressions made already by Tagore himself, and by

Munshi Ram, which gave substance to the notion of "the Hindu-Buddhist ideal". In his new friends he saw much that he regarded as Christ-like, and yet how to say this without giving an impression of religious arrogance? He dismisses the theory of Christ as the Logos as "a piece of theological jugglery", but finds it possible to speak of Jesus as "the true Son of Man" whom he "can worship" precisely because he is "the true lineal descendant of India as well as Palestine". He is led from this to some final reflections on how Christians might, sharing his central position, "sit at the feet of India the Mother", in order to fully understand their own religion and correct the faults in their own civilization, while Hindus might also learn and study, without any sense of humiliation, the further truths which have been added by Christianity to their own original deposit of faith.

Andrews did not pursue these matters further at this time - his return to India from South Africa pitched him into the very busy and deeply distressing closing months of his missionary decade, in which, hardly surprisingly, his "Christian position" was, as he wrote to Tagore, in question.<sup>32</sup> His theorizing in this correspondence, nevertheless, is extremely interesting as an indication of the strength of the challenge which was presented to his understanding of Christ by what he saw in South Africa of white racism, and even more by what he discerned in the depths of his friendship with these men of other faiths.<sup>33</sup>

More important, in the long run, than these speculations into which he was led, were the friendships which preceded and helped to shape them.<sup>34</sup> In this respect, the first friendship, with Zaka Ullah, was important in disclosing to Andrews the possibilities of deep friendship beyond the Christian fold, and is important for others also in illustrating the possibilities of deep and creative fellowship and dialogue between Christian and Muslim. That with Munshi Ram, so amply illustrated in the

surviving correspondence, has a singular value as an example of "fruitful dialogue...in practice",<sup>35</sup> and also because it includes such a clear indication of Munshi Ram's response to Andrews' initiatives. The friendship with Tagore had its less satisfactory side, in that Andrews was so clearly overwhelmed by Tagore's powerful personality, and yet the friendship was very important, because Tagore, with Gandhi, represented in their different ways, "as no one else could hope to, the spirit of the new Hinduism", the former distilling and disseminating in unique ways "the sweet essence of Hinduism".<sup>36</sup> An important element which distinguishes the friendship and dialogue with Gandhi, quite apart from the uniqueness of such a close relationship with one who was to fulfil such a central role in the history of modern India, was the frequency with which they exchanged moral and religious views in considering Gandhi's specific actions in regard to the Indian nationalist struggle, so carrying the dialogue into new and important areas of human concern, into what Hinduism calls the way of action, just as Andrews had indeed done from the beginning, through his involvement with Gandhi in the South African struggle.

To speak, however, of Andrews' relationship with these men of other faiths solely in terms of friendship and dialogue is not enough, and there is no question that he remained a missionary, and this not merely in the sense of "participating in the life" of these men of other faiths,<sup>37</sup> but also in the sense that his own ultimate loyalty to Christ is never in question and always apparent. This is very clear from Hoyland's observations of Andrews' discussions with Munshi Ram, but even in the 1914 correspondence with Tagore and Gandhi, his new speculations are an occasion to underline the universal significance and appeal of Christ as "...of the East and of the West". If Andrews' orthodoxy was in question among his Christian contemporaries, the centrality of Jesus Christ for his own life and belief was always made clear to his friends, and was one of the enduring

impressions that he left with them,<sup>38</sup> so that, even as he was reaching the point of finally detaching himself from a formal missionary role, he was developing, in his relationship with men of other faiths, his own distinctive mode of Christian witness.

In his dream, forty years earlier, of a new Alexandria, Westcott had envisaged the formation of a community in India made up of men "as thoroughly Hindu as they....(were) Christian". Andrews shared this ideal for the Church, and worked for its realization. At the same time, he discovered among his friends of other faiths those who were, by his criteria, as he might have put it, though not necessarily to them, as thoroughly Christian as they were Hindu or Muslim, and as such, members of what he called "that larger Church of Christ, the Church of aspiring Humanity, the Church of Him who is the Son of Man". It was this discovery that, in part, as we shall see, propelled him out of formal missionary work and into his own new and distinctive type of mission.



NOTES : Chapter 6.1. Introductory

- 1 His weakness in Indian languages, however, meant that his information was derived almost exclusively from texts in translation. Thus, for example, when he wrote in 1909, "I read such books as the Bhagavad-Gita, the Ramayana, The Granth Sahib, the sayings of Kabir, the earlier Buddhist writings and many others", we have to recognise that his appreciation was seriously limited, and only a certain weight can be allowed to his finding in them "passages of such spiritual beauty and moral insight" that he at once instinctively said to himself "Why! this is Christian!" (Ind Int Oct 1909).
- 2 NI p.236; MS. the property of M.R.Bansal, deposited in N.A.I.
- 3 NI p.236.
- 4 The first 4 volumes appeared between 1910 and 1913. Vol.IV included an "Appreciation" by Puran Singh, who quoted extensively (pp.11-13) Andrews' remarks on Ram Tirath in RI.
- 5 After Amir Chand's execution in 1914, there was a pause until a further 4 volumes were published in 1931-2 by the Ram Tirath Publication League. Vol.V, pp.i-iv, repeated the passage from RI.
- 6 Andrews' Introduction runs to some 17 pages.
- 7 Tribune 7 Apr 1911; IR Jul 1910.
- 8 IR Jul 1910 and MR Jul 1913.
- 9 CC 1909; SSC Mag Apr 1910.
- 10 CC 1910.
- 11 DMN Jan 1912.
- 12 'Father Bickersteth' in DMN Jul 1911.
- 13 DMN Jan 1908; Jan 1909; Jan 1912.
- 14 DMN Jul 1908; NI p.144.
- 15 In particular, "The Christian Borderland" and "The Hindu Challenge to the Church" CT 18 Nov 1910, 25 Nov 1910.
- 16 Biog pp.104-5.
- 17 Guardian 28 Feb 1913; Nathaniel Micklem in SM Apr 1913 - Andrews defended his position in SM Jun 1913. Two reviews in Britain were appreciative, TEW Oct 1912, CMI Dec 1912.
- 18 Ind Int Jan 1913. Farquhar's review was in YMOI Jan 1914. Another enthusiastic missionary reviewer was Andrews' new

- colleague, P.N.F.Young - DMN Jan 1913.
- 19 NMI Mar 1913.
- 20 HR Feb-Mar 1913, cf. Tribune 9 Oct 1912 (it was also quoted in an editorial of 13 Feb 1913), IR Mar 1914. He was regarded by the Tribune as representing a new attitude among missionaries (5 Jun 1912), but still an uncommon one, "(He)...lacks the bigotry of the latter-day missionary" (8 Jan 1914).
- 21 CMI Dec 1912.
- 22 SM Apr. 1913. In one missionary house-hold where Micklem's strictures were read out, "there were emphatic expressions of approval that he had so faithfully and boldly stated the truth about Hinduism as it really is" M.M.Underhill to T.Tatlow 24 Aug 1912 (S.C.M.Archives, Selly Oak).
- 23 Gulam Masih in NMI May-Jun 1912.

## 2. The New Islam

- 1 The distribution by religions of the population of the Punjab and its native States at the time of the 1911 census was:
 

Muslims	51%
Hindus	36%
Sikhs	12%
Others	1%
- 2 W.H.T.Gairdner The Reproach of Islam (1910) p.248.
- 3 H.Sharp Delhi (1921) p.101.
- 4 Gairdner op.cit. p.248.
- 5 W.C.Smith Modern Islam in India (1943) p.44.
- 6 NI p.132.
- 7 Smith op.cit. also calls it "the modernizing school" p.34.
- 8 T.G.P.Spear The Twilight of the Mughuls (1951) p.144.
- 9 For a useful early account of his work, see G.F.I.Graham The Life and Work of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1909).
- 10 Smith op.cit. names nine principal figures, among them Andrews' 3 friends. (pp.23,25,26,27,34,36,37,245)
- 11 Andrews later wrote a booklet, Hakim Ajmal Khan (1922), in the series, "Biographies of Eminent Indians". The Hakim Sahib, being of a later generation than most of the Aligarh School, did not share their dislike of the Hindu-dominated Congress, and later became a prominent Congressman.
- 12 ZU p.38.
- 13 Smith op.cit. p.37.

- 14 Tribune 14 Dec 1910.
- 15 For the 'Delhi Renaissance', see the account in the study of one of its leaders, Zaka Ullah's principal teacher, Ramchandra - E. Jacob Professor Yesudas Ramchandra of Delhi (1902).
- 16 RI p.126.
- 17 Zaka Ullah never missed a college speech-day SSC Mag Nov 1911; Nazir Ahmad tutored in Arabic "a particularly brilliant candidate" for the degree of Master of Oriental Learning, The Rev. Joel Waiz Lal of the Baptist Mission, later well known as one of the chief translators of the Urdu New Testament. (Rudra's report) CC 1909. "Students of Islam will appreciate the implications of a leading Muslim doctor being ready to train a Christian clergyman in Arabic itself and to rejoice wholeheartedly in his success" Monk op.cit. p.118.
- 18 NI p.1344.
- 19 SM May 1910; ZU p.1.
- 20 ZU pp.xix,xxii,105,103-4.
- 21 ibid. pp.63,129,133.
- 22 ibid. pp.xxiii,viii.
- 23 ibid. p.xx. Andrews says at this point in his Preface that a chief aim in writing ZU was to represent a true picture of Zaka Ullah himself, "who personified...."etc.; SSC Mag Nov 1910.
- 24 MR Apr 1910.
- 25 ibid.; ZU p.xx.
- 26 ibid. p.xxvii.
- 27 SM May 1910.
- 28 ibid.
- 29 TEW Oct 1905; SM May 1910; NI p.135. On this last point, Lefroy, with his immeasurably greater knowledge of Islam, in one of his best known papers, chose to quote at length a passage from a letter from Andrews on "the ritual aspect of the Mohammedan creed and life" - "Mohammedan Races : Their Contribution to the Body of Christ" in (ed.) Montgomery Mankind and the Church (1907) p.287.
- 30 Lefroy "Mohammedanism, Its Strength and Weakness" C.M.D. Occasional Paper 1894.
- 31 RI pp.213,248.
- 32 ZU p.95.
- 33 This is the chapter-heading, for the first chapter of Smith op.cit., in which he deals with Syed Ahmad Khan and his influence. cf. the Syed's remark, "the British rule in India is the most wonderful phenomenon the world has ever seen" Graham op.cit.p.178.

- 34 ZU pp.118-9.
- 35 ibid. p.117.
- 36 MR Apr 1911; ZU p.112.
- 37 ibid. pp.78,85-6.
- 38 Sheila McDonough The Authority of the Past A.A.R.Studies in Religion (1970) No.1 p.13.
- 39 Tribune 14 Dec 1910. Although his promotion of western higher education in an Indian vernacular seemed to him at the time a losing battle in the face of the advance of English-medium secondary and higher education, Andrews was convinced that the approach would be vindicated ZU pp.89,98.
- 40 "Alliance with the Hindus against the British could only lead to the loss of British patronage and its substitution by the exploitation and subjugation of the Muslims by the overwhelming Hindu majority. Thus began modern Muslim political separatism" Aziz Ahman "Islamic Reform Movements" in (ed.) A.L.Basham A Cultural History of India (1975) p.387; for a detailed account of this development, see K.K.Aziz The Making of Pakistan (1976) ch.1.
- 41 Harcourt Butler, "Note on the Political Outlook in India", dated 20 Apr 1910 (N.L.S.Minto Papers).
- 42 MR Apr 1911 "Such isolation he believed to be contrary to the true spirit of his religion". He had been much influenced during his college days, in this respect, by Ramchandra, the mathematician - ZU p.61.
- 43 The True India p.198.
- 44 This was in the home of Pundit Tulsi Ram - ZU p.145, cf.p.xxvii.
- 45 MR Apr 1911.
- 46 NI p.130.
- 47 This was Nazir Ahmad's opinion, ZU pp.xii-xiii.
- 48 ZU pp.147-9. Andrews also later recalled that Zaka Ullah practised meditation. The Good Shepherd pp.38-9.
- 49 ZU pp.101,119.
- 50 T.G.P.Spear, India, Pakistan and the West (1949) p.186.
- 51 MR Apr 1911; ZU p.xxv. When he came to write Zaka Ullah in the 1920's, referring to the "Delhi Renaissance", to which his old Muslim friends had made such an important contribution, Andrews was able to point to Muhammad Iqbal as "the crown of its creative achievement" (p.46).
- 52 SM May 1910.
- 53 "Munshi Zaka Ullah"; Tribune 14 Dec 1910; "Zaka Ullah, A Great Educationalist"MR Apr 1911.

- 54 MR Nov 1924 - Aug 1925. He published letters in the nationalist press from just over a month after Zaka Ullah's death, appealing for information for the memoir Tribune 13 Dec 1910, Leader 22 Jan 1911.
- 55 "The general picture of the city before the Mutiny has been so well sketched by the late C.F.Andrews....that it is worth quoting extensively" T.G.P.Spear Twilight of the Mughuls (1951) p.197; W.C.Smith appears to base some of his observations about Zaka Ullah on Andrews op.cit. pp.35-6.
- 56 Andrews' account occurs in his India and the Simon Report (1930) pp.109-110. Contemporary reports indicate that the reconciliation was finally effected by other intermediaries Tribune 26 Feb 1907, 6 Mar 1907, 16 Mar 1907.
- 57 Hardinge to Meston 13 Dec 1914 (C.U.L. Hardinge Papers Vol.86). An official noted that circulation figures for an Urdu newspaper in another province, the Punjab, (Zemindar) rose from 5,000 to 25,000 in less than a month because of concern among Muslims on this issue - Harcourt Butler, India Insistent (1931) p.16. For a useful, if simplistic, account of the affair, see M.Yanuck "The Kanpur Mosque Affair of 1913" Muslim World LXIV, No.4. Oct 1974. See also The Administration of Lord Hardinge (1916) pp.18-19.
- 58 W.C.Smith op.cit. pp.41,225-6.
- 59 Andrews had been staying with Ali Imam in his house at Simla in May 1913, and clearly knew him well - Andrews to Munshi Ram n.d. (mid-May 1913) (N.A.I.Chaturvedi. Corr.). The Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, subsequently wrote of Ali Imam's "invariable personal loyalty to me and....his exceptional usefulness" My Indian Years 1910-1916 (1948) p.16. Some years later, Meston spoke of his own friendship with Andrews as having "survived many vicissitudes" Challenge 13 May 1921.
- 60 He wrote to Lady Hardinge, on hearing of the success of the Viceroy's visit to Cawnpore, "Later in the day I sent for a young Mussalman extremist of the Mahomed Ali school...and he said, 'We shall all be with the Viceroy now' " Andrews to Lady Hardinge 19 Oct 1913 (C.U.L.Hardinge Papers. Vol.86).
- 61 Meston to Hardinge 26 Aug 1913 (Hailey Collection, I.O.R.).
- 62 ibid. It is not clear from Meston's account of Andrews' proposals, whether the latter also saw this as the effect. Meston was always willing to remedy the offence caused, only provided the Muslim 'extremists' gained no credit in the process, and he wrote to the Viceroy "we shall be only too glad to build their washing place for them, in pure gold, like unto clear glass, and garnished with all manner of precious stones, if they so desire".
- 63 Andrews to Tagore 1 Sept 1913 (Shantiniketan).
- 64 Meston to Hardinge 26 Aug 1913 (Hailey Collection, I.O.R.). Meston went on to refer to Andrews' "Almost pathetic anxiety to be a successful peacemaker", and added, "he is the most fascinating of idealists; and I wish I had one tenth of his

single-mindedness".

- 65 Andrews attended some of these in the Bickersteth Hall, specially built by Lefroy as a centre for such disputations NI pp.133-4. For an account of a series of disputations also involving Hindus, see Allnutt's account DMN Jul 1909.
- 66 Paisa Akhbar 19 Mar 1906 (P.N.N.R. XIX.12.2).
- 67 Preparatory Paper for Commission 4, W.M.C.Edinburgh 1910, also (ed.) Montgomery Mankind and the Church p.304.
- 68 (ed.) Montgomery Mankind and the Church p.282. Lefroy had long been attracted to such an approach, finding support for it in Trench's Hulsean Lectures of 1845 on "The Unconscious Prophecies of Heathendom" - see his "Mohammedanism, Its Strength and Weakness" C.M.D.Occasional Paper 1894, also Preparatory Paper for Commission 4, W.M.C.Edinburgh 1910. His Ramsden Sermon at Cambridge, "Christ the Goal of India", published as a C.M.D. Occasional Paper, 1889, takes a similar line.
- 69 ZU pp.xv-xvi.
- 70 RI p.125, cf. W.C.Smith op.cit. p.8.
- 71 "Christ and India" MR Mar 1924.
- 72 MR Apr 1911.
- 73 ZU pp.ix-x,146.
- 74 SM May 1910.

### 3. "The Divine Preceptor"

- 1 Farquhar Modern Religious Movements in India p.29. For a fine modern study of Christian influences in the movement, by a Hindu, see Sisir Kumar Das The Shadow of the Cross (1974).
- 2 NI p.211. Re its decline, RI p.116, also the statistical Appendix IX, p.292; cf. Farquhar op.cit., pp.69-70,430. Andrews noted in 1913 that Satyendranath Tagore was "troubled because the whole Theistic movement in Bengal seems to be on the point of collapse" Andrews to Munshi Ram, 3 Aug 1913 (Chaturvedi. Corr. N.A.I.)
- 3 His remarks in NI are confined to a footnote, p.211.
- 4 Tribune 14 Feb 1909.
- 5 Rudra's father had been associated with the Brahma Samaj prior to his baptism - R.D.Paul They Kept the Faith (1968) pp.57-8.
- 6 The Indian theologian, Goreh, in his "Letter to the Brahmos from a converted Brahman of Benares" (1866) regarded it as a step in the right direction, though his biographer, C.E.Gardner, a Cowley Father from Poona, concluded that it was "a hindrance rather than a help towards the real spiritual advance" of India - see his Life of Father Goreh (1900) p.319.

- 7 IR Mar 1909; RI p.113.
- 8 CT 18 Nov 1910.
- 9 Farquhar op.cit. p.384.
- 10 The standard biography in English is Krishna Kripalani Rabindranath Tagore (1962). Two studies by Christian writers are E.J.Thompson Rabindranath Tagore (1921), and S.Estborn The Religion of Tagore in the Light of the Gospel (1949). 'educationist' cf. E.J.Thompson on Santiniketan, "the only school in Bengal which has an idea and a personality behind it" op.cit. p.97. 'supporter' cf. Farquhar in 1914, "he is the very flower of the new nationalist movement" op.cit. p.384. 'leader' cf. Thompson, "In 1910, he...threw himself into the work of reorganizing the...Brahmo Samaj" op.cit. p.42.
- 11 RI p.184, cf. CT 2 Dec 1910.
- 12 He first drew attention to Tagore's impact in 1908, MR Nov 1908; MR Aug 1912.
- 13 MR Mar 1912.
- 14 For the genesis of the English translations, see Tagore to Indradevi Chaudhurani, 6 May 1913, printed in Indian Literature (New Delhi) 11.1 (Oct 58 - Mar 59) pp.3-4.
- 15 N.C.Chaudhuri "The True and the False" TLS 27 Sept 1974.
- 16 Andrews was taken to this event by the journalist, W.H.Nevinson, whom he had met during the latter's tour of India in 1907 - MR Aug 1912.
- 17 MR Aug 1912, also in Tribune 10 Aug 1912; MR Jan 1913.
- 18 Over 70 letters at least have survived, between them, for the last two years of Andrews' missionary decade. They are still known in the Tagore family as "the love letters" - Mr Krishna Kripalani, in conversation with D.O'C, 4 Apr 1970.
- 19 When they first met at Rothenstein's, Andrews says that Tagore crossed the room, clasped his hand, and said "Oh! Mr. Andrews, I have so longed to see you". MR Aug 1912.
- 20 Tagore to Mrs Andrews (mother of C.F.Andrews) 31 Dec 1913 (Santiniketan).
- 21 Tagore was very upset at one stage, when he feared that Andrews' association with Gandhi on the more political side of the national movement would destroy Santiniketan - M.Lago to D.O'C. 19 Aug 1974.
- 22 The first reference is Tagore to Macmillan 16 Apr 1914, and the last 10 Apr 1938 (Macmillan Archive, B.M.). M.Lago, who has particularly studied Tagore's connection with Rothenstein, has concluded of Andrews that "as Tagore's literary manager, he was a disaster". M.Lago to D.O'C. 19 Aug 1974.

- 23 It is difficult to know whether Andrews had any influence on the text of the poems in Gitanjali. Certainly he went through the proofs of the first edition with Tagore, and made a number of minor suggestions, and was sent the mss. of the 2nd series by Tagore, so that they could discuss it together, and Andrews made a number of minor suggestions for this also. Andrews to Tagore 7 Oct 1912 (Santiniketan), 8 Mar 1913 (Bunch of Letters), 29 May 1913, 11 Oct 1913 (Santiniketan). The form of this collaboration, as Andrews described it, was extremely tentative. "The words used in the English language of the translation are the poet's own choice...I had the rare privilege of correcting, with Rabindra himself, the proofs...It was quite remarkable to find how little correction was needed. Rabindra's taste was scarcely ever at fault and when in rare cases the words used were inappropriate, Rabindranath himself suggested the alternative" Tribune 4 Dec 1912. There was a considerable discussion as to whether Tagore was helped with his English versions, chiefly amongst Tagore's detractors, both in Bengal and Britain. Tagore wrote to Rothenstein, "It will amuse you to learn.... (that) Valentine Chirol gave his audience to understand that the English Gitanjali was practically written by Yeats" (quoted in Visvabharati Quarterly Jun 1969, p.367). When Andrews heard of this, he wrote to Tagore to express his indignation - Andrews to Tagore, 25 Mar 1914 (Santiniketan). We get a further glimpse of this question in a later letter of Andrews, "The poet has shown me his letter to you and I agree fully that Bridges must not be allowed to 'improve' his work. There is this striking contrast between Yeats and Bridges. The former never put in his own work....On...(an) occasion when I had altered the word 'cry' he got quite angry at my presumption". Andrews to Rothenstein 5 Apr 1915 (Harvard U.L.) More constructive, perhaps, was Andrews' involvement with regard to Tagore's prose writings - and if his poetry in English lapsed into "sentimental rubbish", after the first 2 "good" volumes, he went on writing "prose books of great beauty" (This is Yeats' judgement - Yeats to Rothenstein, postmark 7 May 1935, in (ed.) A.Wade The Letters of W.B.Yeats (1954) p.834). Within a month of their first meeting, Andrews was encouraging him to publish some of these - Andrews to Tagore 6 Oct 1912 (Santiniketan); later, Tagore entrusted him with the preparation of his complete collected prose writings - Tagore to Macmillan, 19 Apr 1938 (Macmillan Archive, B.M.).
- 24 MR Jan 1913.
- 25 Contemporary Review June 1913. Andrews also began to write an article on Tagore's poetry and Bengali literature in general, for the Hibbert Journal, but this seems never to have been published - Andrews to Tagore, 31 Mar 1913 (Santiniketan).
- 26 In the aftermath of the Delhi extremists bomb attack, in which Hardinge was injured during a state procession in Delhi in December 1912, Andrews had found himself in an exceptionally close association with the Viceroy and Lady Hardinge. Throughout 1913, as we shall see, he took advantage of this association in the promotion of a variety of causes. His close association with the chief representative of imperial power was as unique among missionaries as was his association with the nationalists.



- 27 Andrews to Tagore 8 May 1913 (Santiniketan).
- 28 Andrews to Tagore 15 May 1913 (Santiniketan).
- 29 Tribune 28 May 1913.
- 30 Pioneer 28 May 1913. The Tribune reproduced the text in full, the Pioneer summarised it at length. The full text also appeared in MR Jun and Jul 1913.
- 31 "Mr Andrews on Rabindra Nath Tagore" by "A Bengalee" HR Aug 1913.
- 32 Andrews to Munshi Ram 31 May 1913 (Chaturvedi. Corr. N.A.I.).
- 33 Biog p.125.
- 34 Tribune 20 Feb 1914.
- 35 For an account of this movement, particularly in Bengal, see H. and U. Mukherjée The Origins of the National Education Movement (1905-1910) (1957).
- 36 MR Jul 1913.
- 37 Pearson was to be tutor to the son of a notable old student of St. Stephen's, Rai Bahadur Sultan Singh Tribune 21 Jul 1914.
- 38 Pearson wrote an account of his first visit for the Manchester Guardian (MR May 1913). For a fuller account, see his book W.W.Pearson Shantiniketan (1917).
- 39 Andrews to Hardinge 24 Jan 1915 (Hardinge Papers, C.U.L.).
- 40 Andrews to Tagore 7 Dec 1913 (Santiniketan).
- 41 ibid.
- 42 MR Jul 1913.
- 43 Andrews to Tagore 14 Jan 1914 (Santiniketan). Underhill wrote an enthusiastic review of Gitanjali for The Nation, 16 Nov 1912, subsequently corresponded with him, and edited jointly with him One Hundred Poems of Kabir (1915), in addition to writing an introduction to the English version of the autobiography of Tagore's father (1914). See C.J.R.Armstrong Evelyn Underhill 1875-1941 (1975) pp.138-146.
- 44 MR Jul 1913. For "Jivan-Devata" see E.J.Thompson op.cit. pp.26-30,74-76.
- 45 MR Jul 1913.
- 46 Tribune 4 Dec 1912, MR Jul 1913. Cf. his poem "On Reading Gitanjali" MR Apr 1913.
- 47 MR Jul 1913.
- 48 Andrews to Tagore 21 Aug 1913 (Santiniketan).
- 49 MR Jun 1913.

- 50 Andrews to Tagore 21 Aug 1913 (Santiniketan). It is unfortunate that we get on this important topic only hints of the direction of Andrews' and Tagore's reflections. In this letter he continues, "They came far too near making it fill the whole picture - even the vision of God himself; and then that leads to a craving for suffering for its own sake, as though it were the one means of leading the soul to God - forgetting that joy in its innocence does the same and often far more effectively. I had this falsity once very strongly in my own life, and it became an idolatry: and you have set me free. And my happiness has been to see that this is not Christ's teaching or the Buddha's at all...." Andrews, of course, did not come to rest at this point either. One of the important things about Tagore was that he went on later to speak of "the capacity...to bear the sorrows of others, intrinsic in the love of God....We have sought the delights of divine love to the exclusion of its pain". Towards Universal Man p.167.
- 51 Andrews to Tagore 12 Dec 1912 (Santiniketan); Andrews to Tagore 8 May 1913 (Santiniketan).
- 52 Andrews to Tagore 13 Dec 1913 (Santiniketan).
- 53 Andrews to Tagore 1 Jan 1914, 14 Jan 1914 (Santiniketan).
- 54 This is the easier to understand in the light of Tagore's father's instructions with regard to worship in the temple at Santiniketan: "The one invisible God is to be worshipped, and such instructions are to be given as are consistent with the worship, the praise and the contemplation of the Creator and Maintainer of the world, and as are productive of good morals, religious life, and universal brotherhood". - quoted in W.W.Pearson op.cit. pp.15-16.
- 55 Andrews to Tagore 'February 1913' (Santiniketan). His friends said that he looked like a "Pandit", sitting in the Mandir in Indian dress - Andrews to Munshi Ram 12 Jul 1913 (Chaturvedi. Corr. N.A.I.).
- 56 Andrews to Tagore 1 Sept 1913; 26 Apr 1914 (Santiniketan).
- 57 ibid. Andrews' meaning is unclear: he appears to be using an attribute, "goodness", of the divinity.
- 58 Andrews to Tagore 13 Dec 1913 (Santiniketan).
- 59 Andrews to Tagore 2 Mar 1914 (Bunch of Letters); 14 Jan 1914; 11 Feb 1914; (Santiniketan).
- 60 Andrews to Tagore 21 Feb 1914 (Santiniketan) and 2 Mar 1914 (Bunch of Letters)
- 61 MR Jul 1913.
- 62 In 1922, he published several of these letters written to Tagore in 1913-14, introducing them as having been written during a period when his mind was "passing through a religious crisis" and a period of suffering had come to him in his inner life - MR Jul 1922. In a slightly later review of his developing thought,

he said "There have to be taken into account the influences of strong and remarkable personalities with whom I have been intimately associated. It is never quite easy to tell how far these may have disturbed the balance of judgement" - YMOI 1928 Vol. XL, p.443. Although the reference could also be to Munshi Ram and Gandhi (vide inf.), it is most true of his relationship with Tagore.

- 63 His arguments were very carefully examined and refuted by Farquhar when the letters were published in 1922, in an article "Mr C.F.Andrews on Buddhism and Christianity" - YMOI 1922 Vol.XXIII, pp.490-494. Andrews was not, of course, the first to have such ideas, and they had had some currency in the nineteenth century - see Owen Chadwick The Victorian Church (1970) Part 2, p.39. They were taken up again, later, by Radhakrishnan - see S.J.Samartha The Hindu Response to the Unbound Christ (1974) p.103.
- 64 Comparing him with Vivekananda, Aurobindo, and Radhakrishnan, R.C.Zaehner says none of them "distilled...the sweet essence of Hinduism as did Rabindranath Tagore"Hinduism (1966) p.187.
- 65 Andrews to Tagore 11 Feb 1914 (Bunch of Letters).
- 66 e.g. RI p.163.
- 67 Andrews to Tagore 2 Mar 1914 (Bunch of Letters).
- 68 He later found support for his understanding of Christ in the Fathers - "Christ, they taught, was the universal Son of Man, not the Son of David only" and he came to believe that "if they had come face to face with the higher Indian religious thought which we meet today,....(they) would have .....sought to embrace, within the universal conception of Christ, those gifts and graces to humanity which Hinduism has to offer". YMOI 1928 Vol.XL, p.525.
- 69 Gitanjali (Song Offerings) (1913) p.9.
- 70 Young India Oct 1921.
- 71 T.G.P.Spear India, Pakistan and the West (1949) p.23.
- 72 ibid p.26.
- 73 Zaehner op.cit. p.192.
- 74 M.M.Thomas The Christian Response to the Asian Revolution (1967) p.84.

#### 4. "In the Heart of the Universal Mother"

- 1 The Census gives 243,514 members for the Arya Samaj, 5,304 for the Brahma Samaj.
- 2 For Hindu sensitivity to the information as made available in the census, see Kenneth W.Jones Arya Dharm (1976) p.144. For the Arya Samaj in this period, Jones' book, and his earlier unpublished dissertation (see Bibliography) are important.

- 3 Jones op.cit. p.30.
- 4 See, for example, J.C.B.Webster "Arya Evidences - A Study of Christian Influence" Indian Church History Review June 1978, "Christian influence did penetrate to the core of Arya Samaj belief and self-definition".
- 5 Jones op.cit. p.140.
- 6 Jones op.cit. p.143, refers to the writings of H.M.Clark, a presbyterian missionary, R.T.Williams (vide inf.) and the converted Sikh, Kharak Singh. In addition, n.b. H.Forman The Arya Samaj (1887) and J.Murdoch Vedic Hinduism and the Arya Samaj (1902). It was in an article on Dayananda that Andrews wrote later that he had tried to get books like those of Murdoch "omitted from the catalogues and no longer put into circulation" by Christian agencies - Swarajya 18 Dec 1921 (N.A.I.Chaturvedi. Press Cuttings). The exception to this otherwise universally hostile approach to the Arya Samaj among missionaries was the scholarly American Presbyterian, H.D.Griswold of Lahore. See for example, his articles on the Arya Samaj in the Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics (1909), and as an Appendix to the Report of the Fourth Decennial Indian Missionary Conference (1902), the latter concluding, "Christians need to cultivate a spirit of sympathy and appreciation for everything that is good in the Arya Samaj, while at the same time not being blind to its defects" (p.333). For an account of Griswold's work, see J.C.B.Webster The Christian Community and Change in Nineteenth Century North India (1976) pp.98-102.
- 7 Members of the Delhi Mission were aware of the Samaj from at least 1878, when Bickersteth reported that an enquirer who had recently left the Mission School had been drawn into the Arya Samaj CC 1879. He also reported that in the same year, Dayananda had attempted, without success, to form a branch of the Arya Samaj in the city - E.Bickersteth "A Letter to Rev. Canon Westcott, D.D." C.M.D.Occasional Paper (1881). Allnutt wrote in 1886 that some of the followers of Dayananda had held meetings of "a Society called Mitra Sabha (or Society of Friends)" prior to the formation of a branch of the Samaj shortly before 1885 - S.S.Allnutt "Educational Work in 1885" C.M.D.Occasional Paper (1886).
- 8 Allnutt ibid.
- 9 Jones op.cit. p.143.
- 10 Williams worked with his wife at the out-station at Rewari from 1884 to his death in 1900. There he wrote a number of tracts against (among others) the Aryas, among them Exposure of Dayananda Saraswate (1889), and A Farce - A Religion professedly based on a book, which, as translated for that religion, has no existence (at least 3 separate tracts under this general title, 1892,1894,1895) He also encountered the Arya Samaj during bazaar preaching, as at Hissar, where "the Aryas turned out in all their force and beset me like hornets", an encounter that led on to a private correspondence with the Arya Pandit - CC 1892. Allnutt and Williams had been contemporaries at Cambridge, where the latter had studied Sanskrit and Arabic; Allnutt said

that while at Rewari, Williams was "the only one of our staff who had any real claim to be considered an Oriental Scholar", though he often used to regret that he was "so trenchant in his attack" CC 1900.

- 11 Bickersteth suggested that Dayananda's "purely theistic creed" and opposition to caste were "evidence of the stir and motion of mind and heart which Christian teaching is evincing" - CC 1878. Allnutt described the Arya Samaj as a "half-way house" between orthodox Hinduism and Christianity - "Education as a Missionary Agency" C.M.D. Occasional Paper (1897), though he would probably have agreed with the observation that such reforming forces within Hinduism were "working against the rescue of the Hindu from the thralldom of his false religion" - editorial note DMN Jan 1912; certainly, in the "evil work" of "enticing back" converts, the Aryas were to him "Satan's Agents" DMN Apr 1895. Lefroy regarded the Arya Samaj's girls' school at Jullundur as "a quite high water-mark in girls' education", though, on enquiring as to "whence the ideals and principles on which it worked had been derived", he was told by some members of the Managing Committee that they were "really the outcome of the teaching and influence of an old and greatly respected Presbyterian Indian minister who had lived for long in Jullundur and at whose feet many of these men had sat" Preparatory Paper for Commission 3, W.M.C. Edinburgh 1910. Rudra acknowledged that the Arya Samaj was "really an effective body", but did not think that the Vedas could "afford the basis of a permanent enthusiasm" CT 17 May 1912.
- 12 Dr. Chase, reviewing F. Lillingston's sympathetic The Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj in their bearing upon Christianity (1901) (itself dedicated to the Cambridge Mission to Delhi) DMN Oct 1901.
- 13 Hem Chand "Our Trip to Hardwar" SSC Mag Jul 1910; this visit was also reported in the Tribune 4 May 1910. Sharp had joined the College staff in 1908, and had a special interest in Indian religions.
- 14 CMI Oct 1905.
- 15 TEW Oct 1912; HR Jan 1909.
- 16 DMN Jul 1909. A little later, it was reported that Delhi had been "stirred by the admission of a European to the Arya Samaj with much sounding of trumpets" DMN Oct 1909. Both staff and students of St. Stephen's had connections with the Samaj during these years: thus, students were involved in fund-raising - Tribune 16 Sept 1908; Andrews' colleague and friend, Raghubar Dayal was a little later appointed an examiner of a thesis for the Gurukula at Hardwar - Tribune 17 Mar 1914.
- 17 RI p.119, cf. CT 25 Nov 1910, CC 1910. This was also H.D. Griswold's chief criticism of the Arya Samaj.
- 18 RI p.120.
- 19 ibid. cf. NI p.196, MR Jul 1908, Preparatory Paper for Commission 4, W.M.C. Edinburgh 1910.
- 20 NI pp.196-7.

- 21 Jones op.cit. p.104.
- 22 Lala Ralla Ram, in his Introduction to The Rules and the Scheme of Studies of The Gurukula (1902) p.11.
- 23 Tribune 24 Mar 1908.
- 24 ibid. 16 Mar 1909.
- 25 ibid. 30 Apr 1913.
- 26 Preparatory Paper for Commission 4, W.M.C.Edinburgh 1910; cf. NI p.196.
- 27 See the autobiography, under the name Munshi Ram later assumed, Swami Shraddhanand (1961), edited M.R.Jambunathan.
- 28 Their first meeting could have been when Munshi Ram was on a fund-raising visit to Delhi in 1908, when he was assisted by, among others, a student of St. Stephen's College - Tribune 16 Sept 1908.
- 29 Andrews wrote 2 articles on the basis of his early visits, MR Mar 1913 (of which he wrote to Munshi Ram, "All Calcutta was full of it when I was there" 7 Mar 1913 - Chaturvedi. Corr. N.A.I.), and Tribune 29 Apr 1913.
- 30 The Chaturvedi Collection (N.A.I.) includes 109 between them in 1913; the great majority of those which have survived being written by Andrews; they include references to at least another 10. On one day Andrews wrote three letters to Munshi Ram, remarking in one of them how moved he was to learn that the latter "needed" his daily letters - Andrews to Munshi Ram 17 May 1913. See my account of this correspondence, "Dialogue as Communion" in (ed.) G.Gispert-Sauch S.J. God's Word Among Men (1973) pp.73-83.
- 31 Tribune 4 Apr 1911. Elsewhere Munshi Ram put it in more Western terminology : "It is as though we could get hold of the Balliol scholars and the lights of Trinity and bring them under one roof at Cuddesdon - no beef, no tobacco, and no racy stories" The Gurukula through European Eyes (1914), Intro. by Munshi Ram, p.iv.
- 32 For an article he was writing for the Tribune, "The Gurukula and Its Ideals", Munshi Ram asked him to make whatever criticism he felt to be necessary - Tribune 29 Apr 1913.
- 33 His remarks on the well-kept cows which provided fresh milk for the students, adumbrates a line which he was later to take when cow-protection became a sensitive political issue - see, for example, "The Protection of Cows in India" Leader 4 Sept 1921.
- 34 Tribune 29 Apr 1913. It is a further measure of the relationship that Munshi Ram asked him at about the same time to review the teaching of English throughout the Gurukula - Andrews to Munshi Ram 24 Apr 1913 - Chaturvedi. Corr. N.A.I.).
- 35 MR Mar 1913.

- 36 CMI Sept 1907. Another indication of a more sympathetic attitude was the report in the Tribune that H.D.Griswold of Forman College, Lahore (see n.6, above), had presided at a Dewali day meeting addressed by an Arya preacher, Swami Satyanand - the editor, recalling earlier "acrimonious controversy", welcomed this as "a healthier sign" Tribune 5 Nov 1910. Holland repeated his views at the W.M.C., "Though remorseless in its anti-Christian antagonism, it is yet so true a reform and advance upon popular Hinduism that it is undoubtedly preparing the way of the Lord" Preparatory Paper for Commission 1, W.M.C.Edinburgh 1910. Not surprisingly, K.C.Chatterjee, whose missionary endeavours in the Hoshiarpur district of Punjab had been so long, sustained and effective, reported at Edinburgh of the Arya Samaj that there continued to be "special antagonistic influences in this district" - Preparatory Paper for Commission 1, W.M.C.Edinburgh 1910.
- 37 J.R.MacDonald The Awakening of India (1910) p.53, cf. his "There are no Englishmen on the staff....the college confers its own degrees. Verily this is defiance. The first gasp of the surprised official was bound to be 'Sedition!'" Daily Chronicle, quoted in The Gurukula through European Eyes pp.65-6. British officials certainly were highly suspicious of the Arya Samaj - for example, J.P.Hewitt to Viceroy 16 Jun 1908 and H.Butler to Viceroy, 25 Jul 1911, (Minto Papers N.L.S.) - and of the Gurukula : "Graduates and other students of the Arya Samaj Gurukul have recently paid Delhi a visit. Our agent says they are extremely seditious in their ideas and professed themselves determined to root out the British Government" Weekly Report of the Director of Criminal Intelligence, Punjab 6.Delhi.21 Sept 1907. (Home Political Files N.A.I.).
- 38 Jones refers to his "militantly anti-political stance" in 1910 op.cit. p.300.
- 39 M.R.Jambunathan (ed.) op.cit. p.93.
- 40 Tribune 8 Nov 1913.
- 41 Pioneer 11 Jul 1913; the full title was Siri Ram, Revolutionist : A Transcript from Life 1907-11 (1912). The novel traces the life of a young Punjab student during these years, his deepening involvement with "the revolutionary movement" (p.5), as a result of which he murders a British official and commits suicide while awaiting trial. The Arya Samaj figures largely, and the Gurukula and its "Pundit" - all associated with political activism and violence. We get, interestingly, a glimpse of a "young Cambridge missionary, Moon", who is portrayed as disingenuously sympathetic towards the movement, and it is hard to think that the author could have had anyone other than Andrews in mind. It is a clever book, reflecting a great deal of the current situation from the point of view of the majority of the Anglo-Indian community. Not surprisingly, the Pioneer's reviewer called it "one of the best books we have read for a long time" - anon. review Pioneer 9 May 1913. Andrews noted that "all Simla" was reading it; he conceded that it was "clever", for which reason he thought that it was sure to do much harm. The book was published anonymously, and Andrews surmised that it was "probably the work of a C.I.D. man" Andrews to Munshi Ram

26 May 1913 (Chaturvedi. Corr. N.A.I.). In fact, it was written by Edmund Candler, as the nationalist press discovered early in 1914 - Tribune 30 Jan 1914. Candler was Principal of Patiala College (His appointment in 1906 had been deplored by the nationalists on the grounds that there were better qualified Indian candidates - Tribune 11 Aug 1906). Patiala College was a private school in a princely state whose ruler was very hostile towards the Arya Samaj and had waged an unsuccessful legal battle against them in 1909 on a charge of sedition. Munshi Ram had organized an Arya Defence Fund on behalf of the 115 defendants - Tribune 27 Nov 1909 - and subsequently, with his Gurukula colleague, Ram Deva, wrote an account of the case, The Arya Samaj and Its Detractors (1911). Perhaps confirming the outcome of the trial, the Patiala Arya Samaj was reported in 1911 as celebrating Coronation Day "with great enthusiasm" Tribune 24 Jun 1911.

- 42 Pioneer 27 Oct 1913; HR Feb 1914 cf. Tribune 29 Oct 1913; Tribune 3 Aug 1913, 8 Aug 1913, 20 Sept 1913.
- 43 Andrews subsequently wrote to the Viceroy regarding Munshi Ram's help in connection with the Children's Day, "he gave me the best advice of all as to the way to make it a success, and helped me more than anyone practically. It was due to him also that the Arya Samaj entered so whole-heartedly into the Celebration". Andrews to Hardinge, 5 Jul 1913 (Hardinge Papers, C.U.L.)
- 44 ibid. Pointing out that the organization was carried out by the educated classes themselves (under Andrews' direction), he called it "in a way, their own vindication of their loyalty".
- 45 Andrews to Munshi Ram 31 May 1913 (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.); the meeting took place in early September. Andrews was present. Andrews also arranged for Munshi Ram to meet the new Lt. Governor of the Punjab, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, on whom the visit left "a very happy impression", the latter told the Viceroy - Andrews to Munshi Ram 10 Sept 1913 (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.). Andrews also took Munshi Ram's chief assistant at the Gurukula, Ram Deva, to see Lady Hardinge, at the latter's request - Andrews to Munshi Ram 7 Jun 1913 (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.); Andrews told Lady Hardinge that Ram Deva's daughter was ill, at which she sent her personal physician to attend to the child. This was reported in the Vedic Magazine, "A Gracious Act of Lady Hardinge" - "These kindly acts reveal a genuine Aryan heart", the report concluded - quoted Tribune 6 Jul 1913.
- Was it with Andrews' encouragement that Ramsay MacDonald and other members of the Public Service Commission visited the Gurukula (reported Tribune 26 Nov 1913)? Certainly, Andrews discussed MacDonald's visit with him, in advance - Andrews to Munshi Ram 15 Nov 1913 (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.). MacDonald also visited Santiniketan a few days later - Leicester Pioneer 19 Dec 1913 (quoted Tribune 14 Jan 1914.).
- 46 Andrews first met Meston at the Viceregal Lodge at Simla in June, 1913 - Andrews to Munshi Ram 8 Jun 1913 (Chaturvedi. Corr. N.A.I.) Meston had already visited the Gurukula, in March, where he had declined to talk politics "where politics are unknown" The Gurukula Through European Eyes (1914) p.72.



- 47 Printed Memo dated 21 Jul 1913, replying to a G.O.I. query as to whether he thought the 1912 bomb outrage presaged a revival of anarchy - (Mss.Eur.-F.136/15. I.O.R.).
- 48 ibid. Meston cited the case of Munshi Ram (and similar actions by "other gentlemen in the Province") as evidence that the Arya Samaj was not dangerous. Munshi Ram, in testimony at the Delhi Conspiracy Trial the following year, distinguished between "just criticism" of the imperial government and "Exciting the people against Government", which was "wrong" - "I can but pray to the Divine Mother to lead away such misguided sons of Bharat from the path of unrighteousness" Tribune 25 Apr 1914. Ram Deva spoke of the rapprochement as "the new era of trust and goodwill,....of conciliation" The Gurukula Through European Eyes (1914) p.iii.
- 49 Andrews to Munshi Ram 26 May 1913, 7 Jun 1913 (Chaturvedi Corr. N.A.I.).
- 50 Andrews to R.Tagore 15 May 1913 (Santiniketan); Andrews to Munshi Ram 8 Jun 1913 (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.).
- 51 Andrews to Munshi Ram 21 May 1913 (Chaturvedi.Corr.N.A.I.).
- 52 It was a friendship which was to run on beyond Andrews' missionary decade, with Munshi Ram getting himself involved actively with Gandhi and the work of the Indian National Congress - initially, at least, through Andrews - but the most interesting phase with regard to 'inter-religious dialogue' was the year 1913, when meetings and correspondence were so frequent and revealing.
- 53 J.S.Hoyland C.F.Andrews (1940) p.15. Hoyland had gone out to India late in 1912, and spent his first few months staying, with Andrews, in Rudra's household. In March 1913, Andrews took Rudra's son, Sudhir, and Hoyland, to the Gurukula for a week. Hoyland's very interesting account of the dialogue continues, "It was an amazing experience to sit by, and to watch this process in operation...I remember even then being impressed by the thought that this method of reformation from within might be the manner of working which the spirit of God had chosen for the saving of India, through the gradual purging and elevating of indigenous systems of thought and practice by the impact of such personalities as that of C.F.Andrews. If such a process were to take place, it was obvious that an important part would have to be played by men prepared, as C.F.A. was prepared, to sit quietly at the feet of the leaders of India, and to learn from them in such a fashion that whilst learning they would also teach, and teach not ostentatiously, but merely by the spirit in which they learnt" (pp.15-16).
- 54 Rudra to Munshi Ram 30 Mar 1913 (Chaturvedi.Corr.N.A.I.); Munshi Ram to Andrews 25 Apr 1913; Andrews to Munshi Ram 26 Apr 1913 (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.). "(Tagore) is far away, up in the clouds".
- 55 Passing on his letters to and from Stanton, Lefroy, Montgomery and Allnutt, he wrote, "I want you to share with me everything and I can only do this by sending you such letters as these" Andrews to Munshi Ram 27 Jul 1913, cf. 28 Jul 1913 (Chaturvedi. Corr. N.A.I.).

- 56 Andrews to Munshi Ram 21 Apr 1913, 5 May 1913 (Chaturvedi. Corr. N.A.I.).
- 57 Andrews to Munshi Ram 26 Apr 1913 (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.)
- 58 Andrews to Munshi Ram 30 Apr 1913 (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.)
- 59 Andrews to Munshi Ram 13 Jul 1913 (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.)
- 60 Andrews to Munshi Ram 28 Oct 1913 (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.)
- 61 Andrews to Munshi Ram 26 Apr 1913 and 21 Oct 1913 (Chaturvedi. Corr. N.A.I.). On occasion, Andrews admitted to being confused in this respect. Thus, writing of the 19th-Century Brahmo Samajist, K.C.Sen, he said, "Keshab was neither one thing nor the other, - neither English nor Indian, neither Hindu nor Christian, an actor taking different parts and leading his followers after him who were hypnotised by his emotionalism. Yet he lived a pure, self-sacrificing life and had his share of love for his own country and is pathetic even in his failure; as was said of Hamlet, - 'Oh, what a noble nature all gone wrong!'. I suppose I am hard on him because he had the very things I am trying to get rid of in myself and have learnt to despise". Andrews to Munshi Ram 24 Jul 1913 (Chaturvedi, Corr. N.A.I.).
- 62 Andrews to Munshi Ram 28 Oct 1913 (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.).
- 63 Andrews to Munshi Ram 28 Jul 1913 (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.).
- 64 For example, 'correcting' an interpretation of the concept of maya which undervalued the created order - Andrews to Munshi Ram 17 Oct 1913 (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.).
- 65 Munshi Ram to Andrews 25 Apr 1913. Munshi Ram expressed his approval a little later of something Andrews had written by calling it "Dharmic and True" Andrews to Munshi Ram 27 Jul 1913 (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.).

## 5. "A Saint of action"

- 1 Biog p.126.
- 2 On the Indian community in South Africa, see M.Palmer The History of the Indians in Natal (1957); for Gandhi's part, see R.A.Huttenback Gandhi in South Africa (1971), and F.Meer Apprenticeship of a Mahatma (1970).
- 3 H.Tinker's A New System of Slavery (1974) gives a full account of the system before its final overthrow.
- 4 During these years, the Tribune carried reports on indenture in Fiji (18 Dec 1910), and Mauritius (28 Jan 1911, 21 Feb 1911) as well as South Africa; lack of progress in controlling the system in South Africa caused increasing concern e.g. 19 Jan 1910, 14 Jan 1911, 18 Mar 1912. The Anglo-Indian Pioneer was unsympathetic, complaining that "the Indian coolies" in British Guiana were "rather given to desertion", without considering possible causes (5 May 1904), and describing the use of the

- term 'slavery' of the conditions of (Chinese) indentured labourers in South Africa as "absolutely irrational" (14 Jun 1904) cf. a complacent view in the British Chambers Journal 11 Mar 1905.
- 5 The nationalists welcomed Lord Minto's order discontinuing indenture to the Straits Settlements as one of his "silent acts of reform" Tribune 18 Oct 1910. Minto's two viceregal predecessors, Curzon and Amthill, also spoke out against the treatment of South African Indians - TEW Jan 1909; Amthill, on his return to Britain proved himself a liberal and energetic supporter of the Indian cause, as President of the South African Indian Committee, as the Tribune noted with satisfaction (17 Jan 1908).
  - 6 The Tribune followed the 1906 legislation closely - e.g. 24 Jun 1906, and concluded that the entire Indian community in South Africa were "Helots at last" (title of an article 3 Aug 1907). From mid-1913 to mid 1914, the Tribune carried at least 63 items on the subject.
  - 7 R.A.Huttenback Racism and Empire (1976) p.323.
  - 8 For Gandhi's regular contact with Gokhale, and the latter's visits to South Africa, see S.Wolpert op.cit. p.250, etc. Gokhale kept the issue before both Congress and the Imperial Legislative Council.
  - 9 e.g. Tribune 3 Aug 1907, 21 Mar 1908. Satyagraha means 'truth-force' and was Gandhi's idealisation of the practice of passive-resistance in the light of his belief that the goal of human life was the search for truth. Behind it was a blend of the Hindu Vaishnava tradition of ahimsa, non-violence, and a belief in suffering rather than fighting to overcome an opponent, this latter much influenced by Christian ideas, not least as developed by Tolstoy. For a detailed study, see J.V.Bondurant Conquest of Violence (Revised ed. 1965), also the chapter, 'Passive Resistance in South Africa' in Andrews' Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas (1929), and Gandhi's own Satyagraha in South Africa (1928).
  - 10 G.A.Natesan, speaking at the 1909 Congress, Tribune 2 Jan 1910.
  - 11 A personal link existed in the person of A.French, who moved in 1906 from the Delhi Mission to the Indian Mission in Durban, from where he reported on the hostility of the white colonists to the 'free Indians' - DMN Oct 1906.
  - 12 TEW Jan 1909.
  - 13 Tribune 9 Jan 1909, also 4 Feb 1910.
  - 14 quoted Tribune 5 Sept 1912.
  - 15 Allnutt to Stanton, Dec 1913 (C.M.D. "Past Members of Mission - Men").
  - 16 Tribune 3 Jan 1907, cf. TEW Oct 1912.
  - 17 RI p.171.
  - 18 TEW Jul 1910; SM Apr 1908, cf. paper "Missionary Service" 1911 (S.C.M.Archives, Selly Oak).

- 19 The Tribune 25 Jan 1908, welcoming Andrews' intervention, spoke of "the gruesome details of the tragic travesty of Imperialism that is being enacted in the Transvaal". A few days earlier, Andrews had spent a day with W.H.Nevinson, "foremost among journalist friends of the Indian people" (MR May 1909), who was on his way to speak in Lahore on "Indian Oppression in the Transvaal" Tribune 22 Jan 1908.
- 20 Published in the Statesman, reproduced Tribune 25 Jan 1908.
- 21 Andrews to Dunlop Smith, 28 Jan 1908 (N.L.S. - Minto Papers). The argument he used was that the appearance of indifference was hurting the cause of the "moderate" nationalists, and "playing into the hands of Mr.Tilak".
- 22 Tribune 25 Jan 1908. The Viceroy took Andrews' letter seriously, as "another proof of the very deep and widespread feeling of resentment at the treatment of Indians in South Africa" (Minto to Godley 30 Jan 1908 - microfilm of Minto Papers, N.A.I.)
- 23 Tribune 24 Jul 1910. One difficulty in this matter was that, as Ramsay MacDonald explained in the St. Stephen's College Magazine, the Government of India had no constitutional rights in the matter (SSC Mag Jan 1914, "India and South Africa". The article, presumably commissioned by Andrews, was welcomed by the Civil and Military Gazette of 23 Jan 1914 as "deserving a much wider audience among educated Indians").
- 24 Andrews to Hardinge 5 Jul 1913 (C.U.L.Hardinge Papers). While, as with Minto, Andrews suggested that such a move would "keep educated Indians loyal", there is no need to doubt that he was concerned about the "real, hard injustices" of the situation. Similarly with the liberal Hardinge: he saw that his intervention would strengthen "the Imperial sentiment in India" (Hardinge to Ampthill 1 Oct 1913 - C.U.L.Hardinge Papers), but his own indignation at the Union Government's attitude to the South African Indians was brought to "boiling point" by the news that was reaching India - see his My Indian Years (1948) p.91. In a private letter of 19 Dec 1913 to Gokhale, Hardinge went so far as to offer to "arrange a contribution from my Government" to the campaign funds-see Wolpert op.cit. p.255. Hardinge's genuine sympathy with the Indian cause is reflected in his letters to Ampthill at the time e.g. 1 Oct 1913, 23 Dec 1913 (C.U.L.Hardinge Papers).
- 25 Hardinge to Andrews, 12 Jul 1913 (C.U.L.Hardinge Papers).
- 26 Andrews to Lefroy 29 Oct 1913; 13 Nov 1913 (Bishop's College, Calcutta).
- 27 He sent a personal contribution to Gokhale's campaign fund - see his circular letter to his brother bishops of 21 Jan 1914 (Bishop's College, Calcutta).
- 28 Andrews' draft was forwarded to Lefroy after a preliminary letter to him on the subject, dated 29 Oct 1913, and is among the Bishop's College, Calcutta papers. Lefroy forwarded it to the other Indian bishops with a covering letter dated 29 Dec 1913.

- 29 The correspondence at Bishop's College indicates that some wanted a stronger appeal, others a more restrained one.
- 30 This is Dr. I.D.L.Clark's impression - letter to D.O'C. 17 Sept 1975.
- 31 It is not clear when exactly Andrews met Polak. He later said that Polak was the only person whom he knew among the welcoming party on arriving at Durban (typescript "Lecture in the Indian Association Hall, Phagli" - "Articles and Speeches..." Chaturvedi Papers, N.A.I.). Polak visited the Punjab during his tour, and Andrews reported his presence at the Lahore meeting of the Congress in 1909 - Andrews and G.Mukherjee op.cit. p.226. (Lefroy was reported "unavoidably absent" from one of Polak's public meetings in Lahore - Tribune 10 Feb 1910). In addition to 2 small books published at this time in India The Indians of South Africa and M.K.Gandhi, this latter the first biographical material on Gandhi to appear in India, Polak wrote a number of articles on the South African situation which Andrews must have seen - Tribune 29 Aug 1909, Ind Int Oct 1909, MR May 1910.
- 32 MR May 1910; Ind Int Oct 1909; MR Jan 1914.
- 33 The appeal, issued on 7 Nov, appeared in the Tribune 9 Nov 1913.
- 34 Andrews to Gokhale, 16 Nov 1913 (Gokhale Papers N.A.I.). Andrews offered his life-savings, of which Gokhale accepted Rs.1000. Other donors at the time included Ramsay MacDonald and the Gurukula students - Tribune 20 Nov 1913. Gokhale visited St. Stephen's College to collect the students' contribution. Rudra welcomed him as "an emblem of absolute loyalty to the King and magnificent service to the Motherland" (Tribune 21 Nov 1913), and at the end of the meeting with "cheers to Messrs. Gandhi and Polak, and the singing of the National Anthem, the gathering dispersed". (Tribune 19 Nov 1913).
- 35 Typescript (press release?) dated 26 Nov 1913 (Gokhale Papers, N.A.I.). Allnutt, less generously, put it slightly differently: "(Andrews), needless to say, suggested it, but it is given out, I believe, as an answer to an appeal from Gokhale", though he conceded that it indicated "what extraordinary influence he has out here", adding, "He is so much a persona grata to the Viceroy that it may well be he will approve it" - Allnutt to Stanton n.d. (C.M.D. "Past Members - Men"). At the last minute, William Pearson, a friend, and private tutor in Delhi, offered to go with Andrews, an offer which Andrews accepted. We have not referred to Pearson in the text as he took on an independent assignment in South Africa, investigating the conditions of indentured labourers.
- 36 The Pioneer thought that the mission would do more harm than good - quoted Tribune 5 Dec 1913; the Calcutta correspondent of the Guardian was also critical, 23 Dec 1913; a correspondent to the Church Times, 12 Dec 1913 likewise, but an article there saw the mission as of considerable importance - "Indians in South Africa : The Rev. C.F.Andrews' Mission" 5 Dec 1913; the Archbishop of Cape Town hoped that Andrews would see that there were two sides to the question - Archbishop of Cape Town to Montgomery, 9 Jan 1914 (S.P.G. - Letters Received (Originals) Africa I. South Africa 1914).

- 37 MR Dec 1913, Tribune 29 Nov 1913. See also, Tribune 31 Dec 1913, MR May 1914.
- 38 Tribune 21 Dec 1913, cf. MR Jan 1914.
- 39 H.Tinker The Ordeal of Love (1979) p.143.
- 40 Articles included MR Mar 1914 (reproduced in Arya Patrika 7 Mar 1914; this article was also noted in the C.I.D.files - N.A.I. Home (Political) Mar 1914, No.24 Deposit), May 1914, Jun 1914, Jul 1914, Aug 1914, Sept 1914, Oct 1914; Cape Times 23 Feb 1914 (quoted Tribune 25 Feb 1914); CT 6 Mar 1914; TEW Oct 1914; Pioneer 20 May 1914 (quoted MR Jun 1914). He also published in South Africa a substantial collection of data, Documents Relating to the Indian Question (n.d.).
- 41 Perhaps the most interesting of the public addresses was a repeat of his Simla lecture on Tagore, in the City Hall in Cape Town, under the chairmanship of the Governor-General, Lord Gladstone, an old Cambridge friend (account in DMN Jul 1914) - an opportunity to emphasise that India "was and is a civilised country, that even her coolies are heirs to a traditional culture and spirituality" (MR Mar 1914), a theme also of his preaching in Durban and Pretoria Cathedrals - Andrews to Tagore, 14 Jan 1914 (Santiniketan).
- 42 Of this, Gandhi commented later, "If I were to compete with him as to which of us had the greatest influence with these people in South Africa, I am not sure that he would not floor me" Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi (1971) Vol.XLVIII p.123.
- 43 Andrews to Tagore, 6 Jan 1914 (Santiniketan). Cf. his comment to Gokhale, "The vital question was not any question of 'give and take' as to details, but the great principle of whether the Indian was to stand up like a man to the Englishman, or to be further degraded...That's what you and the Viceroy didn't see - it was a question of honour and manhood". Andrews to Gokhale 23 Jan 1914 (Gokhale Papers N.A.I.).
- 44 Andrews to Gokhale 23 Jan 1914 (Gokhale Papers, N.A.I.); the letter of 30 Jan 1914 is also essential for Andrews' contribution to the negotiations.
- 45 Gandhi's journal, Indian Opinion for 17 Jun 1914 said that Andrews' spirit "seemed to watch and guide the deliberations of the House" (quoted Tribune 18 Jul 1914) n.b. Andrews' record of the debate in his Documents Relating to the Indian Question: although there was vehement opposition to allowing freer access for "the refuse of the backparts of India" to "overrun" the country (p.27), the views of members like the former Prime Minister, J.X.Merriman, whom Andrews had befriended during his time in South Africa (see Typescript "Introduction" to book on A.S.Cripps, in Chaturvedi HArticles and Speeches..... N.A.I.) prevailed. Cf. Prime Minister Botha's speech: he "knew that the people in South Africa would believe him when he said that he had always done his utmost to keep these Indians out of the country....Nor did he rise in the House to embrace these people. But..., whatever their feelings, they must be just and fair towards the Indians" (pp.30-1).

- 46 Press telegram, 6 Jul 1914, signed Gachalia, Gandhi Kallenback and Polak - quoted Tribune 9 Jul 1914.
- 47 Telegram, Gandhi to Gokhale, 22 Jan 1914 - quoted in Tribune 25 Jan 1914, cf. telegram Gokhale to Hardinge, 23 Jan 1914 (Hardinge Papers, C.U.L.); Indian Opinion - quoted Tribune 26 Feb 1914; Telegram, Gandhi to Gokhale, 24 Feb 1914 - quoted Tribune 27 Feb 1914. Cf. Polak in H.S.L.Polak, etc. Mahatma Gandhi (1949), "Andrews rendered great service in interpreting the Indian viewpoint to Smuts and the Commission" (p.91). Andrews' mission was evidently also appreciated by the Viceroy, with whom he was invited to dine in Simla on his return to India - Tribune 12 May 1914; The Tribune speculated that Andrews would be setting the record straight, over against the official reports of what had happened in South Africa, and would also be giving an impression of the iniquities of the indenture system - certainly, Andrews was to use his South African experience later in pressing the Viceroy on this subject - Andrews to Hardinge, 28 Jun 1915 (Hardinge Papers C.U.L.).
- 48 Tribune 8 Jan 1914, 18 Feb 1914.
- 49 Andrews to Munshi Ram 5 Apr 1914 (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.).
- 50 He met, of course, several of Gandhi's Indian associates (MR Jul 1914), and clearly also made an impression on the poorer members of the community, such as "the Dhoobie community" at Pretoria, who presented him with a purse to be used at his discretion - Indian Social Reformer 8 Mar 1914.
- 51 Andrews to Munshi Ram 12 Dec 1913 (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.). Andrews did, of course, literally touch Gandhi's feet on meeting him, to the consternation both of Gandhi himself and also of the white onlookers, but this letter indicates that this was a deliberate and pre-meditated expression of his attitude.
- 52 Andrews to Gokhale 30 Jan 1914 (Gokhale Papers, N.A.I.). Cf. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur : "Apart from Gandhiji's sister, I never heard anyone else other than...(Andrews) call him 'Mohan'", (Stephanian Apr 1964), as he indeed did from his very first letter - Andrews to Gandhi, 26 Feb 1914 (Gandhi S.S.S. New Delhi).
- 53 Andrews to Tagore 14 Jan 1914 (Santiniketan).
- 54 Andrews to Gandhi 26 Feb 1914 (Gandhi S.S.S. New Delhi).
- 55 e.g. "Gandhi...spoke of the great debt of gratitude he owed to Andrews for having brought him into such close and intimate touch with three of India's greatest sons, the poet Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatmaji and Mr. Rudra" - W.W.Pearson to S.K.Rudra, 27 Sept 1915 (Roadarmel.Berkeley); cf. "We have come close to each other through the common love of our dear friend Charlie Andrews and the common aim we both have set before us" - Tagore to Munshi Ram, 15 Jan 1914 (Santiniketan); cf. Gandhi's description of Munshi Ram as "an esteemed co-worker" in the national movement - Collected Works of M.K.Gandhi (1965) Vol.XVI p.378. Gandhi wrote "My open letter to the Viceroy

giving concrete shape to the Khilafat claim was conceived and drafted under Principal Rudra's roof. He and Charlie Andrews were my revisionists. Non-co-operation was conceived and hatched under his hospitable roof" Young India 9 Jul 1924; cf. "From the time of his return to India in 1915 to the date of S.K.Rudra's retirement in 1923, whenever he happened to be in Delhi, Gandhi stayed in the Principal's house...it was here that he first met Tagore, and where he used to receive leaders like Tilak, Moti Lal Nehru, Maulana Mohammed Ali, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Azad, Jawaharlal Nehru..." Stephanian Oct 1969.

- 56 Harijan 19 Apr 1940; Andrews to Gandhi 26 Feb 1914 (Gandhi S.S.S. New Delhi). That Gandhi should entrust his sons to Andrews' care on their return to India, indicates that there were elements of respect and trust, as well as affection, here - Tribune 10 Nov 1914; Andrews arranged that they should on their arrival stay with Rudra first, at St. Stephen's College, and then at Munshi Ram's Gurukula, before settling for some time at Tagore's Santiniketan - SSC Mag Easter 1923, cf. Andrews to Munshi Ram, 24 Nov 1914 (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.).
- 57 Andrews to Tagore 14 Jan 1914 (Santiniketan) cf. his observation of Gandhi in negotiation: "every point became with Mr.Gandhi a matter of principle to live and die for" - Andrews to Gokhale, 30 Jan 1914 (Gokhale Papers N.A.I.).
- 58 MR Jun 1914, cf. Tolstoy's assessment four years earlier: "Your activity in the Transvaal...is the most...important of all the work now being done in the world" Tolstoy to Gandhi 7 Sept 1910, included in Andrews' Documents Relating to the Indian Question (n.d.).
- 59 Andrews says this was when Gandhi was "a young lad in London" - typescript "Mahatma Gandhi" (Chaturvedi. "Articles and Speeches .....") N.A.I.).
- 60 He published one of Tolstoy's letters (previously published by Gandhi in Indian Opinion 26 Nov 1910) in his Documents Relating to the Indian Question. W.W.Pearson quotes from the same letter in his "Report on my visit to South Africa" MR Jun 1914.
- 61 Andrews to Tagore 2 Mar 1914 (Santiniketan).
- 62 Andrews to Tagore 11 Feb 1914 (Santiniketan). He was clearly predisposed to make this interpretation, for, before ever meeting the satyagrahis, after reading the press reports from South Africa, he had written to Munshi Ram the previous October: "I went back again in thought to the tiny Christian band in the first days when men and women, yes even slaves, followed Christ indeed!" - Andrews to Munshi Ram, 28 Oct 1913 (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.). Andrews was not the first to see Christ-like features in Gandhi's work; a Baptist minister friend in South Africa, Joseph Doke, wrote a few years earlier of Gandhi's vision as that of "such a city as all inspired men see, and to build whose walls they still 'endure the cross, despising shame'". J.J.Doke M.K.Gandhi (1909) p.97. Gandhi took Andrews to meet Doke's widow MR Aug 1914.
- 63 MR May 1914.



- 64 Andrews to Munshi Ram 28 Oct 1913 (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.);  
Andrews to Tagore 11 Feb 1914 (Santiniketan).
- 65 Andrews to Tagore 2 Mar 1914 (Santiniketan).
- 66 M.M.Thomas The Acknowledged Christ of the Indian Renaissance (1970) p.226.
- 67 MR Jul 1914. This interpretation of Andrews' understanding of Gandhi finds corroboration in J.V.Bondurant op.cit. p.30. "For Gandhi, freedom and preservation of individual integrity were the higher values", cf. p.114, where the original meaning of swaraj is given as "Autonomy of the moral self".
- 68 Andrews to Gandhi 26 Feb 1914 (Gandhi S.S.S. New Delhi).
- 69 See next section.
- 70 "The ten days I had with him were precious to me in a peculiar degree". Andrews to Gandhi 5 Apr 1913 (Gandhi S.S.S. New Delhi). They had long discussions on Andrews' new religious ideas, and on Gokhale's understanding of the relationship between political and religious ideas.
- 71 Tribune 18 Jul 1914.

#### 6. "The sympathetic school of Mr.Andrews"

- 1 Sharpe names Andrews, V.S.Azariah, J.N.Farquhar, D.J.Fleming, W.E.S.Holland, R.A.Hume, L.P.Larsen, N.Macnicol, and N.C. Mukerji as the nucleus of this group - Not to Destroy But to Fulfil (1965) p.240.
- 2 Pan-Anglican Congress Vol.3, p.15.
- 3 Nathaniel Micklem, in SM Apr 1913.
- 4 M.M.Underhill to T.Tatlow, 24 Aug 1913 (S.C.M.Archives, Selly Oak).
- 5 A writer in the Cowley Evangelist, quoted in DMN Jan 1912. An S.P.G. missionary whose views Bishop Montgomery had solicited, to check against those of Andrews and Rudra, wrote: "Where Christianity offers the perfect solution of all the problems raised by religious consciousness, Hinduism merely offers contradictory, absurd and usually immoral and blasphemous hypotheses" - A.E.Gardiner to Montgomery 26 Dec 1912 (C.M.D. 'College Constitution'). Andrews subsequently wrote that he was "profoundly shocked" at the missionary attacks on other religions, True India (1939) p.14. He tried to get withdrawn some of the older missionary publications, such as those of John Murdoch, which "wrote down Hinduism offensively" Swarajya 18 Dec 1921.
- 6 E.J.Sharpe Faith Meets Faith (1977) p.36.
- 7 A.W.Davies in SM Mar 1912, J.Lee in CT 19 Dec 1913. Rudra was markedly less sympathetic than Andrews; his position is exemplified in his remark that "the Light of Christ....is assuredly more glorious than the Light of the Buddha, as the sunshine excels

- the light of the brightest star" SM Jan 1910.
- 8 NI p.79, cf. the "evil-looking sadhus" at Cawnpore, p.110, and the "gross heathenism" at Kotgur p.154.
  - 9 CC 1905, TEW Oct 1905, Epiph 6 Oct 1906, HR Jan 1907, NI pp.80-1, RI pp.81,160. Hindu reviewers took exception to his attitude to "idolatry" as to little else in his views, MR Jul 1909, IR Mar 1914.
  - 10 "Astrology and Religion" SSC Mag Dec 1911.
  - 11 Preparatory Paper for Commission 4, W.M.C.Edinburgh 1910. Caste has, he explained, "its church office-bearers, its church councils, its church discipline, its church meetings, its church moral-code".
  - 12 RI p.247.
  - 13 NI p.210.
  - 14 RI p.163.
  - 15 Ind Int Oct 1909.
  - 16 RI p.163, cf. NI pp.224-5, Ind Int Oct 1909, CT 25 Nov 1910.
  - 17 MR Mar 1908.
  - 18 Used, for example by Farquhar, Crown of Hinduism (1913) p.27.
  - 19 Ind Int Oct 1909, cf. SM Nov 1909, Epiph 25 Nov 1911, RI p.179.
  - 20 RI p.274.
  - 21 RI p.280, IR Jun 1912.
  - 22 "India in Transition" C.M.D.Occasional Paper, 1910.
  - 23 RI p.144, cf. TEW Jan 1911.
  - 24 Preparatory Paper for Commission 4, W.M.C.Edinburgh 1910, cf. RI p.161. Andrews developed some of these ideas in his "The Creation Theory of The Universe" MR Apr 1909. R.G.Milburn, an Anglican missionary at Bishop's College, Calcutta, caused a good deal of controversy with a similar view, in his "Christian Vedantism" Ind Int Jan 1913. A young Indian Christian in the Punjab saw nothing but danger in such an accommodation: "the 'Siren notes' of Vedantism, its subtle and deep philosophies, will bring that stupor and sleep upon the West out of which the East is just arising" M.Ahmad Shah in HR Sept 1913 (an idea repeated recently by L.Newbigin in Honest Religion for Secular Man (1966) pp.49-50).
  - 25 Entry for 27 Feb 1911 in Minutes Book, United Council for Missionary Study (Edinburgh House, London).
  - 26 RI p.144.
  - 27 The letters should be read thus : Andrews to Munshi Ram 13 Jul 1913, Andrews to Tagore 1 Sept 1913, Andrews to Munshi Ram

- 28 Oct 1913, Andrews to Tagore 13 Dec 1913, 14 Jan 1914, 11 Feb 1914, 21 Feb 1914, Andrews to Gandhi 26 Feb 1914, 5 Apr 1914, 13 Apr 1914, Andrews to Tagore 24 May 1914. Only one aspect of his new reflections found its way into print at this time - a lecture which he delivered at the Brahma Mandir in Calcutta in Jul 1913 (Andrews to Munshi Ram 21 Jul 1913 - Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.), and revised and expanded into an essay, "The Body of Humanity" MR Sept and Oct 1913. In this, he begins by explaining that he is responding to Tagore's call "to carry forward the work of the 'Making of Man'", by examining the social implications of the various world religions and their potential contribution to the well-being of the "body of humanity". The connection of this with his subsequent reflections lies in the assertion that "Christianity is no longer divorced from other world religions". Andrews confessed to Tagore that he found the subject beyond his powers - Andrews to Tagore, 1 Sept 1913 (Santiniketan).
- 28 Andrews to Munshi Ram, 13 Sept 1913 (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.).
- 29 Andrews to Gandhi 26 Feb 1914 (Gandhi S.S.S. New Delhi). He wrote to Tagore of "the world's higher religions" as "a branching family tree" Andrews to Tagore 2 Mar 1914 (Santiniketan), a metaphor also used by Gandhi - see S.J.Samartha The Hindu Response to the Unbound Christ (1974) p.79.
- 30 Andrews to Tagore 21 Feb 1914 (Santiniketan).
- 31 "Mr.C.F.Andrews on Buddhism and Christianity" YMOI Sept 1922. Farquhar wrote this after the publication of a number of these letters in the YMOI in July and August 1922.
- 32 Andrews to Tagore 13 Apr 1914 (Santiniketan).
- 33 Farquhar called the letters which Andrews published in 1922, "a very moving record of a great crisis in the spiritual history of a gifted Christian", and the speculations on Christ and the "Hindu-Buddhist ideal", "a blazing sign of the depths to which Mr.Andrews' Christian soul was moved by the grossness and cruelty of Christian people in South Africa in their dealing with people of other races". YMOI Sept 1922.
- 34 Their importance "in the long run" is indicated in that Andrews and his approach are still held up as a model of the Christian approach to men of other faiths - e.g. S.J.Samartha on "Dialogue between men of living faiths" in (ed.) S.J.Samartha Living Faiths and the Ecumenical Movement (1971) p.21, and K.Cracknell, Why Dialogue? A First British Comment on the W.C.C.Guidelines (1980) pp.23-4.
- 35 R.H.Lesser in Indian Journal of Theology Jul-Dec 1978, commenting on the author's "Dialogue as Communion: C.F.Andrews and Munshi Ram" in (ed.) G.Gispert Sauch S.J. God's Word Among Men (1974).
- 36 R.C.Zaehner Hinduism (1966) pp.188,187.
- 37 This phrase is used by W.Cantwell Smith in seeking to define a new way of looking at the role of the missionary, Andrews' "participation....in the life of Gandhi" being cited as "a

striking illustration" - "Participation : The Changing Christian Role in Other Cultures" Occasional Bulletin Missionary Research Library, New York, April 1969.

- 38 On Andrews' death, Tagore wrote that in no one had he seen "such a triumph of Christianity", quoted in an Appendix to Andrews' Sandhya Meditations (1940) p.175. On the same occasion, Gandhi called him "Love incarnate" (ibid. p.172.) He had seemed pleased at Andrews' recovery of faith in the 1920's - see Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi (1971) Vol.XLVIII, p.318.

CHAPTER 7. THE CLOSING PHASE1. Introductory

On 15th June, 1914, Andrews left Rudra and St. Stephen's College, the Cambridge Brotherhood and Delhi, and went to his new home at Tagore's Santiniketan thus bringing his missionary decade to an end. The last two or so years of that decade, from mid-1912, were a time of intense and varied activity, so that he spoke of "this crowded, urgent existence, ....overburdened...with activities and impetuosities"<sup>1</sup>. It was also a time of great personal confusion and distress, as he approached the point of decision about leaving the Delhi Mission.<sup>2</sup>

It is not to be thought, however, that the explanation for his decision lay solely in the particular experiences of 1912-14. In some respects, the seed was sown in his attending the 1906 meeting of the Congress, and he himself later said that his growing sense of an incongruity between his nationalist sympathies and his place in the Delhi Mission stemmed from that time.<sup>3</sup> In another respect, what he saw as the "religious imperialism" of the Christian missions had been a source of disquiet from his earliest days in India,<sup>4</sup> so that almost throughout the decade, and particularly from the time of his meeting S.E.Stokes, he "felt more and more like a fish out of water" in his formal missionary role.<sup>5</sup> Only, as he himself was later to acknowledge, the sympathetic understanding of Allnutt and Rudra,<sup>6</sup> and the relatively "liberal" attitude of the Cambridge Mission,<sup>7</sup> enabled him to stay on as long as he did. It has also to be said that there were factors in his personality which had made him from the beginning a somewhat uncertain member of the Delhi Mission.<sup>8</sup>

The last two years of Andrews' missionary decade, nevertheless, furnish a number of illustrations of the sort of factors which helped

to shape his decision.

## 2. "Education on indigenous lines"

The move from St. Stephen's to Santiniketan was a move from one type of educational institution to another of a somewhat different type. Was Andrews' decision to move in any way determined by this difference? In order to answer this question, we need to look, though necessarily briefly, at his views on education in India. Not surprisingly for one with a considerable reputation as an educationalist,<sup>1</sup> he gave a good deal of attention to educational questions throughout his missionary decade, and wrote several notable articles on the subject.<sup>2</sup>

Significant changes in education were, in fact, afoot at this time. From the official side, there was Curzon's reform of the universities, with its bold emphasis on Indian studies, a reform consolidated with Harcourt Butler's appointment in 1910 as the first member for education in the Viceroy's council.<sup>3</sup> A movement for change from within the emerging political nation was reflected in the resolution of the 1906 Congress stressing the importance of what was called "National Education".<sup>4</sup>

Andrews himself sought to describe and evaluate these changes, most typically by surveying the history of western education in India. His own attitudes were considerably modified during the decade. Thus, at the beginning, he called Macaulay, whose minute had led to the introduction of western education, "one of the greatest friends which India ever had".<sup>5</sup> At the end of the decade, he was referring to "that vandal and iconoclast Macaulay".<sup>6</sup> In the years between, we find a series of attempts to evaluate and re-evaluate the impact of western education. Throughout, he continued to acknowledge that the thrust of Macaulay's minute was "a true one,.... probably right for the time....The hour of the indigenous revival had not yet come. A shock from without was needed".<sup>7</sup> Macaulay's approach had,

nevertheless, been "extremely short-sighted", and its defects were now being understood in the national movement, the "lack of appreciation of the greatness of India's past, and his blindness to the claims of the vernaculars"<sup>8</sup>. What was most characteristic of Macaulay's "vandalism" was "the neglect of Indian tradition", his forgetting that India was not a tabula rasa, but, rather, "an illuminated manuscript...rich with the spoils of time and inscribed with the wisdom of the ages"<sup>9</sup>. Over against this attractive image, he drew a parable of the western educational enterprise from the architecture of Delhi - "a sham Gothic clock-tower, and a terra-cotta Town Hall built like a Greek Temple", placed side by side in "the noble" Chandni Chowk, "the most famous street in all India", a perpetual record of British taste at its worst.<sup>10</sup> And this "vandal spirit"<sup>11</sup> still characterised the educational system.

Since Macaulay's time, we have remained crudely, almost brutally English....We ourselves are in danger of becoming vandals in our turn.<sup>12</sup>

The effect of this was a system widely felt to be failing, a mere "make-shift for education"<sup>13</sup>. Andrews went on to describe more accurately the "inadequacy of Macaulay's legacy"<sup>14</sup> and its effects. He did so in a most original and interesting excursus on the commonplace analogy between the Roman and British empires. Macaulay's educational policy, which aimed "to make the Hindu more English than Indian", and so, Andrews added, "to attach him to England by the strongest of all ties, - the tie of sentiment", found its justification in this analogy, indeed it was this that "turned the scale in favour of the adoption of English as the medium of Indian Higher Education and thus set once for all the type of teaching to be adopted"<sup>15</sup>. The adequacy of the analogy was still taken for granted: Seeley had "gloried in it", and Andrews took to task, in the Hindustan Review, a retired civil servant who used it uncritically in an article in the Indian Review.<sup>16</sup> It rested, however, on a fallacy, as the latest research on education in the Roman empire made clear.

Rome's method of education in her dependencies contains one of the most startling warnings in history as to the danger of Imperialism.....a) The educated classes in the Provinces become more and more separated from their own countrymen.....b) Owing to the exotic nature of the education given and its lack of appeal to indigenous instincts, the highest talents of the conquered Provincials become sterilised and unfruitful.<sup>17</sup>

In addition to this negative argument, drawn from this analogy, he several times drew attention to "the best modern theory of education", namely, "utilising to the full every innate instinct and tradition of the pupil in building up the structure of intelligence and character".<sup>18</sup>

It is now seen, as it was not understood in Macaulay's time, that true education must proceed from within and lay hold of every innate faculty and indigenous instinct....The wholesale transplantation of a foreign culture into an unsuitable soil, the cutting adrift of the tender human plant from its own natural environment - such things are as antiquated and unscientific in the eyes of the modern educationalist as astrology and alchemy are in other spheres. The whole trend of modern thought is in the direction of education on indigenous lines.<sup>19</sup>

Andrews' principal reflections on this theme, in the Hindustan Review, were very widely and enthusiastically received,<sup>20</sup> and it is not surprising to find the Tribune, a little later, echoing in the editorial columns the same ideas.<sup>21</sup> The presuppositions, then, on which the British educational enterprise in India had been founded, were, for a number of reasons, false.

We went wrong at the very outset, and we have perpetuated a wrong and vicious system.<sup>22</sup>

Having said this, it has to be said that Andrews nowhere criticises the education provided at St. Stephen's College, and, indeed, he specifically quoted a student, Thandi Ram, who had claimed that the College was "a



National College", his reasons being such as Andrews must have found exceptionally congenial, namely that no differences of caste, colour or creed existed within it, and that it provided "lessons of wholesome patriotism"<sup>23</sup> It is also noteworthy that the College was by no means unrelievedly anglicized during Andrews' years. Quite apart from able and distinguished teachers in the Indian tradition, the College produced exceptionally fine orientalist among the students at that time and Andrews was always quick to draw attention to this in the College magazine.<sup>24</sup> We have also seen how he drew attention, addressing a Christian readership, to the special significance of colleges like St. Stephen's as an essential link between the Church and the national movement. He did admit, shortly after leaving, that what he called "all the paraphernalia of a Government-aided College" meant that "the sense of compromise" was always with him,<sup>25</sup> but the very fact that on leaving the College, he agreed to return annually to teach for a couple of months - a scheme that proved impracticable in the event - is indicative of his very positive view of the education provided. St. Stephen's remained for him, throughout his life, "one of the most sacred spots on earth".<sup>26</sup>

Even so, he was very enthusiastic about what he regarded as a more indigenous type of education, and on several occasions he drew attention to various institutions that seemed to him to be of increasing significance as representing the principle of "assimilation", promoting a "harmony between Western knowledge and Eastern culture".<sup>27</sup> Into this category, of course, fell Munshi Ram's Gurukula and Tagore's Santiniketan, both first discovered by Andrews in the last two years of his missionary decade. Immediately after his first visit to the former he wrote an article for the Modern Review almost euphoric in its enthusiasm : the Gurukula had given him "a new vision" of "the New India", receiving "the impulse from the West" through the medium of Sanskrit and Hindi, forming character "in harmony with the genius of the country".<sup>28</sup> Despite his objections to

the Aryan claims for the Vedas as containing all knowledge (a problem he would not have at Santiniketan), he acknowledged that the teaching of what he called "the higher modern subjects" - economics, history, science, etc. - through the vernacular was singularly effective.<sup>29</sup>

He was emphatic as he was to be at Santiniketan also about the need to remain free of Government and Government aid.<sup>30</sup> It was all "full of hope for the future".<sup>31</sup> Santiniketan, he discovered a few months later, was "closely akin, in many respects, in spirit", and, like the Gurukula, seemed to him to be "at the very heart of young aspiring India", and to work there would be to identify oneself with "the young, new, aspiring India in its organic development".<sup>32</sup>

The move from St. Stephen's College to Santiniketan does seem to have involved for Andrews, then, some weighing of the different styles of the two institutions, though by no means could this be described as a decisive determining factor.

### 3. "Church of England religion"

While in England in 1912, Andrews and Rudra came into conflict with the India Sub-committee of S.P.G., whose approval they were seeking for a proposed revised Constitution for the College, the revision having been already approved by the Mission Council in Delhi, and by the Cambridge Committee of the Delhi Mission. The Sub-committee was concerned over two questions in connection with the College, co-operation with the Baptists (in particular, the employment of C.B.Young as a teacher), and the participation of Hindu and Muslim members of the staff in the programme of religious and moral instruction, and in the administration of the College. The request for approval of the new Constitution afforded the Sub-committee an opportunity to question these two developments, and the arrival of Andrews and Rudra in London enabled them to confront the chief architects, as they were held to be, of both of them. The details of this long and

convoluted controversy need not concern us here.<sup>1</sup> It stretched from 1910 to December 1914, when a Constitution which has passed the test of time, and which bore unmistakably the stamp of Andrews' and Rudra's ideals, was finally approved.<sup>2</sup> We need to note only the inflexibility of the "irreconcilables"<sup>3</sup> of the Sub-committee, in their insistence on the College's teaching "Church of England religion",<sup>4</sup> and that "members of the Oriental Religions" were to be preferred as teachers to "Nonconformists...who could not teach on Church lines".<sup>5</sup> This has to be compared with Rudra's very different insistence that, in the face of "the stupendous fact", which the Sub-committee seemed not to understand, of living "in the midst of an overwhelming non-Christian world", the co-operation of the Baptists was "no hindrance to the progress of the Gospel"; rather, the demonstration to his students that Anglicans and Baptists were "members of one another in Christ", was a solemn duty.<sup>6</sup> The question of the place of Hindu and Muslim teachers in the College aroused much less opposition among the Sub-committee, although one member was "aghast" at the idea of giving them any place in the management of the College because of their inevitable tendency to intrigue,<sup>7</sup> while an ex-missionary from South India advised Bishop Montgomery that co-operation with "Mohammedanism and Heathenism" was impossible, - "The control must be exclusively and aggressively Christian".<sup>8</sup> Rudra and Andrews took a very different line, the former arguing that in getting Hindu and Muslim colleagues to teach on "such questions as belief in God - Sin - Duty", they were all "moving in the same direction", while Andrews pointed out that their approach was in keeping with "the general findings of the Edinburgh Commission".<sup>9</sup> On both questions, it should be added, Rudra and Andrews were strongly supported by most of their Delhi Mission colleagues, not least by Allnutt, who had himself done so much to encourage ecumenical co-operation in Delhi, as also by Lefroy, the Cambridge Committee, and even in some measure by Montgomery of S.P.G. It should be added also that the issue had the

virtue of prompting Andrews to a brilliant constitutional proposal for the College, the formation of a Supreme Council "composed of Churchmen, ....(including) distinguished and able laymen" in India, thus averting in future much of the conflict inherent in the role previously allotted to an uncomprehending and remote committee in London.<sup>10</sup> The attitudes disclosed in the Sub-committee, however, made a deep impression on Andrews and Rudra.

This bad impression was darkened by a further factor, the treatment of Rudra, "the saddest side of all which you cannot possibly understand", Andrews wrote to Stanton, "viz:- the racial feeling".<sup>11</sup> There were several ways in which Rudra was made to feel this - in Montgomery's publishing proposals regarding the College without consulting him,<sup>12</sup> in Lefroy's referring S.P.G.'s questions about the College to F.J. Western, the Vice-Principal, and so by-passing him,<sup>13</sup> and in the Sub-committee's refusal to invite him to meetings when the College was being discussed.<sup>14</sup> These and similar snubs led Rudra to the observation that he would not have been so treated had he been an Englishman.<sup>15</sup>

"The moral revulsion" which Andrews experienced as a result of these encounters with the "ecclesiastical spirit and domination of the West with all its Pharisaism and narrowness, ...the sectarian spirit in religion, .... the pettiness and the meanness of that spirit", was "in a great measure" the immediate cause of Andrews decision to leave formal missionary work.<sup>16</sup>

#### 4. "The Divinity of our Blessed Lord"

Shortly after leaving Delhi, Andrews wrote to Bishop Montgomery of S.P.G. that "difficulties of belief" with regard to "the Prayer Book formulae" compelled him to give up his "ministerial obligations", adding, however, that this did not mean any change in his "fundamental Christian position".<sup>1</sup> What lay behind this, and to what extent was his changing

attitude to Christian doctrine a contributory cause of his leaving the Delhi Mission? Certainly some at this time doubted his orthodoxy. If Allnutt had been willing during Andrews' visit to South Africa to defend him against a critic, claiming that he was "as wholehearted a missionary as any that ever devoted his life to the service of India"<sup>2</sup>, he nevertheless, grew sufficiently worried about Andrews' beliefs in the early months of 1914 to ask him to define his "Christian position....in writing"<sup>3</sup>. Jeffrey too, joined in the demand that he should declare himself a Christian.<sup>4</sup> Among those who knew him less well, and who had never appreciated what one of them called "the Andrews school of compromise"<sup>5</sup>, the rumour circulated that he was to become a Hindu, a rumour triumphantly retailed by the vernacular newspapers in the Punjab.<sup>6</sup>

Were there any grounds for these rumours and misgivings? The rumours about his becoming a Hindu, with which Andrews found Lahore "seething" in May 1914,<sup>7</sup> were not derived from a consideration of his beliefs, but were deductions only from his association with Munshi Ram and from his declared intention to leave Delhi for Santiniketan. Allnutt's worries may have been more substantial, for he was in touch with Rudra, who was concerned about the implications of Andrews' speculations on the relationship between Christianity and the "Hindu-Buddhist ideal" - but we have seen from Andrews' correspondence with Tagore how, amid these speculations, Andrews had affirmed unambiguously his belief in the uniqueness of Christ, and clearly he never entertained any thought of becoming a Hindu. His explanation of his position seems to have satisfied Rudra at least,<sup>8</sup> while C.B.Young was able to reassure Farquhar that Andrews' faith had not changed.<sup>9</sup>

At the same time, it is true that he had for some years felt uneasy about some of the Church's formularies. We have seen how from 1904 he had questioned the imposition of some distinctively Anglican norms upon Indian Christians. He admitted shortly after leaving Delhi that he had

grown increasingly troubled about "the semi-Calvinist strain that runs through much of the Prayer Book and the Articles", and he acknowledged that this was a contributory factor in his resigning his ministerial duties as a priest, a few weeks after going to Santiniketan, but this, as we shall see, was a quite different question from that of his abandoning Christian faith.<sup>10</sup>

There were, however, "questions which went further still", concerned with more universal beliefs, "e.g. the Virgin Birth and the 'physical' Resurrection".<sup>11</sup> A few years earlier, in 1909, he had admitted that his views on these had changed since his first coming to India, and he was "not so anxious, for instance, as in the past, to define the Divinity of our Blessed Lord".<sup>12</sup> In a retrospective explanation of his position, he said that his concern was in part to claim freedom in this matter for "Indian Christian consciences", but he went on to say that, while before leaving Delhi he had himself experienced a "sense of uncertainty", though "no sense of actual revolt", nevertheless, on coming to Santiniketan, and into the "pure presence...of a man like Rabindranath, to whom deception in any form...(was)...impossible", he had come to the conclusion that he could not continue to make such formal subscriptions as were required of an Anglican clergyman.<sup>13</sup> Hence his public resignation of his "ministerial duties" two months after his arrival at Santiniketan.<sup>14</sup> It is not absolutely clear from Andrews' own explanation here that he had in mind the two great gospel miracles, and not such secondary questions as those referred to earlier. Even if it were the former, however, a distinction needs to be made between the question of such subscription, and his "fundamental Christian position"<sup>15</sup> as Andrews himself understood it, and which he took every opportunity to affirm, saying, for example, in his public statement of his resignation, that he would "remain in the position of a Christian layman".<sup>16</sup> Undoubtedly, his views on the Christian faith had changed during his time in India, but he himself preferred to

see this as a "widening...of the dogmatic side of the faith" rather than as a weakening of it. It seems that he would still have found it possible in 1914 to make the claim which he made in 1909 that while he was less anxious to define the Divinity of Christ, it was to him "more than before the centre of thought"<sup>17</sup>.

He had an opportunity to add a further explanation of his position shortly after Allnutt had challenged him in April 1914, when he was invited to preach before a large congregation in Lahore Cathedral early the next month.

This, then is what it means to be a Christian, to follow Christ; not the expression of an outward creed, but the learning of an inner life. Men in every age have tried to bind the Christian spirit within the walls of external formulae, but it has been futile. The living spirit has escaped them all. For its very essence is a life, a character, a personal devotion; and these can never be confined within such narrow bounds. I say this today with a new emphasis, because I myself had formerly a narrow outlook; and I have been learning at last, painfully, eagerly, wistfully learning, to look first at the life rather than the creed. And as my outlook has widened, I have found Christ in strange unlooked-for places, far beyond the boundary of sect or dogma, of church or chapel, far beyond the formal definition of man's devising, or of man's exclusive pride...In South Africa, I found Christ's presence....far more intimately...in the Indian and Kaffir locations placed outside the cities of the Rand, than in those cities themselves built up of gold with all its fatal curse upon it.<sup>18</sup>

Although this did not satisfy the Christian community - indeed, Andrews said that it only made matters worse<sup>19</sup> - it is noteworthy that the Tribune, published the sermon in full, as an important statement from "this great Christian thinker"<sup>20</sup>

That Andrews' closest Christian friend, Rudra, and Indians of other faiths, such as the Tribune represented, did not doubt his Christian allegiance, was no doubt more important to him than the views of what he called in a moment of bitterness "the so-called Christian world".<sup>21</sup> Others, such as Allnutt and Lefroy, who had joined in the questioning of his position, soon came round to accepting that his decision to leave the Delhi Mission implied no loss of Christian faith.<sup>22</sup> Although Andrews' Christian faith had undergone modification during his missionary decade, and although difficulties of belief subsequently led him to resign his ministerial duties, it cannot be said that doctrinal issues were a significant factor in his decision to leave formal mission work.

##### 5. "The dwelling place of.....Christ"

About the association of Christianity in India with the imperial project, Andrews had always been ambivalent, and, while he had never been an enthusiast for what he called "a Church and Empire creed",<sup>1</sup> he continued throughout most of his missionary decade to take a somewhat "Westcottian" view, preaching at Cambridge, for example, in 1912, on "Imperial Responsibilities",<sup>2</sup> and proving a willing collaborator with such liberal administrators as Lord Hardinge and Sir John Meston.

As late as the beginning of 1912, indeed, he initiated a major plan for St. Stephen's College which envisaged and required the closest of association with the Imperial Government. This was in connection with the transfer of the capital to Delhi, and his instant vision<sup>3</sup> of a new residential college in the new city. It would be, he argued, "an object lesson at the centre of Indian Government".<sup>4</sup> Rudra saw the new college very much in missionary terms, whereby the Delhi Mission would be able to hold its own in the new city: the aim would be, "where the cream of the intellect of the Empire will be congregated, to establish the moral supremacy of Christian work and worth, and thus to win the homage of all to Christ



and his power"<sup>5</sup>, while the nationalist Tribune welcomed it as the hoped-for nucleus of a new university, "with a distinct type and character,.....free from all denominational or racial prejudices - a type which is best exemplified in the personality of the Rev.Mr. Andrews"<sup>6</sup>. Nevertheless, the links with the Imperial system were to be very strong, and about this Andrews must have been perfectly clear, for Rudra had had to confer with the Education Secretary, Sir Harcourt Butler, over the plans, the Government made a gift of a site for the college, and put aside funds for the new building<sup>7</sup>, and Andrews himself accompanied Rudra for discussions with Butler's staff and with W.M.Hailey, Chief Commissioner for Delhi, who was "anxious that the Government should foster the growth" of the College, and publically expressed his pleasure at the association, "the College authorities, hand-in-hand with the Imperial Government"<sup>8</sup>.

By the time Andrews had left Delhi, just over a year later, his attitude had changed dramatically. Recalling the situation at the time of the 'Indian Unrest' a few years earlier, he wrote with evident satisfaction that St. Stephen's had been "like no other Mission College in India. It was the bugbear of Government"<sup>9</sup>. What had pushed the pendulum of Andrews' thoughts to this other extreme in the matter of a year, so that he found it no longer tolerable, because half of his college stipend came from Government funds, to be "a half-paid member of a foreign ruling race"<sup>10</sup>. He had been uneasy about this for some time: he wrote to Tagore in 1913 that "the longing...to become freed from all these chains...of Government and Mission and Anglo-India" had been growing from before 1912, though meeting with Tagore had deepened it.<sup>11</sup>

The determinative influence seems to have been his experience in South Africa. He had gone with a warning from Gokhale that what he saw

there would be a great shock to his Christianity.<sup>12</sup> This was indeed so, to the extent that his long-held views about the contradiction between "European racial arrogance" and "the vision of Christ, the meek and lowly Son of Man",<sup>13</sup> or, as he put it to Tagore at the time, the "flat contradiction" between "the creed...held for centuries" and "the conventional life...being lived",<sup>14</sup> were confirmed decisively.<sup>15</sup> He concluded that "the West" was in a state of virtual apostasy, worshipping only "Money and Race",<sup>16</sup> while "the meek and lowly Christ" he identified "more outside the Church than in it", and, as we have seen, "found and worshipped...amid the little groups of Indian passive resisters fresh from prison - Hindus almost all of them".<sup>17</sup>

He brought his reflections on this experience into something of a final form in the sermon which he preached in Lahore Cathedral on his return to India. He seems to have regarded this sermon as something of a formal statement of his position on leaving the Delhi Mission, drawing his general conclusions from his specific South African experiences. Turning in a very original way to the much-used analogy between contemporary Western hegemony and the Roman Empire, he depicts Jesus as rejecting the rich and cultured world of Chorazin, Bethsaida and Capernaum, "the direct social outgrowth of the great Roman system of government", for "the simple, child-like peasant poor,....the poor, tired labourers,...half-famished", and then turns to the contemporary world, characterized in bold, prophetic terms.

The question came upon me with a sad, a terrible insistence, as I travelled across many seas, past many shores, whether the modern, aggressive, wealthy nations of the world, armed to the teeth against each other, trafficking in the souls of men for gain, can be for long the dwelling place of the meek and lowly Christ; whether the hour may not be near when He will say unto them..... "Woe unto you", and will turn instead to the poor and down-trodden

peoples of the earth and say unto them, "Come unto me". For in His Kingdom, "there are many that are last that shall be first, and first that shall be last".<sup>18</sup>

It would, of course, be ridiculous to relate these contrasts directly to his own life and work, in Delhi, and conversely, and in prospect, at Santiniketan. Nevertheless, it would appear that it was in the context of this very distinctive question in his sermon, and the implied answer, that Andrews was inviting his hearers to interpret and understand his own decision to leave the Delhi Mission for Santiniketan.

#### 6. "The divine call"

In spite of the rumours of his abandonment of Christian faith, and in spite of the fact that he did indeed for a number of years experience a profound spiritual and emotional crisis, only recovering the fulness of his faith in the 1920's, Andrews left Delhi and went to Santiniketan a professing Christian, not seeking to hide his convictions from his Hindu friends. His hope was, as he told Tagore, "from a completely independent standpoint,....to try to express Christian thought here in the East"<sup>1</sup>. More than this, he saw his decision as a religious vocation, so that to remain longer in a missionary society he would have been "untrue to the divine call"<sup>2</sup>.

This is not to say that he abandoned his work in Delhi lightly or easily. To leave Rudra in particular was clearly very painful,<sup>3</sup> and the decision was talked over "a hundred times", with Rudra his "counsellor and adviser in each step"<sup>4</sup>, until Andrews at last convinced himself that Rudra was giving him up for "a greater work and a greater need"<sup>5</sup>. Allnutt, too, was "very kind and good"<sup>6</sup>, and Andrews acknowledged that he had always given him "the most wonderful liberty"<sup>7</sup>.

This, however, was not enough, and Andrews repeated to Gandhi his

sense of a divine vocation in his decision to go to Santiniketan, "One thing is perfectly clear, the call has come to me to follow Christ, simply and truly, in this summons to.....(Santiniketan) which has come to me".<sup>8</sup>

There was in this an ascetic impulse, "inward and spiritual and personal",<sup>9</sup> which was at the same time evangelical, to strip himself "bare of anything that could stand in the way as a barrier against complete oneness with Indians".<sup>10</sup> To Munshi Ram, he wrote of this as "the call of the sanyasi", which he had been feeling more and more,

to cut myself free from...(the) worldly ties of an assured income and a place in a fixed society and a work which is in a great measure prescribed, and to give myself wholly into the hands of God to go where he leads.<sup>11</sup>

He referred also on several occasions to hoping "to help...and to share in the true new life of India",<sup>12</sup> believing that "in serving India most wholly", he would be "acting most in the spirit of Christ".<sup>13</sup> An important substantiation of Andrews' missionary motive is provided in his friend, C.B.Young's explanation, that "he felt that these modern movements, the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj, were doing a good deal to bring in the Kingdom of Christ, and that they might, in the future, even bear some relationship to the Church. In his sympathy for them, then, he was ready to go and work under Rabindra".<sup>14</sup> It is clear from this observation, that Young accepted Andrews' move as a further response to his missionary vocation. His integrity, if not his wisdom,<sup>15</sup> was not in the end questioned by those who knew him well.<sup>16</sup>

There was then, in addition to the strong negative factors in Andrews' decision to leave Delhi for Santiniketan, and in addition to the very personal element, the friendship with Tagore,<sup>17</sup> a very unambiguous positive factor, a sense of missionary vocation. That this found the

joyful response that it did beyond the Christian circle, is some measure of its significance : Rudra had seen Andrews' coming to St. Stephen's College as "a gift from above";<sup>18</sup> it was precisely in these terms that Rabindranath Tagore welcomed him to Santiniketan, "as a gift of the Lord".<sup>19</sup>

NOTES : Chapter 7.1. Introductory

- 1 Andrews to Tagore, 25 May 1914 and 23 May 1914 (Santiniketan).
- 2 Every detail of this experience is laid bare in the correspondence with Munshi Ram and Tagore; he evidently wrote just as frequently and openly to Rudra.
- 3 Biog p.87.
- 4 India and the Simon Report p.115.
- 5 Andrews to E.S.Talbot (Bishop of Winchester) n.d. (late 1914) (Roadarmel Papers, Berkeley). This letter, a lengthy and careful explanation of his action in leaving the Delhi Mission, provides much of the background for this chapter. Talbot had been his bishop in his Pembroke College Mission days, had ordained him, and conducted a benediction service for him in Southwark Cathedral on the eve of his original departure for India, so that Andrews must have felt a special obligation to explain his move to Santiniketan to him.
- 6 ibid., also Biog pp.87-88.
- 7 Andrews said that the Cambridge Mission had been "much more liberal than other Missionary Societies" Andrews to Tagore 28 Jul 1913 (Santiniketan).
- 8 Allnutt wrote on Andrews' leaving that he had felt "that our late colleague's diversity from our general standpoint (diverse as that is in many ways) had exceeded the limits our sense of unity demands to make fellowship real" DMN Jul 1914. Allnutt clearly was often exasperated with Andrews. Two younger members of the Mission also found him difficult : P.N.F.Young said Andrews' leaving was "a relief, letting us get on undisturbed with our College work"

P.N.F.Young to D.O'C. 1 Jun 1974; C.H.C.Sharp found him "very irritating". T.G.P.Spear to D.O'C. 15 May 1973.

2. "Education on indigenous lines"

- 1 A colleague at St. Stephen's, C.B.Young, wrote of "his scholarship far superior to that....probably of any other College teacher in North India" Stephanian Jun 1940; the nationalists called him "one of the most distinguished educationists of the country" Tribune 18 Feb 1911. His appointment to a Fellowship at Panjab University in 1911 was regarded as long overdue Tribune 18 Feb 1911, cf. 17 Feb 1909; Ramsey MacDonald claimed that his nomination was delayed by the Lt. Governor of the Punjab, Sir Louis Dane, "for no other reason than that Mr.Andrews has the confidence of Indians" The Awakening of India (1910) p.244.

- 2 His main ideas are to be found in two articles for an Indian readership, "The Future of Indian Education" MR Jul 1908, and "Indian Higher Education : A Criticism" HR Jan, Feb 1909 (reproduced in IR Feb 1909 and Tribune 23 Feb 1909), and, for a readership in Britain, in "The Church and Education In India" Guardian 16 and 30 Dec 1908, and Chapter 2, "Indian Education", in RI. He also contributed a number of items to the Tribune, chiefly in the correspondence columns on matters relating to the University of Lahore - 18 Jun 1907, 12 Jan 1909, 21 Apr 1910, 22 Apr 1910, 17 Nov 1910. He also contributed in a small way to a journal which supported the movement for National Education, The Dawn (Described in H. and U. Mukherji op.cit., passim).
- 3 An excellent account is in E.Ashby Universities : British, Indian, African (1966), esp. Ch.4, "Towards a new policy". Pressure for a greater emphasis on Indian studies came from the University of the Panjab, where, from the 1860's, G.W. Leitner had promoted the idea of an "Oriental University of Upper India" in which "the complete results of Science and Learning will be imparted to the whole people" J.F.Bruce A History of the University of the Panjab (1933) pp.10-11. See also G.W.Leitner History of Indigenous Education in the Panjab since Annexation and in 1882 (1882).
- 4 Report of Congress debate Tribune 3 Jan 1907. For a full account of the Movement in Bengal, see H.and U. Mukherji op.cit.
- 5 Tribune 13 Nov 1906.
- 6 Andrews to Hardinge 24 Jan 1915 (Hardinge Papers, C.U.L.).
- 7 MR Jul 1908, RI p.36, MR Jun 1913.
- 8 RI p.36, NI p.23.
- 9 IR Dec 1910, MR Jul 1908.
- 10 "India in Transition" C.M.D.Occasional Paper 1910, IR Dec 1910.
- 11 "India in Transition" C.M.D.Occasional Paper 1910.
- 12 Guardian 30 Dec 1908, MR May 1913. The "carefully controlled cultural bias to the east" (Ashby op.cit. p.111), which marked official educational policy at the time, was largely directed to the raising of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh to the status of a university, and the founding of Benares Hindu University. Andrews' criticisms were of the university system as a whole, which was at this time scarcely touched by such developments.
- 13 HR Jan 1909. See Ashby op.cit. p.71, on the progressive deterioration in the quality of Indian higher education during the 30 years to 1904. Rudra quoted approvingly a British Educationist in India to the effect that "Dead Sea fruit we have been giving to the students instead of the bread of culture. With Dead Sea fruit and ashes we have fed them until they have come, many of them, to believe that these things are the bread of life", and himself added "For the majority of students,...the wonder is that their mental balance is not upset. The spring of their youthful nature survives only because they do not really

- attend to all the lectures" "Indian Students" C.M.D.unnumbered papers, 1910, cf. Lord Hardinge on "the futility of the education provided" op.cit. p.22.
- 14 The phrase is Lord Butler's, commenting on Andrews' views in his Epilogue to M.Gilbert op.cit. p.254.
- 15 HR Jan 1909.
- 16 J.R.Seeley op.cit. p.293, quoted by Andrews in RI pp.30-1. The article in IR was by C.W.Whish. Andrews criticised it in HR Jan 1909, characterising it as "the old-fashioned point of view".
- 17 MR Jul 1908. Andrews quotes here, and in his HR and Guardian articles, from C.Biggs The Church's Task Under the Roman Empire (1905), and in RI (p.37) refers to the work of Samuel Dill, but without specific quotation and reference.
- 18 MR Jul 1908, cf. Guardian 30 Dec 1908.
- 19 HR Jan 1909.
- 20 Indian Daily Telegraph, Hindu, Indian Patriot (all quoted in HR Feb 1909), IR Feb 1909, Tribune 31 Jan 1909, 22 Apr 1909.
- 21 Tribune 9 Nov 1909.
- 22 MR Jul 1908, cf. Guardian 16 Dec 1908, HR Jan 1909.
- 23 SSC Mag Nov 1908.
- 24 Among Hindu students, Har Dayal went on to be Boden Sanskrit Scholar at Oxford (SSC Mag Dec 1907); among Muslims, Gulam Yazdani, later to become a distinguished archaeologist, was elected a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, and contributed to the 'Bibliotheca Indica' (SSC Mag May 1911); among Christians Joel Waiz Lal, later to become a principal translator of the Urdu New Testament, was tutored in college by Nazir Ahmad, won 6 university gold medals, and stood first in his year in the Lahore degree of Master of Oriental Learning (SSC Mag Apr 1909).
- 25 Andrews to E.S.Talbot (n.d.) (Roadarmel Papers. Berkeley).
- 26 Stephanian Jun 1939.
- 27 HR Jan 1909, cf. MR Apr 1910, IR Dec 1910. He mentioned, among such institutions, the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore, Fergusson College at Poona, the Society for the Promotion of Scientific Training, the Central Hindu College at Benares, the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh and the Khalsa College at Amritsar - Tribune 23 Aug 1910.
- 28 MR Mar 1913.
- 29 Tribune 28 Apr 1913.
- 30 Andrews to Munshi Ram 7 Jun 1913 (Chaturvedi, Corr. N.A.I.), Andrews to Tagore 19 Oct 1913 (Santiniketan).
- 31 Andrews to Tagore 31 Mar 1913 (Santiniketan).



- 32 Andrews to Munshi Ram 12 Jul 1913 (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.),  
Andrews to E.S.Talbot (n.d.) (Roadarmel Papers. Berkeley).

### 3. "Church of England religion"

- 1 The chief papers, over 120 of them, are in a file marked 'College Constitution' among the C.M.D.Papers, and in the Lahore Correspondence, S.P.G. An account of the controversy occurs in Tinker, op.cit. pp.49-63.
- 2 C.B.Young, writing on Andrews' death of his "consuming passion for unity", described this Constitution as "one of the greatest of his specific services" to St. Stephen's College. "In its essential features the constitution embodied the ideal of inter-racial and inter-credal unity. It gave to the Staff powerful representation on the Governing Body, and while providing for the inclusion of non-Anglicans and non-Christians, it positively required the inclusion of Indian members of the Staff. Thus it not only anticipated by nearly 20 years, in its opposition to racial exclusiveness, the recommendations of the Lindsay Commission,.....but it went beyond the latter's subsequent recommendations in its repudiation of credal tests. In both respects it illustrated the basal principles of Andrews' life work in and for India" Stephanian Jun 1940.
- 3 Lefroy to Stanton, 17 Apr 1912 ('College Const.' C.M.D.). The General Secretary of S.P.G. called them "old fogies" - Montgomery to Stanton 25 Sept 1912 ('College Const.' C.M.D.).
- 4 C.E.Phipps to Stanton 19 Oct 1912 ('College Const.' C.M.D.).
- 5 This was the opinion of Sir Theodore Hope - Montgomery to Stanton, 31 Oct 1912 ('College Const.' C.M.D.) cf. his Memorandum of 25 Oct 1912 (Lahore Letters, S.P.G.).
- 6 Rudra's Memorandum on C.B.Young, July 1912, and Rudra to Allnutt 1 Sept 1911 ('College Const.' C.M.D.). Andrews added a very interesting argument: "Perhaps the consideration of the 'reserve' in Christian teaching during the early centuries may help to a realization of our position in India. In a very real sense that 'reserve' in respect of the deeper mysteries of our faith must be observed today in our Christian Colleges. The doctrine of the Church's ministry and sacraments comes under that head. It is this very necessity of 'reserve' on such subjects that makes co-operation in religious teaching possible and practical, without compromise or sacrifice of principle". He described their policy as one of "co-operation without compromise", on which, he added, "the Edinburgh Conference laid such great stress". see his Memorandum on Bapts (1912?) (General Correspondence 1914-30, C.M.D.).
- 7 The Rev. Lord William Gascoyne-Cecil to Stanton, 5 Nov 1912 ('College Const.' C.M.D.).
- 8 A.F.Gardiner to Montgomery, 26 Dec 1912 ('College Const.' C.M.D.).
- 9 Rudra to Allnutt, 1 Sept 1911, Andrews to Lefroy, Nov 1912 ('College Const.' C.M.D.). It is noteworthy that the nationalists

welcomed the treatment of Hindu and Muslim teachers "as colleagues and brothers and not as subordinates and heathens" - Tribune 27 Sept 1911, cf. 5 Jun 1912.

- 10 Andrews to Lefroy, Nov 1912; Andrews to Stanton 4 Dec 1912 ('College Const.' C.M.D.). The Supreme Council met for the first time shortly after Andrews had left the College. It had the closest of ties with the imperial presence, for its two lay members were a former Comptroller-General of the Government of India, and the Chief of the Indian Military Staff - CC 1915.
- 11 Andrews to Stanton 15 Sept 1912 ('College Const.' C.M.D.).
- 12 Andrews wrote to Montgomery on this, "your...action....will require...an apology" - 10 Sept 1912 (Lahore Letters S.P.G.). Although Andrews later recalled Montgomery's "big, generous heart" What I Owe to Christ (1932) p.175, his credentials in the matter of racism were not impeccable. For an example, when he was Bishop of Tasmania, see Huttenback Racism and Empire (1976) p.49; also, Montgomery's own remarks in his Foreign Missions (1902) p.34.
- 13 Andrews to Stanton, 15 Sept 1912 ('College Const.' C.M.D.).
- 14 Rudra to Montgomery 2 Sept 1912 (Lahore Letters, S.P.G.).
- 15 Andrews to Stanton, 15 Sept 1912 ('College Const' C.M.D.).
- 16 Andrews to Stanton, n.d. (1913) (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.); cf. Andrews to E.S.Talbot n.d. (1914) (Roadarmel Papers, Berkeley).

#### 4. "The Divinity of our Blessed Lord"

- 1 Andrews to Montgomery 16 Aug 1914 (Lahore Letters, S.P.G.).
- 2 CT 23 Jan 1914. The critic was C.R.N.Blakiston. of Torquay, who had the previous year been briefly at St. Stephen's College, and had been critical there of "the general attitude taken by Andrews and Rudra in regard to the distinctive character of the College as a Missionary institution" (Allnutt to Stanton 10 Apr 1913 - 'College Const.' C.M.D.). Blakiston wrote to CT (12 Dec 1913) on hearing of Andrews' intended visit to South Africa, questioning "the missionary purpose in much that Mr.Andrews does and says". Others who defended Andrews in the CT, in addition to Allnutt, were Rudra (23 Jan 1914 - "No one has done so much in recent times for the Indian Christian students"), John Lee and B.K.Cunningham (19 Dec 1913). The Tribune (8 Jan 1914) also came to Andrews' defence, criticising Blakiston's "jealous, perverse, and utterly un-Christian attitude", and claiming that "the gravamen of the charge against Mr.Andrews is that he lacks the bigotry of the latter-day missionary".
- 3 Andrews to Gandhi, 13 Apr 1914 (Gandhi S.S.S.). "That I am going absolutely to refuse!" Andrews wrote, "the days of the Inquisition are over".
- 4 Andrews to Munshi Ram, 22 May 1914 (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.).
- 5 S.K.Datta, a member of the staff of Forman College, Lahore - quoted in J.N.Farquhar to J.R.Mott 4 Jun 1914 (Y.M.C.A.).

Historical Library, New York).

- 6 ibid., also Andrews to Gandhi, 13 Apr 1914 (Gandhi S.S.S.).
- 7 Andrews to Munshi Ram, 22 May 1914 (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.).
- 8 Andrews wrote, en route for India, after his South African mission, "When I can see Susil and put things clearly to him, he will certainly understand" Andrews to Gandhi, 13 Apr 1914 (Gandhi S.S.S.). That Rudra did understand seems to be implied in Andrews' remark a month later, "Sushil...has stood by my side through all" Andrews to Munshi Ram 22 May 1914 (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.).
- 9 Farquhar to J.R.Mott - as above. Farquhar obviously trusted the judgement of Young, "a very fine young Baptist", hence his writing to him to enquire as to why Andrews had left Delhi.
- 10 Andrews to E.S.Talbot, n.d. (1914) (Roadarmel Papers, Berkeley).
- 11 ibid.
- 12 Preparatory Paper for Commission 4, W.M.C. (1910). He went on: "The Greek Theology appears to me, in its later stages especially, to have gone too far in definition, and Latin Theology still more narrowly to have defined and confined the Faith, which should have been left more wholly a matter of heart and moral apprehension than a matter of intellect and logical reasoning. I should not condemn anyone who said he did not wish to define his belief in the Divinity of Christ, but who could from his heart say with the Apostle Thomas 'My Lord and my God', or with Simon Peter 'Lord, to whom else should we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life'. I should not condemn anyone who could not hold as an article of faith the Virgin Birth, but who could make the above confession of Simon Peter and Thomas. I would not condemn a doubt as to the 'objectivity' of the Resurrection of Christ, if the fact of the Living Christ were granted and his Living Presence were a daily experience". It is noteworthy that he omitted this passage from the published explanation of his position - "A Missionary's Experience" Ind Int Oct 1909.
- 13 Andrews to E.S.Talbot, n.d. (1914) (Roadarmel Papers, Berkeley). Andrews' position, in fact, appears to have been very similar to that of William Temple at the time of his ordination. For an interesting discussion of this question, and of changing attitudes in the Church of England during this period, see the Chapter, 'Doubt' in O.Chadwick The Victorian Church (1970) Part 2, pp.112-150.
- 14 In a letter to Montgomery (16 Aug 1914 - Lahore Letters, S.P.G.), he said that "on account of difficulties of belief" with regard to "the Prayer Book formulae" he could no longer "continue.... (his) ministerial obligations". His public statement announced that he had "resigned ministerial duties as a clergyman of the Church of England owing to difficulties with regard to the articles of belief proposed by that body..." Indian Social Reformer 23 Aug 1914. He made the interesting point in his explanation to E.S.Talbot, that when he first went to Santiniketan, he was particularly glad that he could go on with his clergyman's duties, and thus show to "the outside world" that he had gone

there "as a Christian".

- 15 Andrews to Montgomery 16 Aug 1914 (Lahore Letters, S.P.G.).
- 16 Misunderstanding of his position seems nevertheless to have persisted, so that, for example, he had to publicly deny a year later that he had ceased to be a Christian - Bengalee 6 Jul 1915.
- 17 Preparatory Paper for Commission 4, W.M.C.Edinburgh 1910.
- 18 Tribune 6 May 1914.
- 19 Andrews to Munshi Ram, 22 May 1914 (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.).
- 20 Tribune 5 May 1914.
- 21 Andrews to Munshi Ram, 22 May 1914 (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.).
- 22 DMN Jul 1914.

5. "The dwelling place of.....Christ"

- 1 India and the Simon Report (1930) p.115.
- 2 The sermon was reproduced in MR May 1913, and in the Tribune 7 May 1913. An editorial note in the latter (4 May 1913) found the sermon "ennobling".
- 3 Allnutt said that he "conceived the idea of such a college.... almost as soon as the King's proclamation constituting Delhi the capital of India" DMN Apr 1914.
- 4 Andrews to India Sub-committee (S.P.G.) 21 May 1912 (C.M.D. 'College Building'). Bearing in mind the general Anglo-Indian animus against Indian students as seditious and disloyal, one cannot but wonder whether Andrews was not reassuring those in authority, when he explained about his scheme: "We hope to present before the eyes of Government a type of student character more healthy in every way than that which exists at present" - "Scheme Proposed for the New College at Delhi" 25 May 1912 (Lahore Letters, S.P.G.).
- 5 CC 1912 (dated 20 Feb 1912).
- 6 Tribune 1 Jun 1913. The Tribune seems to have envisaged the university as having thus a Christian character, for it is distinguished not only from "strong Hindu and Mahomedan Universities in Benares and Aligarh, "but also from the projected "non-denominational teaching University" at Dacca.
- 7 Rudra to Montgomery, 2 Sept 1912 (Lahore Letters, S.P.G.); CC 1913.
- 8 Rudra to Stanton 27 Mar 1913 (C.M.D. 'College Building'); SSC Mag Jun 1913 - Hailey was speaking at the College's speech day.
- 9 Andrews to E.S.Talbot n.d. (1914) (Roadarmel Papers, Berkeley).

- 10 ibid. The other half of his pay, from S.P.G., was also an embarrassment, because it made him "a paid agent" Andrews to Tagore 28 Jul 1913 (Santiniketan). He referred a number of times to his desire not to be involved in "proselytism,.... that conventional missionary propaganda which educated Indians find so un-Christlike" Andrews to Gandhi 13 Apr 1914 (Gandhi S.S.S.). cf. Andrews to E.S.Talbot, n.d. (1914) (Roadarmel Papers, Berkeley), also Andrews to Tagore, 8 Mar 1913 (Santiniketan) This is curious in that he had never been much involved in this after his first year or two in India, and indeed, as we have seen, a criticism of institutions like St. Stephen's was that they eschewed proselytism. An item in the Indian Patriot suggests that Andrews might have been over-sensitive on this question : "A curious agitation comes from Lahore. The young Hindu girls... attending a Mission School are to be wholesale converted to Christianity. Hinduism shrieks aloud...What if half a dozen boys studying under the Rev.Mr.Andrews should embrace Christianity? We will not abuse the missionary who lives a life of selflessness and devotion for others, whose example has drawn others to him". quoted Tribune 20 May 1914.
- 11 Andrews to Tagore 8 May 1913 (Santiniketan).
- 12 Andrews to Tagore 11 Feb 1914 (Santiniketan).
- 13 MR May 1913.
- 14 Andrews to Tagore 2 Mar 1914 (Santiniketan).
- 15 "No graver moral danger has ever threatened the Christian brotherhood principle since the time when St. Peter refused to eat with those who were not of his own race at Antioch. The race cleavage has now become embedded in the Church at its very centre - in the Sacrament" TEW Oct 1914.
- 16 Andrews to Gandhi 26 Feb 1914 (S.S.S. New Delhi) cf. Andrews to Tagore 14 Jan 1914 (Santiniketan).
- 17 Andrews to Tagore 11 Feb 1914 (Santiniketan).
- 18 Tribune 6 May 1914.

#### 6. "The divine call"

- 1 Andrews to Tagore 28 Jul 1913 (Santiniketan).
- 2 Andrews to Munshi Ram 20 Jan 1914 (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.).
- 3 Andrews to Tagore 21 Aug 1913, 7 Dec 1913, 26 Apr 1914, 27 May 1914 (Santiniketan), Andrews to Munshi Ram 20 Jan 1914, 22 May 1914 (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.).
- 4 Andrews to E.S.Talbot, n.d. (1914) (Roadarmel Papers, Berkeley).
- 5 Andrews to Rudra, 1915 (Roadarmel Papers, Berkeley). Whether Rudra really felt this, we cannot be sure. He acknowledged that it was "more and more difficult for the Western Church to preach Christianity in India", but he clearly saw St. Stephen's College as a place where, because of Andrews' presence, it had become

possible "with great confidence to preach the Christian faith".  
CC 1914.

- 6 Andrews to Munshi Ram 12 Jun 1913 (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.).
- 7 Andrews to E.S.Talbot, n.d. (1914) (Roadarmel Papers, Berkeley).  
 Something of Allnutt's capacity to understand Andrews' position comes over in his comments on his resignation from the Delhi Mission : "There is...much to show that there is need of most careful revision of our present policy, even though it lead to a reversion and abandonment of many of our hitherto most cherished ideas and methods....and if men like Andrews seem precipitate and inclined to break too easily with the older traditions, I am inclined to say that...we have come to the time when we need bold ventures....It may be that some day we shall have reason to be thankful for what such men have been able to achieve as pioneers in a new era of missionary enterprise".  
DMN Jul 1914.
- 8 Andrews to Gandhi 13 Apr 1914 (Gandhi S.S.S.).
- 9 Andrews to Munshi Ram, 5 May 1913 (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.).
- 10 Andrews to E.S.Talbot, n.d. (1914) (Roadarmel Papers, Berksley).
- 11 Andrews to Munshi Ram, 5 May 1913 (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.).
- 12 Andrews to Tagore 8 May 1913, cf. 28 Jul 1913 (Santiniketan).
- 13 Andrews to Stanton n.d. (1913) (Chaturvedi.Corr. N.A.I.). Did Andrews read into his view of Vivekananda's disciple, Margaret Noble, something of his understanding of his own actions?  
     She loved, and though she left the outer fold  
     Of Christ, to love's commandment she was true,  
     Leaving her home to make a stranger's woes  
     Her own in Christ-like act.....  
 "Sister Nivedita" The Motherland, and other poems (1916).
- 14 quoted in J.N.Farquhar to J.R.Mott 4 Jun 1914 (Y.M.C.A. Historical Library, New York).
- 15 Farquhar, in his letter to Mott, accepted Young's explanation, but thought Andrews was "grievously mistaken" in his chosen course of action, "I hope that within a few months he will see the impossibility of doing any serious service where he is, and revert....The beaten track of progressive conservatism seems safest, does it not? We can be scholarly and accurate and sympathetic, without running so far to meet the enemy that we lose our bearings - and our distinctive message". Farquhar went on being sympathetic to Andrews, nevertheless, continuing to publish articles, reviews, etc., by him in Y.M.O.I. throughout Andrews' most troubled years.
- 16 Allnutt who, with Lefroy, had a few months earlier wondered about Andrews' position,wrote, "he feels out of touch with so much of our current Mission policy, that it will be a relief to him to be independent and free to work out the problem of how best to adapt the Christian message to meet the needs and aspirations of educated Hindus, on the lines....(which he conceives) as those best fitted to commend the Gospel of Christ to them". DMN Jul 1914.

Allnutt added that Andrews was going to Santiniketan with "the full approval" of Lefroy, now Metropolitan.

- 17 This need not be seen entirely in negative terms, as it was at the time by Farquhar : "he has allowed himself to be overwhelmingly influenced by Rabindra's personality. Hero-worship has gone to disastrous lengths" Farquhar to J.R.Mott 4 Jun 1914 (Y.M.C.A. Historical Library, New York). Andrews' own retrospective assessment is less misleading, where he writes of his time at Delhi as a prolonged moral struggle towards what was for him a necessary independence, "and it was the dynamic force of a great personal character, Rabindranath Tagore, entering at a critical moment into my life, that really carried me through". India and the Simon Report (1930) p.116. Here, both the subjective and the objective effects of the friendship are recognised, as they ought to be.
- 18 CC 1915 (dated 28 Feb 1915).
- 19 From a poem written for the occasion, Bengali original and English translation both by Tagore - quoted Chaturvedi and Sykes op.cit. p.104.

CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSION

The decade which Andrews spent as a member of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi was in some respects only a prelude to his most important work in India, even, it might be said, to his most important missionary work, and yet it was a phase of his life profoundly interesting in itself, full of remarkable achievements and insights, and the essential seedbed of all that was to follow, establishing the approach and adumbrating many of the themes which he was to develop during the subsequent 26 years of his life and work, the years for which he has hitherto been best known.

It would not be inappropriate, in the light of our preceding chapters, to characterise this striking decade within the parameters suggested by the theology of mission which Westcott and French had sketched out for the Cambridge Mission. Certainly, such a way of looking at Andrews' work is inclusive, and provides a means of seeing it as all of a piece. In 1914, Rudra had felt obliged to disclaim the fulfilment of Westcott's dream in and through St. Stephen's College, saying that although they were establishing the College in the new capital as one "of real significance for the true intellectual and spiritual welfare of India", it was "perhaps not as an Alexandria on the Jumna"<sup>1</sup>. Andrews' own work, nevertheless, during the years that he was a member of the College was in many essentials just such a fulfilment.

This in retrospect, Andrews himself might even have been willing to concede. In the closing year or so of his life, he looked back on the friends with whom he had been especially closely associated at that time, or beginning to be closely associated, as embodying in themselves much of what Westcott had hoped for. Thus, at the laying of the foundation stone of the new St. Stephen's College, in March 1939 (the ceremony in the area at the front of the College, to be known as Andrews Court), he reminisced



about Westcott and their talks together many years before, when Westcott had spoken to him of the role he believed that India would play in Asia as comparable with that of Greece in Europe. In those talks, we must also recall here, Westcott had gone on to say that India would thus in time become "the missionary of Christ to Asia". At the foundation-stone laying, Andrews went on,

If Bishop Westcott had lived long enough to see the place that the names of Tagore and Gandhi have taken in contemporary history, he would have realised how marvellously his prophetic words had been fulfilled.<sup>2</sup>

When we consider how, within Hinduism, as Andrews was already discovering towards the end of his missionary decade, these two "wonderfully expressed the spirit of Christ",<sup>3</sup> and when we consider his own influence upon them, at least perhaps in consolidation of tendencies already established, so that the former called Andrews' friendship "the highest blessing" of his life,<sup>4</sup> and the latter's foremost Indian biographer could say "Gandhi.... needed....Andrews",<sup>5</sup> it begins to be possible to speak of Andrews' part in this Westcottian fulfilment.

In the same year, 1939, he recalled how Westcott, in his old age, "like an ancient seer, with a vision of the future before his eyes", had prophesied that "the intellectual and spiritual appreciation of...(St. John's Gospel) would come most fully and richly at last from great Indian Christian thinkers when they had gone far beyond the period of tutelage from the West, and had learnt to think for themselves on these profound subjects". Recalling, then, two of his own Indian Christian friends associated essentially with his missionary decade, he continued,

Both Susil Rudra and the Sadhu showed me clearly how true that prophecy was, and how quickly it was coming to pass.<sup>6</sup>

Andrews' encouragement and support of the former, in the context of perhaps the deepest of all his friendships, and his early and enthusiastic

association with the latter, are, along with so much more of his work in promoting the development of an Indian Church, further aspects of his realisation of Westcott's dream.

Even at the time, in 1909, as he reflected upon his experience of much that he believed derived from "the eternal Word", both in India's "wonderful religious history" and also in the deeds of service and noble acts of modern educated Hindus of the new political nation, he had turned to the Alexandrian analogy.

I find myself here in India in something of the same position as the first Christian thinkers, when they passed from the confines of Palestine and came face to face with the writings of Plato and the nobler Greek classics?<sup>7</sup>

It was, of course, as we have seen, particularly in the living issues that confronted people in their struggle towards nationhood, rather than in the purely speculative or literary sphere, that he developed his own theological formulations and made a beginning at a theology of national renaissance. The analogy, nevertheless, with the Alexandrian approach, which meant, here, finding a way of speaking of Christ only in the context of a comprehensive but discriminating appreciation of the all-important centre of the thought of educated Hindus, the desire to be a nation, was a valid one. Indeed, he argued with some justification that it was more valid than the more speculative essays of some of his contemporaries. This also, one can say with some confidence, would have chimed in with one of Westcott's own deepest convictions, that "speculative and historical criticism", for all its attractions, was "wholly subsidiary to action", which was for him "the characteristic of man", and that in consequence the Gospel, "which claims to have the power to deal with every practical question of human conduct", should be vindicated "on the broad fields of life".<sup>8</sup>

In a number of ways, then, in the matter of nationalism, in the building-up of an Indian Church, and in relationships with men of other faiths, Andrews had an impressive and consistent involvement in developments during his missionary decade. So conscious was he that this was a critical time, that he spoke of arriving in "the New World of the East" at "the very epoch of its renaissance". That he should identify there and then, in much that was going on both within and beyond the Christian fold, disclosures that were, he believed, "a part of the Revelation" of Christ,<sup>9</sup> is a striking reminder of Westcott's expectation of a great new "epoch of revelation".

Andrews' 'valedictory' Lahore sermon hinted, in its allusion to Christ's rejection of "the rich and cultured world" of Chorazin, etc., at a new phase of mission marked by an identification with the poor in their struggles. This, too, would have made good sense to Westcott, for whom the proclamation of a Gospel to the poor was "the crowning sign of Christ".<sup>10</sup> It also made sense in Andrews' own perspectives, as that which would be required of Christianity in the emerging Indian situation, once the identification with national aspirations had been secured. It might, then, be argued that Andrews' moving on from Delhi, seen in this perspective, was congruous with a missionary approach which required a penetration of the culture (in a broad sense) of the mission field in question, and the formulation from within it of what Westcott had called "new illustrations of the one infinite and eternal Gospel".<sup>11</sup> Those new illustrations were certainly to follow, as, over the subsequent years, he earned and justified the title, Deenabandhu, 'friend of the poor'. Less specifically, but clearly as a logical development of his missionary vocation, that was how his nationalist friends saw his move in 1914. The Tribune - and the last word might reasonably be with that voice in the Punjab of Indian nationalism, which had borne such remarkable testimony to his endeavours - claimed that the "respect and esteem" which this

"Christlike man" had won from the people of India, were likely to be increased by this step, which was "characteristic".<sup>12</sup>

NOTES : Chapter 8.Conclusion

- 1 SSC Mag Apr 1914.
- 2 Statesman 28 Mar 1939 (C.M.D. 'College History').
- 3 The Inner Life (1939) p.13.
- 4 From a tribute dated Jan 1941, quoted as a Foreword to The Sermon on the Mount (1942).
- 5 B.R.Nanda "C.F.Andrews : the Bridge-builder" (cyclostyled paper, read at the Centenary Seminar, New Delhi, 1971).
- 6 The Inner Life (1939) p.32.
- 7 Ind Int Oct 1909.
- 8 From Westcott's first address as Bishop to the Durham Diocesan Conference, quoted in D.L.Edwards Leaders of the Church of England 1828-1944 (1971) p.217.
- 9 Ind Int Oct 1909.
- 10 Westcott The Gospel of Life (1892) p.230.
- 11 quoted in Monk, op.cit. p.ii, also Western op.cit. p.56. Western is mistaken in saying that this comes from Westcott's On Some Points in the Religious Office of the Universities (1873), although this contains several very similar passages.
- 12 Tribune 7 Apr 1914.

ABBREVIATIONS

Biog	"Register containing biographical notes" (Chaturvedi Collection)
C&MG	Civil and Military Gazette
CC	Mission Reports: The S.P.G. and Cambridge Mission in Delhi and the South Punjab
CMI	Church Missionary Intelligencer
CMR	Church Missionary Review
CQR	Church Quarterly Review
CSS Review	Christa Seva Sangha Review
CT	Church Times
DMN	Delhi Mission News
Epiph	Epiphany
HR	Hindustan Review
Ind Int	Indian Interpreter
IR	Indian Review
IRM	International Review of Missions
IW	Indian Witness
MCCM	Madras Christian College Magazine
MR	Modern Review
NI	<u>North India</u>
NMI	National Missionary Intelligencer
PNNR	Punjab Native Newspaper Reports
RI	<u>The Renaissance in India</u>
SM	Student Movement
SSC Mag	St. Stephen's College Magazine
SSS	<u>Sadhu Sundar Singh : A Personal Memoir</u>
TEW	The East and the West
TLS	Times Literary Supplement
WIOC	<u>What I Owe to Christ</u>
WMC	World Missionary Conference
<u>WSCF</u>	Andrews' paper for 1911 W.S.C.F. Conference

YMOI          Young Men of India

ZU             Zaka Ullah of Delhi

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2. Brotherhood of the Ascended Christ, Delhi

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3. National Archives of India, New Delhi (N.A.I.)

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5. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi

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