THE MOTIVES OF CANADIAN BAPTIST WOMEN MISSIONARIES TO INDIA, 1905–1910

by

Binu Binoy Cherian, BD, BSc

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of McMaster Divinity College in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts (Christian Studies)

> McMaster Divinity College Hamilton, Ontario 2025

MASTER OF ARTS (Christian Studies)	McMaster Divinity College Hamilton, Ontario
TITLE:	The Motives of Canadian Baptist Women Missionaries to India, 1905–1910
AUTHOR:	Binu Binoy Cherian
SUPERVISOR:	Dr. Gordon Heath
NUMBER OF PAGES:	vi + 139

ABSTRACT

"The Motives of Canadian Baptist Women Missionaries to India, 1905–1910"

Binu Binoy Cherian McMaster Divinity College Hamilton, Ontario Master of Arts (Christian Studies), 2025

During the colonial period, namely in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Canadian Baptist women missionaries had a notable impact in India. Their association with imperial authority was intricate and diverse, shaped by their religious undertaking and the broader political circumstances of British colonial governance in India. Canadian Baptist women missionaries were motivated by a fervent evangelical passion to propagate Christianity in India. The missionaries participated in educational and social reform endeavours in India. They founded educational institutions, orphanages, and medical centres, offering schooling and medical care to Indian women and children. Although the Canadian Baptist women missionaries had humanitarian intents, they were frequently perceived as catalysts of cultural imperialism. This research is based on the work of Canadian Baptist missionaries in India between 1905 and 1910, much before Indian Independence (1947), and it will demonstrate that Canadian Baptist women missionaries had several interrelated motives, central being the betterment of the people.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I want to thank God for His Grace, which has enabled me thus far. Words also cannot express my gratitude to my professor Dr. Gordon Heath for his invaluable patience and feedback. He has been with me in this entire journey and stood as a strong support. I could not have undertaken this journey without my defence committee, (Dr. James R. Payton Jr. and Dr. Cynthia Long Westfall) generously providing knowledge and expertise. Additionally, this endeavour would not have been possible without the generous support from Dr. James Taneti, who helped me see this subject in a larger sense and suggested the initial readings.

I am also grateful to the librarians and Adam from the Canadian Baptist Archives for providing me with all the materials from the archives for my reference. Lastly, I would be remiss in not mentioning my family, especially my wife (Sarah) and children (Nathania and Benaiah). Their belief in me has kept my spirits and motivation high during this process. They were patient with me during this entire journey and supported me. My Church, First Revival Church, has stood with me during this journey and kept encouraging me.

CONTENTS

SUMMARY PAGE	ii
SIGNATURE PAGE	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2: HISTORY OF ANDHRA PRADESH, EUROPEAN MISSIONARIES, AND BRITISH RULE	23
CHAPTER 3: CANADIAN BAPTIST MISSIONS TO INDIA	55
CHAPTER 4: MOTIVES OF CANADIAN BAPTIST WOMEN MISSIONARIES TO INDIA	91
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION	126
BIBLIOGRAPHY	132

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

India is the largest country in South Asia. Sindhu, the regional name for the Indus River, is where the word "Indian" originates. India's history is a captivating narrative of a magnificent civilization. It is a remarkable history of enduring cultural continuity that has consistently reestablished itself. Indians frequently refer to their nation as "*Bharat*," after a legendary monarch.¹ The Harappan civilization flourished in the Indus Valley during the third millennium BC when Indian history began.² Around 1700 BC, Central Asian tribes speaking an Aryan language settled in northwest India. Eventually, those tribes occupied a large portion of India.³

Strong kingdoms like the Mauryan (321–181 BC) and Gupta (319 AD–c. 500 AD) empires ruled at different times.⁴ However, throughout the ages, India was attacked by White Huns, Parthians, Greeks, Persians, and Kushans. Muslims first arrived in India at the start of the eleventh century AD, dominating most of the subcontinent for eight centuries.⁵ From the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, Delhi was ruled by the Mughal Dynasty, who had captured the city. Islam has influenced India's cultural legacy and significantly contributed to South Asian civilization.⁶ When Portuguese sailors first

¹ Markovits, *India and the World*, 46.

² Stein and Arnold, A History of India, 19.

³ Stein and Arnold, A History of India, 112.

⁴ Stein and Arnold, A History of India, 23-25.

⁵ Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India*, 1:9–12.

⁶ Dalrymple, *White Mughals*, 56–64.

reached on India's southwest coast in 1498, Europeans travelled to South Asia.⁷ Portugal, Holland, Britain, and France established manufacturing and trading posts during the ensuing two centuries.⁸ The British East India Company dominated most European trade in India by the middle of the eighteenth century, and Britain eventually took control of the whole region. In the nineteenth century, Great Britain established itself as the most influential political force in the subcontinent, with India being regarded as the prized possession of the British Empire.⁹ The British Indian Army played a crucial part in both World Wars. The Indian independence movement, spearheaded by Mohandas Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, culminated in attaining Indian independence from British rule in 1947.¹⁰

Diversities in India

The term "diversity" prioritizes distinctions rather than inequity. Group disparities, or distinctions, are often the differences that separate one group of persons from another.¹¹ These disparities may encompass biological, religious, linguistic, or other conceivable aspects. Diversity encompasses multiple races, religions, languages, castes, and cultures.¹² India's designation as a country with abundant cultural diversity stems from the extensive array of social groups and cultures within its borders. These groups primarily identify themselves based on cultural characteristics such as language, religion, sect, race, or caste. A Hindi proverb says, "Every two miles, the water doth change, and

⁷ Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India*, 1:216.

⁸ Stein and Arnold, A History of India, 199–201.

⁹ Stein and Arnold, A History of India, 196–98.

¹⁰ Markovits, India and the World, 170-71.

¹¹ Kaul, "India's Diversity," 10–11.

¹² Haq et al., "Diversity in India," 587.

every four, the dialect." India has over 1,653 dialects and over a billion people who speak roughly twenty-four languages. Indian languages are classified into four primary linguistic families, groups of languages that share a common ancestral origin.¹³ Hindus make up approximately eighty percent of the Indian population. India, meanwhile, takes great pleasure in the constitutional protection of religious freedom. The religious minority consists of Muslims (14 percent), Christians (2.4 percent), Sikhs (2 percent), Buddhists (0.7 percent), and Jains (0.5 percent). Additional religious factions encompass Jews, Parsis (Zoroastrians), and animistic indigenous communities.¹⁴ The activities and beliefs linked to Hinduism exhibit regional and individual variations. The caste system is a significant element of Hinduism that influences Indian society.¹⁵ This system, devised by the Aryan-speaking peoples, categorizes individuals into four distinct groups: Brahmans (priests and scholars), Ksatriyas (warriors and rulers), Vaisyas (traders and farmers), and Sudras (servants and artisans).¹⁶ These groups are additionally subdivided based on professions, as well as according to geographical and cultural distinctions. Nevertheless, the majority of Indians do not belong to any of the four groups and are commonly known as the Untouchables, representing the lowest social caste.¹⁷ While originating from Hinduism, some other religious groups have embraced the caste system in this geographical area.

The diversity of India can be attributed to various historical factors such as successive invasions, the rise of different religions, and the impact of Western

¹³ Heitzman et al., eds., *India*, 182.

¹⁴ Heitzman et al., eds., *India*, 119.

¹⁵ Markovits, *India and the World*, 49.

¹⁶ Heitzman et al., eds., *India*, 266–72.

¹⁷ Heitzman et al., eds., *India*, 267.

colonization. India exhibits significant socio-economic heterogeneity, encompassing individuals from diverse economic strata residing within the nation.¹⁸ India has substantial socio-economic heterogeneity, characterized by pronounced variations in wealth, education, and the availability of essential services like healthcare and sanitation.¹⁹ The nation exhibits a significant proportion of its population residing below the poverty threshold, juxtaposed with a smaller segment that experiences considerable luxury and privilege. The socio-economic variety in India is shaped by multiple reasons, including the historical ramifications of colonialism, caste-based prejudice, uneven economic progress, and the disparity between rural and urban areas.²⁰ The rural areas in India are often characterized by lower levels of income and access to basic services. On the other hand, metropolitan regions exhibit greater levels of development and provide superior prospects for education and employment.

India and Colonialism

India is widely recognized as the largest democracy in the world.²¹ The intricacies of this Hindu state become apparent when analysing India's historical geography and development patterns. The European invaders of South Asia comprised the Dutch, Portuguese, French, and, ultimately, the British. Europeans utilized their technological breakthroughs to exert control over the regional industrial foundation, driven by the pursuit of raw materials, inexpensive labour, and the expansion of markets.²² European

¹⁸ Qureshi, "Cultural Diversity in India," 14–15.

¹⁹ Haq et al., "Diversity in India," 586–587.

²⁰ Qureshi, "Cultural Diversity in India," 14–15.

²¹ Stein and Arnold, *A History of India*, 428.

²² Stein and Arnold, A History of India, 218–19.

dominance was established through both military conquest and commercial trade, particularly in the lucrative spice industry. The pursuit of India's wealth and success prompted the colonization of the Americas subsequent to Christopher Columbus's voyage to the region in 1492.

In the late-fifteenth century, specifically around the end of that period, Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese sailor, achieved the remarkable feat of re-establishing direct commercial connections with India.²³ He accomplished this by being the first European to reach India by sailing around the African continent, a journey that took place between around 1497 and 1499.²⁴ Upon reaching Calicut, a prominent hub of trade in the eastern hemisphere, he acquired authorization from the Saamoothiri Rajah to engage in commercial activities within the city.²⁵ Subsequently, the Dutch arrived, establishing their primary stronghold in Ceylon. Their territorial progress in India was brought to a standstill following their defeat in the Battle of Colachel against the Kingdom of Travancore during the Travancore–Dutch War.²⁶ The seafaring European countries' trading rivalries led to the involvement of other coastal powers from the empires of Europe and India. In the early-seventeenth century, the Dutch Republic, England, France, and Denmark-Norway all created trading ports in India.²⁷ With the Mughal Empire's decline and the Maratha Empire's weakening during the third battle of Panipat, numerous vulnerable and unstable Indian nations formed.²⁸ Those states were susceptible to manipulation by the Europeans, who took advantage of their dependence on Indian rulers.

²³ Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India*, 1:156.

²⁴ Stein and Arnold, A History of India, 199.

²⁵ Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India*, 1:263.

²⁶ Koshy and Koshy, *The Dutch Power in Kerala*, 57–59.

²⁷ Stein and Arnold, A History of India, 193–95.

²⁸ Stein and Arnold, A History of India, 192–93.

Britain was elevated to the status of a dominant global power through the colonization of India and significantly amplifying its influence on unparalleled levels. Despite the British successfully consolidating their control over the Indian provinces, the large indigenous population did not passively submit to British rule.²⁹ The East India Company served as a British stronghold in South Asia and gradually transformed into the primary governing authority of the region by 1857.³⁰ The British administration established an administrative framework to manage South Asia. In India, the centralized government extensively recruited Sikhs for administrative roles to effectively control the predominantly Muslim and Hindu people. English was used as a *lingua franca* for the colonies.³¹

Colonialism had a broader impact than the mere establishment of the present-day borders of South Asia. In addition to unifying the territory under a centralized administration and establishing a common language, the colonists of India also established the major port cities of Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, which are today known as Mumbai, Kolkata, and Chennai, respectively.³² (The port cities have been renamed to their original Hindi appellations.) The port cities served as crucial hubs for facilitating the transportation of goods between India and Europe. Mumbai assumed the position of India's most populous metropolis and emerged as the primary hub of economic activity.³³ In 1912, the British relocated their colonial capital from Kolkata, which served as a port for the heavily populated Ganges River region, to New Delhi to

²⁹ Stein and Arnold, A History of India, 200–205.

³⁰ Stein and Arnold, A History of India, 240.

³¹ Stein and Arnold, A History of India, 253–54.

³² Markovits, India and the World, 83-85.

³³ Stein and Arnold, A History of India, 414–15.

take advantage of the resources and opportunities in the interior of India.³⁴ Chennai served as a gateway to southern India and was the central hub of the Dravidian ethnic group in the southern region.

Britain utilized India's resources by constructing railway networks that connected the three primary coastal cities with the inland regions, facilitating the transportation of products from the interior to the ports for exportation.³⁵ The Indian Railroad is among the most extensive railway systems globally.³⁶ The issue with colonial railroads was their lack of interconnectivity between cities. The British colonizers established railway networks to link the inland areas with the ports, facilitating the extraction of resources and the shipment of commercial commodities. The identical port cities serve as central hubs for globalization's import/export operations and continue to be fundamental industrial hubs for South Asia. They have established robust connectivity with other cities in India.

Importance of the Thesis

Religious extremist organizations and ardent nationalists in India have criticized the missionary movement in India, stating that they infiltrated the nation using their colonial connections to further the imperial agenda.³⁷ The allegation is that the missionaries came with a colonist agenda and destroyed the nation by bringing in factions. Today missionaries face verbal and physical abuse not necessarily because of what they do but

³⁴ Stein and Arnold, A History of India, 286.

³⁵ Stein and Arnold, A History of India, 236.

³⁶ Stein and Arnold, A History of India, 248.

³⁷ Pinto, "Hindutva vs Ambedkarism: Views on Conversions," 3633–36. Also Paranjape, *Making India*, 30.

more so because of what they represent.³⁸ On the contrary, it can be argued that missionaries were pioneers in education making quality education accessible to every class and primarily working for the upliftment of women. Those were some of the significant contributions of Christian missionaries. It was their initiative that opened doors for women's education in India. The missionary organizations revolutionized the healthcare system by making it accessible to the poorest. However, despite those successful outcomes the historical record of missionaries is under duress in India (and elsewhere) due to the imperial connection.

Purkait asserts that due to the social structure and prevalent caste system, women experienced a denial of their freedom and social standing. As a result, civilization regressed and lost its forward-thinking. The caste system was firmly established in antiquated rituals and enduring biases.³⁹ Canadian Baptist women missionaries sought to effect change by establishing schools, believing this would be the sole method to combat the social evil in India. Their efforts, amidst a highly volatile political situation, were significant. The decline of the Mughal Empire led to the emergence of little autonomous leaders in the regions that lacked cultural or educational refinement. The autonomous rulers in the provinces harboured feelings of envy towards one another and refrained from offering assistance to each other in the event of an invasion by foreign powers. This provided the British East India Company with the chance to exploit the situation and capitalize on internal strife among the indigenous rulers, thus establishing their dominance in the country.

³⁸ Gagan, "Gender, Work, and Zeal," 225.

³⁹ Purkait, Indian Renaissance and Education, 22–27.

After Muslims, Christians make up the second-largest religious minority in India. There are about twenty-eight million Christians in India or 2.3 percent of the country's population.⁴⁰ The majority of Christians in India are Roman Catholics, who number around seventeen million. The origin of Christianity in India has always been the subject of controversy among historians, as there is a need for more documentary evidence. According to the written accounts of the Saint Thomas Christians, the Apostle Thomas introduced Christianity to the Indian subcontinent when he sailed to the Malabar region in the modern-day state of Kerala in 52 AD. The *Acts of Thomas* gives an account of the Apostle Thomas, who visited India for trade, began various works in South India, and converted people to Christianity.⁴¹ Western Christianity (particularly its Latin Church) and Protestantism were established in the European colonies of Goa, Tranquebar, Bombay, Madras, and Pondicherry after the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama discovered a sea route to India in the fifteenth century.⁴²

By the sixteenth century, Jesuit Priest Francis Xavier began evangelizing those from the lower castes and outcasts, thereby expanding the Christian community eastward. The early converts, those from the sixteenth century, were drawn to Christianity's ideals of humility and renunciation of material possessions, and, as a result, Christianity was viewed as "the poor man's religion."⁴³ Protestant missionaries started their work in India in the eighteenth century, which sparked the further expansion of Christian communities.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Based on the 2011 Census of India or the fifteenth Indian Census which was conducted in two phases, house listing and population enumeration. The latest data is not available as the Government of India has not taken the census since 2011.

⁴¹ Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas*, 62.

⁴² Mundanan, *Indian Christians*, 31–32.

⁴³ Kooiman, "Conversion from Slavery to Plantation Labour," 102.

⁴⁴ Mayhew, *Christianity in India*, 161.

The East India Trading Company's trade with India sparked a lifelong fascination with the country. The trading corporation expanded its scope beyond simple commercial concerns and rose to power in India. The Company's primary focus was on commerce and financial gains. Consequently, they rejected any mission work within their authority, perceiving it as a potential danger to their economic interests.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, the Court of Directors experienced a renewed enthusiasm for their mission and issued a declaration stating that the Company should let missionaries board their ships and actively promote the dissemination of Christianity among the Indian population.⁴⁶ However, as the Company started to gain political influence in India towards the end of the eighteenth century, it grew more careful and hesitant regarding matters of religion.⁴⁷ The entity was eager to consolidate its political and economic dominance in India and did not prioritize the dissemination of the Gospel while Christian missionaries brought the Western educational system to the Indian subcontinent and fought for social reforms while attempting to spread Christianity.⁴⁸

In India, British missions have been active since the early nineteenth century. In 1813, the British Parliament established the Anglican Bishopric of Calcutta, and missionaries were given official permission to visit East India Company lands.⁴⁹ About 339 ordained Protestant missionaries were serving on the subcontinent by 1851.⁵⁰ The mission venture was initially a male-dominated undertaking because of the "natives" unpredictable behaviour and the "natives" allegedly unsanitary environment. However,

⁴⁵ Etherington, ed., *Missions and Empire*, 107–08.

⁴⁶ Etherington, ed., *Missions and Empire*, 109–10

⁴⁷ Etherington, ed., *Missions and Empire*, 109–10

⁴⁸ Mundanan, Indian Christians, 161–63.

⁴⁹ Chatterton, A History of the Church of England in India, 85–91.

⁵⁰ Oddie, Social Protest in India, 98–99.

by the middle of the twentieth century, male missionaries had realized that their efforts to spread the Gospel were impeded by their failure to engage Indian women.⁵¹ Female co-workers were needed, especially since they could enter Muslim and high-caste Hindu zenana⁵² sections by going "beyond the veil."⁵³ North American and British women initially served as missionaries' spouses. A missionary wife was to be her husband's "help and fellow labourer," a shining example of Christian femininity and domesticity to the pagan.⁵⁴ The first attempts to enlist single women did not start until the late nineteenth century, which also saw improvements in female education, an increase in the number of single women employed in the fields of nursing, teaching, and church work, as well as the establishment of Christian religious communities.⁵⁵

As for the missionaries' view of empire, the research of those such as Parimala Rao demonstrates that the relations between missionaries and Indians was complicated and that missionaries were often in the side of the Indians rather than imperial authorities. For instance, Rao argues that due to the hostile stance of the colonial state, all missionaries, including Anglican missionaries, developed a solid opposition to the colonial state by the late nineteenth century.⁵⁶ They also commenced endorsing India's struggle for independence. The Swadeshi movement of 1905–1911 witnessed widespread and intense opposition to British rule. Many students who participated in the event were

⁵¹ Kent, Converting Women, 91–94.

⁵² Zenana contextually refers to the part of a house belonging to an Indian family reserved for the household's women. The zenana is the inner section of a house where the family's women live. Through the Zenana missions, Christian missionaries were able to reach these Indian women and girls. Female missionaries who had received medical and nursing training could treat them and evangelize them in their homes.

⁵³ Kent, Converting Women, 91–94.

⁵⁴ Brouwer, New Women for God, 66–67.

⁵⁵ Kent, Converting Women, 91–94.

⁵⁶ Christiaens et al., eds., *Missionary Education*, 147–67.

apprehended, and the missionary educators advocated for their Hindu and Muslim students in the legal proceedings. Several missionaries actively participated in India's struggle for independence.⁵⁷ She argues that the contacts between the missionaries and Hindu society were subtle and friendly, and cannot be simplified into categories based on European and non-European distinctions.

Parimala Rao examines the alliances and transcultural contacts that occurred between missionaries and Hindu society. Two significant factors made these exchanges possible: the Hindu society's natural receptiveness to new ideas and the colonial state's complete rejection of modern education. The missionaries expressed gratitude for the Indians' readiness to debate, show respect, and seek understanding, even though they did not embrace Christianity. In turn, the Indians were grateful to the missionaries for offering them access to modern education. What follows will demonstrate that among Canadian Baptist women missionaries there was some of that ambivalence towards empire and an affinity for Indian causes over against the imperial enterprise.

Research Method and Sources

Retrieval, Reconstruction, and Retheorization are the "Three Rs" of contemporary feminist research, as observed by Chad Bauman.⁵⁸ As noted by Bauman, this process has also been referred to as "deconstruction, reconstruction, and construction of theory" or "rereading, reconceiving, and reconstructing."⁵⁹ In all cases, the goal of the research is to (1) identify and preserve voices from the past that have been lost or ignored, (2) create a

⁵⁷ Bellenoit, *Missionary Education and Empire*, 159–162.

⁵⁸ O'Connor, "Rereading, Reconceiving and Reconstructing Traditions," 102.

⁵⁹ Bauman, "Redeeming Indian 'Christian' Womanhood?" 7.

new narrative that accurately and carefully tells the story of the marginalized, and (3) create a more robust historiography by creating methodologies and theoretical presumptions that further aid in the study of marginalized figures or movements. As it relates to this thesis, the focus is on the motives of female missionaries, especially a retrieval of their voices as they let their supporters back home in Canada know about their Indian missionary enterprise.

This research focuses on a subject deeply ingrained in the author's cultural identity. The geographical area of the study is Southern India, to be more precise, the State of Andhra Pradesh. Andhra Pradesh was the Canadian Baptist Mission's mission field, which is another reason for selecting this region for investigation. Not much literature has been produced concerning this region and the missionary contribution before Indian Independence. A few books have been written,⁶⁰ most by historians and writers from the secular world. In his book *The Discovery of India*,⁶¹ Jawaharlal Nehru recognizes the role that the early missionaries, particularly the Baptists of Serampore, had in the country's transition away from the sway of Persian and Sanskrit. He claims that the printing of books and newspapers by missionaries, along with English schooling, helped to break the dominance of the classics and make way for the emergence and development of regional languages. Many Indian languages were developed due to Christian missionaries' ambition to translate the Bible into as many languages as possible. Although Christian missionary activity in India has not always been appreciated or praised, it has unquestionably benefited India in several ways. Secular authors and

⁶⁰ See Fraquhar, Modern Religious Movements in India; Devanandan, Preparation for Dialogue.

⁶¹ Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, 403–10.

historians have written from their perspective to propagate their political agenda.⁶² Work produced by Christian authors has described more about evangelism and related spiritual activities and missed elaborating on the factors that led these women missionaries to India. As far as the writer knows, very few have combined Canadian women missionaries and colonialism as a research subject, specifically considering India.⁶³ Thus, this research provides a fresh perspective. More specifically, attention is on Canadian Baptist women in the early twentieth century.

Canadian Baptist Women missionaries were primarily involved in missions in India as educators, medical professionals, training Bible Women,⁶⁴ and various other mission activities which certainly required the expertise of a woman. Those female missionaries left a host of primary sources for historians to sift through, such as journals, diaries, sermons, letters, and official updates of their ministry. Attention in this research is on the public record of their activities as found in the pages of the Canadian *Missionary Link*, a monthly Baptist publication highlighting the work of Canadian Baptist missionaries. Its pages are filled with letters, pictures, poems, editorials, all genres that give indications of a host of things, such as motives. Not only will this thesis explore and bring to light material previously unexplored, but it will also specifically seek to ascertain the motives which animated those women who sacrificed so much to carry out their

⁶² The effort made by Christians in India, particularly in bringing Harijans (lower castes) into the fold of the Christian church, angered Mahatma Gandhi (the Father of the Indian Nation). He believed that the church was misguided and imperialist as it was the official religion of many nations. He formed a dislike for such a church in India after observing the Materialism and Formalism of Western Christianity. Gandhi disagreed with the assertion that Christianity is the only real religion, saying that there are other true religions as well.

⁶³ Scholars like James Elisha Taneti, Santha Kumari Varikoti-Jetty and Eliza Kent.

⁶⁴ Educated Indian Christian women who assisted the zenana missionaries were known as Bible women. They hailed from prominent families and worked alongside poor women in towns, villages, hospitals, and other institutions.

missionary call in the distant land of India. The aim is to seek to avoid two onedimensional extremes. On the one hand, hagiography is to be avoided, for the missionaries were far from perfect and had a host of motivations—some not all ideal. On the other hand, this research will avoid seeing their motives as solely agents in a calloused imperial exploitation. The historical record is more complex than either of those extremes. This research is based on the work of Canadian Baptist missionaries in India between 1905 and 1910, much before Indian Independence (1947), and it will demonstrate that Canadian Baptist female missionaries had a number of motives, central being the betterment (as they understood it) of the people. While they may have taken advantage of the opportunities that empire provided—such as access to India and the protection of imperial authorities—they were never uncritical imperial lackeys, for, as the commentary in the *Missionary Link* sometimes indicates, the missionaries could at times also be critical of imperial authorities when they acted contrary to the cause of the Indian people.⁶⁵

Mission and Challenges in India

Until the nineteenth century, Christianity failed to attract a widespread following across social boundaries and remained generally confined to Indians of higher castes. However, as members of lower castes, particularly the casteless Dalits, converted to Christianity in unprecedented numbers over the second half of the nineteenth century, these demographics underwent a significant transformation.⁶⁶ The number of Christians in

⁶⁵ We find this instance in the February 1905 edition of *Canadian Missionary Link*, where a slight discomfort is being presented about the Imperial government suppressing the missionary activities and supporting the idolatry of the land, which in turn affects the missionary activities.

⁶⁶ Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, 422.

India surged from over one million in 1860 to approximately five million in 1930, giving some notion of these developments' magnitude.⁶⁷ The Protestant missions of this period were able to achieve remarkable success as a result of their focus on the poor and marginalized of society, their willingness to fight on behalf of these marginalized individuals on issues of social justice, and the opportunity for emancipation and dignity which Protestant Christianity promised to its converts.

One of the gravest challenges that Christian missions faced in India was adaptation. Hindus were open to incorporating Christianity into their belief system, but Christian missions were persuading Indians to give up their own convictions. Numerous Indians rejected the absoluteness of Christian theology. The claim that Christianity is the sole genuine religion was the Christian concept that caused significant trouble since, it was seen as a representation of despised colonialism.⁶⁸ For Christianity to be assimilated into the Indian community, it had to be incorporated into the cultural norms of India. How traditional clothing is handled in India is one instance of the complexities. One of the most overt types of discrimination prohibited persons from the lower caste from covering the upper half of their bodies in a society where clothing denotes social standing. A naked breast was regarded as a symbol of respect to people of higher caste. The missionary women adopted a jacket (*ravakkay*) to cover the upper body in response to the tradition.⁶⁹ Such cultural interferences by the missionaries did impact their relationship with the Indian community and also raised a feeling of colonial intimidation. The main initiative of Christian missions was education. In significant

⁶⁷ Webster, *The Dalit Christians*, 33.

⁶⁸ Mundanan, Indian Christians, 175–82.

⁶⁹ Kooiman, Conversion and Social Equality in India, 148–49.

measure, the "enlightenment of India by Christian secondary schools and colleges"⁷⁰ was considered the colonization's success. The government's position of religious neutrality was jeopardized by the blend of Christianity and education inherited from Western civilization.

Women and Challenge in Missions

Women's participation in missionary activity is now undeniable, but they encountered several challenges in the early nineteenth century.⁷¹ Nonetheless, despite the examples set forth in the Bible and unparalleled contributions of the women missionaries which led to the growth of Christianity, it is not given enough consideration.⁷² The positions of women in missions became flashpoints for disagreement about the role of women in missions and church leadership in theologically conservative churches.⁷³ The need to overcome the lack of education was balanced out by intense evangelistic enthusiasm. At that time, marrying a seminary graduate or an evangelist headed overseas was the only opportunity for women with a strong sense of evangelical duty to join the overseas missionary field.⁷⁴ However, they were seen merely as missionaries' wives—merely a wife going to the mission field because she was constrained and were not missionaries in their own right. Those who were single went with their parents or brothers. Most of those women were missionaries' wives rather than missionary wives.⁷⁵ In the nineteenth century, the first

⁷⁰ Mayhew, *Christianity in India*, 161.

⁷¹ Kent, Converting Women, 91–94.

⁷² Robert, "Women in world mission," 93.

⁷³ Robert, "The Influence of American Missionary Women," 59.

⁷⁴ Kent, Converting Women, 91–92.

⁷⁵ "Missionary's wife" was an idea promoted in the church wherein women went into mission fields as wives accompanying their husbands on a mission trip. In contrast, a "missionary wife" has a call to missionary work all her own. The missionary wife will have a ministry to her husband and her children, but she will also have her niche in ministry based on her education and talents.

North American single-woman missionary educator, Isabella Thoburn,⁷⁶ offered Western education, which came to be widely perceived as superior and desirable. Her work attempted to address the problematic issue of gender and culture. Isabella disagreed with the notion that it was useless to teach women.⁷⁷ For over thirty years, she toiled to bring her vision of the new Indian Christian women to life. She established Lucknow Women's College, the first Christian school of higher learning for women in Asia, to carry out her mission.⁷⁸

Until the twentieth century, the fundamental underappreciation of the importance of women in world missions from the early church to the late twentieth century has been prevalent in discussions concerning World Christian missions. Gender analysis in missiology was often disregarded in the twentieth century, even though social scientists are quick to point out that the majority of Christians in many parts of the world are women and that women are the primary force in bringing families into the church.⁷⁹ From political to theological motivations, gender analysis in mission studies has been a significant area of mission research in recent years. This thesis seeks to contribute to examining women in the modern missionary movement.

Missions considerably grew in the eighteenth century, far beyond the Western world. Western missions were significantly impacted by the Great Awakening in the American colonies. Protestant women established independent missionary groups in North America between 1860 and 1900 to focus on "Woman's Work for Woman," starting

⁷⁶ Isabella Thoburn was assigned internationally by the Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

⁷⁷ Nalini, "Gender Dynamics of Missionary Work in India," 267.

⁷⁸ Nalini, "Gender Dynamics of Missionary Work in India," 267.

⁷⁹ Robert, "Women in World Mission," 2–4.

with the Women's Union Missionary Society.⁸⁰ Although the Protestant missionary movement had included women from the start, the early denominational boards exclusively appointed women married to male missionaries. Very soon it was recognized that there was a need to send married or single women to minister to the unique needs of women and children—needs male missionaries could not or would not address. Those women, who were appointed in coordination with the denominational boards, participated in direct missions for evangelism, education, and medicine. Flexibility in the requirements for the mission field was one of the main aspects that drew many women to missionary societies. In contrast to Catholic missions, Protestant missions and voluntary groups were not governed by the church. Many women, especially those from North American society, found the mission field more advantageous and alluring because these missionary societies were free, open, responsible, and included all classes, sexes, and all ages.⁸¹

Women lost their opportunity to pursue God's call in the organized and structured male-led church.⁸² Without such limitations, some women were drawn to serving God in missions and joined organizations that emphasized the Great Commission. Most women travelled to the mission fields as missionary wives as the Protestant mission expanded.⁸³ The male missionaries soon realized that it was impossible to interact with women in non-Western mission fields and were forced to view their spouses as extremely capable missionary pioneers to evangelize, translate the Bible, and implement educational and

⁸⁰ Anderson, "American Protestants in Pursuit of Mission."

⁸¹ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 334–35.

⁸² Robert, "Women in World Mission," 51–52.

⁸³ Brouwer, New Women for God, 3-6.

health programmes for women, girls, and children.⁸⁴ From World War One to the middle of the twentieth century, two out of every three visiting missionaries in most Protestant communities were women.⁸⁵ Missionary work was the primary means by which women engaged in ministry. Nearly every Protestant denomination had a women's missionary group that researched missions and raised money for them at the beginning of the twentieth century.⁸⁶

Women's missions and medical missions should be considered conjointly as these two strands are inextricably interrelated. Medical missions are regarded as a late expansion of the nineteenth-century missionary effort. At a time when many North Americans did not embrace female doctors, the missionary career gave North American women a chance to practise medicine.⁸⁷ The prevalence of sex-segregated cultures in China, India, and other countries served as justification for the creation of the woman's missionary movement. In sex-segregated communities, it was unacceptable for men to approach women; hence it was important to find women to serve as preachers and doctors for non-Western women.⁸⁸ They expanded the traditional roles for women by having careers as nurses and doctors, travelling thousands of miles around the world, taking charge of situations, and becoming independent, competent, and self-sufficient. When the first woman doctor travelled to India as a missionary in 1869, many predicted the worst, but their fears proved baseless.⁸⁹ Women doctors became one of the easiest ways to persuade a hostile populace.

⁸⁴ Brouwer, New Women for God, 16–17.

⁸⁵ Robert, "The Influence of American Missionary Women," 59.

⁸⁶ Kent, Converting Women, 91–94.

⁸⁷ Hacker, *The Indomitable Lady Doctors*, 3–16.

⁸⁸ Hacker, *The Indomitable Lady Doctors*, 97–102.

⁸⁹ Hoskins, Clara A. Swain, M.D., 13.

Alvyn Austin, a member of the Canadian Missionaries in East Asia Project at York University, was the first Canadian historian to extensively study Canada's missionary activities in Asia.⁹⁰ He and his colleagues defended the missionaries, their objectives, and their motivations. While missionaries are being criticized for working alongside the imperial powers, he presented a more sympathetic interpretation, substantiating that they were working for the welfare and not the flag. His work extensively demonstrated the connection between Canadian missionaries and Asia, highlighting the challenges they encountered and the significant contributions they made in the areas of education and medicine. Moreover, it revealed that many of these missionaries had adopted a "Pro-Local" stance rather than the anticipated "Pro-Imperial" one.⁹¹ Several notable studies have focused on the role of women in the Canadian missionary movement, providing valuable insights since the publication of Austin's study. Ruth Compton Brouwer, Rosemary Gagan, and Katherine Rideout are notable figures in this domain. They have collectively contended that a profession as an international missionary appealed greatly to ambitious, educated, and skilled single women in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁹² This career path offered them a level of independence that would have been unattainable had they stayed in Canada. Yet many of those women would not have considered themselves to be pro-feminists. Patricia Hill argues that most women active in the late nineteenth-century foreign missionary movement did not warmly embrace the concurrent women's rights movement.⁹³ These

⁹⁰ Austin and Scott, eds., Canadian Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples, 6.

⁹¹ Austin and Scott, eds., Canadian Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples, 7–17.

⁹² Brouwer, New Women for God; Gagan, A Sensitive Independence; Ridout, "A Woman of Mission," 208–44.

⁹³ Hill, *The World Their Household*, 35–38.

missionaries, along with their husbands to a significant extent, were influenced by Victorian ideas of femininity and domesticity, which regarded women as "guardians" of the house and treated them as "helpmeets" to their husbands.⁹⁴

British Anglican women missionaries had more significant links to the British Empire, and their positions were more complicated than those from other denominations or nationalities. They were unavoidably associated with India's imperial rulers by their race, citizenship, and denomination. However, their work and relationship with Indians vastly differed from that of the archetypal British dominant women and the subordinate Indians, whose views have been privileged in studies of women, mission, and empire. There has been productive debate regarding missionaries' complicity in the imperial idea. While those such as Gerald Studdert-Kennedy⁹⁵ have pointed out links between the mission enterprise and imperialism, others, like Brian Stanley⁹⁶ and Andrew Porter,⁹⁷ have emphasized differences and nuances in motivation and priorities. While Canadian women's work is mentioned in these studies, there has been little analysis of their personal opinions of the imperial project, which merits deeper investigation.

⁹⁴ Bauman, "Redeeming Indian 'Christian' Womanhood?" 10.

⁹⁵ Studdert-Kennedy, *Providence and the Raj*, 26–28.

⁹⁶ Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag*, 13–14.

⁹⁷ Porter, Religion versus Empire? 6–7.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORY OF ANDHRA PRADESH, EUROPEAN MISSIONARIES, AND BRITISH RULE

Andhra Pradesh boasts a rich and prestigious historical background. The Mahabharata, Ramayana, Jataka Tales, and Puranas, renowned Indian epics, all have references to it. The diverse kingdoms that have exerted power over the region have made significant contributions to the rich cultural history of Andhra Pradesh.¹ The history of Andhra Pradesh has played a significant role in shaping the region's culture and traditions, which the ruling monarchs have heavily impacted. The State of Andhra Pradesh was established on 1 October 1953, with Kurnool as its capital, after eleven districts of the previous Madras State underwent significant challenges.² It shares borders with Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Telangana, and Odisha. The eastern limit encompasses a 600-mile (970-km) stretch of coastline that runs alongside the Bay of Bengal.³ Telangana was a constituent part of Andhra Pradesh for nearly sixty years until it was delineated in 2014 to become its own state. Hyderabad, located in west-central Telangana, serves as the capital for both Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. The state derives its name from the Andhra people, who have been in the region since ancient times and evolved their own distinct language, Telugu.⁴ Andhra Pradesh boasts a profound and varied historical background that spans

¹ Raghunadha Rao, *Modern History of Andhra Pradesh*, 1.

² Raghunadha Rao, Modern History of Andhra Pradesh, 1.

³ Raghunadha Rao, Modern History of Andhra Pradesh, 1.

⁴ Gopal, History of Andhra Pradesh, 1:2-3.

millennia. Andhra Pradesh, one of the twenty-eight states of contemporary India, has a well-documented history that may be traced back to the Vedic era. The *Aitareya Brahmana* (800 BC), a Sanskrit epic, refers to it. *Assaka*⁵, one of the sixteen *mahajanapadas*⁶ that existed from 700 to 300 BC, was situated between the Godavari and Krishna Rivers during its sixth-century BC form.⁷ Here is a concise summary of its historical progression.

The Indus Valley Civilization, the first known civilization in the region, exerted a certain degree of impact on the eastern section of Andhra Pradesh. During the third century BC, Emperor Ashoka of the Mauryan Empire exerted dominion over some areas of Andhra Pradesh.⁸ The Satavahana dynasty, an ancient South Indian dynasty, originated in the second century BC and governed a substantial portion of Andhra Pradesh for centuries.⁹ The Ikshvakus followed the Satavahanas and played a significant role in building many Buddhist stupas and viharas.¹⁰ The Vijayanagara Empire, established by Harihara and Bukka, emerged during the fourteenth century.¹¹ The empire, with its capital situated in Hampi, encompassed extensive regions of South India, which included the contemporary state of Andhra Pradesh. The era was characterized by the region's flourishing of art, literature, and architecture. The Golconda Sultanate was formed by the Qutb Shahi dynasty in the sixteenth century, with Hyderabad as its capital. The Golconda Sultanate thrived and gained renown for its diamond commerce. During the latter part of the seventeenth century, the Mughal Empire Aurangzeb successfully captured

⁵ Raghunadha Rao, Ancient and Medieval History of Andhra Pradesh, 7–9.

⁶ Raghunadha Rao, Ancient and Medieval History of Andhra Pradesh, 7–9.

⁷ Raghunadha Rao, Ancient and Medieval History of Andhra Pradesh, 7–9.

⁸ Gopal, History of Andhra Pradesh, 1:23–24.

⁹ Raghunadha Rao, Ancient and Medieval History of Andhra Pradesh, 1–2.

¹⁰ Raghunadha Rao, Ancient and Medieval History of Andhra Pradesh, 22.

¹¹ Raghunadha Rao, Ancient and Medieval History of Andhra Pradesh, 96–97.

Golconda.¹² However, the Qutb Shahi dynasty persisted in their dominion, albeit as vassals under the Mughals. The territory was under the governance of the Mughal Empire for around thirty-five years.¹³ Following Aurangzeb's demise, the British East India Company assumed an indirect role in the administration of the area.¹⁴

Medieval Period

The medieval history of Andhra Pradesh is a complex and intricate narrative shaped by several ruling dynasties, cultural interactions, and socio-political changes. Andhra Pradesh experienced artistic, literary, and architectural growth, starting with the powerful Kakatiya dynasty, known for building impressive structures such as the Warangal Fort.¹⁵ The Kakatiyas emerged throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Initially, they were vassals of the Western Chalukyas of Kalyana, governing a limited region close to Warangal.¹⁶ The catastrophic downfall of the Kakatiya dynasty in 1323 resulted in the Andhras, for the very first time in their history, being subjected to the dominion of a foreign leader, the Muslims.¹⁷ The Bahmani kingdom, an autonomous Muslim state, was founded in south India in 1347 by Alla-ud-din Hasan Gangu, who rebelled against the Delhi Sultanate.¹⁸ They supported the creation of beautiful sculptures, leaving behind a lasting artistic legacy. The region was also influenced by the Vijayanagara Empire, which significantly impacted South India, and the Golconda Sultanate, renowned for its impressive fortifications and lively culture. In the year 1336, Vijayanagar emerged in the

¹² Raghunadha Rao, Ancient and Medieval History of Andhra Pradesh, 7.

¹³ Downie, *The History of the Telugu Mission*, 11.

¹⁴ Raghunadha Rao, Ancient and Medieval History of Andhra Pradesh, 102.

¹⁵ Durga, *History of Andhras upto 1565 AD*, 137.

¹⁶ Gopal, *History of Andhra Pradesh*, 1:100–102.

¹⁷ Raghunadha Rao, Ancient and Medieval History of Andhra Pradesh, 71.

¹⁸ Durga, History of Andhras upto 1565 AD, 207.

southwestern region of Andhra, situated on the banks of the Tungabhadra river.¹⁹ The establishment of this kingdom was initiated by two brothers named Harihara and Bukka, who were supported by a revered saint and patriot of medieval India named Vidyaranya.²⁰ Harihara assumed the role of the kingdom's inaugural ruler. The kingdom successfully defended itself against Muslim attacks, thereby promoting Hindu civilization and culture through its political system, education, and arts.²¹ The Qutb Shahi dynasty ruled over the Andhra region for over two centuries, from the early 1500s until the late 1600s.²² The Qutb Shahi monarchs embraced religious tolerance. They ensured equitable treatment of Hindus and Muslims and maintained harmonious ties between the two groups.²³ The Charminar in Hyderabad is the most notable among all the Qutb Shahi structures. It is one of the grandiose edifices in India. During the reign of the Qutb Shahis, the people's socio-cultural life was characterized by an open-minded and inclusive attitude, where they shared and embraced each other's traditions and customs.

In 1687, Aurangazeb, the Mughal emperor, conquered Golconda and incorporated it into the Mughal empire.²⁴ After this action, Golconda was integrated into the Deccan Subha, and a Nizam was designated as a representative of the Mughal emperor.²⁵ Therefore, for thirty–five years the region was governed by Nizams, with the final being Mubariz Khan.²⁶ Significant transformations occurred between 1687 and 1724. Aurangazeb passed away in 1707.²⁷ The administrative system of the Mughal imperial

¹⁹ Raghunadha Rao, Ancient and Medieval History of Andhra Pradesh, 76.

²⁰ Raghunadha Rao, Ancient and Medieval History of Andhra Pradesh, 76.

²¹ Raghunadha Rao, Ancient and Medieval History of Andhra Pradesh, 77.

²² Durga, History of Andhras upto 1565 AD, 235–37.

²³ Gopal, *History of Andhra Pradesh*, 2:94–98.

²⁴ Raghunadha Rao, Ancient and Medieval History of Andhra Pradesh, 102.

²⁵ Raghunadha Rao, Ancient and Medieval History of Andhra Pradesh, 102.

²⁶ Gopal, *History of Andhra Pradesh*, 2:114.

²⁷ Raghunadha Rao, Ancient and Medieval History of Andhra Pradesh, 102.

government started to deteriorate, and the central authority led by weak monarchs progressively lost power over the regions.²⁸ This anarchy significantly influenced a new direction in Indian history. It allowed two foreign commercial firms to establish themselves as political forces capable of later influencing the nation's fate, the East India Company of England and the French East India Company.²⁹ The trading businesses were headquartered in Madras and Pondicherry, with trade centres at Machilipatnam.³⁰ They were looking for favourable chances to increase their spheres of influence and readily involved themselves in the local conflicts. The Mughals left their imprint on Andhra Pradesh, adding another dimension to the region's history throughout the medieval period. Over centuries, the region of Andhra Pradesh has developed and incorporated various influences while maintaining its distinct cultural identity.

Modern Period

Asaf Jahis

Mir Kamaruddin, a noble and courtier of Mughal Muhammad Shah, founded this dynasty and signed a peace pact with Nadirshah, the Iranian conqueror. While serving as one of the Ministers of the Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah, he was given the title of Asaf Jah.³¹ The Asaf Jahi rule over Golconda began with the capital at Aurangabad. Asaf Jah was defeated and was forced to accept the terms of the treaty with the Peshwa.³² He passed away in 1748.³³ Under Nizam II's administration, the Deccan Subha's capital was

²⁸ Durga, History of Andhras upto 1565 AD, 237.

²⁹ Gopal, History of Andhra Pradesh, 2:120–26.

³⁰ Raghunadha Rao, Modern History of Andhra Pradesh, 5.

³¹ Gopal, History of Andhra Pradesh, 2:112–15.

³² Parthasarathy, Andhra Culture, 63.

³³ Gopal, *History of Andhra Pradesh*, 2:116.

moved to Hyderabad, restoring its significance.³⁴ Hyderabad was established in 1590-91 by Muhammad Quli, the fifth ruler of the Qutbshahi dynasty, and served as their princely capital.³⁵ The grandeur and ceremonial display of the remarkable Asafjahi Nizams became widely recognized throughout India and the world. The Nizams ruled from 1724 to 1950 over a vast region encompassing various linguistic groups.³⁶ Asaf Jah I had jurisdiction over a vast territory stretching from Narmada to Trichinapally and from Machilipatnam to Bijapur.³⁷

After Nizam I, Asaf Jah's death in 1748, a power struggle ensued between his son, Nasir Jang, and grandson, Muzaffar Jang.³⁸ Nasir Jang received backing from the English, whereas the French supported Muzaffar Jung.³⁹ The Nawabs of Kurnool and Cuddapah successively murdered the two heirs in the years 1750 and 1751.⁴⁰ Salabat Jang, the third son of Nizam I, ascended to the throne as Nizam with the backing of the French.⁴¹

Conflict between the French and the English resumed in India in 1758 due to the start of the Seven Years' War in Europe in 1756.⁴² The French lost their power in India, leading to a loss of influence in Hyderabad.⁴³ In 1761, Nizam Ali Khan removed Salabat Jang from power and declared himself Nizam.⁴⁴ In 1763, Hyderabad gained prominence when Nizam Ali Khan (Nizam II) relocated the capital of the Deccan from Aurangabad to

³⁴ Gopal, *History of Andhra Pradesh*, 2:117.

³⁵ Raghunadha Rao, Ancient and Medieval History of Andhra Pradesh, 101.

³⁶ Gopal, *History of Andhra Pradesh*, 2:120.

³⁷ Gopal, History of Andhra Pradesh, 2:116.

³⁸ Gopal, History of Andhra Pradesh, 2:116.

³⁹ Raghunadha Rao, History of Modern Andhra Pradesh, 14.

⁴⁰ Gopal, *History of Andhra Pradesh*, 2:116.

⁴¹ Raghunadha Rao, *History of Modern Andhra Pradesh*, 15.

⁴² Gopal, *History of Andhra Pradesh*, 2:116–17.

⁴³ Gopal, *History of Andhra Pradesh*, 2:117.

⁴⁴ Gopal, History of Andhra Pradesh, 2:117.

Hyderabad.⁴⁵ The action contributed to the city's swift economic development and urban expansion, leading to its significance and wealth. Between 1766 and 1800, the Nizam's power decreased significantly as the British acquired control by forcing the Nizams to sign six treaties.⁴⁶

In 1766, the Nizam entered into a treaty with the British.⁴⁷ According to the agreement, the British would provide a subsidiary force to Nizam Ali Khan when needed in exchange for the Northern Circars.⁴⁸ In 1768, he signed a deal transferring the Northern Circars to the British.⁴⁹ In 1788, he relinquished control over the Guntur circar under another contract.⁵⁰ In 1779, the Nizam collaborated with Hyder Ali of Mysore and the Peshwa of the Marathas to expel the English.⁵¹ Upon discovering his plans, the English launched an attack on the Nizam, who was compelled to seek peace by accepting the condition of having an English Resident, troops, artillery, and cavalry stationed in Hyderabad.

The Nizam was forced to sever ties with Hyder Ali through a different treaty. In 1800, the Nizam signed a new treaty with the British to enhance the English army's presence in Hyderabad, amending previous agreements.⁵² Due to the expenses of maintaining the military, the Nizam had to give over a territory that included the districts of Rayalaseema and Bellary (now in Karnataka) to the corporation.⁵³ The Nizam not only lost the territory but also his prestige and power. The East India Company obtained the

⁴⁵ Raghunadha Rao, *History of Modern Andhra Pradesh*, 17.

⁴⁶ Gopal, *History of Andhra Pradesh*, 2:117–18.

⁴⁷ Raghunadha Rao, *History of Modern Andhra Pradesh*, 17.

⁴⁸ Gopal, *History of Andhra Pradesh*, 2:130.

⁴⁹ Gopal, *History of Andhra Pradesh*, 2:130–33.

⁵⁰ Gopal, *History of Andhra Pradesh*, 2:130–33.

⁵¹ Gopal, *History of Andhra Pradesh*, 2:130–33.

⁵² Raghunadha Rao, *Modern History of Andhra Pradesh*, 49.

⁵³ Gopal, *History of Andhra Pradesh*, 2:135.

Nellore region, which includes the current Nellore and Prakasam districts and a portion of the Chittoor district, from the Nawab of Arcot.⁵⁴ This territory, along with other Nawab possessions, was included in the Madras Presidency of the East India Company in 1801.⁵⁵ By the early-nineteenth century, the Telugu region was divided into two main parts: Telangana, ruled by the Nizam and made up about one-third of the territory, and Andhra, under British control.⁵⁶

Under the East India Company

The East India Company required several years to consolidate and establish its authority in the Telugu region, which fell under its direct governance. Initially, the Company faced significant opposition from the *Zamindars*⁵⁷ in coastal Andhra and the Palegars in the Rayalaseema areas, who had historical roots dating back to ancient Hindu or medieval Muslim monarchs.⁵⁸ The Company utilized the *Zamindari* system by assigning *Zamindars* to collect land revenue while removing their executive and judicial authorities. In 1802, the Company implemented the Permanent Settlement method.⁵⁹

In Rayalaseema, the initial Principal Collector of the surrendered territories, Thomas Munro, eradicated all the palegars and introduced a new method of collecting land income directly from the cultivators in 1808.⁶⁰ This system was named the

⁵⁴ Kulke and Rothermund, *A History of India*, 212.

⁵⁵ Raghunadha Rao, Modern History of Andhra Pradesh, 48–50.

⁵⁶ Gopal, *History of Andhra Pradesh*, 2:138–47.

⁵⁷ Zamindari i.e. landlords in Hindi, classes in Andhra were the most powerful central authority.

⁵⁸ Gopal, *History of Andhra Pradesh*, 2:132.

⁵⁹ Gopal, *History of Andhra Pradesh*, 2:133–36.

⁶⁰ Raghunadha Rao, *Modern History of Andhra Pradesh*, 48–50.
Ryotwari⁶¹ system.⁶² The administrative actions implemented by the Company in the remaining Telugu region also resulted in comparable modifications in the Hyderabad State, of which Telangana was a significant part.⁶³ The famine in the land and the subsequent flood in the land significantly depleted the State of Hyderabad's resources and severely impacted its economy. The rulers' imprudent actions pushed the State to the brink of bankruptcy due to overwhelming debts, causing the Nizam to be troubled by Arab and Rohilla financiers.⁶⁴ The Company's Residency intervened and saved the Nizam in that situation. The Nizam became a reliable ally of the Company.⁶⁵ His critical support during the War of Independence in 1857, also known as the Sepoy Mutiny, was decisive in ensuring the Company's dominance in India.⁶⁶ In 1858, the British monarchy assumed control over all of India.⁶⁷ The British, who initially arrived in India in the early seventeenth century as a trading business, eventually established themselves as the dominant rulers for over 150 years.

Socio-Political Situation in the Late Nineteenth Century

The Andhras played a significant role in the Freedom Struggle, standing with their fellow compatriots at the forefront.⁶⁸ The First War of Independence in 1857 had no impact on the southern region except for minor disturbances in Hyderabad, such as a raid by Rohilla

⁶¹ Ryotwari was a revenue collection system introduced by Sir Thomas Munro which benefited both the farmers and the Company. Under this system the land revenue was collection directly by the Company officials.

⁶² Kulke and Rothermund, *A History of India*, 245–46.

⁶³ Raghunadha Rao, Modern History of Andhra Pradesh, 49.

⁶⁴ Gopal, *History of Andhra Pradesh*, 2:138.

⁶⁵ Gopal, History of Andhra Pradesh, 2:137–40.

⁶⁶ Raghunadha Rao, Modern History of Andhra Pradesh, 51.

⁶⁷ Kulke and Rothermund, *A History of India*, 238.

⁶⁸ Koutha, *History of the Hindu Religious*, 94–95.

and Arab soldiers on the Residency and a rebellion by the Gonds in the Adilabad district led by Ramji Gond.⁶⁹ In 1860, the English quelled all these rebellions.⁷⁰

The latter part of the nineteenth century transpired without significant events, while sporadic uprisings among the peasants highlighted their discontent. The implementation of English education facilitated the development of a robust, educated middle class, which sought stability through employment in government positions. Agriculture became the peoples' primary livelihood source as cottage businesses, particularly the cloth industry, declined because of the deliberate government decision to promote British industries and trade over indigenous ones.⁷¹ Construction of dams on the Godavari and Krishna rivers in 1852 and 1855 boosted agricultural production but temporarily diverted attention from the actual problems.⁷² At the start of the twentieth century, a large, educated, self-assured middle class emerged, desiring equality with the white monarch.⁷³ The discontent was expressed through pamphlets, as seen in other places. The foreign government, being watchful, took action to stop it early on, resulting in the implementation of oppressive measures.⁷⁴ The young men from Andhra actively participated in the Vande Mataram⁷⁵ and Home Rule campaigns.⁷⁶

However, amidst the unrest, some visionary leaders like Kopalle Hanumantha Rao (1880–1922) also engaged in constructive efforts.⁷⁷ Before Gandhiji developed the

⁶⁹ Raghunadha Rao, Modern History of Andhra Pradesh, 52–53.

⁷⁰ Raghunadha Rao, *Modern History of Andhra Pradesh*, 52–53.

⁷¹ Raghunadha Rao, Modern History of Andhra Pradesh, 57–60.

⁷² Koutha, *History of the Hindu Religious*, 96.

⁷³ Raghunadha Rao, *Modern History of Andhra Pradesh*, 67–70.

⁷⁴ Raghunadha Rao, *Modern History of Andhra Pradesh*, 80–81.

⁷⁵ Vande Mataram which means I praise you, Motherland. It is a poem written in Sanskrit and Sanskritised Bengali by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee in 1870.

⁷⁶ Raghunadha Rao, *Modern History of Andhra Pradesh*, 88.

⁷⁷ Raghunadha Rao, *Modern History of Andhra Pradesh*, 87–89.

constructive program, Hanumantha Rao established the Andhra Jateeya Kalasala (National College) in Machilipatnam to educate young men in modern production methods.⁷⁸ He believed this was essential to achieve independence from imperialist rule, prioritizing markets over everything else. When Gandhi initiated his non-cooperation movement in 1920, it quickly resonated with Andhra.⁷⁹ Under the guidance of distinguished individuals such as Konda Venkatappaiah (1866–1948), Tanguturi Prakasam Pantulu (1872–1957), Bulusu Sambamurti (1886–1958), and Bhogaraju Pattabhi Seetaramaiah (1880–1959), the young men from Andhra Pradesh made numerous sacrifices for the nation.⁸⁰ Several practicing lawyers abandoned their profitable careers, and other exceptional students halted their studies to answer the nation's call. In November 1921, Congress authorized the Provincial Committee to initiate Civil Disobedience provided Mahatma Gandhi's specified conditions were met.⁸¹

The era of British colonization in India is a crucial part of the country's history. Over time, the British and other European citizens who invaded and governed the area as colonial rulers were considered foreigners and eventually forced to leave. The policy implemented by the British aimed to strengthen their control over the country and exploit it for the benefit of their homeland through legislative, judicial, and executive actions. Their actions unexpectedly sparked numerous suitable variables that contributed to strengthening Indian society and their desire for independence. The colonial rule resulted in the impoverishment of the country. It brought the nation together economically and prompted a deep examination.

⁷⁸ Raghunadha Rao, *Modern History of Andhra Pradesh*, 78.

⁷⁹ Raghunadha Rao, Modern History of Andhra Pradesh, 98.

⁸⁰ Raghunadha Rao, Modern History of Andhra Pradesh, 98.

⁸¹ Raghunadha Rao, Modern History of Andhra Pradesh, 98–99.

Andhra has been renowned for its textile industry since the era of the Satavahanas.⁸² Despite numerous political disruptions, the ports of Andhra Pradesh remained active, with ships arriving and departing from different nations.⁸³ During the initial years of British control, Andhra prospered as a prominent exporter of high-quality textiles, chintz,⁸⁴ palampores,⁸⁵ and other goods. Handicrafts, metal crafts, and fabric were also included in the exports.⁸⁶

The Industrial Revolution, originating in England in the late eighteenth century, eventually impacted the cottage industries of Andhra Pradesh and the rest of India.⁸⁷ After that, England emerged as an industrial nation. English factories were able to produce finished goods more cost-effectively than cottage businesses using machines. The British overlords in the country discouraged artists and artisans by imposing high levies.⁸⁸ Andhra's booming cottage industries and handicrafts stagnated and gradually perished due to these actions. The completed goods from English companies were imported into Andhra, initiating an economic drain that led to the country's progressive impoverishment and Great Britain's enrichment.⁸⁹

The British brought political and administrative unification, which enabled linguistic groups to unite and enjoy being citizens of a country with a shared cultural

⁸² Raghunadha Rao, Modern History of Andhra Pradesh, 5–7.

⁸³ Raghunadha Rao, *Modern History of Andhra Pradesh*, 47.

⁸⁴ *Chintz*, in Hindi, means spotted, is a calico cloth that originated in Golconda (Hyderabad, India) in the 16th century, created using woodblock printing, painting, staining, or glazing. The fabric is adorned with floral and various pattern designs in different hues, usually on a light, solid backdrop.

⁸⁵ *Palampore*, sometimes known as *Palempore*, is a hand-painted and mordant-dyed bed cover produced in India for export throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries.

⁸⁶ Gopal, History of Andhra Pradesh, 2:134–36.

⁸⁷ Gopal, *History of Andhra Pradesh*, 2:134–40.

⁸⁸ Gopal, History of Andhra Pradesh, 2:134–40.

⁸⁹ Raghunadha Rao, Modern History of Andhra Pradesh, 45–47.

heritage.⁹⁰ The railroad, telegraph, telephone, and newspaper facilitated communication and unity among people residing in different regions of the expansive country.⁹¹ This communication infrastructure facilitated the transportation of products between locations and was particularly beneficial during periods of hunger.⁹²

It must be acknowledged that the Colonial governance led to a renaissance that produced beneficial outcomes in social and cultural domains.⁹³ The implementation of English as the primary language of instruction in schools was the key factor that led to this change.⁹⁴ This modern education system allowed all Indians to attend schools regardless of their caste or creed, in contrast to the traditional system.⁹⁵ Christian missionaries from England and America significantly contributed to disseminating the system.⁹⁶

The implementation of the printing press in the State around 1810 facilitated the dissemination of knowledge to the general readers.⁹⁷ Educational activities in Andhra and the rest of India were affected by European literature, modern sciences, and democratic principles that originated from knowledge. This discovery sparked numerous dramatic developments in the realms of religion and culture.

Engagement with European thinking empowered some Hindu leaders to reevaluate Hinduism to fortify it against the proselytization efforts of Christian

⁹⁰ Gopal, History of Andhra Pradesh, 2:148–50.

⁹¹ Mehrotra, India and the Commonwealth 1885-1929, 16-18.

⁹² Mehrotra, India and the Commonwealth 1885-1929, 16-18.

⁹³ Mehrotra, *India and the Commonwealth 1885-1929*, 16.

⁹⁴ Mehrotra, *India and the Commonwealth 1885-1929*, 16.

⁹⁵ Mehrotra, India and the Commonwealth 1885-1929, 60-63.

⁹⁶ Bellenoit, *Missionary Education and Empire*, 23–26.

⁹⁷ Kalapura, "India Inscribed," 436–37.

missionaries.⁹⁸ It led to the establishment of the Brahma Samaj and the Arya Samaj.⁹⁹ Simultaneously, Europeans like Anne Besant, intrigued by the virtues of old Hindu and Buddhist philosophies, established the Theosophical Society.¹⁰⁰ This all garnered popularity in Andhra, particularly among the educated elite.

The Arrival of Europeans and Christianity

Prior to the establishment of British control in India, trade existed between India and European nations. India and Europe engaged in trade over land routes that passed through Syria, Egypt, and the Oxus Valley.¹⁰¹ The fifteenth century in Europe was characterized by significant geographical discoveries of both land and maritime routes.¹⁰² Portugal had aimed to become a dominant maritime force in the second half of the fifteenth century.¹⁰³ The Ottoman Empire's expansion into the Balkans and conquest of Constantinople in 1453 led to their control over trade routes east of the Mediterranean Sea.¹⁰⁴ The growth of Genoese and Venetian trade monopolies in the Mediterranean region encouraged the Portuguese to seek other routes from Europe to Asia.¹⁰⁵ Vasco da Gama successfully navigated around the Cape of Good Hope and reached India in 1498.¹⁰⁶ Following this revelation, numerous trading organizations from various parts of Europe arrived in India and set up their headquarters. Europeans arrived in India gradually. The Portuguese were

⁹⁸ Gopal, *History of Andhra Pradesh*, 2:148–50.

⁹⁹ Gopal, History of Andhra Pradesh, 2:150.

¹⁰⁰ Gopal, *History of Andhra Pradesh*, 2:89.

¹⁰¹ Beazley, "Mediæval Trade and Trade Routes," 114–15.

¹⁰² Frykenberg, *Christianity in India*, 120–21.

¹⁰³ Frykenberg, Christianity in India, 120–21.

¹⁰⁴ Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India*, 1:234.

¹⁰⁵ Thomas, ed., *Christian-Muslim Relations*, 7:15–16.

¹⁰⁶ Frykenberg, *Christianity in India*, 4.

the first traders to arrive in India, followed by the British, Dutch, Danes, and French, who later aimed to become the dominant political powers in the region.

The Portuguese

Prince Henry, the Navigator, established a nautical school in Portugal, marking the beginning of the European Age of Discovery led by Portuguese navigators.¹⁰⁷ Portugal's advancements in technology and science led to the development of sophisticated ships enabling marine navigation to travel to far off unknown lands circumnavigating around the African Continent. The Portuguese Empire expanded the Portuguese Kingdom's exploration and mapping efforts worldwide, discovering sea routes to the East and West, including locating the path to India via the Cape of Good Hope.¹⁰⁸ Vasco da Gama led the initial Portuguese voyage, arriving in Calicut via the Cape of Good Hope in May 1498, where he was welcomed by the local king Zamorin.¹⁰⁹ In 1500, the Portuguese dispatched the second voyage led by Pedro Alvares Cabral.¹¹⁰ Therefore, the Portuguese business was the first European commercial business to set up trade posts in India. They founded their trading outposts in Cochin, Goa, Daman, Diu, Salsette, Bassein, and Bombay.¹¹¹

The Dutch

Cornelis de Houtman was the first Dutch national to reach India.¹¹² The Dutch East India Company, commonly known as Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie¹¹³ (VOC), was

¹⁰⁷ Frykenberg, *Christianity in India*, 120.

¹⁰⁸ Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India*, 1:237–39.

¹⁰⁹ Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India*, 1:244.

¹¹⁰ Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India*, 1:240.

¹¹¹ Raghunadha Rao, Modern History of Andhra Pradesh, 22–23.

¹¹² Raghunadha Rao, Modern History of Andhra Pradesh, 20.

¹¹³ United East India Company of the Netherlands.

established in 1602.¹¹⁴ Their hegemony over the centres of spice farming in India was established after overpowering the Portuguese. They set up their trading outposts in Gujarat, Bengal, and Orissa.¹¹⁵ Dutch merchants traded spices, indigo, raw silk, and rice. The Dutch traders were responsible for establishing India as a hub for textile exports.¹¹⁶ Pulicat served as their primary centre from 1616 but was subsequently supplanted by Nagapattinam.¹¹⁷ The Dutch Company's trading structure was founded on a cartel system. In 1741, they were vanquished by the king of Travancore, Marthanda Verma, in the Battle of Colachel.¹¹⁸ In 1759, they suffered a resounding loss at the hands of the British in the Battle of Bedara, commanded by Robert Clive.¹¹⁹ The decline of the Dutch can be attributed to declining economic conditions, heavy centralization, prioritization of the spice trade, and a relatively inferior navy compared to the British.

The Danish¹²⁰

The Dutch and English traders' triumph in the spice trade throughout the seventeenth century aroused envy among Danish and Norwegian merchants. On 17 March 1616, Christian IV, the King of Denmark-Norway, granted a charter to establish the Danish East India Company. This company was given exclusive rights to trade between Denmark-Norway and Asia for a period of twelve years.¹²¹ King Frederick IV of Denmark, a Lutheran, was the architect of the concept of sending Protestant missionaries to India.

¹¹⁴ Raghunadha Rao, Modern History of Andhra Pradesh, 20.

¹¹⁵ Frykenberg, Christianity in India, 178.

¹¹⁶ Raghunadha Rao, Modern History of Andhra Pradesh, 24.

¹¹⁷ Raghunadha Rao, Modern History of Andhra Pradesh, 21.

¹¹⁸ Frykenberg, Christianity in India, 225–26.

¹¹⁹ Richter, A History of Mission in India, 91.

¹²⁰ The Danish, or Danes, are people from Denmark.

¹²¹ Wellen, "The Danish East India Company's War," 442.

Unable to locate suitable individuals in Denmark, the king's court chaplain sought help from his contacts in Germany. Eventually, two young theological students, Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Pluetschau, volunteered to undertake the assignment.¹²² Denmark had colonies in India for 225 years, including Tranquebar, Serampore, and the Nicobar Islands.¹²³ Serampore was their main base in India.¹²⁴ Danish involvement in India was initiated by Dutch adventurer Marcelis de Boshouwer, who sought military support against the Portuguese in exchange for a trade monopoly.¹²⁵ The Serampore Mission Press was established by Danish missionaries in 1799.¹²⁶ However, the Danes could not establish a strong presence in India and sold all their settlements to the British in 1845.¹²⁷

The French

The French were the last among the European companies to enter India.¹²⁸ In 1664, during Louis XIV's reign, his minister Colbert's efforts resulted in the formation of the French trading company.¹²⁹ The government established it and, therefore, it was managed, funded, and controlled by the government. The first French factory in India was established in 1668 by Francois Martin, followed by the Masulipattam factory by Marcara in 1669 after acquiring permission from the ruler of Golkonda.¹³⁰ Martin led the foundations of Pondicherry in 1673. The trading post at Chandranagar was established at

¹²² Firth, Indian Church History, 128–34.

¹²³ Grafe, *History of Christianity in India*, 4:25–27, 226.

¹²⁴ Firth, Indian Church History, 127.

¹²⁵ Wellen, "The Danish East India Company's War," 460.

¹²⁶ Firth, Indian Church History, 144.

¹²⁷ Firth, Indian Church History, 157.

¹²⁸ Raghunadha Rao, Modern History of Andhra Pradesh, 27.

¹²⁹ Kulke and Rothermund, A History of India, 205.

¹³⁰ Kulke and Rothermund, A History of India, 206.

the place given by the Nawab of Bengal Shaista Khan.¹³¹ The French power in India declined from 1706 to 1720, leading to the reconstitution of the French East India Company in 1719.¹³² The French power in India was revived under governors Lenoir and Dumas between 1720 and 1742.¹³³ They occupied Mahe in Malabar, Yanam in Coromandel (1725) and Karikal in Tamil Nadu (1739).¹³⁴ The arrival of Dupleix as French governor in India in 1742 saw the beginning of the Anglo-French conflict (Carnatic wars)¹³⁵, which resulted in their final defeat in India.¹³⁶

The British

British traders were drawn to the continuous trading with other European nations. In 1599, merchants founded the "Governor of Business of Merchants of London Trading to the East Indies."¹³⁷ The corporation received a royal charter from Queen Elizabeth I on 31 December 1600, allowing it to engage in exclusive trade with Eastern countries for fifteen years.¹³⁸ In 1608, British monarch James I dispatched Captain Hawkins to the court of Jahangir to request authorization to set up trading outposts in India.¹³⁹ He was the first British person to arrive in India by boat.¹⁴⁰ The emperor was first hesitant because of the resistance from local traders in Surat and the Portuguese. However, he was

¹³¹ Raghunadha Rao, Modern History of Andhra Pradesh, 28.

¹³² Kulke and Rothermund, A History of India, 206.

¹³³ Kadam and Kadam, "The French in India," 667-68.

¹³⁴ Kadam and Kadam, "The French in India," 667–68.

¹³⁵ The Carnatic wars were a sequence of military confrontations that took place in the 18th century in the coastal Carnatic area of India. This region was under the control of Hyderabad State, which was a dependency of India. The term "Carnatic" specifically denotes the geographical area inhabited by the Kannada-speaking population, which closely aligns with the present-day Indian state of Karnataka, previously known as Mysore.

¹³⁶ Kulke and Rothermund, *A History of India*, 211.

¹³⁷ Raghunadha Rao, Modern History of Andhra Pradesh, 21.

¹³⁸ Yellapragada, Andhra Between the Empires, 18.

¹³⁹ Raghunadha Rao, *Modern History of Andhra Pradesh*, 22.

¹⁴⁰ Raghunadha Rao, Modern History of Andhra Pradesh, 22.

swayed by the English commander Middleton's victory over the Portuguese naval force in 1611.¹⁴¹ Subsequently, the Mughals granted the East India Company permission to construct their factory at Surat in 1613 by an imperial firman.¹⁴² In 1615, the British, feeling discontented, dispatched another delegation led by Sir Thomas Roe to request additional concessions. Emperor Jahangir granted freedom to create factories anywhere inside the Mughal Empire.¹⁴³ The British then set up their plants at Agra, Ahmedabad, and Bharuch.

The British created their initial factory outside the Mughal empire in Southern India in 1611 at Masulipattam and subsequently founded factories in Madras in 1639 and Hooghly in 1651.¹⁴⁴ In 1691, the Company was granted a monopoly to conduct trade from Bengal without being subject to customs duties.¹⁴⁵ In 1698, the Subedar of Bengal, Azim Ush Shan, granted the British zamindari powers to Sutanuti, Kalikata, and Gobindpur, leading to the establishment of the current settlement of Calcutta and the construction of Fort St. Williams.¹⁴⁶ In 1662, the Portuguese gave Bombay to King Charles¹⁴⁷ as part of a dowry.¹⁴⁸ The East India Company leased Bombay from the King of England.¹⁴⁹ In 1639, the King of Chandragiri granted the firm a location to locate their factory near Madras, where the British founded Fort St. George.¹⁵⁰ In 1717, Mughal

¹⁴¹ Raghunadha Rao, Modern History of Andhra Pradesh, 23.

¹⁴² Firman - A grant or permit or an edict issued by an Ottoman or Middle Eastern ruler.

¹⁴³ Raghunadha Rao, *Modern History of Andhra Pradesh*, 22.

¹⁴⁴ Yellapragada, Andhra Between the Empires, 19.

¹⁴⁵ Raghunadha Rao, Modern History of Andhra Pradesh, 26.

¹⁴⁶ Bhattacharya, Unseen Enemy, 53–54.

¹⁴⁷ In May 1661, as part of the marriage agreement between Charles II of England and Catharine of Braganza, the daughter of the Portuguese king, Bombay was handed over to the English as part of the dowry.

¹⁴⁸ Raghunadha Rao, Modern History of Andhra Pradesh, 26.

¹⁴⁹ Raghunadha Rao, Modern History of Andhra Pradesh, 26.

¹⁵⁰ Raghunadha Rao, Modern History of Andhra Pradesh, 25.

emperor Farrukhsiyar reaffirmed the Company's privileges and introduced several new ones.¹⁵¹ The privileges include the authorization to conduct trade in Bengal and to mint their coins at the Bombay mint. These rights have been called "the Magna Carta of the East India Company."¹⁵²

The European Missions in India

European Christians arrived in India in the sixteenth century as part of the Portuguese political and commercial development.¹⁵³ For the Christians of Malabar, it marked the start of a significant new era, transitioning into a different realm of existence.¹⁵⁴ Julius Richter states that the arrival of the Portuguese signifies the beginning of a new era characterized by Roman Catholic missionary activities in India.¹⁵⁵ The Portuguese kings considered it their religious obligation to provide full assistance in spreading the Gospel.¹⁵⁶ Portuguese Christianization was a government initiative.¹⁵⁷ The king funded the entire ecclesiastical institution of the East.¹⁵⁸ The doctrine of Padroado, founded by the Papal Bull of 1514, granted the Portuguese crown control over missionary activities in regions where Portugal held political jurisdiction.¹⁵⁹

In 1540, the Portuguese had firmly established themselves on the west coast, with their primary mission base in Goa and stations in Cranganore (Kodungallur) and

¹⁵¹ Raghunadha Rao, Modern History of Andhra Pradesh, 27.

¹⁵² Raghunadha Rao, Modern History of Andhra Pradesh, 27.

¹⁵³ Firth, Indian Church History, 69–70.

¹⁵⁴ Firth, Indian Church History, 69–70.

¹⁵⁵ Richter, A History of Mission in India, 44.

¹⁵⁶ Firth, Indian Church History, 50.

¹⁵⁷ Firth, Indian Church History, 50–52.

¹⁵⁸ Firth, Indian Church History, 60–62.

¹⁵⁹ Firth, Indian Church History, 51.

Cochin.¹⁶⁰ Portuguese influence led to numerous conversions to Christianity, which formed an Indo-Portuguese Christian community.¹⁶¹ Francis Xavier was selected for the spread of Christianity in India. He was educated in Paris and was influenced by Ignatius Loyola.¹⁶² In 1541, he embarked on a journey to India to convert the non-Christian populace in regions under Portuguese control, thus attempting to spread Christianity in the East.¹⁶³ The Jesuit mission in India marked the beginning of a significant shift in the spread of Christianity in Asia.¹⁶⁴ Francis Xavier is rightfully recognized as the trailblazer of missionary work in Asia, with India being a part of his efforts. He stands out among his followers due to his compassion for the impoverished and humble, his vigour and determination, his unwavering courage in the presence of threats, and his unwavering belief in his purpose.¹⁶⁵ He had an intense desire to disseminate the message of Christ widely. Xavier's establishment of schools in key locations also helped to advance education in India.¹⁶⁶ His reputation grew due to his specific attention to the sick, underprivileged, and fisher folk.¹⁶⁷ His enthusiasm has inspired generations of Christian workers in India.

Portuguese missionaries were early leaders in missionary work during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but their approach was forceful and did not align with the mission envisioned by Jesus Christ.¹⁶⁸ Their enthusiasm for missionary and religious advancement waned as the Portuguese temporal authority weakened. The Dutch

¹⁶⁰ Firth, Indian Church History, 52-54.

¹⁶¹ Firth, Indian Church History, 52–58.

¹⁶² Richter, A History of Mission in India, 45.

¹⁶³ Firth, Indian Church History, 57.

¹⁶⁴ Firth, Indian Church History, 68.

¹⁶⁵ Firth, Indian Church History, 57–64.

¹⁶⁶ Firth, Indian Church History, 58.

¹⁶⁷ Firth, Indian Church History, 61–62.

¹⁶⁸ Richter, A History of Mission in India, 56.

and British arrived after the Portuguese and were only concerned with trade. Furthermore, they were Protestants and did not support the actions of the Catholic orders.¹⁶⁹ The initial phase of spreading religious beliefs ended in India around the mid-seventeenth century due to the diminishing political influence of the Portuguese in the region.¹⁷⁰

As Portuguese control waned, the Dutch and British colonial powers rose in influence, leading to the introduction of Protestantism. King Frederik IV of Denmark, a devout Lutheran Protestant, became king in 1699.¹⁷¹ He was a proficient ruler who governed a large territory encompassing Denmark and Norway.¹⁷² The Danish king began evangelical missionary activity in the eighteenth century.¹⁷³ In Tarangampadi (Tranquebar), a small settlement on the Coromandel Coast, along with some surrounding villages, there was a desire to promote the Christian faith in the Danish colonies in the East Indies.¹⁷⁴ In 1620, Danish King Christian IV obtained the area from Thanjavur Raja for the Danish East India Trading Company.¹⁷⁵ He began searching for missionaries to send to the non-Christian population of India. The initial Protestant missionaries in India were two Lutherans from Germany, Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plütschau, who commenced their mission in 1705 in the Danish settlement of Tranquebar.¹⁷⁶ Their efforts led to various Christian communities throughout the Indian Subcontinent. Their effort is referred to as the Tranquebar Mission or the Danish-Halle Mission.¹⁷⁷

¹⁶⁹ Firth, Indian Church History, 103–05.

¹⁷⁰ Firth, Indian Church History, 120–22.

¹⁷¹ Richter, A History of Mission in India, 102.

¹⁷² Richter, A History of Mission in India, 102.

¹⁷³ Richter, A History of Mission in India, 102–04.

¹⁷⁴ Firth, Indian Church History, 127.

¹⁷⁵ Wellen, "The Danish East India Company's War," 442.

¹⁷⁶ Firth, Indian Church History, 128.

¹⁷⁷ Grafe, *History of Christianity in India*, 4:25.

Nine months after the Danish-Hall Mission's commencement, nine Tamils were baptized.¹⁷⁸ After five years, the local church had more than 200 members.¹⁷⁹ This development was remarkable, given that Ziegenbalg did not adhere to the caste system, unlike the Jesuit missionaries who had come before him.¹⁸⁰ Based on his ethnological research, he determined that the caste system was not just a social structure but had its origins in the Hindu religion system.¹⁸¹ While permitting certain caste-related rituals to be maintained in the church, such as sitting arrangements, he emphasized the principle of equality in Christ for all members.¹⁸² Some high-caste Tamils became his opponents because they were unwilling to be on equal footing with low-caste members of the church.¹⁸³ However, this resistance was uncommon, since the majority of residents were intrigued by his message. Ziegenbalg and Plütschau were both temporarily arrested by the Danish authorities on separate occasions for their involvement in civic matters that were deemed unsuitable.¹⁸⁴ Each time, the accusation was inciting insurrection.

Ziegenbalg passed away in 1719 at the age of thirty-six.¹⁸⁵ However, his legacy endured. He is regarded as one of the most significant missionaries in Christian history. His focus on translating the Bible, being culturally aware, and creating a native church, which was uncommon at the time, served as a blueprint for others to emulate.¹⁸⁶ Following Ziegenbalg's passing, the German linguist and missionary Johann Philipp

¹⁷⁸ Firth, Indian Church History, 129.

¹⁷⁹ Firth, Indian Church History, 130.

¹⁸⁰ Firth, Indian Church History, 132–34.

¹⁸¹ Sigamoney, "The Double Face of Christian Mission and Education," 45.

¹⁸² Firth, Indian Church History, 132–34.

¹⁸³ Firth, Indian Church History, 132–34.

¹⁸⁴ Firth, Indian Church History, 130.

¹⁸⁵ Firth, Indian Church History, 134.

¹⁸⁶ Richter, A History of Mission in India, 114.

Fabricius carried on his translation efforts.¹⁸⁷ Most churches in the Western world may have forgotten Ziegenbalg's name, but it remains prominent in India, especially in the State of Tamil Nadu.

The Protestant mission in Serampore began its work in the Danish-controlled region.¹⁸⁸ A carpenter named Krishna Pal from Srirampore, also known as Serampore to foreigners, was the first to convert to Christianity through baptism, initiating Protestant Christianity in Bengal.¹⁸⁹ Christianity had previously been established in Bengal and Orissa by Portuguese and French missionaries who came as chaplains to the commercial communities in the area. The Serampore mission included renowned individuals, including William Carey, Joshua Marshman, and William Ward, as well as their spouses.¹⁹⁰

British Rule and Missions

The British East India Company was a private commercial corporation that started dealing with India in the early seventeenth century. The Company was established under a Charter issued by the British Parliament, which was renewed every twenty years.¹⁹¹ Protestant missions in the nineteenth century, similar to Roman Catholic missions in the sixteenth century, often aligned themselves with colonial powers. The relationship between missions and colonialism differed in magnitude and type among colonial powers. The British Government in India had dual duties as a trader and a ruler.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁷ Firth, Indian Church History, 136.

¹⁸⁸ Richter, A History of Mission in India, 134.

¹⁸⁹ Firth, Indian Church History, 145.

¹⁹⁰ Firth, Indian Church History, 146–48.

¹⁹¹ Richter, A History of Mission in India, 97.

¹⁹² Richter, A History of Mission in India, 149–51.

However, some believed it directly involved Christian propaganda because British rulers adhered to and nurtured Christianity.¹⁹³ Therefore, British rule was associated with Christian supremacy. Initially, the Company remained impartial regarding its subjects' religious and social matters. The East India Company chose not to disrupt the traditional cultures of the people by endorsing missionary activities.¹⁹⁴ The Company's policy was to refrain from intervening in Indian education while showing preference for traditional Hindu or oriental studies.¹⁹⁵ The noninterference was likely motivated by the concern that missionaries, by providing English education, would facilitate conversions, and that could upset the Hindu subjects of the business and cause unrest.¹⁹⁶

Before the Charter Act, British missionaries William Carey and John Thomas came to Calcutta in 1972 and started their preparations while posing as indigo manufacturers.¹⁹⁷ Prohibited from spreading their religious beliefs in public, they established a headquarters in Serampore, which was under Danish control at the time.¹⁹⁸ They remained in Serampore once the new legislation was enacted, officially expanding the Indian mission field.¹⁹⁹

In the 1770s and 1780s, Englishmen like Edmund Burke contended that the East India Company's authority needed to be morally guided and regulated by Parliament to be deemed legitimate.²⁰⁰ However, their attempts were disregarded. Charles Grant, a subordinate officer in the British East India Company, collaborated with his friends to

¹⁹³ Copland, "Christianity as an Arm of Empire," 1027–28.

¹⁹⁴ Firth, Indian Church History, 141–42.

¹⁹⁵ Masih, Contribution of Missionaries towards Education in India, 15.

¹⁹⁶ Etherington, ed., *Missions and Empire*, 108–12.

¹⁹⁷ Richter, A History of Mission in India, 149.

¹⁹⁸ Richter, A History of Mission in India, 149.

¹⁹⁹ Richter, A History of Mission in India, 149.

²⁰⁰ Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag*, 58.

create the initial idea for a mission in the eighteenth century.²⁰¹ They advocated for it for many years, funding the campaign themselves. Grant wanted an official sanction from the East India Company for his request to initiate a missionary venture. He was granted an audience with Lord Cornwallis.²⁰² Lord Cornwallis told him he would not obstruct the expedition, but, as the Governor General, he could not actively support it.²⁰³ Grant had little choice but to seek assistance from influential Christian leaders in England who had the power to sway the government or challenge the Company. Meanwhile, in 1793, Wilberforce examined Grant's book, which expanded on Burke's thesis.²⁰⁴ After speaking with the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Henry Dundas, Wilberforce introduced the renowned Resolution on Missions, which Grant had written.²⁰⁵ The initial resolution pertained to sending ministers of religion and chaplains to provide spiritual guidance to Europeans in India.²⁰⁶ The Committee of the House approved the clauses on 14 May 1793.²⁰⁷ Three days later, the Committee agreed to "the missionary clauses," which aimed to authorize the East India Company to dispatch schoolmasters and other approved individuals for the religious and moral enhancement of the residents of the British Dominions in India. On the third reading of the Bill, the Clauses were rejected by the Court of Proprietors of East India Stock.²⁰⁸

Initially, the British East India Company restricted evangelism in the colonies. They were concerned that it would offend local feelings and harm British trade.²⁰⁹ Their

²⁰¹ Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag*, 72.

²⁰² Richter, A History of Mission in India, 148.

²⁰³ Richter, A History of Mission in India, 148.

²⁰⁴ Firth, Indian Church History, 142.

²⁰⁵ Richter, A History of Mission in India, 150.

²⁰⁶ Firth, Indian Church History, 148.

²⁰⁷ Carson, *The East India Company and Religion*, 37.

²⁰⁸ Carson, *The East India Company and Religion*, 37.

²⁰⁹ Firth, Indian Church History, 142.

position shifted due to the Charter Act of 1813,²¹⁰ which permitted missionary endeavours and was implemented in reaction to demands from the British populace.²¹¹ However, the Charter of 1813 remained in theory only for it neither promoted education nor indicated any shift in the Company's policy for decades.²¹² In 1833, the British Government granted Christian missionaries in India the freedom to work without a license.²¹³ However, the officials were indifferent and unreceptive to the missionaries' actions. Despite the challenges the British East India Company posed, certain British officials actively supported missionary efforts. Lord Wellesley sponsored William Carey's translation project in Bengal,²¹⁴ Lord William Bentinck advocated for the rights of Indian Christians,²¹⁵ Lord Dalhousie worked towards improving the welfare of the people,²¹⁶ and Colonel Munro and Colonel Macaulay assisted the Syrian Christians.²¹⁷ They were instrumental in facilitating the Church Missionary Society's aid to them.

The Charter Act of 1833

In 1833, the renewal of the East India Company's charter effected significant changes. The Act separated trade and governance, allowing a focus on the effective rule in India.²¹⁸ The Charter of 1833 sanctioned the continuous presence of missionaries in India and

²¹⁰ The Charter of 1813 included a provision stating that adequate legal provisions should be made for individuals who wish to travel to and stay in India to promote the spread of beneficial knowledge and religious and moral development among the Indian population. In the future, missionaries may reside and operate in British India without obstruction as long as they adhere to the local Government's authority and uphold religious freedom for all. The significant growth of Protestant Missions in India began in 1813.

²¹¹ Firth, Indian Church History, 158.

²¹² Carson, The East India Company and Religion, 147–48.

²¹³ Carson, The East India Company and Religion, 201.

²¹⁴ Firth, Indian Church History, 150.

²¹⁵ Firth, Indian Church History, 179.

²¹⁶ Richter, A History of Mission in India, 337–38.

²¹⁷ Firth, Indian Church History, 161–63.

²¹⁸ Neill, History of Christianity in India 1707–1858, 175.

established the Anglican Bishoprics in Calcutta.²¹⁹ The limited allocation of one bishop for all of India was expanded by creating bishoprics for Madras and Bombay.²²⁰ Lord William Bentinck's influence was to provide equitable access to offices for Indians to eradicate caste inequalities.²²¹ The Act expanded free trade ideas to residency regulations, promoting the presence of Europeans. Unexpectedly. Ram Mohan Roy and Dwarkanath Tagore, Indian supporters, also endorsed European colonization for advancement.²²² The Act also supported Christian missions, leading to an increase in missionaries from many countries.²²³

The Serampore Trio

When William Carey landed in Calcutta in 1793, he was not allowed by the British East India Company Government to settle down in Bengal.²²⁴ In 1800, he established his headquarters in Serampore, near Calcutta, under Danish authority.²²⁵ The Serampore Trio, comprising William Carey, Joshua Marshman, and William Ward initiated the Serampore Mission, marking a significant period in the Protestant missions' history.²²⁶ In addition to their conversion efforts, they established a printing business that published Christian scriptures in forty–seven different languages from 1800 until 1834.²²⁷ Their most incredible enduring legacy is the establishment of Serampore College in 1818, which remains India's primary institution for accrediting theological degrees.²²⁸

²¹⁹ Firth, Indian Church History, 155.

²²⁰ Firth, Indian Church History, 159.

²²¹ Carson, The East India Company and Religion, 193.

²²² It meant the improvement of Indian life by the introduction on a large scale of European technical skills and capital resources.

²²³ Neill, *History of Christianity in India 1707–1858*, 176–77.

²²⁴ Firth, Indian Church History, 143.

²²⁵ Firth, Indian Church History, 145.

²²⁶ Frykenberg, *Christianity in India*, 323.

²²⁷ Firth, Indian Church History, 148.

²²⁸ Daughrity and Athyal, Understanding World Christianity, 38–39.

Medical Missions

Medical missions in nineteenth-century India were important for combining healthcare and evangelism.²²⁹ The American Board was the first to send ordained doctors as medical evangelists, and John Scudder and his sons founded missions in Madras and Arcot.²³⁰ London Mission and American Baptists also aided in Neyyoor and southern Bengal.²³¹ The Scottish United Presbyterian Mission operated in Rajasthan using medical evangelists to set up dispensaries and hospitals.²³² Henry Scudder established the American Arcot Mission in 1851,²³³ the Free Church of Scotland Mission founded hospitals, the Basel Mission²³⁴ operated on the west coast, and American Presbyterians were present at Maharashtra.²³⁵ In 1860, the Scottish United Presbyterian Mission began operating in Rajasthan with medical evangelists Shoolbred and Valentine.²³⁶ They travelled to villages with medical chests, offering immunizations and treatments alongside proclaiming the Gospel. Between 1857 and 1903, the Free Church of Scotland Mission founded hospitals in all major stations.²³⁷ Medical missions experienced significant growth in the latter half of the century. They expanded from seven centres in 1858 to 140 in 1895 and then to 280 in 1905, highlighting their significant contribution to healthcare and religious missions.²³⁸

²²⁹ Hardiman, *Healing Bodies, Saving Souls*, 143–44.

²³⁰ Pathak, American Missionaries and Hinduism, 68–69.

²³¹ Richter, A History of Mission in India, 348.

²³² Richter, A History of Mission in India, 348.

²³³ Richter, A History of Mission in India, 347.

²³⁴ Richter, A History of Mission in India, 348.

²³⁵ Richter, A History of Mission in India, 348.

²³⁶ Richter, A History of Mission in India, 348.

²³⁷ Richter, A History of Mission in India, 347–49.

²³⁸ Richter, A History of Mission in India, 350–55.

Christian missionary work played a crucial role in European colonialism, giving British missionaries and those who supported them a feeling of righteousness and ethical authority. In the mid-nineteenth century, the East India Company shifted from governing governments through "protective" agreements to imposing direct rule.²³⁹ The British administration implemented the "Doctrine of Lapse"²⁴⁰ to take control of kingdoms where a sovereign died without a recognized male heir.²⁴¹ The discontent among the upper classes led to the 1857 rebellion against British authority, sometimes called the "Indian Mutiny."²⁴²

Following the "Great Mutiny," officials in both Britain and India attributed the cause of the uprising to the fervent efforts of missionaries to convert people to their religion.²⁴³ Following the abolition of the Company in 1858, local governments generally refrained from openly expressing support for missionaries, with few exceptions. The missionaries who aligned themselves with nationalists were especially suspect.²⁴⁴ Under rebel rule, the persecution of Christians escalated significantly. They were relentlessly pursued, expelled from their houses, and compelled to seek shelter in the bush. The situation only improved when law and order were restored, and the leader of their enemies was punished, providing some respite.²⁴⁵ Despite the rebels putting up a strong resistance and causing significant casualties to their enemies, the uprising ultimately did not remove the British forces.²⁴⁶

²³⁹ Firth, Indian Church History, 143–46.

²⁴⁰ According to Doctrine of Lapse, if a native ruler did not have a male heir the kingdom would automatically be taken over by the British.

²⁴¹ Jha, Facets of India's Economy, 1:162.

²⁴² Firth, Indian Church History, 183.

²⁴³ Etherington, ed., *Missions and Empire*, 112.

²⁴⁴ Etherington, ed., *Missions and Empire*, 112.

²⁴⁵ Firth, Indian Church History, 191.

²⁴⁶ Firth, Indian Church History, 183.

According to J. Boel, conversion tends to be more successful when it closely aligns with the existing social structure of the original population.²⁴⁷ In order to achieve that objective, Protestant missionaries in India had to establish a clear separation between themselves and any actual or imagined associations with Western imperialism. After the 1857 Rebellion, Christian missionaries were increasingly confronted by social and political challenges.²⁴⁸ Direct administration from Britain supplanted the Company's governance, and Queen Victoria became Empress of India in 1877.²⁴⁹ The Indian subcontinent did not attract many British emigrants, unlike the white colonies in North America. Most individuals who undertook the journey were employees of the East India Company and returned upon completing their employment. The British people's presence and reign significantly impacted the indigenous communities of India.

Conclusion

The impact of captivity on Andhra Pradesh's lower caste has been significant throughout history. The reigning dynasties and empires frequently subjected these castes to oppression and discrimination. The Mauryan Empire, the Satavahanas, the Ikshvakus, the Pallavas, and the Chalukyas were among the early conquerors of the region who adhered to the caste system. Within the caste system, those belonging to the lower castes were deprived of the opportunity to acquire education and were also denied other fundamental rights. Frequently, they were compelled to engage in lowly occupations and were prohibited from possessing property or engaging in political endeavours. The Kakatiya

²⁴⁷ Boel, *Christian Mission in India*, 17.

²⁴⁸ Boel, Christian Mission in India, 5.

²⁴⁹ Richter, A History of Mission in India, 220.

dynasty, which governed the area from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, implemented several measures to enhance the circumstances of the lower castes. They granted people certain fundamental rights and permitted them to participate to a certain degree in governing. The lower castes saw a heightened severity in their imprisonment during the reign of the Mughals and Nizams. The Mughals and the Nizams implemented stringent policies that showed preferential treatment towards the upper castes while exhibiting discrimination against the lower castes. The lowest castes were prohibited from land ownership and compelled to engage in menial occupations with meagre remuneration.

Additionally, they were deprived of the opportunity to receive an education and were forbidden other fundamental rights. Individuals belonging to the lower castes continue to experience prejudice and are frequently deprived of equitable chances. Nevertheless, the endeavours of several Christian missionaries and mission societies to improve the social status of the lower castes have yielded noteworthy advancements in areas such as education, healthcare, and industry. The next chapter discusses Canadian Baptist Missions and their work in India.

CHAPTER 3: CANADIAN BAPTIST MISSIONS TO INDIA

The social reform movement in India underwent a significant transformation and pivotal moment during the nineteenth century in British India. Christian missionaries and Indian social reformers had been working for a century to improve the conditions of underprivileged groups and women. The position of women in society was a highly debated subject, particularly from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards.¹ By and large, those discussions heralded the start of social transformation for women's status.² Christian missionaries in India focused on spreading the Gospel, improving education, promoting health, and establishing institutions to uplift native converts, particularly those from disadvantaged backgrounds.³ This chapter evaluates the assistance provided by Christian women missionaries from North America in girls' education and primary healthcare, particularly in the context of depressed classes. The whole of Christian missionaries' lives speaks of their impact on the welfare of the marginalized.

Missions in India have been operational since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Anglican Bishopric of Calcutta was founded by the British Parliament in 1813, granting official permission for missionaries to explore the countries of the East India Company.⁴ By 1851, approximately 339 Protestant missionaries had been ordained

¹ Bellenoit, *Missionary Education and Empire*, 24–26.

² Bellenoit, *Missionary Education and Empire*, 81–82.

³ Randall, ed., *Baptists and Mission*, 258–60.

⁴ Chatterton, A History of the Church of England in India, 85–91

and were actively operating on the subcontinent.⁵ Men predominantly led the mission attempt due to the unpredictable attitude of the indigenous population and the purportedly unclean conditions in their habitat. However, in the middle of the nineteenth century, male missionaries became aware that their attempts to propagate the Gospel were hindered by their inability to involve Indian women.⁶ Female colleagues were required, particularly because they had the ability to access Muslim and high-caste Hindu *zenana*⁷ portions by surpassing the veil.⁸ Initially, women from North America served as spouses to missionaries. The role of a missionary woman was to assist and collaborate with her husband, serving as a prominent model of Christian femininity and domesticity to those who did not follow the Christian faith.⁹ The recruitment of unmarried women began in the late-nineteenth century, coinciding with advancements in female education and a rise in the employment of single women in nursing, teaching, and church-related occupations. Additionally, Christian religious communities were established during the period.¹⁰

The Indian Female Normal School Society, the Wesleyan Missionary Society Ladies' Auxiliary, the Baptist Zenana Missionary Society, and the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society (CEZMS) were among the first women's missionary societies and ladies' branches of well-established male societies to be established.¹¹ Female recruitment soared in the final two decades of the century, and, by 1900, women made up

⁵ Oddie, Social Protest in India, 98–99.

⁶ Kent, Converting Women, 91–94.

⁷ Zenana contextually refers to the part of a house belonging to an Indian family reserved for the household's women. The zenana is the inner section of a house where the family's women live. Through the Zenana missions, Christian missionaries were able to reach these Indian women and girls. Female missionaries who had received medical and nursing training could treat them and evangelize them in their homes.

⁸ Kent, Converting Women, 91–94.

⁹ Brouwer, New Women for God, 66–67.

¹⁰ Kent, Converting Women, 91–94.

¹¹ Cox, The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700, 190.

62 percent of the missionary staff in South Asia.¹² Given the substantial representation of women in missions, they are vital topics for research. Nevertheless, historical accounts often disregard their contributions and perspectives. Partially understanding this is justifiable due to the patriarchal and clergy-dominated structures of churches and missionary groups. There remained a scarcity of women participating in organizational committees, and the tasks carried out by women both at home and in the workforce were still predominantly seen as supplementary.¹³

Women missionaries in India had to adjust to the evolving objectives and character of their educational, evangelistic, and medical endeavours, and challenging living situations. The central objective of Christian missionary action has consistently been conversion. However, women's missionary service encompassed more than just spreading the Gospel to non-Christian populations. Missionaries were concerned with promoting the religious beliefs of those who self-identified as Christians. They regularly evaluated the techniques they employed to achieve those objectives.

Socio-Religious and Political Condition in India

All boys of the four principal castes¹⁴ were expected to receive some education based on the religious and philosophical writings of the tradition, according to general Hindu doctrine.¹⁵ As their social status increased, it was anticipated that the boys would obtain a higher level of education. Individuals considered too lowly to be part of the caste society

¹² Cox, The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700, 267–69.

¹³ Bellenoit, *Missionary Education and Empire*, 91–93.

¹⁴ Hindus are divided into four primary caste groups according to the caste system: *Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudras*. Brahmins are considered as higher castes representing the eyes and mind of Brahma (the Hindu creator god).

¹⁵ Bellenoit, *Missionary Education and Empire*, 11–15.

or who were barred from it for other reasons were not expected to receive formal education.¹⁶ The prevailing anticipation was that Muslim males would acquire an education centred on religious and intellectual literature. Nevertheless, access to formal education was limited to the upper echelons of society and esteemed families known for their scholarly pursuits, regardless of religious affiliation.¹⁷ Individuals from the Brahmin and Muslim communities, whose families had connections to the judiciary, executive branch, and religious and educational institutions, were more inclined to obtain a high-quality education. The majority of the Muslim or Hindu peasantry were unable to read or write, and boys from lower ranks and castes had significantly less formal education.¹⁸ The term "formal" here implicates education as a vital factor for every child. Formal, western education is commonly seen as the epitome of education, believed to be inherently valuable and even considered a fundamental entitlement based on theological and cultural justifications.

Traditionally, girls were predominantly educated in skills related to managing a household, such as literacy, numeracy, and basic arithmetic, tailored to their family's specific needs.¹⁹ Girls in nearly all social strata in India received a lower level of formal education compared to boys. Although "keeping a household" may appear ordinary to those in the West, Indian society has consistently placed significant importance on preserving robust family connections. The role of women in one's family, which has been traditionally substantial, has a profound impact on various aspects of one's life, including

¹⁶ Gopal, *History of Andhra Pradesh*, 136–42.

¹⁷ Bellenoit, *Missionary Education and Empire*, 33–36.

¹⁸ Gopal, *History of Andhra Pradesh*, 136–42.

¹⁹ Forbes, "Women in Modern India," 43–47.

personal satisfaction and social status.²⁰ Missionaries in the nineteenth century were perplexed by the paradoxical position of women in Indian society. On one hand, they were profoundly cherished and dutiful, particularly as mothers and later as matriarchs. On the other hand, they were burdened with excessive work and considered inferior to males.²¹ Similarly, the distinctions of caste and class have a profound impact on gender dynamics within Indian society, both historically and presently. Divorce, for example, may be utterly abhorrent in specific socioeconomic groupings while being accepted and occasionally practiced in others. By the eighteenth century, women's ability to move up in society was increasingly limited as their caste and class status increased.²²

Beginning in the early nineteenth century, a new British perspective toward Indian civilization and its people coincided with the emergence of the Anglo-American evangelical missionary movement in India.²³ Before 1800, the British dominated India with the theory that by assimilating into Indian society, they could extract money more effectively. They actively embraced the traditions and ways of the local kings, who were Muslim and Hindu.²⁴ In the eighteenth century, British courts in North India spoke Persian. Many male British East India Company officers established families like their higher-class Indian counterparts, replete with several Indian wives.²⁵

Throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century, British academics developed a keen interest in India's religious writings and practises. However, just before 1800, British opinions regarding Indians began to change due to changes in Britain.²⁶ Indians

²⁰ Forbes, "Women in Modern India," 43–47.

²¹ Ram and Jolly, *Maternities and Modernities*, 81–92.

²² Ram and Jolly, *Maternities and Modernities*, 81–92.

²³ Porter, ed., *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions*, 36–40.

²⁴ Frykenberg, *Christianity in India*, 86–90.

²⁵ Frykenberg, *Christianity in India*, 306–09.

²⁶ Bellenoit, *Missionary Education and Empire*, 32–36.

were to be transformed rather than emulated. Also, rather than bridging the gap between Westerners and Indians, reforming Indians was to seem as much like their British reformers as feasible. The reformation that followed was thought to be asymptotic: while Indians could get close to embodying the British Victorian ideals of humanity, they could never entirely do so.²⁷

Early in the nineteenth century, missionaries from Britain and America established schools for boys and girls as soon as they arrived in India. Although most of these boys were from lower castes and classes, families did not mind sending them to public schools, contributing to their relatively high attendance rates.²⁸ Schools for girls were a different matter. They enjoyed a fair amount of popularity, but only among practising Christians.²⁹ Most of these were Eurasian offspring, also called "half-castes" or "East Indians" at the time. They were primarily the children of Indian women—many unmarried—and British soldiers. Most of these children were the offspring of unions between ordinary, lower-class British soldiers and their correspondingly low-caste and low-class Indian wives, even though the upper-class British in India could (and did) take good care of their children, many of whom went to England for education until the 1790s when the practice was made illegal.³⁰ Eurasian children were regarded as belonging to the lowest social strata and treated as such by the British and the Indians. Their situation was made worse in the eyes of the Indians by the fact that they possessed alien blood. The children were considered Christians since their fathers were recognized as practicing Christians. These kids were the ones who attended the recently established mission

²⁷ Frykenberg, *Christianity in India*, 169–72.

²⁸ Kent, Converting Women, 140–45.

²⁹ Dalrymple, *White Mughals*, 82–86.

³⁰ Dalrymple, *White Mughals*, 82–86.

schools, and the female institutions primarily served this eager audience. Education served as a tool for the parents of Eurasian children to strive and advance their social rank in the Indian and British social hierarchies.³¹ The educated girls would receive training from and be linked with middle-class European women, allowing for the possibility that their claims to the future social position could be accepted seriously.

Women Missionaries and Their Contribution Towards Education³² The women of the mission were free to get involved in education because it was not regarded as a component of their primary missionary responsibilities, which were to preach and convert. The women of the missions began to reach out to the non-Christian sectors of Indian society, which essentially comprised most of the population, after becoming dissatisfied with the outcomes of their female education program in India, which was severely constrained by the population they drew from.³³ Unfortunately, social prejudices in India once more thwarted their efforts. One reason is that no respectable middle- or upper-class Indian family would send their daughters to a school where it was well-known that most students were from low social classes.³⁴ Another reason was that females' formal education was considered a waste of time and resources; girls should be educated at home in correct Indian social mores. The missions started paying females to

³¹ Dalrymple, *White Mughals*, 82–86.

³² Canadian Baptist Ministries (CBM), previously called the Canadian Baptist Overseas Mission Board (CBOMB) has been engaged in missionary activities since the nineteenth century. CBM missionaries have engaged in missionary work in multiple nations, including India, Africa, Latin America, and Southeast Asia. Initially, the missions were purely for spreading the Gospel. Gradually, as they realized the needs in every community in addition to their evangelistic endeavours, they frequently created schools and educational projects. Women missionaries were effectively involved in education. Canadian Baptist missionaries have a significant history of engagement in education, both within Canada and abroad. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Canadian Baptist missionaries made essential contributions to establishing schools, universities, and educational programs in many regions where they were involved in missionary activities.

³³ Kent, Converting Women, 127–30.

³⁴ Huizinga, Missionary Education in India, 72–74.

attend school to address the financial problem rather than just making girls' education accessible.³⁵ They did find a receptive non-Christian market for this in the form of Untouchables and Indians from the lowest castes and social groups.³⁶ The families of these girls valued the money and had no problem with their daughters living in the same house with low-class Christians. Once more, the missions' lofty aspirations to influence and evangelize Indian society through the upbringing of its powerful classes were dashed by those who were most genuinely drawn to Christianity, the despised and poor.

Two significant occasions that were beyond the control of the missionary women started to alter the perspectives of the powerful classes in Indian culture. The first was the Scottish missionary Alexander Duff's daring new endeavour.³⁷ Duff recognized that mission instruction in Bengali, the local language, did not have the desired impact of converting the Indian people to Christianity when he arrived in Calcutta in 1830.³⁸ To persuade the Indian intelligentsia of the fallacy of their worldview and to persuade them to embrace the reality of Christianity, he advocated that the missions construct an entirely Western and Christian education taught in English. He would, in his words, "create a mine which would one day detonate beneath the very citadel of Hinduism" through English teaching.³⁹ A particular breed of Bengali intellectuals who saw British ideas as the way forward for Indian civilization found Duff's new school appealing. Over the following few decades, boys from respected Bengali families began attending Duff's school, and many became Christians. Even if the numbers were not tremendous, they

³⁵ Kent, Converting Women, 120–24.

³⁶ Kent, Converting Women, 120-24.

³⁷ Frykenberg, *Christianity in India*, 324–26.

³⁸ Frykenberg, *Christianity in India*, 324–26.

³⁹ Porter, ed., *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions*, 176–79.

significantly improved over the earlier levels of middle- and upper-class converts.⁴⁰ Others, who remained unconverted, developed sympathy for the professors who provided the Christian education founded on the Western Enlightenment. However, in doing so, they also practice older, more conventional forms of education from India. The learning process is characterized by developing a close, gender-specific bond between the student and his or her teacher.

The Great Rebellion (also known as the First War of Independence) of 1857, in which Indian soldiers in the British military mutinied and ignited a widespread uprising against British rule in North India, was the second significant external event that affected the women's missionary movement.⁴¹ The Rebellion came close to succeeding, but over two years, the British regained military and political authority over the subcontinent, frequently by adopting incredibly violent methods motivated by racial and chauvinistic prejudice.⁴² It was evident by 1860 that the British were there to stay. The transfer of Indian government authority from the East India Company to the British Crown indicated the changing situation. In 1858, Victoria assumed the title of Empress of India.⁴³

Indians adapted to the new reality—which, in some ways, was the culmination of developments that began two centuries earlier—in numerous ways. One of them was that men from all social levels, especially those from the higher classes, sought a British education to deal with the country's growing imperial authority.⁴⁴ Christian missions in India founded many prestigious Indian colleges. However, the well-to-do families in

⁴⁰ Vermilye, *The Life of Alexander Duff*, 48–52.

⁴¹ Stein and Arnold, A History of India, 222–26.

⁴² Stein and Arnold, A History of India, 222–26.

⁴³ Stein and Arnold, A History of India, 107–10.

⁴⁴ Stein and Arnold, A History of India, 241–43.

India realized that educating their sons alone would not allow them entrance to the upper levels of British society.⁴⁵ The nineteenth century saw a significant migration of European women to India, which led to the establishment of British families and diasporic British culture. Indian women had to communicate with their European counterparts since Indians had to deal with British territories.⁴⁶ Together with the boys and young men, the girls and young women would also need to be educated following Western standards. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, mission schools and later colleges for young women were established.⁴⁷ Those institutions were a great success. For instance, Methodist missionary Isabella Thoburn founded Asia's first women's college in 1886. It was a logical progression from the girls' schools she founded in India in 1870.⁴⁸

However, it was not just forces outside of the women's missionary movement that encouraged girls and young women from India's middle and upper classes to pursue higher education. Another critical factor in the acceptance of upper-class female education was the activities of female missionaries.⁴⁹ In his book *Caste, Gender, and Christianity in Colonial India*, Taneti argues that the social aspirations of the marginalized, especially the victims of the caste system, influenced the lower castes towards Christianity.⁵⁰ At the same time, women, too, were suffering under the social structure in India, and the presence of missionaries, especially women missionaries, brought an entirely new perspective to them. The low-caste women were eager to know

⁴⁵ Bellenoit, *Missionary Education and Empire*, 42–46.

⁴⁶ Bellenoit, *Missionary Education and Empire*, 62–64.

⁴⁷ Stein and Arnold, A History of India, 257–58.

⁴⁸ Thoburn, *Life of Isabella Thoburn*, 182–84.

⁴⁹ Bellenoit, *Missionary Education and Empire*, 81–83.

⁵⁰ Taneti, Caste, Gender, and Christianity, 18.

more about this new religion that gave women the opportunity to go beyond the four walls of their houses and teach. This, in return, enabled the missionaries to train and develop many Bible women from the local community, granting them access to more homes.⁵¹ In that context, two facets of women's missionary work were crucial. The first is that the females from low castes and classes who attended the early missionaries' schools were, in fact, successfully educated and reformatted. Girls who attended mission schools acquired new domestic skills based on Victorian Anglo-American values and reading, writing, and basic maths fundamentals.⁵² Unexpectedly, some of those ideas were held in high regard in native Indian society. Both the middle classes of the West and the upper classes of India valued virtues like cleanliness and feminine restraint in the face of suffering. As a result, the girls from underprivileged backgrounds who attended mission schools were able to raise their status somewhat in the eyes of Indian society.⁵³

Establishing zenana missions was the second project female missionaries undertook that contributed to generalizing women's education in Indian society. Evangelical missionaries, all men, quickly realized they had no access to high-class women since those people were kept away from the general public, let alone suspicious foreign men.⁵⁴ As a result, in the middle of the nineteenth century, women missionaries went to the Indian women instead of waiting for women from the influential classes in India to approach them at their schools.⁵⁵ The evangelical missionary force created zenana missions, in which women missionaries would visit higher-class Indian women in

⁵¹ Taneti, Caste, Gender, and Christianity, 83.

⁵² Dutta, British Women Missionaries in Bengal, 83–86.

⁵³ Dutta, British Women Missionaries in Bengal, 106–08.

⁵⁴ Dutta, British Women Missionaries in Bengal, 106–08.

⁵⁵ Kent, "Tamil Bible Women and the Zenana Missions," 119–21.

their houses while accompanied by Indian Christian women.⁵⁶ Zenana is the term used for the women's quarters of a household. In addition to respecting Indian gender norms, this arrangement made sure that missionaries were working on native land and according to Indian rules. The men and women of the Indian houses decided what missionaries might say and do, how long they could remain, and which rooms they could visit. Indians set the terms for women missionaries' access to Indian women.⁵⁷

One of the most critical aspects of the Zenana missions was the use of Indian Christian women during the visits by the European missionaries, who were, of course, presented to the Western audience as an outreach to imprisoned and benighted Indian women.⁵⁸ The European women frequently lacked the language and, even more so, the cultural aptitude to function in (to them) alien lands. Hence, the Zenana missions relied heavily on low-caste Indian Christian women who had been educated to read, write, and speak with the European woman missionaries in English. The Indian hosts witnessed the interactions between the European missionary women and her fellow churchgoers during their visits to the zenanas and even how dependent she became on her in an unfamiliar setting.⁵⁹

The Zenana missions' goal of converting wealthy Indian women to Christianity was utterly unsuccessful. What the missions did achieve, however, was to build a relationship of friendship and trust between Christian missionaries and Indian women from the more powerful spheres of Indian society.⁶⁰ The affection and sympathy felt

⁵⁶ Kent, "Tamil Bible Women and the Zenana Missions," 136–39.

⁵⁷ Stanley, The History of the Baptist Missionary Society, 228–30.

⁵⁸ Kent, "Tamil Bible Women and the Zenana Missions," 150–54.

⁵⁹ Dutta, British Women Missionaries in Bengal, 116–18.

⁶⁰ Dutta, British Women Missionaries in Bengal, 123–24.
between the European woman and her Indian hosts are extolled in reports from European missionaries. Little evidence supports the notion that Indian ladies were equally kind to their European visitors. Nonetheless, there is no question that a level of kinship and trust was developed; otherwise, the Indians would have refused the European women missionaries access to their houses, as some did. The acceptance of women's education throughout Indian culture was mainly due to the trust and goodwill that missionary women and upper caste/class Indian women built during the Zenana missions.⁶¹

This rather extraordinary achievement of the social revolution of female education, which was successfully started by Protestant women missionaries in India during the second half of the nineteenth century, resulted from various causes.⁶² The British Empire's presence and influence came first. Indian women's education was made desirable by the Empire's ideological and monetary support.⁶³ The second was the outstanding work of female missionaries who would not give up on their goal of educating Indian women to win them over to Christianity.⁶⁴ Instead of abandoning their mission, women missionaries modified how they approached Indian women, eventually modifying women's missionary practises and philosophies. Fears of middle-class and upper-class Indians over the exposure of women and girls to missionary forces outside the house were allayed by the positive relationships fostered by American and Indian Christian women participating in the Zenana missions.⁶⁵ The third was the presence and activities of the Indian Christian coworkers of women missionaries, which is rarely

⁶¹ Kent, Converting Women, 141–43.

⁶² Kent, Converting Women, 141–43.

⁶³ Bellenoit, *Missionary Education and Empire*, 62–64.

⁶⁴ Dutta, British Women Missionaries in Bengal, 109–10.

⁶⁵ Kent, "Tamil Bible Women and the Zenana Missions," 129–31.

acknowledged in the missionary archives. There is little information on these modest ladies' impact on their upper caste and class counterparts, but it must have been substantial.⁶⁶

The fourth and final reason is that Indian society believed that Indian women's education would be linked to their social rank in the future. Influential Indians, many men believed that women's education was a desired benefit because they were eager to maintain or advance their standing.⁶⁷ Hence, in India, women's education was a foreign notion and institution that was assimilated into the local social systems. The methods that middle-class and upper-caste Indian women and their allies have mobilized in the current Indian public arena show that this foreign impact did not leave the native structures untouched.

Mission Organizations and the Colonist

One disheartening fact about Indian education is that while the East India Company began operations in 1600, it did not start efforts to advance education until a century later.⁶⁸ A charter issued by the East India Company in 1698, which mandated that schools be maintained in all its larger garrison establishments, opened its doors in Madras in 1715. As part of the Company's effort to support Indian education in the eighteenth century and beginning in 1813, it set aside a pitiful sum for that purpose.⁶⁹ At the same time, Company officials intervened in Indian education to shape it along Western educational lines and to employ Indians as clerks and translators to manage their

⁶⁶ Kent, "Tamil Bible Women and the Zenana Missions," 131–33.

⁶⁷ Kent, "Tamil Bible Women and the Zenana Missions," 136–41.

⁶⁸ Stein and Arnold, A History of India, 196–98.

⁶⁹ Stein and Arnold, A History of India, 200–204.

administration. Then they spread the word that if Indians met the requirements, they would be given preference. In this case, English became India's official language by the Charter of 1833, despite traditional or indigenous schooling in India.⁷⁰ Early reformers in India and Christian missionaries both agreed with this choice. About the importance of educating people about gender bias, one questionable aspect needs to be brought up. Despite pressure from missionaries and liberals, the colonial authorities had no interest in promoting female education.⁷¹ The missionaries believed that women needed to be brought into the fold to make conversions lasting. Hence, they were interested in female education and schools for females. Yet, because men made the decisions, women's education was only incidental.

The British government in India initially invited all private organizations, individuals, community organizations, reform groups, and bodies of religious organizations of any faith to take on the work of education development.⁷² In the beginning, Christian missionaries attempted to expand education among the powerful communities in society as a means of proselytization, but their expectations were unfounded.⁷³ Then they showed a strong propensity for the depressed sections of Hindu society, which is the lowest of the low. The missionaries were well protected by India's government at the time and society at large, so there was no need to worry about molestation in this instance.⁷⁴ All of the European residents of India were given particular

⁷⁰ Stein and Arnold, A History of India, 239–40.

⁷¹ Stein and Arnold, A History of India, 257–58.

⁷² Bellenoit, *Missionary Education and Empire*, 32–36.

⁷³ Bellenoit, *Missionary Education and Empire*, 32–36.

⁷⁴ Kent, "Tamil Bible Women and the Zenana Missions," 130–32.

protection to keep their property and lives secure, as well as the freedom to practice any old or new religion their consciences saw fit.⁷⁵

In reality, the English East India Company entered India with the intention of grabbing trade and commerce. With this as its guiding principle, it refused to support any missionary activity in India on the grounds that it would interfere with its commercial endeavours.⁷⁶ Yet, after William Wilberforce sponsored a resolution in the House of Commons in 1813 to change the English East India Company's Charter Act to permit Christian missionaries to advance the Gospel in India, several missionaries from various Western countries were inspired to travel to India to carry out evangelistic activities.⁷⁷ Many Christian missionaries were permitted to spread Christianity and build institutions in coastal Andhra when colonial control was established there. By the middle of the nineteenth century, Canadian Baptist missions had established their centers in coastal Andhra areas.⁷⁸ The London Mission Society (LMS) was the first Protestant mission to Andhra.⁷⁹

Canadian Baptist Mission and Their Work in India

In 1874, the Rev. John Mc Laurin inaugurated the first Canadian Baptist Mission (CBM) mission station in Kakinada.⁸⁰ Its initial operations were limited to Kakinada and the neighbouring environs. Eventually, with Kakinada serving as its headquarters, twelve mission stations were built along the Andhra coast, from Avanigadda in the Krishna

⁷⁵ Kent, "Tamil Bible Women and the Zenana Missions," 130–32.

⁷⁶ Dutta, British Women Missionaries in Bengal, 18–22.

⁷⁷ Dutta, British Women Missionaries in Bengal, 22–25.

⁷⁸ Heath, "Canadian Baptist Defence," 262.

⁷⁹ Kent, Converting Women, 54–56.

⁸⁰ Daniel, *Moving with the Times*, 14–16.

District to Sompete in the Srikakulam District.⁸¹ For the benefit of those from lower socioeconomic classes who were destitute and despondent, it created numerous educational facilities, including primary, secondary, boarding, and caste girls' schools. In addition to the regular schools, it also developed several Vocational Schools and Industrial Schools to give the general public and newly converted Christians employment options as well as to empower women economically.⁸² Missionary organizations provided underprivileged people with excellent services in the fields of education, medicine, and social services by opening hospitals, colleges, and schools. For the sake of advancing education for both boys and girls, the missionary groups in Andhra Pradesh founded a large number of schools and universities. The Christian organizations on their part were very vigorous about the development of female education.

As was already noted, there was very little initial interest in women's or girls' education. However social change and intellectual ferment were major features of nineteenth-century India. By "intellectual ferment" is meant an effort to critically and creatively examine contemporary society with the goal of reshaping it along contemporary lines. The sophisticated middle-class Indians of the nineteenth century, who were inspired by Western education, worked to revive the socio-cultural renaissance of Indian society in response to the British perception of the Pre-British (eighteenth century) as a period of stagnation.⁸³ The following are some of the key aspects of the Canadian Baptist Mission's work in India.

⁸¹ Daniel, *Moving with the Times*, 19–23.

⁸² Daniel, *Moving with the Times*, 60–62.

⁸³ Chattopadhyay, "Address of the Sectional President," 422–23.

Evangelism and Church Planting

One of the main goals of the Canadian Baptist Mission in India was to spread the Christian faith and establish new churches. Missionaries endeavoured to disseminate the Christian faith and construct churches in various regions of the nation, notably in rural and isolated places where Christianity is less widespread.⁸⁴ The missionaries were fervently involved in evangelical endeavours in India, disseminating the Christian faith to individuals from many cultural, linguistic, and religious backgrounds. This typically entails engaging in personal evangelism, delivering sermons, organizing evangelical gatherings, and disseminating written materials such as Bibles and pamphlets.⁸⁵ The mission has actively engaged in church planting endeavours in India, specifically targeting rural and inaccessible regions. Missionaries engage in mentoring newly converted individuals, equipping native leaders, and establishing self-sufficient native churches that may persistently expand and influence their surrounding communities. Aside from the direct establishment of churches, the Canadian Baptist Mission also prioritized the training and preparation of local leaders and pastors to guide and care for congregations proficiently.⁸⁶ This entailed offering theological instruction, hands-on ministry instruction, and guidance to equip indigenous believers to assume responsibility for their faith communities and fulfill their ministerial vocation.

⁸⁴ Varikoti-Jetty, "Christian Missions and Conversion," 73–78.

⁸⁵ Kent, Converting Women, 43.

⁸⁶ Varikoti-Jetty, "Christian Missions and Conversion," 73.

Education

The mission has prioritized education to empower people and enhance livelihoods. The organization constructed educational institutions, including schools, colleges, and vocational training centres, in different regions of India, catering to children's and adults' educational needs.⁸⁷ Those educational institutions provide diverse academic programs, encompassing primary and secondary education, as well as higher education and vocational training. The mission sought to furnish students with high-quality education, enabling them to acquire the knowledge and skills necessary for academic and professional success. The mission prioritized educating and empowering girls and women, acknowledging the significant positive changes that education can bring to their lives and communities.⁸⁸ The organization promoted efforts to ensure gender parity in education by addressing obstacles such as poverty, cultural norms, and gender bias that may hinder girls' access to schooling. In addition to providing academic and vocational training, the mission also aimed to provide values-based education that was based on Christian ideals.⁸⁹ This encompassed the instruction of moral and ethical principles, the cultivation of tolerance towards different perspectives, the development of a sense of empathy and helpfulness, and the motivation of students to assume accountability as constructive members of their societies.

Healthcare

Healthcare was a significant component of the Canadian Baptist Mission's efforts in India. Missionaries established hospitals, clinics, and healthcare centres to deliver

⁸⁷ Kent, Converting Women, 43–45.

⁸⁸ Kent, Converting Women, 144–45.

⁸⁹ Kent, Converting Women, 144–45.

medical care to marginalized people.⁹⁰ Those establishments frequently provide primary healthcare, maternity and child health services, and health education. The mission has been engaged in leprosy mission work, encompassing the provision of care and assistance to those afflicted by leprosy, along with the promotion of knowledge about the disease and the mitigation of the related stigma.⁹¹ In 1898, the first Canadian Baptist hospital in India was established in Akividu. Dr. Pearl Chute and others helps those with leprosy in Ramachandrapuram.⁹²

Canadian Missions to Andhra Pradesh, India

Understanding the historical significance of Protestant Christian missions in colonial Andhra is crucial for comprehending the evolution of Christianity and missions in the region. Christian missionaries played a significant role in evangelizing and uplifting the marginalized castes in India during the latter half of the nineteenth century and throughout the mid-twentieth century.⁹³ They can be considered the primary figures and benefactors of those underprivileged communities.⁹⁴ Christian missionaries were notable for their contributions to the establishment of institutions and their pioneering efforts in social reform and the upliftment of marginalized castes. Following the implementation of colonial governance in Coastal Andhra, several evangelical societies were granted permission to propagate the Christian faith and build educational institutions inside the region.⁹⁵ During the mid-nineteenth century, various societies formed their centres, each

⁹⁰ Randall, ed., *Baptists and Mission*, 230–31.

⁹¹ Randall, ed., *Baptists and Mission*, 236.

⁹² Randall, ed., *Baptists and Mission*, 232.

⁹³ Varikoti-Jetty, "Christian Missions and Conversion," 9–11.

⁹⁴ Craig, Forty Years Among the Telugus, 3–6.

⁹⁵ Varikoti-Jetty, "Christian Missions and Conversion," 64–65.

located in a distinct region. The Church Missionary Society (CMS) primarily operated in the Northern Kistna (Krishna) district, located on the North East Coast of the former Madras Presidency.⁹⁶ It also had a presence in the American Evangelical Lutheran Church in Rajahmundry and Guntur, the London Missionary Society in Vizagapatnam and its surrounding areas, the Canadian Baptist Mission in Cocanada and its surrounding areas, the Godavari Delta Mission in the Godavari delta basin, and the American Baptist Missionary Society in Ongole and Nellore regions.⁹⁷ They participated in endeavours such as disseminating the gospel, promoting education, advocating for health, and establishing institutions to improve the economic conditions of the indigenous Christian converts, particularly those from disadvantaged castes.⁹⁸

During the late-nineteenth century, Canadian women played an increasingly influential role in the major Protestant denominations due to their involvement in missionary societies.⁹⁹ Church groups attracted many women who would not have chosen to join a women's organization. It facilitated numerous women in embarking on their initial cautious venture beyond the confines of the domestic realm.¹⁰⁰ Missionary societies allowed women to acquire skills in effectively managing organizational and administrative challenges on a significant scale while also fostering a sense of selfassurance in their capabilities.¹⁰¹ For specific individuals, that resulted in increased participation in non-church organizations. During the nineteenth century, missionary societies emerged as the most prominent groups comprising Canadian women.¹⁰² They

⁹⁶ Frykenberg, *Christianity in India*, 234.

⁹⁷ Varikoti–Jetty, "Christian Missions and Conversion," 136–39.

⁹⁸ Parthasarathy, *Andhra Culture*, 12.

⁹⁹ Brouwer, New Women for God, 6.

¹⁰⁰ Brouwer, New Women for God, 12–15.

¹⁰¹ Brouwer, New Women for God, 12–15.

¹⁰² Brouwer, New Women for God, 4–5.

were among the pioneering national women's organizations that emerged and were, therefore, integral to what was often known as the "women's movement" during that period.¹⁰³

During the early-nineteenth century, women in Protestant churches encountered few opportunities for challenge and stimulation. While missionary organizations catering to males were present, women's participation was limited to the local parish.¹⁰⁴ Some individuals instructed Sunday Schools, while most became members of local women's groups. Those groups facilitated social interaction among women who were not engaged in alternative pursuits, serving as an opportunity for them to address the pressing philanthropic requirements of their local community. However, their response was frequently ameliorative.

Women were confined to domestic church activities because of their limited options. During the initial years of the century, the Protestant denominations were establishing a more structured and enduring organization. The primary objective was to establish communication with the settlers residing in the several British North American colonies.¹⁰⁵ This endeavour did not necessitate significant involvement from clergy members except for fundraising efforts. Before the merging of numerous autonomous Protestant churches, it was not feasible to make significant commitments that necessitated the involvement of laypeople.

The initial response was observed among Baptist women residing in the Maritimes.¹⁰⁶ The inspiration originated from a youthful woman from Nova Scotia. In

¹⁰³ Randall, ed., *Baptists and Mission*, 232.

¹⁰⁴ Robert, American Women in Mission, xvi-xix.

¹⁰⁵ Austin and Scott, eds., Canadian Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples, 8–12.

¹⁰⁶ Fullerton et al., *Fifty Years with the United Baptist*, 7.

1869, Hannah Norris sought authorization from the Foreign Mission Board to embark on a missionary journey to Burma.¹⁰⁷ She had thoroughly deliberated upon her decision. Her faith and her commitment to assisting others were two significant aspects of her life that moulded her. The second aspect was exemplified by her enthusiasm for dedicating time to instructing Micmac in their native language.¹⁰⁸ Hannah encountered limited prospects as a woman in the Maritime Society of 1869.¹⁰⁹ Engaging in missionary work would allow her to utilize her energy and abilities in unattainable manners within her domestic sphere. The first Canadian women's missionary aid society was established on 18 June 1870, in Canso to address this issue.¹¹⁰ The Woman's Baptist Missionary Union of the Maritime Provinces was established in 1884, serving as a model for other faiths in Canada and beyond.¹¹¹ Norris embarked on a journey to Burma and married Reverend W.F. Armstrong afterward.¹¹²

Baptist women residing in various regions of the nation promptly emulated the Maritime model. The Woman's Baptist Foreign Missionary Society of Ontario (West) and Eastern Ontario was established in 1876.¹¹³ The Baptist women continued to exhibit the high level of energy. The Baptist community had a greater degree of age and settledness, affording them ample opportunity to engage in missionary endeavours.

The Protestant churches' women's missionary societies provided a platform for tens of thousands of Canadian women to express and utilize their abilities and talents. There was no other women's group that operated on such a large scale. Contrary to

¹⁰⁷ Fullerton et al., *Fifty Years with the United Baptist*, 89.

¹⁰⁸ Merrick, *These Impossible Women*, 15.

¹⁰⁹ Fullerton et al., *Fifty Years with the United Baptist*, 7.

¹¹⁰ Fullerton et al., *Fifty Years with the United Baptist*, 75.

¹¹¹ Fullerton et al., *Fifty Years with the United Baptist*, 75.

¹¹² Fullerton et al., *Fifty Years with the United Baptist*, 13.

¹¹³ Beach, ed., Foreign Missions Year Book, 163.

charitable and benevolent organizations, which rely on donations and the social influence of their members to raise funds, missionary societies primarily rely on the modest weekly contributions of their members and whatever additional money they can save or raise.

Factors that Led North American Women into Missions in India

Missions experienced significant expansion during the eighteenth century, extending well beyond the confines of the Western world. The Great Awakening in the American colonies from 1726 to 1760 tremendously impacted Western missions.¹¹⁴ This was followed by the Second Great Awakening, also known as the Evangelical Revival in England, which took place from 1787 to 1825.¹¹⁵ The First Awakening laid the foundation for numerous present-day missionary activities, while the Second Awakening brought the cause of missions to the forefront of American churches.¹¹⁶

Between 1860 and 1900, Protestant women in North America formed numerous autonomous missionary organizations to promote "Woman's Work for Woman."¹¹⁷ The Women's Union Missionary Society was the first of those groups.¹¹⁸ From its inception, the Protestant missionary movement involved women. However, throughout its early stages, the denominational boards only selected women married to male missionaries.¹¹⁹ Missionary women's societies fervently prayed, conducted study, laboured, saved, and selflessly gave to send women, whether married or single, to minister to the distinct needs of women and children that male missionaries could not address.¹²⁰ Those women,

¹¹⁴ Bushman, ed., The Great Awakening, xi-xii.

¹¹⁵ Bushman, ed., *The Great Awakening*, 19–22.

¹¹⁶ Bosch, Transforming Mission, 285–86.

¹¹⁷ Brouwer, New Women for God, 18–20.

¹¹⁸ Brouwer, New Women for God, 18.

¹¹⁹ Kent, Converting Women, 81–82.

¹²⁰ Brouwer, New Women for God, 15.

selected in collaboration with the denominational boards, engaged in direct missions focused on evangelism, education, and medicine.

Flexibility in the requirements for the mission field was one of the main aspects that drew many women to missionary societies. In contrast to Catholic missions, Protestant missions and voluntary groups were not governed by the church. Many women, especially those from North American society, found the mission field more advantageous and alluring because these missionary societies were free, open, responsible, and included all classes, sexes, and ages.¹²¹

During the early-nineteenth century, Western Christian women began participating more actively in mission work in India but frequently in unauthorized capacities.¹²² Before the mid-nineteenth century, most Protestant mission organizations in India believed that anyone aspiring to become a missionary should be ordained, hence limiting the inclusion of women in the missionary workforce. Women, who typically accompanied males to the field, often had to independently raise finances due to their lack of official appointments, which posed a challenge in supporting their work.¹²³ However, at the beginning of the twentieth century, more women than men were working on missionary missions, which led to an increase in evangelical focus on matters concerning women.¹²⁴

Women lost their opportunity to pursue God's call in the organized and structured male-led Church.¹²⁵ Without such limitations, some women were drawn to serving God in

¹²¹ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 334–35.

¹²² Robert, "Women in World Mission," 55–56.

¹²³ Brouwer, New Women for God, 15.

¹²⁴ Austin and Scott, eds., Canadian Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples, 11–12.

¹²⁵ Robert, "Women in World Mission," 51–52.

missions and joined organizations that emphasized the Great Commission more. Most women traveled to the mission fields as missionary wives as the Protestant mission expanded.¹²⁶ The male missionaries soon realized that it was impossible to interact with women in non-Western mission fields and were forced to view their spouses as extremely capable missionary pioneers to evangelize, translate the Bible, and implement educational and health programs for women, girls, and children.¹²⁷

One justification for a woman's presence at the mission station was, therefore, that she was needed to supply her husband with the comforts he needed to strengthen him for his work, and another was that she made it possible to present a model of Christian family life in the foreign land.¹²⁸ In nineteenth-century society, women's roles as caregivers, particularly as mothers, were valued and highlighted. The ideal lady created a sanctuary in the home for her husband and kids where they could escape the ruthless world of business and competition.¹²⁹ As a result, the Christian family became a centre of piety, and motherhood became the mother's primary responsibility. Clergypersons' wives frequently assisted their husbands in their ministry by leading Sunday school classes, making house calls to the sick, and planning events for the Church.¹³⁰ The missionary endeavour also sent a lot of clergypersons' wives abroad. Many young clergymen went to missions in southeast Europe and throughout Asia after numerous Protestant churches established their missionary organizations.¹³¹ Those ladies became famous for their efforts as devoted mothers, wives, and missionary companions outside their country.

¹²⁶ Brouwer, New Women for God, 3–6.

¹²⁷ Brouwer, New Women for God, 16–17.

¹²⁸ Hill, The World Their Household, 5–7.

¹²⁹ Hill, The World Their Household, 5–7.

¹³⁰ Brouwer, New Women for God, 66–67.

¹³¹ Frykenberg, *Christianity in India*, 7–8.

From World War One to the middle of the twentieth century, two out of every three visiting missionaries in most Protestant communities were women.¹³² Missionary work was the primary means by which women engaged in ministry during the twentieth century in North American Christianity.¹³³ Nearly every Protestant denomination had a women's missionary group that researched missions and raised money for them at the beginning of the twentieth century.¹³⁴ Mission work was the leading "woman's cause" in mainline churches before the widespread ordination of women, serving as the focal point for the organization of denominational women. Catholic missionary sisters with collection boxes were typical in Catholic churches and schools by the 1930s.¹³⁵ North America had become prominent in sending missionaries to the world, and this expansion in the early-twentieth century coincided with an increase in women missionaries in local American communities.

Patricia Hill argues that most women active in the late nineteenth-century foreign missionary movement did not warmly embrace the concurrent women's rights movement. The evidence implies that this was also true for American missionaries in India.¹³⁶ These missionaries, along with their husbands to a significant extent, were influenced by Victorian ideas of femininity and domesticity, which regarded women as "guardians" of the house and treated them as "helpmeets" to their husbands. These ideas also highlighted the value of companionate marriage, emotional closeness, and respect for one another in a husband and wife.

¹³² Robert, "The Influence of American Missionary Women," 59.

¹³³ Robert, "Women in World Missions," 51.

¹³⁴ Kent, Converting Women, 91–94.

¹³⁵ Robert, "The Influence of American Missionary Women," 59.

¹³⁶ Hill, The World Their Household, 35–38.

Lack of Acceptance for Women in Missions

Nonetheless, despite the examples set forth in the Bible and unparalleled contributions of the women missionaries which led to the growth of Christianity, it is not given enough consideration. "Mainline" churches exhibit appalling ignorance of their historic mission tradition.¹³⁷ While there were more missionaries and converts in the twentieth century, the nineteenth century had a more profound impact. Women's participation in missionary activity is now undeniable, but they encountered several challenges in the early nineteenth century.¹³⁸ On the other hand, the positions of women in missions became flashpoints for disagreement about the role of women in missions and church leadership in theologically conservative churches.¹³⁹ The need to overcome the lack of education was balanced out by intense evangelistic enthusiasm. At that time, marrying a seminary graduate or an evangelist headed overseas was the only opportunity for women with a strong sense of evangelical duty to join the overseas missionary field.¹⁴⁰ However, they were usually seen merely as missionaries' wives; merely a wife going to the mission field because she was constrained to follow her husband. In the eyes of some, they were not missionaries in their own right. Those who were single went with their parents or brothers. Most of these women were missionaries' wives rather than missionary wives.

The fundamental underappreciation of the importance of women in world missions from the early church to the present has always been prevalent in discussions concerning World Christian missions.¹⁴¹ While gender analysis in missiology was largely

¹³⁷ Kent, Converting Women, 81–82.

¹³⁸ Kent, Converting Women, 91–94.

¹³⁹ Robert, "The Influence of American Missionary Women," 59.

¹⁴⁰ Kent, Converting Women, 91–92.

¹⁴¹ Robert, "Women in World Missions," 51.

disregarded, if not actively suppressed, in the late-twentieth century, even though social scientists are quick to point out that the majority of Christians in many parts of the world are women and that women are the primary force in bringing families into the church.¹⁴² From political to theological factors, gender analysis in mission studies is often neglected.

Need of Medical Missionaries and the Role of Women

The uncompromising demeanor of medical women missionaries hinted at a new missionary ethos. These women endured a hostile environment in India—intense socio-political upheaval, several natural disasters, crop failure-related hunger, and diseases.¹⁴³ There were conflicts worldwide, and the repressive British control was a burden in India. In addition to hunger, several other illnesses, including parasites and tropical diseases, were a significant source of morbidity and mortality in India.¹⁴⁴ Leprosy bacillus was discovered in 1873, tuberculosis bacillus in 1882, cholera bacillus in 1883, diphtheria bacillus in 1884, plague bacillus in 1895, and malaria protozoan in 1897 were all discovered during this period.¹⁴⁵ India had a high infant and child mortality rate. There was an urgent need for medical attention and hygiene training.

It is impossible to generalize about the socio-political and religio-cultural circumstances of India since it is "so diverse, so complex, so exhilarating" and unresolved issues were exposed to missionaries by the realities of a caste-based Hindu

¹⁴² Robert, "Women in World Mission," 50–51.

¹⁴³ Pathak, American Missionaries and Hinduism, 180–81.

¹⁴⁴ Greenlee and Johnston, *Good Citizens*, 62–63.

¹⁴⁵ Hardiman, *Healing Bodies, Saving Souls*, 34–36, 140.

society.¹⁴⁶ The caste system naturally repulsed missionaries, many of whom were from working-class backgrounds, because they disapproved of inherited privilege in their British class structure. Most Protestant missionaries had pronounced caste prejudice an "unmitigated evil" in India by 1850.¹⁴⁷

Women's missions and medical missions should be considered conjointly as these two strands are inextricably interrelated. Medical missions are regarded as a late expansion of the nineteenth-century missionary effort. At a time when many North Americans did not embrace female doctors, the missionary career gave North American women a chance to practise medicine.¹⁴⁸ The prevalence of sex-segregated cultures in China, India, and other countries served as justification for the creation of the woman's missionary movement. In sex-segregated communities, it was unacceptable for men to approach women; hence it was important to find women to serve as preachers and doctors for non-Western women.¹⁴⁹

Female medical missionaries worked within the traditional roles of the time, such as caring for the sick, injured, and less fortunate by nursing them back to health.¹⁵⁰ However, they also expanded the traditional roles for women by having careers as nurses and doctors, travelling thousands of miles around the world, taking charge of situations, and becoming independent, competent, and self-sufficient. The duality of their roles, traditional and radical, made female medical missionaries pioneers for other generations of women to follow.¹⁵¹ Since male doctors were often prevented from visiting sick

¹⁴⁶ Pathak, American Missionaries and Hinduism, 70–71.

¹⁴⁷ Forrester, Caste and Christianity, 23–40.

¹⁴⁸ Hacker, *The Indomitable Lady Doctors*, 3–16.

¹⁴⁹ Hacker, The Indomitable Lady Doctors, 97–102.

¹⁵⁰ Hacker, *The Indomitable Lady Doctors*, 117–18.

¹⁵¹ Hacker, *The Indomitable Lady Doctors*, 117–18.

women, they emphasized that female doctors should work with them since they saw that women especially had access to sick females.¹⁵²

It was the social degradation and suffering of womanhood and the sexual abuse of little girls and boys, often based upon religious sanctions, that opened the eyes of missionaries and mission societies to use women to reach out to women who could otherwise not be reached.¹⁵³ The connection of religion with immorality is one of the worst wrongs against womanhood in India.

When the first woman doctor traveled to India as a missionary in 1869, many predicted the worst, but their fears proved baseless.¹⁵⁴ Women doctors actually became one of the easiest ways to persuade a hostile populace. Therefore, the necessity for women physicians in the mission field stimulated the expansion of medical training for women in North America.

The Social Developmental Missions

The advancement of Western civilization and the struggles for women's emancipation brought about a substantial change in the missionary community by the late nineteenth century.¹⁵⁵ It made missionary women aware of the suffering experienced by women in both Western and non-Western societies. This finally resulted in a rise in the demand for women with professional training and competence who were devoted to the cause of emancipating women in non-Western cultures. By 1910, unmarried women made up the bulk of American missionary efforts, and the Student Volunteer Movement's objectives

¹⁵² Hacker, *The Indomitable Lady Doctors*, 117–18.

¹⁵³ Robert, "Women in World Mission," 51–52.

¹⁵⁴ Hoskins, Clara A. Swain, M.D., 13.

¹⁵⁵ Kent, Converting Women, 91–93.

significantly impacted their conceptions of what it meant for women to live in non-Western societies.¹⁵⁶

Influenced by women's emancipatory ideals and similar policies adopted by missionary boards, the women serving in overseas missions believed they, as women, held an exalted position in American culture, particularly in American Protestant Christianity.¹⁵⁷ This belief was influenced by women's emancipatory goals and comparable policies supported by missionary boards. They believed that women in Asian and Middle Eastern societies were oppressed, poor, and subjected to their patriarchal traditions because of their perceived superiority. This eventually led them to want to give them a higher social status.¹⁵⁸ As a result, by the late nineteenth century, the mission's strategy for dealing with Indian women had become more focused on changing cultural norms that they saw as oppressive against Indian women.¹⁵⁹ Hence, by the 1900s, professionally-trained single women with a "social mission" to educate and uplift Indian women had supplanted mainly the missionary woman's passive role as a wife supporting her husband's missionary work.¹⁶⁰

Around this time, mission discourse frequently portrayed Indian girls and women as illiterate and less privileged.¹⁶¹ The entire civilized world was alerted to and moved by the "destitute and dismal" state of woman in the East.¹⁶² The emphasis on liberating, educating, and evangelizing the "other women" through Western values created the

¹⁵⁶ Hill, The World Their Household, 170–73.

¹⁵⁷ Chaudhuri and Strobel, eds., Western Women and Imperialism, 191-92

¹⁵⁸ Chaudhuri and Strobel, eds., Western Women and Imperialism, 191-92

¹⁵⁹ Chaudhuri and Strobel, eds., Western Women and Imperialism, 10-12.

¹⁶⁰ Chaudhuri and Strobel, eds., Western Women and Imperialism, 201–02.

¹⁶¹ Pierson, "The Spiritual Movements," 643.

¹⁶² Pierson, "The Spiritual Movements," 643.

groundwork for women's missions.¹⁶³ The Zenana missions, which were originally linked to women's missions among women from an evangelical perspective, were expanded to a broader spectrum and outfitted with professionals to give education and social services for the upliftment of Indian women based on a new modern Western perspective.¹⁶⁴ The Board of Foreign Missions' policy was reflected in missionary women's activities, which fell into four categories. They included operating schools, giving women and girls access to Western medicine, and paying Zenana visits. Women were frequently involved in public preaching despite the Presbyterian ban on it.¹⁶⁵

In contrast to the early missionary women, the single missionary women of the late nineteenth century provided the possibility for considerable social transformation in women's lives through mission schools. The mission schools provided Indian women with a way to achieve new social and economic objectives. The missionaries, who served as role models for educated women, committed themselves to strengthening the leadership of the Indian church.¹⁶⁶

Conclusion

Notwithstanding the steadfast efforts of Christian missionaries to advance the causes of women's education and the uplift of underprivileged groups, the Indians made fun of them for proselytizing.¹⁶⁷ Missionary contributions received both high praise and scathing condemnation.¹⁶⁸ The journey had not been simple. In this scenario, in order to

¹⁶³ Pierson, "The Spiritual Movements," 644.

¹⁶⁴ Kent, Converting Women, 143.

¹⁶⁵ Chaudhuri and Strobel, eds., Western Women and Imperialism, 193-94.

¹⁶⁶ Kent, Converting Women, 157.

¹⁶⁷ Firth, *Indian Church History*, 196–98.

¹⁶⁸ Dutta, British Women Missionaries in Bengal, 126–27.

achieve their goal of promoting more education among the Indian people regardless of community and religious ground they had given a share to the Indian men and women of other religions along with religious people and Indian Christians in a secularist concept from the late nineteenth century. On the other hand, a novel strategy for advancement was also produced by the reformers of India and Andhra. The visible transformation was bound to collapse in the absence of significant social reform to raise the status of women. Indians in the late-nineteenth century were fascinated with notions of strength and power because they were humiliated by their colonial status.¹⁶⁹ They required a response to the question of how to increase their power as well as an explanation for their defeat and a plan for reform if they agreed with the nineteenth-century European notion that women's status was essential to the level and strength of civilization and the European conclusion that Indian customs were detrimental to women's status.

The fundamental movement for social reform in India was started by Christian missionaries in reference to women's education and the development of Andhra Pradesh's underprivileged sections, despite hostility towards missionaries in Indian society. Even though they began their work as missionaries with the intention of proselytizing, missionaries were never allowed to treat other religious people unfairly. Instead, they worked to improve society regardless of caste, creed, sex, or race. In other words, missionaries were never allowed to violate the secularist ideology of their religion. They did, in fact, work for the advancement of women's education rather than for the government. They encouraged traditional Hindus to view Dalits as fellow humans and

¹⁶⁹ Firth, Indian Church History, 242–45.

¹⁷⁰ Firth, Indian Church History, 242–45.

human beings. Through education and excellent service, they raised social awareness among women and underprivileged communities to combat negative societal perceptions, the hierarchical caste system, and the perception that women had weaker sex.

The critics proclaimed that the evangelistic and spiritual activities of the missionaries took precedence over the professional work when they declared that their medical and educational staff members were missionaries first and professionals second. The medical staff was absorbed in administration and health care. Even though there was no indication that this might occur, the medical and educational activity was consistently promoted as leading to conversion. The missionaries' focus shifted during the first half of the twentieth century, starting with tending to the pressing needs of their patients and communities, particularly in India's villages, and by the late imperial era, starting to delegate their jobs to Indian Christian professionals.¹⁷¹

The work of medical missionaries could be seen as imitating Christ's compassion of God toward suffering humanity through their work in clinics, hospitals, and communities, preventive health, the education of maids, nurses, and doctors, and baby and maternal welfare. Even in years of uncertainty and change, these women could see needs and opportunities where their efforts and skills could make a positive difference. The missionaries adapted to the physical, emotional, social, and professional conditions of work in India, and both women missionaries and their societies adapted to India's changing needs for healthcare and educational demands in the years of decolonization before independence.

¹⁷¹ Kent, Converting Women, 119–23.

It is obvious how North American missionary women adjusted their personal and professional expectations and standards to serve and collaborate with Indians as patients, students, neighbours, and, eventually, coworkers. The missionaries laboured to understand Indian culture and to find ways to fit into the developing Indian landscape. The missionaries' religious faith sustained them and shaped their goals as healthcare and educational professionals while allowing them to adapt to their local contexts.

In this chapter, it has been shown how the North American women missionaries in India prioritized women's health and education as their main priorities. The labour done by women for other women and the community went beyond just accepting the established positions. Women were to undergo social and spiritual transformations that would equip them to become public change agents rather than just pious homemakers. As mission-run schools proliferated, more and more women were trained to teach—first in girls' schools, later in schools for both boys and girls. Educated women first filled public service positions. In addition to education, women missionaries focused on literature, the advancement of women's groups, and the welfare of women.

CHAPTER 4: MOTIVES OF CANADIAN BAPTIST WOMEN MISSIONARIES TO INDIA

The term mission originates from the Latin word mitto, "to send," and missio, "sending."¹ So, in essence, missions as understood by the missionaries was related to the act of sending. The Scriptures frequently employ the verb "to send" in various contexts and with great frequency. However, it can be understood that the entire existence of the church since its inception and the complete journey of the Christian is fundamentally based on a form of commissioning that originates from the ultimate authority and intervention of God.² The mission entrusted to the missionaries to reach out to the unreached community in other countries was understood to be established, consecrated, and commanded by God. One of the most renowned passages in the Bible addresses that objective: "For God so loved the world that he gave his one and only Son, that whoever believes in him shall not perish but have eternal life. For God did not send his Son into the world to condemn the world, but to save the world through him." (John 3:16-17) The reason for the divine act of redemption, as expressed in John 3:16, was seen to be rooted in God's decision to send his Son into the world. The objective was therefore not intended to be malevolent but benevolent, for God did not dispatch the Son to pass judgment but rather to deliver redemption. Three inter-related themes were deeply formative for missionaries: God's love (demonstrating God's love for people), reverence

¹ Ott et al., Encountering Theology of Mission, xiv.

² For instance, see Neill, A History of Christian Missions.

for God (being motivated by a desire to respect the will of God in carrying out his call and mission), and desire to bring glory to God (being motivated to see God's greatness magnified).³ With that in mind, this chapter explores how Canadian Baptist women missionaries to India understood and were motivated by such theological and biblical injunctions.

Canadian Women Missionaries and Their Motives for Missions to Andhra Pradesh This research investigates the stated motives of the Canadian Baptist Women missionaries for their mission to India. Canadian missionaries at the end of the nineteenth century were not unfamiliar with criticisms of missionaries in foreign lands. During the Boxer Rebellion in China (1900), for instance, they read of significant criticism of western missionaries in China.⁴ Hindutva activists today have been raising similar allegations that the missionaries worked to spread the imperial agenda. The allegations are presented as if the missionaries came with a Christian message, but they were also working alongside the imperial authorities to make their work of subjugating easier. This research focuses on the period 1905–1910 and analyzes the *Missionary Link* newspaper to understand the various motives those missionaries had for their mission.

New Opportunity for Missions

Canadian women were more receptive to foreign mission activity than to domestic mission work.⁵ Their calling to serve in some manner within the church exposed them to

³ See Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 58, 131, 417, 451; Ott et al., *Encountering Theology of Mission*, 61.

⁴ Heath, "When Missionaries were Hated," 262–63.

⁵ Brouwer, New Women for God, 53–54.

limitations within Canadian culture that persisted despite the widespread acceptance of religious and cultural ideals that missionary societies assumed would have a transformative impact on non-religious individuals.⁶ Addressing Canadian issues regarding a women's role in the church required the reformation of established ideals, a task that proved difficult for many Canadians to confront. When it came to missionary activities, the women were always faced with restrictions and opposition to their involvement in the home missions. The dominance of males and women being restricted to only certain activities did bring about discomfort among the women's societies, citing the need to have more opportunities to serve.⁷ The foreign missions were certainly an avenue for them to explore this freedom, and they found it better to be involved and have wider exposure. Consequently, the majority of missionary societies exhibited hesitancy in addressing home matters and instead focused on overseas opportunities. The primary objective of the Women's societies was to aid in the enlightenment and transformation of non-Christian women and girls, intending to facilitate the spread of civilization and Christianity to underdeveloped regions of the world.⁸ At that time their work mostly concentrated on missions in India.

Women were gaining significance in the church through missionary societies.⁹ In the nineteenth century, the church was very important and served as a focal point for many Canadian women. Women were no longer limited to becoming housekeepers in the church but instead had positions as minor administrators.¹⁰ They were no longer only

⁶ Brouwer, New Women for God, 13–16.

⁷ Robert, "Women in World Missions," 55–56.

⁸ Hacker, *The Indomitable Lady Doctors*, 98–101.

⁹ Hill, *The World Their Household*, 2–4.

¹⁰ Hill, *The World Their Household*, 2–4.

workers for male missionary organizations but were considered practically equal partners.¹¹ Christianity, which they believed acknowledged gender equality, would uplift non-believing women.¹² They did not feel compelled to scrutinize the ideals of their own society toward women. However, they understood their function in relation to the traditional qualities of obligation, assistance, and self-sacrifice.¹³ Their unwavering acceptance of their own lives facilitated their engagement in the lives of others, aiming to improve the spiritual and temporal conditions of non-believing women while sacrificing their own comfort. Travelling to an unknown land and being determined to live in extreme climatic conditions was more convenient because they were convinced they had a direct mandate from the Lord to propagate His Gospel. With the solace of Christianity, they were obligated to assist those who lacked it.

As noted above in the previous chapter, Alvyn Austin and his colleagues worked on the connection between Canadian missionaries and Asia, highlighting the challenges they encountered and the significant contributions they made in the areas of education and medicine.¹⁴ Moreover, it revealed that many of the missionaries had adopted a "Pro-Local" stance rather than the anticipated "Pro-Imperial" one.¹⁵ Others such as Ruth Compton Brouwer, Rosemary Gagan, and Katherine Rideout contended that a profession as an international missionary appealed greatly to ambitious, educated, and skilled single women in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.¹⁶ That career path offered them a level of independence that would have been unattainable had they stayed in Canada. For

¹¹ Hill, *The World Their Household*, 5–6.

¹² Kent, Converting Women, 9–11.

¹³ Hill, *The World Their Household*, 123–26.

¹⁴ Austin and Scott, eds., Canadian Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples, 6.

¹⁵ Austin and Scott, eds., Canadian Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples, 7–17.

¹⁶ Brouwer, New Women for God, Gagan, A Sensitive Independence, and Ridout, "A Woman of Mission," 208–44.

instance, Wendy Mitchinson notes the following about Hannah Norris's decision to go overseas for a mission trip: "For a woman such as Hannah, few opportunities existed in the Maritime society of the 1860's. Missionary work would provide her with the opportunity to use her energy and abilities in ways not possible at home."¹⁷ Mitchinson makes it evident that women missionaries like Hannah sought to go overseas on a mission as that provided them with better and larger prospects to serve God. Situations, in the late nineteenth century were not that favourable for women to have many opportunities, and in foreign countries like India, this was not the situation for Canadian women. Though traditionally India subjugated women, Canadian women were not bound by this culture.

When reading the letters of various women missionaries who travelled to India one can see similar motives in people such as Norris and a host of others. Though written for the public to read, those letters expressed their heart for the mission work. They can be read as trying to garner more support from Canada for missions in India as well as a challenge for younger girls to take up the call to consider India as their mission. But there is also an opportunity in reading those letters to get a glimpse of their motivation, or heart, for missions:

We reached Akidu, glad to be once more in our own home and in the place that God had given us in the world.¹⁸

In addition to the three young women on their way to India, five others have offered themselves to our Board, or have inquired about service in the foreign field.¹⁹

Dr. Jessie Allyn is the only medical missionary of our Women's Society at present on the field, and she has been taking charge of the work at Vuyyuru during Dr.

¹⁷ Mitchinson, "Canadian Women," 59.

¹⁸ Pearl Chute, "Medical Work – Akidu," *Missionary Link*, June 1906.

¹⁹ M. L. Angus, "Foreign Secretary's Report," *Missionary Link*, December 1908.

Hulet's absence on furlough. Her time is very much taken up with the medical work, so that she can visit in the homes of the people only occasionally, and as Miss Allyn has been such a short time in India, She is still studying Telugu.²⁰

You will be pleased to hear that twelve of our lepers were baptized a week ago Sunday, three of whom were women. One was a caste woman, who came to us apparently dying. She was one who used to cry and complain whenever I spoke to her. Now she is so happy; she has found her Lord, she says, and He is all in all to her. Bless His holy name.²¹

The above quotes make it evident that those women missionaries were very committed to their call to serve lives in India. They never considered missions in India a temporary break from their homeland but rather a dedication to serving Christ through the lives of fellow Indians. They cherished even the smallest fruit of their labour and shared those with great joy with those back home.

Recognition Not Found in Homeland²²

When examining the *Missionary Link*, it is evident that the women's primary motivation was deeply held because most gave most of their lives to service in India. Had they been fake or been in India for ulterior motives, they may not have endured the harsh climate and other challenges of the mission field. India was nowhere close to their homeland, which raised many complications for those missionaries. While the authors appear to have been prompted by various motivations, many letters express similar sentiments. Hacker, in her book *The Indomitable Lady Doctors*, describes Dr. Chute as having bouts

²⁰ M. L. Angus, "Foreign Secretary's Report," *Missionary Link*, December 1908.

²¹ S. I. Hatch, "Postcard from Miss Hatch," *Missionary Link*, February 1909.

²² The *Missionary Link* from 1905–1910 is silent about the recognition not being found in the homeland. This resulted in more desire for foreign missions because, by 1905, there was more impetus for missions outside of Canada. The secondary sources highlight that the women chose foreign missions due to a lack of recognition at home. Especially in healthcare, the prevalent male dominance created fewer avenues and recognition for women. Until 1874, women were not licensed to practice medicine in Canada, but they were recognized and instrumental in foreign missions.

of cholera, exposure to leprosy, but continued serving in India. Not only that, she also had five children who followed her into medical and missionary work.²³ Some aspiring women missionaries seemed dissatisfied with their limited chances to perform mission works in their homeland, local churches, or houses. The women of the early to mid-nineteenth century expressed a strong desire for a meaningful and purposeful life. The leaders of the Second Great Awakening summoned their followers to embrace a fervent and engaged religious belief.²⁴ A multitude of Protestant evangelical ladies received and reacted to the message. Some individuals were unsatisfied with being locally beneficial and maintaining orderly and pure houses. Instead, they aspired to contribute to establishing order and purity on a global scale.

Maina Singh asserts that the opportunity for medical missions in foreign countries like India opened an array of opportunities for women to work as medical missionaries and to manage projects independently of their brethren; this had significant implications for disrupting the gendered hierarchies in the missionary world.²⁵ This can be understand through the life of Dr. James Miranda Stuart Barry, who posed like a man for more than forty years to work as a doctor in Canada.²⁶ A male-dominated community obviously made foreign missions more desirable for every woman who desired to be a missionary. She points out that North American women had discovered a specialized area of expertise and gained new recognition. Missionary women developed a strategy to confront their exclusion from the church structure by expressing a strong desire to reach out to "heathen

²³ Hacker, *The Indomitable Lady Doctors*, 122.

²⁴ Handy, A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada, 265–67.

²⁵ Singh, Gender, Religion, and "Heathen Lands," 63.

²⁶ Hacker, *The Indomitable Lady Doctors*, 3.

sisters" from the perceived negative aspects of their culture.²⁷ Efforts to support marginalized women were thus intertwined with matters of gender, identity, independence, and authority.

Wendy Mitchinson goes on to further express that the women missionary societies for foreign missions became independent organizations so that they could operate without much interference from men and live by their own independent strength to accomplish much for God. Missionary societies enhanced this role by providing thousands of Canadian women with an outlet for their energies. Through missionary societies, they learned about the power of organization. By coming together, the women could accomplish a good deal, and by doing so, they increased their confidence in their abilities.²⁸

Judith Colwell states, "In the early nineteenth century, women in the Baptist Churches of Ontario and Quebec had a minimal place in the work of the Church and less in the society. A woman was seen and not heard except in the privacy of her own home, or at the time of her conversion when she came before the Church to testify her fitness for baptism and church membership."²⁹ This explains clearly why the women chose to travel overseas for missions; it gave them the freedom and recognition not available in their homeland. They hardly functioned at home but had great opportunities in India. Their services could bring about significant transformation in India. As Lydia Huffman states, "The missionary life also offered women an opportunity to be professionally useful."³⁰

²⁷ Singh, Gender, Religion, and "Heathen Lands," 10.

²⁸ Mitchinson, "Canadian Women," 69–71.

²⁹ Barnes, *Our Heritage Becomes Our Challenge*, 12.

³⁰ Hoyle, "Nineteenth–Century Single Women and Motivation for Mission," 58.

The commitment to missionary work may have appealed to single women, especially those who relied heavily on their vocational identity to create autonomy.

Urgency for Gospel

Young Canadian women expressed a more precise experience of being directly called to engage in missionary work. They claimed to have a more vital divine calling than any earthly court, to dedicate themselves to the Great Commission wholeheartedly, and to spread the joyful message of salvation to the ignorant non-believers dying due to their lack of understanding. They firmly believed that God, via His providence and Spirit, guided them to recognize that they must pursue the opportunity that has presented itself. They knew they had no choice but to comply with the urgency of the Gospel. The sole explanation they provided was that they were sent by providence, as without His intervention they felt would have never arrived in India. The personal and subjective aspect of the experience of divine calling poses challenges in discerning how the ladies identified this explicit guidance from a higher power. They held the belief that God had instilled innate desires within her heart for the sake of saving the heathen. They perceived divine intervention in the circumstances that coincided with inspiring her with missionary work and leading her to the field of Andhra Pradesh in India.

A poem entitled "Go Ye," penned by an unknown person and found in the *Missionary Link*, presents the heart of missionaries and the zeal they have for the Gospel. The words of this poem highlight the urgency of the Gospel and was intended to stir the hearts of readers:

There's a call from the far-off heathen land, O what can we give for the great demand? We have not wealth, like the rich man's store; We will give ourselves; we have nothing more.

We will give our feet; they shall go and go Till the heathen's story the world shall know.

We will give our hands, till their work shall turn To the gold we have not, but can earn We will give our eyes the story to read Of the heathen's sorrow, the heathen's need.

We will give our tongues the story to tell, Till Christian hearts shall with pity swell.

We have little to give, but by and by We may have a call from the voice on high—

"To bear my gospel o'er land and sea, Into all the world go ye, go ye."

Though of silver and gold we have none at all, We will give ourselves, for we hear that call.³¹

Every time a missionary from India wrote to Canada they kept pushing for more labourers.³² They quite knew the need for many more to work. The desire to see the entire land know Jesus and thereby be delivered from what they considered to be the hold of darkness was the driving force for the missionaries. Those in the field were quite aware of the urgency of spreading the Gospel while the opportunity was available. The constant epidemics and famine in India resulted in many deaths, so reaching out to the masses was essential. As for the word heathen, it was never acceptable to the Indian mind, especially to a Hindu. The Indians would generally reject such pejorative words because they were derogative. To the modern reader the missionary usage of such words is problematic, and

³¹ "Gospel in all Lands," *Missionary Link*, October 1905.

³² Helena Motley, "Vuyyuru," *Missionary Link*, November 1908. J.W. Dyches, "What Missions Mean," *Missionary Link*, March 1907. Belle, "Young People's Department," *Missionary Link*, June 1909.

a reflection of western hubris, but, at that time, that is how the missionaries tried to use biblical terms to refer to souls in foreign lands.

The missionaries held fast to the urgency of the Gospel. Their desire was to see India completely turn to Jesus. More than the desire to see India's westernization, as generally pointed out, they dreamt of India being known as a Christian land. The excerpts from a poem titled "Beacon Lights" by T. Watson point out that longing:

The Saviour will His servants lead, And give them strength in mind and limb; And make this enterprise succeed Till India be brought to Him; With Him to work He us invites, While He upholds those Beacon Lights.³³

Reaching out to the community with the Gospel was the primary goal for the missionaries. They moved every day with the urgency to present the Gospel to the masses. Every soul witnessed, and every home visited, were the factors that brought satisfaction to them. The June 1908 edition of *Missionary Link* published the fact that five men from the Leper home and one girl from Dr. Philip's Home have been baptized.³⁴ Such writings show what made for success in their enterprise. Their agenda in India was spreading the Gospel and bringing light into the lives of the masses.

In his speech during the farewell meeting, Mr. MacLaurin spoke very confidently about his and his wife's decision to dedicate their lives to missions in India. The excerpts from the note make it evident that they were confidently following what they believed was God's call on their lives:

Mr. MacLaurin, in a speech eloquent by reason of its simplicity, earnestness and directness of appeal, told of his decision to do his life's work in India. He said he

³³ T. Watson, "Beacon Lights," *Missionary Link*, January 1907.

³⁴ "Miss Hatch's Eight Report of Work Among the Lepers at Ramachandrapuram," *Missionary Link*, June 1908.

was not leaving Canada because he found no great opportunity to work here, or no worthy investment of his life to be made, but because he felt that the call had come very clearly and definitely to him to go to India. That investment of life might not, certainly would not, be the right investment for all young men, but he believed it to be the right one for him, and he was therefore "obedient unto the heavenly vision."³⁵

Both MacLaurin and his wife were not first-generation missionaries; in fact, they were born in India. Their families had been missionaries in India, and especially MacLaurin's parents, who had been missionaries in India for forty years. All this was possible because they were confident about God's call upon their lives and their dedication to serving God, and in no case would they have considered that to be an imperial commitment.

Compassion for Women and Children in India

Another key driving force behind the women's decision to travel to India was their deep concern for women's and children's welfare. They had heard reports about the social evils that persisted in India and the lack of proper medical facilities, which resulted in many women and children suffering. The missionary applicants primarily indicated a desire to be helpful, a sense of vocation, and a concern for the spiritual and physical well-being of the non-believers as their primary motivating motivations. Female missionaries intervened out of compassion for their non-Christian sisters, aiming to rescue them by providing them with primary education, to which they never had access, and instructing them in the teachings of the Gospel and promoting improved lifestyles. In 1821, William Ward, a Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) member in Serampore, actively advocated for educational initiatives in India.³⁶ He specifically addressed the issue of the marginalized

³⁵ "Notes," *Missionary Link*, November 1909.

³⁶ Firth, Indian Church History, 144–46.
status of women in the country, making a direct plea to the female population. Alexander Duff, who also advocated for promoting English language education in India, endorsed the concept of women being educated by other women.³⁷

The work among women and children in India was essential not only for the cause of education alone but also for the eradication of the persistent social evil that prevailed in the name of customs or traditions. While one may argue that the missionaries, being outsiders, were interfering with the culture of the land, those same rituals or customs were atrocious to those suffering under them. When a person from the lower caste was going through suffering and tried to raise their voice against such evil, it was suppressed, and therefore, a reform never took place. The intervention of the missionaries was indeed seen as God sent to liberate the downtrodden. The work among women and children in India was essential not only for the cause of education alone but also for the eradication of the persistent social evil that prevailed in the name of customs or traditions. The excerpt from the secretary's report published in November 1905 does present one such effort by the missionaries:

The experience of the year was in connection with a young Caste woman who had lived a life of sin in Yellamanchili for several years. She was a bright, intelligent woman and of her own accord came to the missionaries for protection and help. Having been persuaded to leave the scene of her old life and go to Cocanada, four full weeks of the missionary's time was spent in working over her and for a time good seemed to triumph, but after three months from the time she first came, she returned to her old life, This and similar cases have led to the decision that a Rescue Home for such women is essential in carrying on the work for the women of India, and the Canadian Baptist Mission are seeking to establish one as soon as the funds (which are to be gathered principally in India) are forthcoming.³⁸

³⁷ Firth, Indian Church History, 177.

³⁸ Ethel Claxton, "Corresponding Secretary's Report," *Missionary Link*, November 1905.

The above-mentioned is the case of the prevalent practice of pushing women into prostitution in the name of custom and religious practice. Those from the lower caste were the victims of such evil, and they could never come out of it. They did not have a voice against it nor would anyone ever hear about it. The missionaries tried their best to intervene in such situations.

Child marriage and its related evils were another factor that prompted the women

missionaries to intervene. They did interfere with the customs and traditions of the land,

but they would have seen their interventions as for the betterment of the oppressed and

something that the oppressed desired to happen. Letters and articles published in the

Missionary Link does present the reality around their mission field and how the Gospel

was seen to be essential to bring about a transformation:

S.---- is a bright little girl of the farmer caste. She is about nine years old and has been married two years to a little relative two her senior.

R----- is an older girl. She attended the girl's school until about ten years of age; was then given in marriage to a wealthy relative, a man older than her father, and a widower.

K.----is a little ten-year-old child-wife, the go to another's home, it is the one of vour second wife of a middle aged man.

Oh! how many sad things we see in India. God is merciful and He can yet bring the wanderers back to the Father's Home.....Think of it, dear Canadian girls! You, who are at the age of fourteen, are so happy in your home and school-life, and can look forward to many happy years in the home nest, there, if you go to another's home, it is the one of your choice, with one who loves you and whom you love. We love, most of all to give to the women and children of India the precious Gospel of Jesus, and then, though through customs and caste their lot is hard, they will have a Helper in for there is "no friend like the meek and lowly Jesus, no not one, no not one."³⁹

In one school I recently counted six little girls, all under ten, who bore the red marriage mark in the parting of their hair. One little tot was not over five, another six, two were seven or eight, the other a year or two older. The saddest thing in connection with these very early marriages is the greater liability that the little bride may become a child widow. The parents do not seem to consider this. They

³⁹ Mary R. B. Selman, "Youth Department – Letters from Miss Selman," *Missionary Link*, November 1905.

believe that a god wrote the child's fate on its forehead soon after birth, and if it is written that the girl is to become a widow, a widow she must be; nothing they can do will avert her fate.⁴⁰

The women in India, and very specifically the young girls from the lower caste who were

going through various atrocities, were never able to raise their voices against it. They

never had a voice of their own. Help was essential in such scenarios, and the Canadian

women missionaries who moved in compassion were instrumental in bringing about help

for them.

Another letter from Belle brings out the sad truth about rejections a girl child

faces from birth and female infanticides:

Nobody wants them to be born, mother thinks it is a great disgrace if her baby is a girl Many a baby is killed by the father's orders just because she is not a boy. Little girls often wear rings and bracelets before they wear clothes. They have to get married so young, and if the husband dies the little widow never has a good time. Someone told me that there are one hundred thousand widows under nine years old in India.

How good to know that our dear lady Missionaries visit these little girls of India with the good news of a Saviour who loves each of them! You have heard of the schools begun for them, and how happy they are if allowed to go.⁴¹

The painful truth of child marriages was that most often those young girls were married

off to significantly older men, and soon, those girls became widows.

Amy Carmichael has been acknowledged for her contribution to the women and

girls in India. She was instrumental in rescuing many girls from temple prostitution,

which had been prevalent in India for generations. The young girls, especially from the

oppressed classes, were the victims of this tradition, and few raised a voice against it.

Even if the women from the lower caste tried to talk about it, they were suppressed or

⁴⁰ Ella M. Butts, "Girls in the Hindu Schools," *Missionary Link*, April 1908.

⁴¹ Belle, "Little Girls of India," *Missionary Link*, January 1906.

never heard. Amy Carmichael wrote an article against the practice in the January 1906

edition of the Missionary Link, and the following is an excerpt from it:

At first the difficulties seemed insurmountable. Very few were interested in the Temple children nobody thought it possible to save them No one knew how to set about it did not know either, but step by step the way has opened before us The first encouragement was the quickened interest shown by one of our evangelist. He had been itinerating in North Tinnevelly, and when he returned I told him what the Lord Jesus had said to me. He looked very much surprised, and told me how for the first time in his life he had seen Temple women and children out in the streets at night; how it had stirred his heart; and how he and the pastor who was travelling with him had felt the shame of it, and the sin "The sight penetrated us, it pierced us,' We found as we got further and further into the work that the trade in children is very extensive, An experienced American missionary, the only missionary I have so far found who is conversant with the facts at all, told me that little infants are constantly adopted by Temple women, and that if we are to save them we must be willing to take the trouble and expense involved in mothering such tiny things. A baby, I find, costs quite twice as much as a grown up person, and is much more than twice as much trouble! But God has given our Indian fellow-workers such love and patience and pity for these little ones, that they are willing to bear the weariness of broken nights, and the constant demands upon time and strength and I think they do love these little ones "according to the love of the Lord "No other love is any use.⁴²

Amy Carmichael and other missionaries contributed to India by bringing about significant transformation to the community they served. The love of God in them moved them with compassion to work among the oppressed caste. They worked to bring about change in the lives of those who could not do anything about injustice.

Education, especially for women and those from lower castes, was never accessible in India. In India, education was always reserved primarily only for the male and those from the Higher Castes. The missionaries took this as a burden to help and empower them through education. Educating the community was also essential so that they could read the Bible for themselves. The missionary communications always

⁴² Amy Wilson Carmichael, "Rescue work among Temple Children," *Missionary Link*, January 1906.

presented the need for education, explained their efforts, and asked for prayer: "Do not forget to pray for the thousands of girls in India who have never yet been to school and who have never heard about the life of Jesus."⁴³

Allegations have often been raised against the missionaries that they had worked against the socio-religious customs and traditions in India. Even Christian scholars like Jacob Dharmaraj have raised allegations that missionary activity in India was to extend the colonial enterprise. But this writing and thinking are highly influenced by compromised religious ideologies, as he believed more in inter-faith relationships and was not in favour of a person from another faith being converted to Christianity. Following are the words of the then Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay, who, being a Hindu, does talk sensibly about customs:

It is sometimes thought that Hinduism yields very slowly to the direct assaults of missionaries and the indirect assaults of Western education. It must be admitted that many Indian gentlemen are able to endure some very bad customs in spite of their English education. An Indian gentleman, who Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay, said in an address given in 1894: "Custom is a god whom our race devoutly worships. The question now is whether with our minds liberalized by English education and contact with European civilization, we shall continue to worship custom and be its slaves, and allow our moral sentiments to remain dead, and our unjust and cruel practices to flourish. If an education does not lead us to protest against them, that education must be considered to be merely superficial."⁴⁴

The Vice-Chancellor's above words make it very clear that education was essential to opening the community's mind so that they could stand against the wrong and bring about a transformation. If education was an eye-opener, would imperial power ever promote it? Such efforts were primarily out of love for the masses to be liberated, and the missionaries strove hard to make education accessible to everyone.

⁴³ Mission Sources, "One Village School in India," *Missionary Link*, July–August 1906.

⁴⁴ John Craig, "Some Signs of Progress in India," *Missionary Link*, October 1906.

The excitement in the words of Miss McLaurin upon the completion of the school shows their devotion to the community and the dedication to God's call, not the imperial banner:

Those of us who have watched the events leading up to the opening of this school, for a year, feel like singing, 'Praise God from whom all blessings flow,' and we would ask all those who read this to pray for the teacher, that 'she may be led aright in everything, and that the parents may have confidence in her and me, and send their children, and that we may win their confidence, that we may only do His will and that God may prosper the school,' in accordance with the request of Miss McLaurin, who has struggled against so many difficulties, and whose efforts have at last been crowned with success.⁴⁵

Caste and its stigma have destroyed India. People may suffer to the verge of death but

may hesitate to help or receive help due to caste bindings. The following experience of a

medical missionary described in the Missionary Herald is revelatory:

The inconveniences that the people of India suffer through caste were brought home to me very forcibly during "my administration of affairs at the time of the plague.".... Another day I found a man and his wife lying in a shed and both unconscious. The husband died shortly after; and as the wife showed considerable strength I had her removed to our Plague Hospital, in order that she might receive suitable nursing and proper care. On her arrival it the hospital I ordered milk to be given her, but on visiting her in her ward I found the milk in a cup by her side untouched. She made signs to me on my inquiry that the people who brought the milk were not of her caste, and therefore she could not take the cup out of their hands, nor had she strength to lift the cup from the ground to her lips. I raised her head myself and put pillows behind it, and held the cup in my own hands, but she closed her eyes and gave me such a look that I saw I had to do something else. After some search I found in the hospital a woman of her caste taking care of a member of her family who was also down with the plague. I sent this woman to give her the milk, but the moment she looked in at the open door of the ward she exclaimed, "I can't touch her; she is in mourning for the dead!" and she went away. I then found this woman's little girl, and by offering to bring her a doll when I returned the next morning I induced her to hold the cup to the woman's lips so that she might drink. But I had to stand outside the door while she was drinking, as I was an outcast myself. When I returned the next morning with the doll in my pocket to fulfil my promise, the little girl was dead and buried.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ "New Caste Girls' School," *Missionary Link*, October 1906.

⁴⁶ "Caste in India," *Missionary Link*, January 1907.

A person is ready to die or put her own life at risk but will not receive help from someone outside the caste. Even the missionary who was treating her was considered an outcast. Such is the extremity of caste-ridden atrocities that was prevalent in India. The missionaries sacrificed greatly and fought against it. Such dedication would have been seen by the missionaries as not due to imperial ambitions but out of a professed love for God and love for one's neighbour.

In yet another example of motivation being primarily out of compassion for the suffering, John Craig mentions the outcome of the Annual Conference of Social Reformers held in India where the causes of the downtrodden were raised:

The annual conference of Social Reformers in India was held recently at Calcutta. The President, a judge of the Calcutta High Court, called attention to several reforms that he considered urgent. These were the fusion of the sub-castes in each community, the curtailment of the very excessive marriage expenses, the raising of the marriage age of boys and and girls, the re-marriage of child widows. There was also one on the elevation of the depressed classes of whom there are forty-five millions in India. A striking feature of this conference was the part taken by several Indian ladies in the proceedings. The resolution on female education was moved by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the Bengal poetess, who lives at Hyderabad.⁴⁷

Such a conference is evidence of the labour of the missionaries. Their constant effort was to stop the various forms of social evils prevalent in India. Christianity and the missionaries have often been the reason for social transformation in various lands. For missionaries, spreading faith was not the only objective; they saw the land's socioreligious situation and became an instrument for the masses' betterment. For such social change, they sought help from the British government and the local kings. They needed help to bring about changes, but that did not mean they promoted Imperial interests. The

⁴⁷ John Craig, "Social Reform in India," *Missionary Link*, April 1907.

excerpts from an article titled "Christianity and Woman" in the Missionary Link elucidate

this fact:

"What has Christianity or its missionaries done for Asia—for India, China, Burma, Ceylon, etc. ?" Our one word in reply has often been "Woman." In what condition were the women of the Hindus, Buddhists, Confucians, Chinese, or even of the Mohammedans, before the advent of Christian Missions? And to what is the instruction, enlightenment, freedom from many terrible burdens (in India), and uplifting of a host of them due, if not to the influence of Christianity and its teachers? But if so much has been do as to render this department of itself an answer to bitter critics, how enormous is the amount and extent of ignorance among the female portion of the population which has still to be dispelled by instruction!⁴⁸

One of the most commendable works undertaken by the women missionaries in India was

among the most oppressed and left to die masses: the lepers. Firstly, the lepers in India

were complete outcasts and unwanted, and if a woman was among them, her condition

was miserable. The missionaries served among such whom their very own had

abandoned:

Thursday, Nov. 21st, will be remembered as a red-letter day at Ramachandrapuram. It was the occasion of the opening of the Home for Women Lepers, built by Mrs. Albert Boulter, in memory of her late husband. The opening ceremony was performed by Mrs. Wellesly C. Bailey, who, with Mr. Bailey, the founder and Superintendent of the Mission to the lepers in India and the East, had come to visit and inspect Miss Hatch's leper work at Ramachandrapuram. The society of which Mr. Bailey has the general oversight, was founded by him over thirty years ago, and today has some seventy eight leper institutions under its patronage and care. Of these, sixty are in India.⁴⁹

The tenth annual report of the Leper work, in Ramachandrapuram, has just come to hand. There are now three departments of this Mission,—the Dr. Kellock Home for men; the Dr. Phillips' Home for women, and the Albert Boulter Memorial Home for the untainted children of lepers. Dr. Joshee and his wife are continuing their great ministry here, also Pastor David and his family. The first home was opened with one inmate,—in ten years' time, 474 lepers have been received. The present number of inmates is 106, of whom 98 are children. 18 have been baptized during the year. A total of 1,604 rupees has been tributed from the

⁴⁸ "Christianity and Woman," *Missionary Link*, October 1907.

⁴⁹ A. W. Woodburne, "Opening of the Boulter Memorial Home for the Women Lepers at Ramachandrapuram," *Missionary Link*, March 1908.

Mission to Lepers, from our Canadian Baptist Mission and from private contributions.⁵⁰

Similarly, medical facilities were generally denied to women and those from lower castes. The remote villages never had access to proper healthcare facilities, and people from such villages suffered. The best possibility in such cases was to start a medical facility with female physicians so that women could receive treatment. In India, it was a social stigma for a woman to be touched by a man apart from her husband. At the same time, the caste system also played a very detrimental element in the healthcare system. The March 1908 edition of *Missionary Link* describes the bold step taken by Dr. Swain in starting a hospital for women in India, in fact, the very first in Asia:

Oh, what a surprise! The missionaries could only thank God in their hearts and the prince with their lips. They went from the palace as if in a dream. But the estate worth \$15,000 was their own, and in 1873 the big house built for a Mohammedan palace, was opened for the poor sick women and children, and soon after a regular hospital was built. -Thousands have been cured there since then, and many girls have been trained to be doctors and nurses. So, you see the King of Heaven blessed the gift of the prince. Since the building of that first hospital,—the first not only in India but in all Asia,—many societies have sent lady doctors to different lands to care for women and children who are always the greatest sufferers in heathenism.⁵¹

Invitations and Requests from Missionaries in India

One of the most significant motivations for the women to take up missions in India would be that they heard or read an appeal for mission involvement. Such reports constantly discussed the larger needs of work in India, such as education for girls, social conditions of women, and healthcare. The younger generations were challenged to talk about India

⁵⁰ "Missionary News," *Missionary Link*, May 1910.

⁵¹ "The First Woman Doctor in India," *Missionary Link*, March 1908.

as a mission so that much could be accomplished for the Lord. There was always a need for more helping hands in India, and this was constantly communicated so that more would commit to serving. Many individuals had been made aware of and taken action in response to an indirect request for support for missionary work upon reading correspondence from the missionaries in India. The correspondence received from missionaries was consistently regarded as a divine summons for assistance in missionary work. Whenever the missionaries visited their home, they challenged young women from their church and mission groups, emphasizing the dire need for additional workers in India. Several women were influenced by both the direct and indirect pleas presented in missionary biographies. The stories of missionaries who sacrificed the comfort of their home and homeland to settle in a country like India and serve with great joy were always an inspiration for many. Alongside other motivations and appeals, those heroic narratives contributed to the growth and intensification of the passion for the missionary cause: "The Mission Work needs you with all your strength, time, talents and enthusiasm, the calls were never so loud and imperative as today, the needs were never so apparent or plainly set forth. Doors of golden opportunity in all lands stand widely open and bid you enter."52 On similar lines, Mrs. McLeod while addressing the delegates of the convention held in British Columbia stated the following:

Looking over the past year's work in India, I was amazed to see what the Lord had wrought and yet how few, how very few were the prayers of the people here at home and it came to me—what would it not be possible to do if the people here were more faithful in prayer for the work. We are ever ready to ask the Lord for large, beautiful blessings for ourselves, but we forget to pray for those in the heathen land, and just because we at home forget to pray for them, many stumble. We forget that the great majority of them cannot read; we forget that they are surrounded by old superstitions and monies, and so, I believe many stumble and fall because we are so low, so very slow to pray for them. Last year 531 professed

⁵² J. W. Manning, "The Christian Women of India," *Missionary Link*, March 1905.

conversion, 531 came out from idolatry and acknowledged our God as their Savior, but they don't know Him very well yet, they don't know very much about Him; they have yet to understand the fullness of His love. Pray for them, pray for them.⁵³

Every time missionaries wrote back home, they ensured that they challenged the next generation to see the mission field as an opportunity to serve God. They continually tried to inspire the young generation to take up the Great Commission seriously and to be instruments of change in a foreign land like India. Miss Hatch's⁵⁴ following words show the burden they carried for souls in India: Miss Hatch asking, "Who is to share in this new bungalow with me? Who will be my companion in this vast field? 175,000 people in over 100 villages, who will help give them the gospel? Are there none among you upon whom the Spirit of the Lord will come that you may preach good tidings unto the weak?"⁵⁵ Such writings and testimonials from India did raise many to leave their homeland and come to India. One such was Miss Lucy Jones, and the following is a short description of the advent of her missionary journey:

Miss Lucy M. Jones was born in Toronto of godly parents who early trained her in the knowledge and fear of God, and soon her young heart yielded to the wooing of the Holy Spirit and she became a devoted follower of the Lord Jesus, serving Him heartily and faithfully in whatever place or position she was in. The thought of the great world in heathen darkness and our Saviour's "Go ye," appealed strongly to her earnest nature, but home duties had a stronger claim upon her, and for years it was her joy to care for an invalid mother, during which time she was learning valuable lessons which were fitting her for increased usefulness in future life. When God called her dear mother home, she felt the door was now opened for service in the foreign field, and it was with great joy our F. M. B. appointed her our missionary to India. Her experience in teaching and in mission work at

⁵³ McLeod, "Address of Mrs. McLeod at Convention, Victoria, B.C." *Missionary Link*, October 1905.

⁵⁴ Miss Hatch has labored for 21 years in India. In her own words, she describes her work as, "a Bible visitor, a Bible teacher, a Bible-woman trainer, a seed-sower in some 70 villages on three different fields, a school supervisor and examiner, a boat-builder, a founder of two homes for lepers, and last but perhaps not least 'a mother in Israel.'"

⁵⁵ Grace B. Alexander, "The Work," *Missionary Link*, December 1907.

home eminently qualify her for service abroad and we pray that years of service may be given her in the field of her choice. 56

Testimonials of such lives are helpful to understand that these missionaries took up the task of reaching the masses of India mainly on their commitment to God and not the imperial power. They used freedom and accessibility due to their nationality and spread of the empire but certainly kept the Gospel as the prime agenda.

Commitment To Continue Against All Odd

Due to the hardships, almost every missionary experienced profound exhaustion and occasionally fell ill, sometimes severely. The workload was increasing at a rate that exceeded the capacity of the missionary personnel to meet the demands placed on them. As a result, the workers often became overwhelmed and experienced physical and mental breakdowns due to the excessive pressure.⁵⁷ They could not adapt to the climatic and the highly challenging conditions in the field in Andhra Pradesh. Despite the catastrophes and losses they endured, most of the remaining individuals chose to stay. Indeed, many individuals who suffered the most significant losses were among the most committed missionaries. They wanted to ensure that their sacrifices were not futile. Mrs. McLeod, while addressing the delegates of the convention held in British Columbia, stated the following: "A woman who has been in the work in India is never, never, satisfied with the work here at home. When a man comes back to the homeland where every man has an opportunity to hear the Gospel he cannot forget the men and women, in the heathen

⁵⁶ "Our Work Abroad," *Missionary Link*, January 1908.

⁵⁷ Helena Motley, "Corresponding Secretary's Report," *Missionary Link*, November 1910.

darkness of India, who have never heard the message once, and he goes back."⁵⁸ That statement demonstrated the commitment of these follow missionaries to their lives in India. They felt more content in India reaching out to the lives than being back in their homeland.

The harsh realities encountered by those missionaries were the extreme climate, opposite to the Canadian climate. At the same time, India during those days lacked infrastructural facilities. The motives of those missionaries were altruistic in the midst of intense hardships, as the following brief statement illustrates: "From April 1st it has not only been too hot to tour, but there has been no water in the canals. Although I have spent several hot suns on the plains, I have not experienced such excessive heat before. 'From May 20 to 31st temperature ranged from 108 to 113 every day from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. and some evenings were still 103 at 9 p.m.'"⁵⁹ The dedication of those women missionaries speaks to motives that seem to transcend merely economy or imperial goals. When considering imperial connections, the dedicated work of someone like Miss Gibson should be noted, a person who served in India continuously for twenty years without taking a vacation. Such dedication is an indication of being faithful to what they saw as God's call upon their lives:

Untiring and persevering in their efforts, Miss Gibson and Miss Beggs pursue their work in the Zenanas, teaching, singing, instructing, and sometimes, when the time seems propitious, and things are quiet, even praying with the women in their homes. Miss Gibson, who has been in this work for twenty years without a furlough, was replaced by Mrs. de Beaux, a former worker, while she took a well-earned rest of six months.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ McLeod, "Address of Mrs. McLeod at Convention, Victoria, B.C." *Missionary Link*, October 1905.

 ⁵⁹ Mary B. Selman, "Extracts of Letters from Miss Selman," *Missionary Link*, September 1906.
⁶⁰ Ethel Claxton, "Zenana Work," *Missionary Link*, November 1906.

Another striking example similar to Miss Gibson would be Miss Mary Selman. While on vacation in Canada, she inspired many about the work in India, and as she prepared to return, people asked if she really needed to go back. Her answer was engaging and thought-provoking:

"Are you really going to India again? "You have given seven years; have you not done your duty?" "You are surely not going back again?" To those I have said, "Yes, I am very thankful that the Lord permits me to go again. It is a work that pays; it satisfies. Yes, indeed I go back gladly." As the letters from India have come and tell me about the work, the Bible women, and the interest manifested by some of the heathen, I have looked forward to my return with joy, and it will be a pleasure for me to sit down once more, upon the ground, under a tree or even in a cow shed, and have before me an audience of women who know not Jesus, and tell them the old, old story of Jesus and His love.⁶¹

She was committed to serve God through the people entrusted to her, and she was ready to leave all the comforts of her homeland and return to a land she considered her own. The thought of many lives in India needing to hear the Gospel of Jesus pulled her back to missions.

In many cases, the missionary's passion for missions did not end there; it was carried on by the next generation from their family.⁶² The missionaries constantly inspired people for the work of the Gospel, and often, their very own took the work ahead. The March 1909 edition of the *Missionary Link* carried such a statement of significance: "It is a striking fact that nearly one third of the missionaries of the American Board in India and Ceylon are the children or grandchildren of missionaries who were sent out by the board two or three generations ago."⁶³ A short report in the September

⁶¹ Mary R. B. Selman, "En Route for India," *Missionary Link*, January 1910.

⁶² Muriel Carder is an example of this—her grandfather was a missionary to India. Dorothy Timpany the grand daughter of A.V. Timpany. The McLaurin's served in India for many generations. From Dr. John Scudder's lineage around twenty have served in India.

⁶³ "Unused Power and Resources," *Missionary Link*, March 1909.

1909 edition of the Missionary Link introduces Rev. J. W. Scudder from Arcot Mission,

who retired after fifty-four years of mission work in India: "Rev. J. W. Scudder, D.D., of

the Arcot Mission, has retired after fifty-four years in India. He is a son of Dr. John

Scudder, the first American medical missionary, of whose children and grandchildren

twenty-two have served as foreign missionaries, twenty of them in India."64 This hardly

seems like a commitment to the imperial power, but rather the zeal to serve God among

the people of India. Another example is that of a young couple, again both children of

missionaries serving in India for many years, deciding to return to India to serve:

Rev John Bates MacLaurin, B.A., B. Th., is the only son of our pioneer missionary from Canada, Rev. John Mac Laurin, D.D., who has spent almost 40 years in India. Mr. MacLaurin was born in India and lived there till he was 12 years of age. After coming here, he took his preparatory course at Woodstock College, his Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Theology Course at McMaster University, graduating with the degree in 1908. He has been for two years the most efficient and popular minister of Dufferin St. Baptist Church. Toronto, and resigned this pastorate to go to India. Mr. MacLaurin is strong physically and mentally and is unusually well fitted in every way to return to the land of his birth to carry on the work of his father and mother, now in Canada, and of his sister, in Vuyyuru, India.

Mrs. MacLaurin, formerly Miss Mary Elizabeth Stillwell, has also been reared in a missionary atmosphere. Her father, Rev. J. R. Stillwell, is now our missionary In Ramachandrapuram, India, and her uncle, Rev. H. E. Stillwell, is stationed in Samulcotta. Mrs. MacLaurin was born in India and came to Canada to pursue her education, entered Moulton College in 1904 and graduated in 1908 in the English course. Mrs. MacLaurin is, like her husband, well-fitted to take her place in India, both by her familiarity with the life there and her subsequent training in the homeland.⁶⁵

Canadian Women Missionaries and the Imperial Connections

Like their coreligionists in Britain and elsewhere in the empire, Canadian Baptists

recognized the obvious link between the spread of the British Empire and missions. Their

⁶⁴ Missionary Link, September 1909.

⁶⁵ "Our New Missionaries," *Missionary Link*, October 1909.

rhetoric often supported the empire, and even endorsed various conflicts that were seen to advance the possibility of missions.⁶⁶ However, as some comments in the *Link and Visitor* indicate, their support was qualified by the expectation that the empire would be a force for good, a conviction rooted in the conviction that God had providentially raised it up for that very purpose. What is noteworthy for this research is how little the missionaries spoke of empire, and, when they spoke of it, their stated motives for overseas work were clearly more inspired by Gospel concerns than imperial glory. The ministry of Canadian missionaries in India clearly intersected with the imperial authorities, for the local government was backed by and often directly under the rule of the British. However, in the letters and articles during the period of focus for this research, there is little reference to imperial power or statements of appreciation for it. There were only a few instances when there was a direct reference to the British Government in India, and not every mention was positive about British rule. The following is an example of such critical commentary:

The official opposition to missionary labor is ended, but the British policy is still to protect equally all religions however immoral, and the indifference of the English Government towards its own religion causes the Hindu to have a contempt for Christianity. But notwithstanding all this, British rule in India has helped wonderfully to transform the country, schools, hospitals, and railroads mark the advance of British civilization which to a certain extent. While many nations were invading India in their greed for land and riches, another invasion was going on, destined to be more lasting and far-reaching than even British power. These invaders came under the banner of Christ and their invasion was an invasion of love.⁶⁷

The above excerpt shows that they did not wholly agree with the imperial stance. They

had objections to the imperial power, especially in areas of religion and other related

⁶⁶ Heath, *A War with a Silver Lining*, 119–22; Heath, "The Nile Expedition, New Imperialism and Canadian Baptists," 175–78.

⁶⁷ E. M. C Barss, "The History and Religions of India," *Missionary Link*, February 1905.

matters. This article talks about India's past invasions and the motives behind them but then progresses to present missionaries as invaders, but not greedy invaders but those coming with the love of Jesus.

Another excerpt is from an article by Lord Curzon, the then Viceroy of India. The article was originally published in the *Presbyterian Record* and reproduced in the March 1906 edition of Missionary Link: "Particularly must I mention the noble efforts of the missionary agencies of various Christian denominations. If ever there was an occasion in which it was open to them to vindicate it highest standards of their beneficent calling, it was here; and strenuously and faithfully have they performed the task."⁶⁸ Lord Curzon was appreciating the missionaries for their commitment and dedication to working in India during the severe famine. Instead of returning to their home country, the missionaries chose to stay and continue serving the community. The missionaries took it as a mandate to raise native Christian leadership. If they were in India only to propagate imperial intentions, then they would never proceed to raise native leadership. Their agenda would always be to keep the reins in their hands, but, on the contrary, they worked towards uplifting the natives from India. When Rev. Brown presented the statistics of the work being done in India during the Woman's Baptist Foreign Missionary Society convention, he mentioned Native Christian workers:

Rev. J. G. Brown presented to the convention some of the results of the missionary efforts in India, the staff of over 3,000 missionaries, mission buildings to a value of \$10,000,000, the Bible in the language of 240 out of the 300 millions, educational institutions with 500,000 of the young life of India in Christian training; 20,000 native Christian workers; about 3,000,000 native Christians.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Lord Curzon, "Missionaries in Famine Time," *Missionary Link*, March 1906.

⁶⁹ Gertrude E. Dayfoot, "Convention of the Woman's Baptist Foreign Missionary Society of Ontario (West)," *Missionary Link*, December 1906.

The July–August 1909 edition of the Missionary Link provides brief data about the

mission work happening among the Telugu-speaking community. That data provides an

overall description of the work, highlighting, among other things, the presence of native

co-workers. The Canadian missionaries sought to train the Indian people to be more

effective in reaching the masses and carrying the work forward. Solidarity was

maintained to make the work of the Gospel more effective:

Among these million and a half of people we have 12 Mission Stations, 161 outstations, 18 Mission houses, (including the Timpany Memorial bungalow and High School), 5 hospitals and 1 industrial plant. The total value of Mission property is now about \$90,000.

Our missionary staff, consists of 14 ordained missionaries, 12 wives of missionaries and 17 single ladies. Of the missionaries, 5 are physicians. The native staff consists of 6 ordained and 34 unordained native preachers, 54 evangelists and 11 medical assistants grand total of 43 European and 313 native workers.

There are 47 native churches, 6000 members, about 10,000 adherents, 260 meeting places, 98 church buildings and 51 parsonages. Added to these churches in 1906 by baptism 568, by restoration 88.

There are 110 day school, taught by 134 teachers, with an enrollment of 2,663 scholars, with an average attendance of about 1,600. There are 8 boarding school with 177 boys and 145 girls, a theological seminary..... There are in the Mission 273 Sunday, 371 teachers and about 6,000 scholar.⁷⁰

The period of this research 1905-1910 saw various unrest and uprising against

British imperial rule. Many people of India were unhappy with the British Government

and wanted the British to leave. The high caste and Hindu spiritual heads, too, found this

as an impetus to raise their voices against the foreigners because they were the

instruments behind the social transformation. The secretary's report found in the

⁷⁰ "Our Mission Fields, India," *Missionary Link*, July–August 1909.

November edition of *Missionary Link* contains a small portion highlighting missionary reaction to such an uprising in India:

Referring to the political unrest in India, reports of which have rather alarmingly appeared in the newspapers, Miss Murray writes that beyond having the slogan, "*Vande Mataram*" or "Hail Motherland," shouted at her, she has detected no unfriendly feeling towards her in Yellamanchili, but she writes, "there is no denying the fact that there exists today in the hearts of many an antipathy for the white race and anything connected with them. Miss McLaurin assures us that there is no need for anxiety, "We see nothing of it," she writes, "in our part of the country, and in Cocanada where there was a disturbance, things have quieted down." "India," writes Mr. Chute, still remains fairly secure in the hands of the British race, in spite of all the unrest of the disgruntled classes."⁷¹

The above passage from *Missionary Link* shows that the missionaries were worried about the revolt in India as the people, in general, were against British rule. The masses generally considered every westerner to be part of the British Government, so the fear that doors for evangelism would be closed was the primary concern for every missionary. Even the quote by Mr. Chute is an expression of freedom for evangelism. Nowhere had the missionaries spoken against the people of India or desired to see them under the slavery of imperial dominance. On the contrary, they strove to uplift the masses of India. Another excerpt from the *Missionary Link* highlights the unrest in India, and it can be seen in the commentary that there was a recognition of the complexity of the political situation and its impact on the work of missions: "The spirit of unrest and discontent with British rule in India is said to be both a Hindrance and a help to Mission work. It is easy to see how it might be a hindrance. On the other hand, the native Christians seem to be developing a spirit of enterprise which leads to self-support and self-extension, and must lead to a much stronger native church."⁷² The protest against the British reign did

⁷¹ Ethel Claxton Ayer, "Corresponding Secretary's Report," *Missionary Link*, November 1907.

⁷² "Missionary News," Missionary Link, February 1910.

eventually impact the missionary activities in India, as the Canadian missionaries, along with the British, ultimately had to leave India. The Canadian missionaries were upset about these protests in India, and that was primarily because their work would be impacted adversely. But they were also positive about the manner in which the Indian church and native leadership were developing. They were confident that the indigenous church would continue growing and that the leadership was self-sufficient to support the work.

Canadian Baptist women missionaries, especially from 1905–1910, rarely publicly discussed imperial and local politics. That was most likely a prudent act to avoid any political consequences for straying into contentious subjects. They expressed their discomfort about the changes in the educational system as the British government was trying its best to keep biblical content away from the education system and also bringing in policies favouring the demands of Hindus who were opposing missionary work. The government had a neutral stand so that its business in India might not be affected. The government never favoured the missionaries as the British were not in India for the gospel but for trade and expansion of British rule. The missionaries were primarily for evangelism and kept themselves away from politics. The missionaries were upset that the British government, though Christians themselves, did not support evangelism.⁷³ The missionaries expected to find more favour for mission activities from the government, but, in reality, the government was more interested in trade, so it never wanted religious activities to be a hindrance. There were instances when Indian people appreciated the

⁷³ "Extract of a Letter from Dr. Hulet," *Missionary Link*, June 1907.

missionaries even more than the government, and this can be seen in small villages where the missionaries contributed significantly to their welfare.⁷⁴

The imperial government did much damage to the Indian impression of Christians, for its abuses led to a negative impression about Christians. The Indian population was aware that the imperial authorities professed to be Christians, but they mistreated the Indians and, indeed, were not good examples of Christianity. The missionaries were doing much possible good for the ordinary person in India, whereas the imperial authorities often committed grievous crimes for selfish gains. That negative conduct did impact the outlook of Indians towards Christians in general. Missionaries certainly made mistakes, but the good they did leads one to be careful about generalizations. The missionaries served the women and children with genuine and wellmeaning intentions, and, it can be argued, in a culture where education and choice of life were inaccessible to women, the missionaries contributed much to bringing about positive social transformation.

James Taneti's comments on cooperation with imperial and local authorities is pertinent at this point. In his article "Canadian Baptist Missionaries and the British Raj" he describes the political situations that worked in favour of the missionaries. The local kings of Andhra Pradesh did not support classical Hinduism and Brahminical domination, which worked in favour of the missionaries.⁷⁵ The caste system was already a prevalent evil in the land, and the low castes who were suffering under it found the missionaries bringing a message of equality. The missionaries and the local kings worked together for

⁷⁴ H. F. LaFlamme, "Notes on Indian Letters," *Missionary Link*, September 1907. Edith Gurley, "Awakening among caste people," *Missionary Link*, May 1909.

⁷⁵ Taneti, "Canadian Baptist Missionaries," 423.

social change. The revolutionary values of Christianity and the missionaries' social reform initiatives were acceptable to the local kings, as these posed no risk for their thrones.⁷⁶ The missionaries needed support to work in Andhra Pradesh and took it from the local kings.⁷⁷ The imperial power was often not interested in ordinary people or their transformation. They were more focused on establishing their rule and establishing their trade. However, the missionaries were focused on the low castes and did everything possible to help them through education and healthcare. The imperial power was rarely focused on for the betterment of those belonging to India, but the missionaries tried hard to reach the community with the love of Jesus and serve humanity. And what that meant was that, at times, as Taneti notes, at times, missionaries needed to work in some sort of relationship with local and imperial rulers to accomplish their aims.

Conclusion

Examining Canadian public statements about their motives deepens our comprehension of the missionary activities conducted abroad. Critics of missionaries have posited that they were either colluding with the imperialists or acting as cultural imperialists, with the most extreme intention of eradicating non-Western cultures. The women missionaries worked hard to learn the Indian languages, especially Telugu and Odia, formerly primarily known as Oriya. They themselves communicated with the locals in local languages. They were not against Indian culture *per se* but against the prevalent social evils. Most mission researchers argue that the primary impetus for the missionaries' actions was to fulfil what they saw as their religious duty to serve God. In the case of

⁷⁶ Taneti, "Canadian Baptist Missionaries," 424.

⁷⁷ Taneti, "Canadian Baptist Missionaries," 432.

women missionaries, their aim was often to move out of their comfort zone and be instrumental in reaching the Indian people with the Gospel of Jesus Christ. This study demonstrates that the Canadian women missionaries were primarily motivated by a strong desire to reach the women and children of their mission field. The level of motivation shared by missionaries before this period of research or other mission agencies is uncertain, although it seems plausible that many of them were similarly driven. Additional investigation is required regarding this issue. Almost all Canadian women who served as missionaries to the Telugu-speaking community perceived their work as a divinely predetermined act, whether through a personal sense of calling, an acknowledgment of God's universal call, or a belief in a providential arrangement of circumstances. This comprehension enabled them to delay or abandon their plans,⁷⁸ travel perilously to India, and confront a significantly challenging life. This perspective enabled women to perceive themselves as being responsible to a higher authority, which liberated them from the limitations that typically restricted their life as evangelical women in the twentieth century.

⁷⁸ McLaurin, *Healing Hands*, 9.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

Religious extremist groups and fervent nationalists in India have often condemned the missionary effort in the country, alleging that the missionaries have entered the nation through their colonial affiliations in order to advance imperialistic goals.¹ The accusation is that the missionaries dismantled the nation by introducing divisive groups. Presently, missionaries encounter verbal and physical mistreatment, primarily due to their symbolic significance.² Despite the lack of universal appreciation or praise, Christian missionary endeavours in India have undeniably brought significant advantages to the country. Secular authors and historians have written from their viewpoint to promote their political goals. Christian authors have primarily focused on evangelism and other spiritual activities in their work, neglecting to explain the causes that motivated these women missionaries to travel to India. This research has focused on the motives of the Canadian Baptist Women missionaries for their missions to India. Canadian Baptist Women missionaries were primarily involved in missions in India as educators and medical professionals, training Bible Women and various other mission activities, which indeed required the expertise of a woman.³ This research explored and ascertained the motives of women who sacrificed so much to carry out their missionary calls in the distant land of India.

¹ Paranjape, *Making India*, 30.

² Gagan, "Gender, Work, and Zeal," 225.

³ Kent, Converting Women, 91–94.

Critics of missionaries have portrayed them as either seeking to serve the interests of the empire or aiming to radically transform the cultures of the countries they operate in, such as India in the case of this study. Many assert that the missionaries had the explicit intention of eradicating the civilizations of India. Contrary to popular belief, most researchers of mission work recognize that missionaries aimed to "civilize" converts, but their primary focus was on "Christianizing" them. The missionaries gave greater importance to the Bible than the flag. Upon investigation, it becomes apparent that these Canadian Baptist Women missionaries were driven by their altruistic inclinations. Feminist scholars argue that unmarried women opted for missionary work to pursue career progression. And while that may be the case for some, at the same time that career progression was fused to altruistic missionary motives.

Canadian women missionaries have actively engaged in the mission cause, establishing a distinct identity and redefining their responsibilities. This has had a transformative impact on Canadian society and its attitudes towards women. This also encompassed their function within the church. Missionaries were driven by their conviction that God cherished every person and that Christ had sacrificed himself for the transgressions of each individual. The efforts of Canadian Baptist women missionaries in India exemplify a captivating convergence of religious devotion, gender dynamics, and intercultural interaction that has the potential to pique the curiosity of scholars and historians. Their mission work, dating back to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, illuminates the religious and humanitarian motivations that compelled women to travel great distances and emphasize the challenges of adapting to a foreign society while endeavouring to create a significant influence. The analysis of Canadian Baptist women missionaries in India enhances our comprehension of missionary history and provides valuable perspectives on the motivations and difficulties involved in crosscultural missions.

The obstacles Canadian Baptist women missionaries encountered, including societal impediments and logistical challenges in the field, have been examined. The missionaries put great effort into successfully surmounting all obstacles to persist in their mission. The empire did not intervene to resolve these concerns on their behalf; instead, they independently strived to fulfil the purpose assigned to them. Moreover, evaluating the impact and lasting influence of their missions offers a helpful perspective on how their endeavours have had lasting impressions on Canadian Baptist missions and the communities they served in India.

During the early twentieth century, Canadian Baptist women missionaries in India were primarily driven by their religious beliefs and a profound feeling of responsibility to spread their faith. The missionaries believed that God loved every individual and that Christ's death was for the sins of each person. This conviction motivated them to propagate this message throughout India fervently. This dedication persisted while overcoming significant adversities. While facing criticism and even persecution from Hindu fanatics, the missionaries and converted tribal Christians experienced violence and destruction but remained unwavering in their belief. The efforts of Canadian Baptist women missionaries in India were driven by both evangelism and social development, demonstrating a complicated interplay between religious responsibility and a sincere desire to enhance the lives of the local population. The missionaries encountered substantial cultural opposition, primarily from wellestablished societal conventions and religious rituals that diverged significantly from their own. The difficulties were intensified by the requirement to traverse diverse cultural environments with sensitivity and efficiency, aiming to honour local customs while advancing profound social transformation. The creation of educational institutions such as a high school, teacher training college, and vocational training institutes, as well as facilities like hostels for boys and girls, hospitals, leprosy homes, and a Baptist seminary, has played a vital role in the increase of the Christian population among the Telugus. These institutions facilitated the access of missionaries to the community and nurtured a new cohort of indigenous leaders, promoting sustainable community development. The diverse and extensive endeavours of Canadian Baptist women missionaries in India underscore their profound and varied influence, leaving behind a lasting legacy that continues to shape and motivate present and future generations.

During this period, missionaries, including evangelists, educators, physicians, nurses, and others, with or without their families, arrived in Coastal Andhra Pradesh. They worked diligently in unfamiliar territories to promote the glory of God's kingdom, enduring challenging weather conditions, health issues, lack of comfort, and language barriers. Additionally, they invested significant amounts of money. A major development during this period was the creation of twenty–two missionary sites, spanning the entire coast of the Bay of Bengal from Krishna District in the South to the north. Additionally, several institutions were established, including schools, hospitals, theological organizations, and industrial organizations.

Upon contemplation of the diverse range of stories and efforts described within this thesis, the expedition of Canadian Baptist women missionaries in India stands out as a profound combination of desire fuelled by faith and a steadfast dedication to serving others. These women have shed light on the route of cross-cultural understanding and left a lasting impact on healthcare, education, and community development through their historical background, motives, and the problems they encountered. Their narrative enhances our comprehension of missionary history and serves as a source of inspiration, showcasing the influence of strong beliefs and the capacity for significant transformation beyond national boundaries. The importance of their work goes beyond the period they lived in, providing an enduring understanding of the processes of cultural interaction, the core of devoted philanthropy, and the ability to withstand challenges. When we examine the broader significance of their mission, it becomes evident that their contributions have made a lasting impact on the communities they helped and the fundamental nature of cross-cultural missionary efforts. This investigation into their lives invites additional study and contemplation on the far-reaching impact of their missions, urging us to perceive their previous accomplishments as a guiding light for future endeavours, including cultural exchange and humanitarian efforts.

Although there is a debate about whether the Christian mission is an extension of imperial expansion, it is not accurate to make a sweeping generalization. It is important to differentiate between the goals and purposes of colonial expansion and Christian missions. The fact that they happened simultaneously in history does not necessarily mean their objectives were identical.⁴ The Canadian Baptist Women missionaries may

⁴ Boel, *Christian Mission in India*, 2.

have regarded British rule in India as a manifestation of divine providence, potentially facilitating their access to the country. However, it is not possible to definitively establish such a judgment as their sole or even primary concern. The missionaries also had individual motivations driving their missionary activities. These objectives were unrelated to British rule or imperial philosophies.

The Canadian Missionaries were affiliated with the imperial power, which is obvious because of Canada's relationship within the empire. However, when we read their letters and articles, especially from 1905 to 1910, the period of focus for this research, we rarely see much reference to the imperial power or any appreciation for it. They had objections to the imperial power, especially in areas of religion and other related matters. The missionaries took it as a mandate to raise native Christian leadership. If they were here only to propagate imperial intentions, then they would never proceed to raise native leadership. This study demonstrates that the Canadian women missionaries were primarily motivated by a strong desire to reach the women and children of their mission field. The level of motivation shared by missionaries before this period of research or other mission agencies is uncertain, although it seems plausible that many of them were similarly driven. Additional investigation is required regarding this issue. Almost all Canadian women who served as missionaries to the Telugu-speaking community perceived their work as a divinely predetermined act, whether through a personal sense of calling, an acknowledgment of God's universal call, or a belief in a providential arrangement of circumstances.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anderson, Gerald H. "American Protestants in Pursuit of Mission: 1886–1986." International Bulletin of Missionary Research 12 (1988) 98.
- Austin, Alvyn, and Jamie S. Scott, eds. *Canadian Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples: Representing Religion at Home and Abroad*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005.
- Barnes, Esther J. Our Heritage Becomes our Challenge: A Scrapbook History of the Baptist Women's Movement in Ontario and Quebec. Etobicoke: Canadian Baptist Women of Ontario and Quebec, 2013.
- Bauman, Chad M. "Redeeming Indian 'Christian' Womanhood? Missionaries, Dalits, and Agency in Colonial India." *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 24 (2008) 5– 27, DOI: 10.2979/FSR.2008.24.2.5.
- Beach, Roderick, ed. *Foreign Missions Year Book of North America 1920*. New York: Foreign Missions Conference of North America, 1920.
- Beazley, C. Raymond. "Medieval Trade and Trade Routes." *The Geographical Teacher* 2 (1903) 114–21.
- Bellenoit, Hayden J. A. *Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India, 1860–1920.* London: Pickering & Chatto, 2007.
- Bhattacharya, Sudip. Unseen Enemy: The English, Disease, and Medicine in Colonial Bengal, 1617–1847. Newcastle, England: Cambridge Scholars, 2014.
- Boel, J. Christian Mission in India: A Sociological Analysis. Amsterdam: Graduate, 1975.
- Bosch, David Jacobus. Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1991.
- Brouwer, Ruth Compton. New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876–1914. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.
- Bushman, Richard L., ed. The Great Awakening: Documents on the Revival of Religion, 1740–1745. Documentary Problems in Early American History. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

- Carson, Penelope. *The East India Company and Religion, 1698–1858.* New York: Boydell, 2012.
- Chatterton, Eyre. A History of the Church of England in India: Since the Early Days of the East India Company. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1924.
- Chattopadhyay, Kanai Lal. "Address of the Sectional President: 19th Century Social Reform Movement in India: A Critical Appraisal." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 57 (1996) 415–39.
- Chaudhuri, Nupur, and Margaret Strobel, eds. *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998.
- Christiaens, Kim, et al., eds. *Missionary Education: Historical Approaches and Global Perspectives.* Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2021.
- Copland, Ian. "Christianity as an Arm of Empire: The Ambiguous Case of India under the Company, C. 1813–1858." *The Historical Journal* 49 (2006) 1025–54.
- Cox, Jeffrey. The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700. London: Routledge, 2008.
- Craig, John. Forty Years among the Telugus: A History of the Mission of the Baptist of Ontario and Quebec, Canada to the Telugus, South India 1867–1907. No publisher, 1908.
- Dalrymple, William. *White Mughals: Love and Betrayal in Eighteenth–Century India*. New York: Penguin, 2014.
- Daniel, Orville E. Moving with the Times: The Story of Baptist Outreach from Canada into Asia, South America, and Africa, during One Hundred Years, 1874–1974, since the Canadian Baptist Mission Was Founded in India. Toronto: Canadian Baptist Overseas Mission Board, 1973.
- Daughrity, Dyron B., and Jesudas Mathew Athyal. Understanding World Christianity: India. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2016.
- Downie, David. The Lone Star, the History of the Telugu Mission of the American Baptist Missionary Union. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1893.
- Durga, Prasad. History of Andhras upto 1565 AD. Guntur: P. G., 1988.
- Dutta, Sutapa. British Women Missionaries in Bengal, 1793–1861. London: Anthem, 2017.
- Etherington, Norman, ed. Missions and Empire. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Firth, C. B. *An Introduction to Indian Church History*. Madras: The Christian Literature Society, 1961.

- Forbes, Geraldine Hancock. *Women in Modern India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Forrester, Duncan B. Caste and Christianity: Attitudes and Policies on Caste of Anglo-Saxon Protestant Missions in India. London: Routledge, 2017.
- Frykenberg, Robert Eric. Christianity in India: From Beginnings to the Present. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Fullerton, Clara R., et al. *Fifty Years with the United Baptist Missionary Women of the Maritime Provinces.* Wolfville: United Baptist Women's Missionary Union, 1920.
- Gagan, Rosemary. A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881–1925. Montreal: McGill–Queen's University Press, 1992.
- ———. "Gender, Work, and Zeal: Women Missionaries in Canada and Abroad." Labour/Le Travail (2004) 223–47.
- Gopal, B. R. History of Andhra Pradesh. 2 vols. Mysore: Maithili, 1987.
- Grafe, Hugald. *History of Christianity in India: Tamilnadu in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.* 5 vols. Bangalore: Church History Association of India, 1990.
- Greenlee, James G., and Charles Murray Johnston. *Good Citizens: British Missionaries and Imperial States, 1870–1918.* Montreal: McGill–Queen's University Press, 1999.
- Hacker, Carlotta. The Indomitable Lady Doctors. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1974.
- Handy, Robert T. A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada. London: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- Haq, Rana, et al. "Diversity in India: Addressing Caste, Disability and Gender." *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion* 39 (2020) 585–96, DOI: 10.1108/EDI-04-2020-0095.
- Hardiman, David. *Healing Bodies, Saving Souls: Medical Missions in Asia and Africa.* Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006.
- Heath, Gordon L. "The Nile Expedition, New Imperialism and Canadian Baptists, 1884–1885," In *Baptists and War: Essays on Baptists and Military Conflict, 1640s–1990s*, edited by Michael Haykin and Gordon L. Heath, 98–114. Oregon, OR: Pickwick, 2015.

—. A War with a Silver Lining: Canadian Protestant Churches and the South African War, 1899–1902. Montreal: McGill–Queen's University Press, 2009.

—. "When Missionaries Were Hated: An Examination of the Canadian Baptist Defense of Imperialism and Missions during the Boxer Rebellion, 1900," In *Baptists and Mission*, edited by Ian M. Randall and Anthony R. Cross, 261–76. Milton Keynes, UK: Paternoster, 2007.

- Heitzman, James, et al., eds. India: A Country Study. Washington: GPO, 1996.
- Hill, Patricia Ruth. The World Their Household: The American Woman's Foreign Mission Movement and Cultural Transformation, 1870–1920. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1985.
- Hoskins, Robert. Clara A. Swain, M.D. Methodist Episcopal Church. Boston: Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, 1912.
- Hoyle, Lydia Huffman. "Nineteenth-Century Single Women and Motivation for Mission: International Bulletin of Missionary Research." *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 20 (1996) 58–64.
- Huizinga, Henry. Missionary Education in India. Cuttack: Orissa Mission, 1909.
- Jha, Raghbendra. Facets of India's Economy and Her Society. Volume I: Recent Economic and Social History and Political Economy. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.
- Koutha, Nirmala Kumari. *History of the Hindu Religious Endowments in Andhra Pradesh 1800–1953 AD*. Madras: University of Madras, 1985.
- Kadam, Umesh Ashokrao, and Umesh Ashokarao Kadam. "The French in India: A Review (1761-1790)." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 64 (2003) 667–76.
- Kalapura, Jose. "India Inscribed: Development of Printing Technology in India, 16–18th Centuries." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 68 (2007) 436–63.
- Kaul, Vijay Kumar. "India's Diversity." *World Affairs: The Journal of International Issues* 19 (2015) 10–43.
- Kent, Eliza F. Converting Women: Gender and Protestant Christianity in Colonial South India. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Klijn, Albertus Frederik Johannes. *The Acts of Thomas: Introduction, Text and Commentary*. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Kooiman, Dick. Conversion and Social Equality in India: The London Missionary Society in South Travancore in the 19th Century. Amsterdam: Free University Press, 1989.

- Koshy, Moolamannil Oommen. *The Dutch Power in Kerala*, (1729–1758). New Delhi: Mittal, 1989.
- Kulke, Hermann, and Dietmar Rothermund. *A History of India*. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Markovits, Claude. *India and the World: A History of Connections, c. 1750–2000.* Cambridge University Press, 2021, DOI: 10.1017/9781316899847.
- Masih, Jonathan. Contribution of Missionaries towards Education in India. Delhi: ISPCK, 2015.
- Mayhew, Arthur. Christianity in India. Delhi: Gian, 1988.
- McLaurin, J. B. *Healing Hands: Dr. Jessie M. Allyn of Pithapuram, South India.* The Centenary Committee of the Canadian Churches, 1940.
- Mehrotra, S. R. *India and the Commonwealth 1885-1929*. London: Routledge, 2021, DOI: 10.4324/9781003243830.
- Merrick, E. C. These Impossible Women. Brunswick: Brunswick, 1970.
- Mitchinson, Wendy. "Canadian Women and Church Missionary Societies in the Nineteenth Century: A Step Towards Independence." *Atlantis: Critical Studies in Gender, Culture & Social Justice* 2 (1977) 57–75.
- Moffett, Samuel H. *A History of Christianity in Asia*. San Francisco: Harper SanFrancisco, 1992.
- Mundadan, A. Mathias. *History of Christianity in India: From the Beginning up to the Middle of the Sixteenth Century.* 5 vols. Bangalore: Church History Association of India, 2001.
 - ———. *Indian Christians: Search for Identity and Struggle for Autonomy*. Bangalore: Dharmaram, 1984.
- Nalini, Marthal. "Gender Dynamics of Missionary Work in India and Its Impact on Women's Education: Isabella Thoburn (1840–1901) - A Case Study." *Journal of International Women Studies* 7 (2006) 266–89.
- Nehru, Jawaharlal. The Discovery of India. New Delhi: Penguin, 2004.
- Neill, Stephen. A History of Christian Missions. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984.
 - ———. History of Christianity in India 1707–1858. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- O'Connor, June. "Rereading, Reconceiving and Reconstructing Traditions: Feminist Research in Religion." *Women's Studies* 17 (1989) 101, DOI: 10.1080/00497878.1989.9978796.

- Oddie, Geoffrey A. Social Protest in India: British Protestant Missionaries and Social Reforms, 1850–1900. New Delhi: South Asia Books, 1978.
- Ott, Craig, et al. Encountering Theology of Mission: Biblical Foundations, Historical Developments, and Contemporary Issues. Encountering Mission. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2010.
- Paranjape, Makarand. Making India: Colonialism, National Culture, and the Afterlife of Indian English Authority. Sophia Studies in Cross-Cultural Philosophy of Traditions and Cultures 2. New York: Springer, 2013.
- Parthasarathy, R. Andhra Culture: A Petal in Indian Lotus. Hyderabad: State Gazetteer Department, 1984.
- Pathak, Sushil Madhava. American Missionaries and Hinduism. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1967.
- Pinto, Ambrose. "Hindutva vs Ambedkarism: Views on Conversions." *Economic and Political Weekly* 35 (2000) 3633–36.
- Porter, A. N. Religion versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700–1914. New York: Manchester University Press, 2004.

——, ed. The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions, 1880-1914. Studies in the History of Christian Missions. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003.

- Purkait, Biswa Ranjan. Indian Renaissance and Education: From Rammohan to Vivekananda. Calcutta: Firma, 1992.
- Qureshi, M. H. "Cultural Diversity in India." *Journal of Development Policy and Practice* 8 (2023) 13–23, DOI: 10.1177/24551333221127508.
- Raghunadha Rao, P. Ancient and Medieval History of Andhra Pradesh. New Delhi: Sterling, 1993.
- ------. Modern History of Andhra Pradesh. New Delhi: Sterling, 1985.
- Ram, Kalpana, and Margaret Jolly. *Maternities and Modernities: Colonial and Postcolonial Experiences in Asia and the Pacific*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Randall, Ian M., ed. Baptists and Mission: Papers from the Fourth International Conference on Baptist Studies. Studies in Baptist History and Thought 29. Milton Keynes, UK: Paternoster, 2007.
- Richter, Julius. A History of Mission in India. New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1908.

- Ridout, Katherine. "A Woman of Mission: The Religious and Cultural Odyssey of Agnes Wintemute Coates." *Canadian Historical Review* 71 (1990) 208–44, DOI: 10.3138/CHR-071-02-03.
- Robert, Dana. American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice. The Modern Mission Era, 1792–1992. Macon: Mercer University Press, 1996.

———. "Women in World Mission: Controversies and Challenges from A North American Perspective." *International Review of Mission* 93 (2004) 50–61.

- Sigamoney, Shakespeare. "The Double Face of Christian Mission and Education in India from Dalit and Decolonial Perspectives." *International Review of Mission* 109 (2020) 40–56, DOI: 10.1111/irom.12308.
- Singh, Maina Chawla. Gender, Religion, and "Heathen Lands": American Missionary Women in South Asia, 1860s–1940s. New York: Garland, 2000.
- Stanley, Brian. The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. Manhattan, NY: Apollos, 1990.

———. *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1792–1992.* Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1992.

- Stein, Burton, and David Arnold. *A History of India*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley–Blackwell, 2010.
- Studdert-Kennedy, Gerald. Providence and the Raj: Imperial Mission and Missionary Imperialism. New Delhi: Sage, 1998.
- Taneti, James Elisha. "Canadian Baptist Missionaries and the British Raj." *Baptist Quarterly* 42(2008) 422–35.
- ———. *Caste, gender, and Christianity in colonial India: Telugu women in mission*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Thoburn, J. M. Life of Isabella Thoburn. Women in American Protestant Religion, 1800– 1930. New York: Garland, 1987.
- Thomas, David, ed. *Christian-Muslim Relations*. Vol. 7 of Central and Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa and South America (1500–1600) Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Varikoti-Jetty, Santha Kumari. Christian Missions and Conversion: A Historical, Sociological and Anthropological Study of the Depressed Castes of India, 1850– 1950. Delhi: Christian World, 2019.

Vermilye, Elizabeth B. The Life of Alexander Duff. Chicago: The Bible Institute, 1890.

- Webster, John C. B. *The Dalit Christians: A History*. Contextual Theological Education Series 4. Delhi: ISPCK, 1994.
- Wellen, Kathryn. "The Danish East India Company's War against the Mughal Empire, 1642–1698." *Journal of Early Modern History* 19 (2015) 439–61, DOI: 10.1163/15700658-12342470.
- Yellapragada, Sudershan Rao. *Andhra Between the Empires*. Hanamkonda: Sulekha, 1991.