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

A Documentary Sourcebook from Selected Journals

Edited by Klaus Koschorke, Adrian Hermann, E. Phuti Mogase and Ciprian Burlacioiu

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Cover Art: Front pages of four journals published by indigenous Christian elites in Asia and Africa around 1900: *La Iglesia Filipina Independiente: Revista Católica* (January 24, 1904), *The Sierra Leone Weekly News* (September 6, 1884), *Inkanyiso yase Natal* (March 2, 1894), and *The Christian Patriot* (December 9, 1899).
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Preface

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

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

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

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

Close contacts with international colleagues and experts in various area studies have been very helpful and inspiring. Some of them served as “external advisers” for the regional sections of the research project. Others commented on different aspects of our work. Quite a
number attended various internal workshops and the Seventh International Munich-Freising Conference in December 2014. The proceedings of this conference, which will also contain the concluding comparative study of the entire research project, will hopefully be published in late 2016 or early 2017.

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

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

The editors
Munich / Hermannsburg / Hamburg

December 2015
A. General Introduction
General Introduction:
Goals of the Entire Research Project
and the Present Text Selection

KLAUS KOSCHORKE

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

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

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

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

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

Although the journals presented here differ in many details, they are all important if only as expressions of the growing self-consciousness of these indigenous elites and their proud presence in the public space. “The present age is notably an age of Negro magazines”, stated for instance the *Lagos Standard* on October 4, 1905. “At no time have there been so many magazines published by the [African] race” (text 228). Already in 1870 the *Kaffir Express* – a black journal published in South African Lovedale (and not included in our edition) – had hailed the dawn of a new epoch, as “now” for the first time the Africans published their own journals: “The period when newspapers begin to live in the history of any people is an important era” (01.10.1870). *Inkanyiso*, founded in Natal in 1889, reiterated the claim to be the “mouthpiece” of the Africans in the colony, whose voices previously had not been heard:
“We wish to give publicity to our thoughts” (*Inkanyiso* 12.03.1891 – text 119). What *Inkanyiso* strove for was the “advancement of our people politically, industrially, religiously and otherwise” (*Inkanyiso* 13.01.1893 – text 121).

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

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

2. The Topics Dealt With by the Journals

“It is the general feeling amongst Natives that their grievances are frequently not heard”, complained *Inkanyiso*. Hence, from then on the journal was published not only in Zulu language, but also in English, so that “our English friends become more acquainted with ‘Native
Opinion’” (Inkanyiso 12.03.1891 – text 120). Thus the concerns and grievances of the Africans should be perceived in the colonial public sphere. Elsewhere, it was religious issues and ecclesiastical controversies that were intensively debated in the journals presented in our sourcebook. This happened frequently by engaging in discussions with other periodicals: with the non-Christian press (in India, for instance), with political journals and missionary bulletins, as well as with different voices from within the “native Christian community”.

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

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

Education is finally to be mentioned as a third example of a theme that was discussed intensively in all the four regional contexts, although in each case with a different focus (Section E). In South India, for example, we find the self-perception of the Protestant elite as a “progressive community” defined essentially by the criterion of their high literacy rate and the “educational progress of Native Christians” (CP 30.07.1898 – text 74). In that context a problem was presented by the heterogeneous composition of the Christian community, with its high percentage of low caste people. In Natal, the debate was mostly focused on a specific form of education, namely the demand for “industrial education”. It was propagated as a means to give Africans access to the modern forms of employment in the colonial society. Various experiments of “industrial education” in Jamaica and in the USA were presented as examples to be followed (texts 206, 216). The West African journals referred proudly to the numerous modern educational institutions in the region. These were presented not only as enterprises undertaken by the missionaries and the colonial government, but also the result of local initiatives (text 280). So, for instance, the Liberia College, “the first African Seminary [= college] of learning launched forth with all the equipments”, was described as purely...
African from the outset: “Its Faculty are Africans, its Professors Africans, its Tutors Africans, its Students Africans” (text 279). Finally, in the Philippines the journals we are examining pleaded for a liberal education, which alone “can elevate our nation”. For this reason the new Church endeavored to establish colleges “in all the provinces” of the country (text 342). Such an effort was undertaken to break the former monopoly of the “Romanists”, who were accused of “hate[ing] progress and liberty” (text 391).

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

3. Different Profiles and Asynchronous Developments

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

A significant example is the issue of “Church Independency”. As mentioned before, this was the central theme both in the West African journals, as well as in the Philippines, albeit in a totally different colonial and missionary context. Quite remarkably, however, “Church Independency” was not crucial in the case of Inkanyiso, although very soon South Africa became known in missionary circles as the motherland of Ethiopianism (i.e. of African churches independent from missionaries). In Inkanyiso we find the Ethiopian movement.
mentioned only in one single passage, in a letter to the editor written in Zulu (Inkanyiso 15.03.1895 – text 141; the supplementary article on Ethiopianism contained in this collection [text 142] has been taken from another journal). On the other hand, it is quite remarkable that the founder of the first Ethiopian Church in South Africa in 1892, Mangena Maaka Mokone, was among the subscribers of Inkanyiso, together with other initiators and leaders of later African Independent Churches. Also mentioned are Joseph Kanyane Napo, Jacob Xaba, Gardiner B. Mvuyana or Simungu Shibe. Other future leaders, like Isaac Caluza, Thomas Sibizi and Joel Msimang, stood out as correspondents or even (as in the case of Solomon Kumalo) as editors of the periodical. Detailed information can be found in the introduction to the South Africa section. Thus, Inkanyiso casts light on the “pre-Ethiopian phase” of South African Christianity and allows insights into the conceptual world and the discourses of those who later established African Independent Churches.

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

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

4. Cognitive Interaction, Direct Contacts, Transregional Networking

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

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

5. Technical Aspects

Language: The journals presented in this collection were published mainly in the respective colonial language – in order to “give publicity to our thoughts” in the wider colonial public, and, in addition, to enable communication among indigenous Christian elites from different regions and language backgrounds. The four West African journals were written in English. Inkanyiso (Natal) was bilingual (English and Zulu). The Christian Patriot (South India) was published predominantly in English, with sporadic insertions in Tamil. The IFI publications contained articles in Spanish, partly also in English, and to some extent also in Tagalog and other Filipino languages (see text 385). All selected articles are presented in this collection in the original English, or in an English translation as in the case of two Zulu texts (texts 130, 141) and of the articles from the IFI publications (if not indicated otherwise).
The original spelling of the English texts in the different journals has been mostly retained. Spelling has been standardized in the editor’s headlines of the individual articles (in bold). Some forms of punctuation and typography in common usage in newspapers and journals around 1900 have been removed or standardized (for example “:-“, which has been replaced by “:”)

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

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

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

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

The Christian Patriot

Edited by Klaus Koschorke
Introduction to *The Christian Patriot*

KLAUS KOSCHORKE

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

The most important of these periodicals was *The Christian Patriot: A Journal of Social and Religious Progress*. It was launched in 1890 and existed till 1929. The journal’s name signified its agenda: as Christians to be engaged in the uplift of the nation, in times of a growing Indian nationalism and increased charges of “denationalization” raised against the Indian Christians. At the same time, it intended to promote the “moral, social, intellectual and spiritual progress” of the country’s Christian community. Differently from other journals presented in this collection – which began as a missionary enterprise before being taken over by local Christians –, the *Christian Patriot* was started as a “purely indigenous venture” from its very beginnings (CP 10.01.1903 – text 2). “Owned and conducted entirely by members of the Native Christian community the *Christian Patriot* will give expression to the sentiments and aspirations of Native Christians” (CP 01.02.1896 – text 1). In doing so, it claimed to speak for the Indian Protestant community “as a whole”. The *Christian Patriot* criticized missionary paternalism (and racism), on the one hand, and, on the other hand, tendencies in parts of the “Indian National Congress” to equate the national cause with Hindu revivalism, and to demand only political (and not also social) reforms. While campaigning against caste and arranged marriages, the journal presented India’s Christian community as a “progressive community” leading, among other issues, in the field of female education. “We firmly believe that the Indian Christian community has a very important part to play in the regeneration of India” (CP 07.01.1905 – text 3). The *Christian Patriot* stimulated manifold debates within South India’s Protestant elite, and wide publicity was given to the pros and cons of the project of a ‘National Church of India’. Close links existed to the ‘Madras Native Christian Association’ (established in 1888), the ‘National Missionary Society of India’ (since 1905), the (Madras) ‘Christo Samaj’ (since 1916) and other emancipatory movements and forms of self-organization among South Indian Protestant Christians. At the same time, this English-speaking weekly sought to address the “educated” public in the Madras presidency at large, and was also read in Hindu circles.
Though published in Madras and circulating primarily in South India, the journal intended “to represent the views and promote the interests of the Indian Christian community as a whole” scattered all over the subcontinent (CP 10.01.1903 – text 2). It was regularly “delivered in India, Burma and Ceylon” and was proud to have a “very large constituency not only in this country but also in Great Britain and in America” (CP 10.01.1903 – text 2). The exact number of its subscribers is unknown. Y.V. Kumara Doss and E.S. Alexander give, for an unspecified date, the figure of 8001 – which would imply a readership somewhere between 8,000 and 18,000 at that time. The Christian Patriot addressed a broad range of issues and contained religious, political and general news from India and all over the world. It used and reproduced very different sources – telegraphic summaries, political journals, church magazines, missionary reports, Indian newspapers, the Hindu press, but also indigenous Christian journals from other countries (such as South Africa, Hong Kong or the ‘Indian Christian Association in Great Britain’). Important was the network of local “correspondents” (often identical with subscribers, and recurrently not personally known to the editor). Their reports and contributions were received not only from varied districts and cities in India, but also from places such as London, Boston, Shantung (China) or Cape Town (South Africa). Letters to the Editor came for example from Singapore. They dealt with problems within the Indian Christian diaspora community of that city, and reacted to other letters sent from Singapore to the “world-wide paper ‘the Christian Patriot’” (CP 21.08.09 – text 12). One prominent subscriber in far away New York was John R. Mott (CP 29.01.1910, p. 7). In South African Durban the Christian Patriot was quoted by Gandhi’s journal Indian Opinion (03.04.1909).

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

1 Y.V. KUMARA DOS/E.S. ALEXANDER, “Lives and Times of the Protestant Elite in Madras at the turn of the Nineteenth Century”, in: O.L. SNAITANG/G. MENACHERY (Eds.), India’s Christian Heritage (Bangalore 2012, 114–128), 122. This number is based on: P.J. JONES, A Volume in Commemoration of the Opening of the 20th Century by South Indian Protestant Missions (Pasumalai, Madura 1900), 63: „It [the CP] has more than 800 subscribers“. – Detailed information about the Christian Patriot will be found in my forthcoming monograph (preliminary title: K. KOSCHORKE, “Owned and Conducted entirely by the Native Christian Community”. Der ‘Christian Patriot’ und die indigen-christliche Presse im kolonialen Indien um 1900 [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz]).
Asian power and victorious over a “white” European nation in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904/05, attracted huge interest in the Indian public, both Hindu and Christian. Many articles in the *Christian Patriot* were devoted to the question how this oriental nation – which for centuries had existed in complete isolation – had managed to jump in such a short time into modernity and to take its place among the “most civilized nations in the world”. The answer: “We may safely claim that Christianity and Christian civilisation played a great part in producing this momentous change” (*CP* 30.04.1904 – text 109). Consequently, much information was given to the Indian readers about Christians and Churches in Japan, and in 1906 a delegation of two prominent Japanese Christians visited the subcontinent. They came “at the special request of the Indian Y.M.C.A.s” and delivered speeches in many Indian cities about the topic “What can [Christian] India learn from Japan?”. Their visit of seven weeks, accompanied by an intensive press campaign, led to intensified contacts between Christian leaders and congregations in both countries. It resulted in mutual visits, the exchange of students and teachers, and strengthened pan-Asian sentiments among the two “Asiatic brother nations”. At the Tokyo Conference of the World Students Christian Association in 1907 – the first ecumenical gathering with a majority of Asian delegates – current and future Church leaders from India and Japan intensified direct contacts and mutual exchange.

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

The *Christian Patriot* exists to make clear our attitude of sympathy and friendliness towards our non-Christian fellow citizens and to express our views on the various social, political and economic movements set on foot for the advancement of India. This we have done in the past: we hope to do this more vigorously in the coming years. We need to co-operate with our non-Christian fellow citizens in all things calculated to advance the well-being of India.

The *Christian Patriot* exists to express our views in regard to the Indian Church and to Missionary policy and methods in India generally in so far as they affect the well-being of Indian Christians.

We are helping to promote the communal consciousness of Indian Christians, so widely scattered over India and so sadly divided by denominational and other differences, and bring about greater unity and solidarity.

We try to bring the various Christian organisations throughout India, Burma, Ceylon, Straits and South Africa, in close touch with one another, and by recording their activities, help to stimulate and co-ordinate their effort. […]

We have tried to promote better understanding among Indian Christians themselves, discuss their needs and secure their co-operation in all matters calculated to promote the well-being of the entire community. (*CP* 19.02.1916 – text 4).
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1) “Owned and Conducted Entirely by Members of the Native Christian Community” – *The Christian Patriot* in the Seventh Year of Its Existence (02.01.1896)

Ourselves

It is with feelings of the deepest thankfulness to God that we enter upon the year 1896, which is the seventh year of the existence of our journalistic venture. When in the year 1890 we launched the *Christian Patriot* on the troublous waters of Indian journalism, we had considerable misgivings as to how it would be received by the public, and whether it would justify its existence, as an organ capable of influencing and directing Native Christian public opinion and of advancing its interests. At the very commencement we said that it is “intended that this journal shall be Christian in tone and Patriotic in its aims. It shall be Christian in the broadest and truest sense of the word, inasmuch as we will adopt in its entirety the Christian standard of right and wrong as our standard … Owned and conducted entirely by members of the Native Christian community the *Christian Patriot* will give expression to the sentiments and aspirations of Native Christians. There are not wanting signs to indicate that the time has now arrived for the members of this community to come boldly forward whether to speak out their minds, or to vindicate their claims, or to battle for the truth and for Christ. We do not pretend that this journal is the ‘organ’ of that community, but we shall endeavour to advocate the claims and ventilate the grievances (if any) of that community, with all fairness and in the spirit of unwearying courtesy and moderation.” To what extent we have fulfilled these expectations our readers will be able to judge for themselves; for our own part, however, we can say that not only that the support that we have received from the public has steadily increased during the past six years, we have also been greatly encouraged by the growing influence of our journal and the confidence that it has evoked from the community which it has been trying to serve, faithfully and unselfishly. If proof were needed of this fact we need only point to the new enlargement in the *Christian Patriot* which this issue of the journal indicates. This is the third time within the period of six years that we have found it absolutely necessary to enlarge the size of the paper and to effect improvements in it. We have spared neither men nor money in trying to make our journal worthy of the confidence that has been reposed on it by the Christian public. Our readers are probably not unaware of the difficulties of conducting a journal so as to secure the sympathy and support of a large constituency; but these difficulties are increased a hundredfold in our case, as all of those who are connected with the enterprise are men busily engaged in various occupations, but
who, without any expectation of reward, devote what time they could spare, to help to render
the *Christian Patriot* a success in every way. We are thankful, however, to state that there
has rallied round us, a large number of able Indian Christian contributors from this and other
Presidencies. We also count among some of our regular contributors, a few European
Missionaries who take a deep interest in everything connected with the progress of the Indian
Christian community. We take this opportunity of tendering our heartiest thanks to them and
sincerely trust that others will follow their generous example. The successful way in which
this important journalistic venture has been conducted is proof positive that Indian Christians
are in this Presidency at all events trying to realize the significance of their position and to
assert their independence. We often hear it said that Indian Christians have not yet learnt to
help themselves, that they stand too much in the position of receivers, and not enough in the
position of givers. If the *Christian Patriot* has done anything it has been not only to teach our
brethren the lessons of self-help and self-dependence, but also to afford an opportunity to
some of the most enlightened and cultured among them to put into practice these lessons.

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

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

A Happy New Year.

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

OURSSELVES

With this issue the _Christian Patriot_ enters upon the fourteenth year of its existence; and we praise God for the work it has been able to do during the last thirteen years for the community in whose interests it has been started. Our misgivings were great when the _Christian Patriot_ was launched on the troublous waters of Indian Journalism as to how far it would prove a success; but the steady support it has received from the very commencement from the public and the various improvements we have been able to effect from time to time in the get-up of the journal bear witness to its appreciation by a very large constituency; not only in this country but also in Great Britain and in America. The unique feature of the journal is that it is a purely indigenous venture. It was planned by Indian Christians, started by them, and is being conducted by them. The _Indian Christian Herald_ was a similar venture in Calcutta which owed its existence chiefly to Babu Joy Govind Shome, but after the death of that great leader, it ceased to exist, and the _Christian Patriot_ remains now as the oldest Indian Christian journal in India. Though published in Madras its one great object has been to represent the views and promote the interests of the Indian Christian community as a whole, and hence it appeals to members of the community all over the country. We are thankful for the support it has received outside this Presidency, but whilst the _Christian Patriot_ is well-known in the Western and Northern Provinces of India, and even in the Central Provinces, it is not so well-known in Bengal. We hope Christians throughout India will accord this journal their support and do all in their power to extend its usefulness.

It is needless to speak of the advantages of a journal of this kind in educating and guiding Indian Christian public opinion. At this time in particular, when everything is in a transitional state, a journal that could voice the sentiments and aspirations of the best leaders of the community is an imperative necessity. The possibilities before the Indian Christian community, backed up as it is by influences which make for moral, social, intellectual and spiritual progress, are indeed vast; and at no time, therefore does the community need wise, careful, sympathetic guidance as at present, and our earnest prayer is that with God’s help the _Christian Patriot_ will prove the means of affording this guidance and teaching which the community needs at present. Problems fraught with deep issues to the future Indian Church are confronting us; on all directions, and it is time that the Indian Christian community contributed its quota to the solution of these problems. The community everywhere can boast of men and women of light and leading, and what is most encouraging is that these men and women are not indifferent to the concerns of the Indian Church of the future but are most eager to take a part in the solution of missionary problems. What more appropriate medium could be found for the representation of their views than a journal conducted on thoroughly patriotic and Christian lines by Indian Christians.

The success of this venture we need hardly say is due to the hearty co-operation of a large number of educated Indian Christians who have laboured hard without material compensation of any kind, to make it acceptable to Christians of all denominations. The practical help afforded by a large number of Missionaries is also thankfully acknowledged. To one and all – Indian and European Christians – who have helped us with their literary contributions and their advice we tender our sincere thanks. There is still a great deal of literary talent in the community which the _Christian Patriot_ has not been able to utilize, and we trust that in this
year at least we shall have the pleasure of welcoming contributions from those endowed with the gift of writing but who have not as yet contributed to our columns.

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

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


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

THE NEW YEAR

With this issue the Christian Patriot commences a new year, the sixteenth year of its existence. […] Our readers are not unaware of the difficulties of journalism in India, where it has to meet with special difficulties; and the fact that this journal is intended for a special community and is distinctly Christian in its purpose and aims has increased these difficulties […] At this time in particular, when everything is in a transitional state, a journal that could voice the sentiments and aspirations of the leaders of the community is an imperative necessity. We firmly believe that the Indian Christian community has a very important part to play in the regeneration of India. The many problems, political, social and moral, confronting New India can only be solved successfully by Christianity; for its moral power to purify and renovate the personal and social life is immense. The possibilities before the Indian Christian community are great, … and our earnest prayer and hope is that the Christian Patriot will prove of some help in affording this sympathetic guidance […]


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

THE CHRISTIAN PATRIOT

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

In these years the Christian Patriot has tried to give expression to the feeling of unswerving loyalty to the Government, it has, on a number of instances, represented the opinion of the community to the Government and has expressed its opinion definitely upon various Legislative Measures affecting the interests of our community. It is true we were not
able to do full justice to the various questions at issue, but we are now increasing our efforts in this direction, to be more and more useful to our community, and that chiefly with reference to the Governments in South India.

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

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

We publish Telegraphic Summary: Why? Many ask. This is the reason. Our readers may be roughly divided into three classes: (1) Poor Indian Christians (a large number) who get no dailies, and in fact no other paper, (2) People who may get a daily but who find very little time to read the daily news; for these it is a time saving arrangement to keep them up-to-date, (3) The third class – the one who complain are those who don’t subscribe for the paper or find time to read the dailies which they might get. We are not concerned with the third class – for these are not very many; these men should take the paper for other considerations and not for the ‘Summary’.

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

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

The Christian Patriot exists to make clear our attitude of sympathy and friendliness towards our non-Christian fellow citizens and to express our views on the various social, political and economic movements set on foot for the advancement of India. This we have done in the past: we hope to do this more vigorously in the coming years. We need to co-
operate with our non-Christian fellow citizens in all things calculated to advance the well-being of India.

The Christian Patriot exists to express our views in regard to the Indian Church and to Missionary policy and methods in India generally in so far as they affect the well-being of Indian Christians.

We are helping to promote the communal consciousness of Indian Christians, so widely scattered over India and so sadly divided by denominational and other differences, and bring about greater unity and solidarity.

We try to bring the various Christian organisations throughout India, Burma, Ceylon, Straits and South Africa, in close touch with one another, and by recording their activities, help to stimulate and co-ordinate their effort. If we have not much in this way, it is clearly not our fault, it is the fault of the various secretaries who not send us their reports for publication.

We have tried to promote better understanding among Indian Christians themselves, discuss their needs and secure their co-operation in all matters calculated to promote the well-being of the entire community.

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

A.2 Realities of Publishing

5) Ownership

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

(2.) […] The unique feature of the journal is that it is a purely indigenous venture. It was planned by Indian Christians, started by them, and is being conducted by them. […]

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

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

6) Distribution, Circulation in India and Beyond

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

(2.) […] Though published in Madras its one great object has been to represent the views and promote the interests of the Indian Christian community as a whole, and hence it appeals to members of the community all over the country. We are thankful for the support it has received outside this Presidency, but whilst the Christian Patriot is well-known in the Western and Northern Provinces of India, and even in the Central Provinces, it is not so well-known in Bengal. We hope Christians throughout India will accord this journal their support and do all in their power to extend its usefulness. […] [A] very large constituency not only in this country but also in Great Britain and in America. […]

(3.) TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION / Rs. 5 per annum – For free delivery in India, Burma and Ceylon. / Rs. 6 per annum – for free delivery in Foreign countries / The following reduced rates are also allowed: Rs. 4 per annum or As. 6 per month – For those whose monthly income is below Rs. 50 and above Rs. 30. / Rs. 3 per annum or As. 5 per month – For those whose monthly income is Rs. 30 and below. – All subscriptions should be paid in advance. […]
(4.) [Christian Patriot quoted in The Irish Churchman, Dublin] We observe with pleasure from the Christian Patriot of Madras that the first Indian Bishop of the Indian Church, Mr. Azariah*, was consecrated last December at Calcutta. […] – The Irish Churchman.

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


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

7) Readers and Subscribers

(1.) […] Our readers may be roughly divided into three classes: (1) Poor Indian Christians (a large number) who get no dailies, and in fact no other paper, (2) People who may get a daily but who find very little time to read the daily news; for these it is a time saving arrangement to keep them up-to-date, (3) The third class the one who complain are those who don’t subscribe for the paper or find time to read the dailies which they might get. We are not concerned with the third class – for these are not very many; these men should take the paper for other considerations and not for the ‘Summary’. […]

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

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

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

8) Contributors, Correspondents

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

(2.) […] We cannot say that all our correspondents and contributors are personally known to us but we can say that we entirely depend upon their honesty for the correctness of their statements, and we can assure our correspondent that confidence has not been misplaced except perhaps in very few cases. […]
(3.) A correspondent from Narasarowpat sends us two very lengthy contributions, which the limited space at our command forbids us from publishing … We wish that our contributors learn the virtue of being brief in their communications.

(4.) […] We want plenty of Indian Christian news – facts and occurrences rather than news and criticisms. We want to chronicle Indian Christian passes, promotions, revivals and conversions, united efforts, grievances based on facts and mildly worded; in short, everything that is of interest and importance to our growing community. We want even lady correspondents […]

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

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

(7a.) [China Correspondent] OUR CHINA CORRESPONDENT / Our own China correspondent from Shantung has some very sad news to give us in his letter of the 9th January. It is the story of the torture to death of a devoted S.P.G. Missionary […]; (7b.) Our correspondent has been in Shantung, North China, for several years, and it is in Shantung that the anti-foreign movement had its start. […] He has been an eyewitness of the boxer movement of which he gave our readers a most graphic account […]

(8a.) [Hindu Correspondents] CONTRIBUTIONS / […] MRS. BESANT’S MEMORANDUM ABOUT THE HINDU COLLEGE AT BENVARES / (From a Hindu Correspondent) / The object is no doubt a laudable one, but how far it will be successful in its aims is matter of great doubt. […];

(8b.) CONTRIBUTIONS / […] A BRAHMAN YOGI / (From a Hindu Correspondent) / On hearing of the arrival of a Yogi at this place viz Kalyandrug, the postmaster led me to his Holyness who was sitting counting beads, in a temple situated in the heart of the town. […]

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

9) Other Sources

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

10) Promotion, Problems With Payments

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

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

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

(4.) VERY IMPORTANT! […] The subscribers must be doubled in a few months, otherwise we are afraid, the paper will have to be discontinued, as many others have done during this time
of great financial strain [during World War I]. Every reader, if he earnestly tries to induce at least one of his friends, to subscribe, the matter is settled […]

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

11) Technical Aspects

(1.) […] This is the third time within the period of six years that we have found it absolutely necessary to enlarge the size of the paper and to effect improvements in it. […]

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

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

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

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

ANGLO-INdIAN CHRISTIANS OF SINGAPORE

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

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

Singapore, 9th August, 1909

“THE CATECHIST”

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

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

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

OUR NATIVE CHURCH COUNCIL: AN EXPERIMENT IN SELF-GOVERNMENT

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


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

THE QUEEN AND THE AFRICAN BISHOPS

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

When is India to have her own native Bishops?

Source: Christian Patriot, June 18, 1898, p. 5 (longer extract → text 92).
15) “India Is Sadly Behind-Hand as Regards the Episcopate” (1899)

[...] It was acknowledged by all that India is sadly behind-hand as regards the Episcopate. No Native of the soil, in connexion with our [Anglican] Church, has yet been consecrated bishop. Beyond doubt, the Conference took a step forward in declaring that the time has come for a little “holy boldness”, and in advocating, and that with perfect unanimity (there was not a single dissentient voice) the appointment of Indian Suffragan Bishops. If care is exercised, and the type of Episcopacy adopted for our native brethren be the simple and more primitive one of North Africa, rather than the pretentious one which prevailed in the Roman Empire when the Church began to adopt the grandeur of the State, we see no reason why an Indian Episcopate should not prove a great success. Anyhow, it cannot be right always to hold a large and growing Native Church [like the Indian Church] in leading-strings, nor can it be fair to govern it for ever by a foreign episcopate. At least let a beginning be made by the appointment of Native Suffragan Bishops where the right [Indian] men are forthcoming [...]  


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

FUTURE INDEPENDENT CHURCHES IN THE MISSION FIELD

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

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

The first step towards the establishment of a Native Episcopate would seem generally to be the appointment of Native Assistant Bishops under the existing foreign Bishops; and steps would naturally follow in due course of time for the formation of separate Dioceses to which they or other competent Natives might be appointed, as well as to their succeeding, in suitable cases, the foreign Bishops in the original Dioceses. It may, however, be expedient that some of the first Assistant Bishops should be English, and, preferably, experienced missionaries, to obviate the apparent invidiousness of keeping subordinate positions for Natives. Meanwhile, every effort should be made both to attract to the ministry of the Church the best men of the Native Christian community, and to prepare and test the leading Native clergy for higher positions by giving them the superintendence of districts and other functions of importance.[“]
New separate Dioceses for Native Bishops will be naturally carved out of existing Dioceses. After several Dioceses have been established in suitable areas the next step will be to combine them together in an Ecclesiastical Province with a view to the substantial unity of the Church and possibly many local diversities, these provinces comprising ordinarily several Dioceses. The creation of a Native Episcopate will not necessarily mean at once the creation of an independent constitution. “The ecclesiastical independence will come when the Constitution is adopted, providing for Synods or other governing bodies, upon which Bishop and Clergy and laity are duly represented.” Objection may be taken to the effect that the present conditions do not favour the creation of an independent church; but the Memorandum does not aim at this at all. It takes for granted that the period of transition and preparation will be a long period, but it points out distinctly the goal that should be had in view and the step that should now be taken so as ultimately to reach this goal. […]


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

**INDIAN MINISTERS’ CONFERENCE, MADRAS**

In another column we publish the constitution of the Indian Ministers’ Conference and a paper on the advantages of such an organization by the Rev. J. Lazarus*, B.A., to whose zeal for the welfare of his brethren the present Conference is to be attributed. We have often had to write in this journal on the responsibilities of the Native Ministry, and have dwelt on its position, privileges and drawbacks. Organization is the characteristic of the age. People allied to one another by mutual aims and interests must combine and act in a body for their own self-improvement and self-preservation. The constitution of the [Indian Ministers] Conference is all that can be desired at this initial stage. The first rule states that the “Indian ministers in Madras and its immediate neighbourhood form themselves into a Conference”; the object of which, adds Rule 2, “shall be to promote social and spiritual intercourse, mutual aid and advice, and combined action.” Some years ago the number of Indian clergymen could hardly be counted on the fingers. Now there are as many as 42; and it is by no means too soon that Mr. Lazarus has thought of inaugurating this clerical movement at the commencement of the new century. […] We trust that the Conference will preserve its peculiarly Indian character and grow and develop on more or less Indian lines. We look upon the organization as a further proof of the life and vigour of the Indian Church in South India and expect not a little from it in years to come. […]


18) “A Unique Experiment in Self-Government” in Madras (11.01.1902)

**A UNIQUE EXPERIMENT IN SELF-GOVERNMENT**

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