

**Christian Mission in Sub-Continent in the Light of
Lucknow and (Tambaram) Madras Conferences**



**(Thesis Submitted for the Award of M. Phil Degree in
Comparative Religion)**

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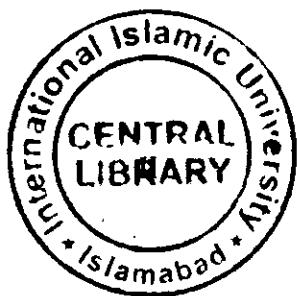
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Dedicated to my dear parents and respected teachers.



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

خلاصة البحث

الحمد لله وكفى وسلام على عباده الذين اصطفى.

أما بعد: نشاهد في التاريخ المسيحية بصفة عامة وخاصة في عصر الاستعمار جهوداً بالغة يبذلها كلاً من المستشرقين والمبشرين والمنصرين ، لانشار الدعوة المسيحية وتنصير أهل الشرق بصفة عامة وال المسلمين بصفة خاصة في بلاد العالم الثالث. وذلك لأن المستعمرين ساعدوهم على حصول أهدافهم ونواياهم بطرق شتى وعديدة. كما نجد في نفس العصر ارتباطاً وثيقاً وكاملاً بين كل من المستشرقين والمبشرين والقوات الاستعمارية. فأصبحت كل هذه الأطراف مساعدة بعضها لبعض الآخر.

واللحصول على هذه الأهداف الخاصة أخذ المبشرون ينظمون خططاً وطرقًا جديدة لنجاح تلك الأعمال التنصيرية. فبدأ أصحاب الكنيسة البروتستانية إنعقاد مؤتمرات تبشيرية التي لم يسبق إليها أحد غير المجامع المسكونية، وذلك في نصف الأول من القرن العشرين. وكانت كل هذه الأعمال لأجل البحث عن المشاكل والعقبات الحائلة في طريق المبشرين والمنصرين وعدم تحقيق أهدافهم لأجل التغيير الأوضاع السياسية العالمية.

ومعظم هذه المؤتمرات المسيحية عرفت واشتهرت بأسماء البلاد الإسلامية التي عقدت فيها، وعلى سبيل المثال مؤتمر القاهرة المنعقد في سنة 1906م. ومؤتمر لكهنو المنعقد في عام 1911م. ومؤتمر يروشلم المنعقد في عام 1928م. غير أن المبشرين قاموا بعنابة باللغة ذات أهمية كبيرة للهند المستعمرة لعدة أمور، منها كثرة سكان الهند. وبناء على ذلك قاموا بإنعقاد مؤتمرين العالمين في الهند أيضاً. كمؤتمر لكهنو المنعقد في سنة 1911م ومؤتمر (تمبارام) مدارس المنعقد في 1938م. ويشتمل دراستنا في هذا البحث المتواضع على هذين المؤتمرين لأهميتهما وتأثيرهما البالغ في تغيير منهج المبشرين من جانب ودورهما في تنصير أهل الهند من جانب آخر.

عنوان هذا البحث كما يلي:

"التنصير في شبه القارة الهندية في ضوء مؤتمر لكهنو 1913م، ومؤتمر (تمبارام) مدارس 1938م".

والمنهج الذي اختاره الباحث في كتابة هذا البحث هو المنهج التحليلي والوصفي. وفي بعض القضايا التاريخية اتبع الباحث المنهج التاريخي أيضاً.

قسم هذا البحث إلى أربعة أبواب وفصول وخاتمة لبيان نتائج البحث في الأخير. وتفصيلها كما يلي:

الباب الأول- يشتمل على التمهيد حول تاريخ التبشير في الهند ودور المؤتمرات المسيحية التبشيرية في ميدان التنصير مع بيان تاريخها.

الباب الثاني والثالث. يشتمل على التفصيل حول مؤتمر لكهنو المنعقد في عام 1911م ومؤتمراً (تمبارام) مدارس المنعقد في عام 1938م، مع بيان تاريخهما وأهميتهما في عملية التبشير في شبه القارة الهندية. ووضح الباحث موضوعات وقرارات مهمة لهذين المؤتمرين أيضاً.

الباب الرابع. يشتمل على بيان مناهج المبشرين في هذين مؤتمرين ومقارنته فيما بينهما مع ذكر التغيرات التي وقعت عند المبشرين في مناهجهم بعد تغيير الأوضاع السياسية، وذكر الباحث في الأخير خاتمة البحث لبيان النتائج التي وصل إليها.

ولقد أسفرت لنا هذه الدراسة أن الأوضاع السياسية كانت لها دخل وأثر كبير في تغيير منهج المبشرين ، وخلال دراستنا هذه وصلنا إلى النتيجة أن الإستعمار البريطاني كان على قمته حين انعقد مؤتمر لكهنو في سنة 1911م فكان الجو السياسي موافق تماماً لتحقيق أهداف المبشرين ومساعدة لهم في كل الأماكن، وكانوا يتمنون لأجل هذه الظروف تصدير العالم بالسهولة ولأجل ذلك الجوالنام لهم كان منهجهم جديلاً وهجومياً في مؤتمر لكهنو. وبخاصة بالنسبة المسلمين. وكان كل وثائق هذا المؤتمر سرياً للغاية.

إلا أنه لما انعقد مؤتمر مدراس بعد ثلاثة سنين تقريراً فقد تغير الأوضاع السياسية تماماً من السابق وذلك بسبب الحرب العالمية الأولى ولظهور النظام الشيوعي و الحركات التحريرية من سلطة وسيطرة الإنجليز المستعمر ، والحركات المناهضة والمناضلة والمقاومة في الديانات المحلية. فكل هذه الأسباب أدت وأجبرت المبشرين لإعادة التفكير في منهجهم السابق الهجومي، ولا حظنا طيلة هذه الدراسة تغييرات عديدة إضافة إلى الأمور سالفة الذكر ومنها:

- 1- العناية والإهتمام بالظروف والأحوال المحلية بدلاً من الإهتمام على استعمال الطرق الغربية لنجاح دعوتهم.
- 2- القيام على التصالح والإتحاد بين الكنائس المختلفة النصرانية وقيام "أي اللجنة العالمية للكنائس لهذا الغرض. World Council of Church."
- 3- العودة والرجوع من المنهج الجدلى إلى منهج الحوار والتفاهم مع أصحاب الديانات الأخرى.
- 4- استعمال طرق غير مباشرة في عملية التنصير- مثل التطبيب والتعليم ومساعدة الفقراء واللاجئين وخاصة بعد فشل الإستعمار في الهند وتقسيمهما.

وفي نهاية هذه المطاف لو نظرنا إلى النتائج الحاسمة لعملية التبشير ونجاحها، رغم بذل كل المجهودات ومساعدتهم الإستعمار معهم فقد باوا بالفشل في الحصول على أهدافهم

في الأوساط الإسلامية وال المسلمين غير انهم نجحوا في تنصير القراء والمساكين وخاصته الطبقة الرابعة المنبوذة (السوداء) من الطبقات الهندوسية المعروفة.

Table of Contents

<i>Title</i>	<i>Page No</i>
Acknowledgments.....	1
Introduction.....	2
Chapter 1: Introduction: The Rise and Development of Christian Mission in the Colonial India.	
A. Early Christian Missions to India.....	8
(1) European Powers and early Christian Missionaries in India.	9
(2) Mughal Dynasty's Attitude toward Christian Missionaries.....	13
(3) Growth and Development of Christian Mission in the 19 th Century	16
(4) Christian Mission and British Colonial Power in India.....	21
(B) The Missionary Conferences.....	25
(1) Historical Background of Christian missionary Conferences.....	25
(2) Christian Missionary Conferences among Muslims.....	28
(3) Missionary Conferences and the Ecumenical Movement.....	30
Chapter 2: The Lucknow Missionary Conference and its Significance.	
(A) Background of the Conference: Christian Mission at the start of Twentieth Century.....	34
(B) Proceedings, Themes, and Resolutions of the Conference.....	37
(1) Proceedings of the Conference.....	37
(2) Themes and Issues of the Conference.....	40
(3) The Resolutions of the Conference	44

Chapter 3: The International Missionary Conference

(Tambaran) Madras Conference and its Significance.

(A) Background of the Conference: The Jerusalem Missionary Conference (1928)	46
(B) Proceedings Themes and Recommendations of the Conference.....	49
(1) Proceedings of Madras Conference.....	49
(2) Themes of the Conference	51
(3) Recommendations of the Conference	56

Chapter 4: From Lucknow to Madras: New Dimensions in the Christian Mission.

(A) General Developments	58
(1) Development in the Direction of Ecumenism.....	59
(2) From Mission to Dialogue: Development in Christian Attitude towards other Religions.....	62
(3) Mission through Medical and Educational Service	64
(B) Results for the Missionary Enterprise in India.....	66
Conclusion.....	68
Bibliography.....	71

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It is really a pleasant moment in my life that by the grace of Allah, prayers of my parents and guidance of teachers I been able to carry out this research on such an important topic. This achievement is more valuable for me than any other one.

Here, I am particularly thankful to my supervisor Dr. Muhammad Akram for his scholarly guidance and encouragement during my research work. I am also thankful to all my teachers, particularly to Mr. Muhammad Muddasir Ali who helped me in every stage of my research, Dr. Ikram ul haq who reviewed my synopsis, Dr. Faruc Terzic who supervised my synopsis, and to Mr Mehlar and Mr. kurshied Ahammad who introduced me to some important libraries, like Pastoral Institute Multan, and Christian Study Center Rawalpindi etc. I would also like to thank my colleagues at college particularly, Prof. Raz Muhammad Raz Prof. Muhammad Ashfaque Hussain Shah. Both of them took on my teaching responsibilities in order to provide me an opportunity to complete my thesis. I am also thankful to Mr. Saeed ullah Jan Mandokhail who assisted me in proof reading. Last but not the least, I would like to pay my deepest gratitude to my dear parents whose prayer enabled me to bring forth this research work and to all my family members, especially Saleem Ullah (Bacha Khan) who stayed with me and took care of my studies.

Hafiz Naqib Ullah, IIUI

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Introduction

In the name of Allah most Gracious most Merciful.

All praises be to Allah, the One and Only, the Eternal and Absolute, the Creature and Sustainer of the universe. Peace and blessing be upon his last Prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him) his family, companions, and those who follow him until the Day of Judgment.

Christianity is a revealed religion and its followers believe it to be a missionary and universal religion. It is for this feature of Christianity that its followers have been involved in the missionary enterprise to convert people from all nations and races to Christianity. This is especially true for the twentieth century when western imperialism was on rise and many missionary societies came into being. These missionaries were sent from west to new colonies to proclaim the gospel and evangelize the world.

In this regard, Christian missionaries adopted an organized and thoughtful program in their techniques and activities. For this purpose they held several missionary conferences to review their activities and reflect on opportunities and obstacles before them and to measure the extent of their success and failure.

Earlier Christian councils had been held from the third century onward to discuss doctrinal issues. For example, the Council of Nicaea was held in 325, the Council of Constantinople in 381, the Council of Ephesus in 431, and the Council of Chalcedon in 451. These councils standardized the matter of Christian faith and played an important role in the development of present Christianity.

In twentieth century, a new phenomenon of Christian councils appeared in the form of "Missionary Conferences" which can be considered as one of the major developments in Christian history. These conferences were organized by protestant missionary societies to achieve new goals with modern techniques. The objectives of these conferences were to ponder over different problems in missionary fields and to figure out proper solutions.

Interestingly, some of these conferences became known after the name of important cities of the Muslim world, where these conferences were held, such as Cairo conferences (1906),

Lucknow conference, (1911), Jerusalem conference (1928), and Madras conference (1938). The basic reason behind selection of these Islamic centers seems to evangelize Muslims and to adopt a missionary approach based upon correct observation of their weak and strong sides.

Christian missionaries considered British India an important missionary field and a miniature world due to its huge area and population.¹ They also considered colonial period a decisive hour for Christian mission, thus the chairman of Edinburgh conference John. R. Mott (1865-1955) titled his book as "The Decisive Hour of Christian Mission".² At that time the rulers were Christians and Christianity was carried forward with the help of western prestige and power.

This was the background that urged the present writer to focus on this topic. Hopefully, the study will bring to light the missionary approaches which the Christians adopted under the umbrella of western imperialism, and which Christian missionaries pursued in the light of these conferences. Narrowing down the focus, the present writer has selected the following two missionary conferences for study.

- i. Lucknow General Missionary Conferences (1911).
- ii. Madras International Missionary Conference (1938).

¹ According to the census figures of 1921, the total area of British India was 1,802, 657 square miles, inhabited by 319, 075, 132 people, India then was consisted on one fifth of the whole human race.

See for details:

India and its Mission, (ed) Capuchin Mission unit, (New York: Macmillan company, 1923), p4.

² He said in the preface of his book that " who read the reports of Edinburgh conference 1910, must have been impressed with the fact that the present is the decisive hour of Christian mission. In the history of Christianity there has never been such a remarkable conjunction of opportunities and crises on all the principal mission fields, and of favoring circumstances and possibilities on the home field".

See For detail.

Mott, John. R, *The Decisive Hour of Christian mission*, (London: the Christian literature society for India, 1912) pp. vi.

Literature Review:

According to the limited knowledge of writer, the topic under discussion has not been comprehensively researched up to now, although, there are some important previous studies on the topic such as: *Al-majāmi'ul masīhiyah Wadawruhā Fī Diyānatil Masih 'lihsalam*. It is an M.A thesis submitted by Muhammad Ali Niagie, student of Comparative Religion in 1993, at the Faculty of Islamic Studies International Islamic University Islamabad. In this research work the researcher has focused only on historical ecumenical councils of early Christian era. Like, Nicaea (325, CE), Constantinople (381, CE), Ephesus (431, CE) and Rome (869, CE) councils, but in introduction he briefly discusses modern Christian conferences without mentioning the difference between different kinds of the councils and conferences.

Another important work on the topic is *Al-ghārah 'll 'ālamil islāmī*,³ Translated by, Muhib u Dīn Al- Khatib and Sa'īd al yāfi, It is an important book on the topic in Arabic language. Actually, this book is based on the French book, "La conquete du monde musleaman" By, a Le chateleir. The book consists of articles on missionary conferences and their proceedings published in monthly magazine "The Muslim World" by orientalist A Le Chteleir. He had been a professor of social sciences in France.

Muhib u Dīn Al- Khatib and Sa'īd al yāfi, have summarized and translated it from French into Arabic and printed it in "Almawyyad" Arabic magazine published from Cairo. But their contribution is limited to translation. There are no discussions on important issues of these missionary conferences and their impact on Muslims, although, they opened a new field of research and highlighted Christian missionary plans about Islam and Muslims.

Another worth mentioning work is *Christian–Muslim Dialogue in 20th Century*,⁴ written by Attaullah Siddiqui, research fellow in the Islamic Foundation Leicester. It is also a valuable work on the present topic. The writer provides the details of theological development which appeared in Christian mission in 20th century and its impact on Christian mission, but he mainly focuses on Christian Muslim Dialogue and ecumenical developments appeared in Christianity.

³ Al- Khatib, Muhib u Dīn and al yāfi, Sa'īd (tr.) *Al-ghārah 'll 'ālamil islāmī*, (Jidah: Al- dārassa'udīyya linnashri watawzih, 1985).

⁴ Siddiqui, Attaullah, *Christian–Muslim Dialogue in 20th Century* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd,1997).

In Addition to the above mentioned work, there are documents of these missionary conferences like, *Lucknow, 1911: Papers and Discussions of General Missionary Conference Lucknow 1911*,⁵ It is an important secret document on the topic in hand. On its first page it is written “for private circulation only and confidential” to prevent leakage of conference confidential proceedings. This document was edited by S. M. Zwemer⁶ and other members of editorial committee.

The volume consists of papers and discussions of General Missionary Conference held in Lucknow, on January, 23-28-1911 to discuss the progress and strategies of Christian mission among Muslims.

The present writer found the documents of the International Missionary Council. (Tambaram) Madras, 1938, in the following two works (1) *The World Mission of the Church*⁷. This book consists of the findings, resolutions, and recommendations of International Missionary Conference held at (Tambaram) Madras, December 12-29-1938. With the introduction of members and delegations participated in this conference. (II) *The Madras Series*,⁸ This is another important document of International Missionary Conference (Tambaram) Madras 1938. This seven volume work consists on addresses and papers presented in Madras conference. The document discusses important issues like, Evangelism, growth of the church, relationship

⁵ *Lucknow, 1911: Papers and Discussions of General Missionary Conference Lucknow 1911* (London: The Christian Literature Society for India, 1911).

⁶. Samuel Marinus Zewemer (1867-1952) was an important Protestant missionary of 20th century and expert of Muslim missionary field. He organized and chaired Cairo missionary conference in 1906, and Lucknow missionary conference in 1911. He also founded a journal titled *Moslem World* (later on the journal became known as *The Muslim World*) and edited it for 37 years. Throughout his missionary career he wrote dozens of polemical books against Islam.

See for details:

Khokhar, Emanuel, *Who is Who (Mission among Muslim)*(Korea: Yehang Presbyterian Chuch, 2006), pp.184-185.

⁷ *The World Mission of the Church: Finding and Recommendations of the International Missionary Council*. (Tambaram) Madras, India, 1938. (London: International Missionary Council, 1939).

⁸ *The Madras Series, Presenting Papers based upon the Meeting of the International Missionary Conference at Tambaram (Madras)* (New York: International Missionary Council, 1939).

between Church and State. The above mentioned documents are the primary sources of the present study.

Apart from these research works and documents there are some preparatory work for these missionary conferences as well like, *The Christian Message in a Non Christian World*⁹. The above stated book was written as preparatory material for the International Missionary Conference (Tambaram) Madras by Handrick Kreamer, professor of the history of religions in the University of Leiden (Holland). He wrote this book on the request of preparatory committee of Madras conference. This book mainly focuses on the Christian approaches to non Christian religions and adaptation of new missionary techniques according to the changing situation.

Apart from the above mentioned works, there are some other books which consist of the history of Christian mission and their missionary activities in the Sub-continent. But according to the knowledge of the present researcher, there is no comprehensive study which covers the details of missionary conferences held in the Sub-continent in colonial era, like Lucknow conference and (Tambaram) Madras conference.

Therefore, the importance of this topic and lack of detailed research work on these missionary conferences compelled the researcher to write his thesis on this topic. Another reason behind the selection of this topic was also to familiarize himself and others with the objectives, techniques, and activities of Christian missionaries in British India. Additionally, to highlight their success and failure and the extend of native resistance regarding Christian mission.

The writer further encourages the scholars to do research on the other missionary conferences held in the first half of 20th century. Like Cairo conference 1906, and Jerusalem conference 1928.

⁹ Kreamer, Handrick, *The Christian Message in a Non Christian World* (Michigan: kregel Publications,1956)

Statement of the Problem

In 1911, at the time of General Missionary Conference Lucknow, Christian missionaries were confident and ambitious to win Islam for Christ, although they were facing difficulties to evangelize Muslims due to extreme resistance from Muslim side. In Lucknow Conference the policy of Christian missionaries regarding Islam was offensive. They decided in this conference to target Muslims. Later on in 1938 at the time of International Missionary Conference (Tembaram) Madras Christian missionary strategy had been changed from confrontation to cooperation and understanding of other religions.

Here a question arises that what were the factors and causes of this change in approach and attitude toward other religions? Did it happen due to the decline of colonialism, inner failure of Christian mission, or something else forced missionaries to change their direction? And why Christian Ecumenical Movement came into being in the same period?

Additionally there are some other questions such as:

Why were these conferences held in colonial period? Does this fact prove relationship between Christianity and colonialism? What role these conferences had in reshaping of Christian missionary attitude towards other religions and in changing Christian missionary strategies? Why special attention was paid to Indian Muslims in General missionary conference Lucknow 1911, in spite of the fact that Hindus were majority of the population in India?

Methodology

The method used in this study is analytical and descriptive. In addition to this, the writer has followed historical method in some historical issues related to the topic. The work has been divided into four chapters and a conclusion. First chapter consists of introduction to Christian missionary history in the sub-continent and role of missionary conferences in Christian mission. Second and third chapter discuss Lucknow and (Tembaram) Madras conferences respectively, with their themes, resolutions and impact on Christian mission. Fourth chapter discusses the development in missionary methods particularly, in Sub-continent. A comparison between the conferences in term of their themes, approaches, historical background and impact is presented in this chapter. Conclusion is given at the end.

Chapter: 1

Introduction: The Rise and Development of Christian Mission in the Colonial India.

Chapter 1: Introduction: The Rise and Development of Christian Missions in the Colonial India.

A. Early Christian Missions to India.

India has been one of the most important missionary fields for Christians since European exploration of India in 1498 till today. During the colonial Indian era the Europeans observed significant and wondrous characteristics of India, for example, its huge population, several racial groups, vast and geographically important area, presence of major world religions (Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism) with large number of followers, and existence of ancient cultures and civilizations. Keeping in view these characteristics, the Christian missionaries considered India a small world and a wonderland, which consisted a variety of nature and contrasting features in its people, history, religion, customs, and so on.¹⁰

Cultural diversity of India has been described by famous Indian nationalist leader Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru (1889-1964) in the following words: "A Bundle of contradictions held together by strong but invisible threads".¹¹

In order to describe early Christian missions to India we shall pay attention to the following two important factors of Indian history which had great impact on early Christian missionaries to India.

(I) It is a historical fact that the origin and growth of the Christian missionary movement in India had direct connection with the exploration of India by European powers: Portugal, Holland, Denmark, France, and Britain. Since these political powers were Christian majority countries their rise had great impact on early Christian missionary movement in India.

(II) The second historical factor had been the Mughal emperor's generous attitude and their liberal policies toward foreign traders and early Christian missionaries to India. This attitude provided them great opportunities to preach Christianity in different parts of India without any restriction. Later on, in the middle of 18th century when signs of decadence of Mughal Empire appeared Europeans took over political power and colonized India.

¹⁰ *India and its Mission*, (ed) Capuchin Mission Unit, p,3.

¹¹ Hewitt, Gordon, *The Problem of Success: A history of the Church Missionary Society 1910-1942*, (Bristol: Western Printing Services LTD, 1977), p, 27.

Thus, Europeans who apparently came to India as traders eventually succeeded in colonizing it. While mentioning the history of early Christian missionaries in India especial attention will be paid to these two above mentioned factors.

Coming towards early Christian missions to India, let us approach the subject from the perspective of two major Christian denominations, namely Roman Catholics and Protestants.

(1) European Powers and Early Christian Missionaries in India.

As we indicated above the actual Christian missionary activity began in India after Europeans had explored India.¹² In this regard the starting point is 1496, when Spain and Portugal raised as two great powers of Europe. They took lead in exploration, trade, and conquest from other European countries.

In this development of European dominance and exploration Roman Catholic Church felt possibility of Christianization of the world so, Pope Alexander VI (1492-1503) for Christian missionary cause and spread of Gospel established new boundaries of the world and divided it into two parts East and West. He further assigned the East to Portugal and the West to Spain and entrusted them the task to evangelize both eastern and Western countries.¹³

¹² There are some other oral traditions spread among the Christian that st. Thomas one of the twelve disciples of Jesus was the first missionary to India. He came to Northern India about the year 52.A.D, preached Christianity and established churches in Karella. Some Christian scholars tried to prove this view and referred it to the writing of st. Ephrean and st. Ambrose. On the other hand, other criticizes this view because the missionary efforts of st. Thomas in India bore little or no success. So, it led them to deny that st. Thomas was in India. The fact is that before the European exploration of India, there were some small groups of Christians like Orthodox Syrians. The reason behind their presence was their migration from Syria or engagement in Trade toward India. In India they were unorganized and without any kind of missionary activity.

See for detail:

(1) *India and its Mission*, (ed) Capuchin Mission unit, pp,81-82

(2) Athyal, Saphir, *Church in Asia today: Challenges and opportunities*, (Singapore: The Asia Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization 1996), pp. 400-402. In Pakistan Christians also tend to assert their indigenousness by claiming the presence of Christianity in the area from ancient times. This claim is about the supposed discovery of a cross in the area of Taxila in 1935. This cross is referred to as Taxila-cross. Later on, the Church of Pakistan took this cross as its symbol. It may be noted, however, that questions has been raised about the authenticity of this claim. See for details, Athyal, Saphir, *Church in Asia today: Challenges and opportunities*, (Singapore: The Asia Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization, 1996), pp. 469-470.

¹³ Hestings, James(ed) *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (New York: T. & T. Clark), p.713.

At that time the sea routs to India were unknown to Europeans and there was a situation of competition among European nations, particularly, between Spain and Portugal to discover India from Europe, for this cause the famous Spanish sailor Christopher Columbus (1451-1506) equipped himself with the help and support of leading Spanish Christian king to explore India. So, he sailed under the Spanish flag to explore India, instead of India he found a new continent America and called its people red Indians. Five years later Portugal as well set an expedition to discover India which consisted on three ships under the famous Portuguese navigator Vasco Da Gama (1460-1524). He sailed from Lisbon- the capital of Portugal. Ultimately he succeeded in his plane and landed at the cost of Malabar near Calicut India on May 20, 1498. His safe arrival was celebrated nationally at Lisbon and in reward the king of Portugal appointed him the viceroy of Portugal settlement of India.

Stephen Neill in his book “under three flags” says about Vasco Da Gama journey to India “there were priests aboard his ships”. From that time the Roman Catholic Church has had extensive work in India ¹⁴

The Portuguese were Roman Catholic Christians they took keen interest in the spread of Christianity and played an active role in early Christian missions. In 1502 seeing the Portuguese efforts in preaching of Roman Catholicism Pope Alexander VI, granted a “Papal bull”¹⁵ for the king of Portugal and appointed him ‘Lord of Navigation for conquest and trade with Persia, and India.¹⁶

After exploration of India by Europeans the Dominicans ¹⁷ were the pioneer missionaries who started their missionary work in Cochin and Goa, and later extended their work to other areas of India. In 1514, Pope Leo X awarded to the kings of Portugal the right of Patronage or Padrado due to their efforts for missionary cause of Christianity. At the same time he imposed upon the government the duty to supply required number of missionaries in these areas.¹⁸

¹⁴ Neill, Stephen, *Under Three Flags*, (New York: Friendship Press, 1954), p, 65.

¹⁵ Papal bulls were Official orders issued by the popes with their seal.

¹⁶ Hunter W. W. and Ridly, Herbert (ed) *Encyclopedia of Asian History*, (New Delhi: Cosmos Publication, 2008), PP, 446-447.

¹⁷ Dominicans were Roman Catholics which follow the teachings of st. Dominic (1170-1221). It was one of the famous religious orders of Roman Catholics in 16th century.

See for detail:

Donigar, Wendy, (ed) *Merriam Webster's :Encyclopedia of World Religions*, (Massachusetts: Merriam Webster, Incorporated Springfield, 1999), p, 300.

¹⁸ *India and its Mission*, (ed) Capuchin Mission Unit, op. cit. p,124.

Goa had been the earliest centre of Roman Catholics. Some leading Roman ecclesiastics came to Portuguese settlements of Goa. In 1533 a diocese was established there, the famous missionary of that era Francise Xavier (1506-1552) reached there in 1542. He spent much of next ten years in missionary journeys there.

In 1543 the Jesuits¹⁹ started missionary work on non-Christians as well they extended their work to convert the Syrian Orthodox Christians into Catholics. At first the Syrians Orthodox came under Roman Catholics but in 1553 they again declared themselves orthodox Christians. Throughout history the orthodox had done nothing in missionary field of India. Another famous missionary of that time was the Jesuits Robert de Nobili (1577-1656) He adopted a new missionary method for the conversion of high caste Hindu Brahmans to Christianity. For this cause he adopted Indian culture and way of life to show that Christianity is not bond to European culture.²⁰

Later on other Roman Catholic missionary groups like Augustinians, Capuchins, Carmelites, missionaries entered Indian missionary field. Here important thing is that in spite of Portugal patronage and imperial help to carry out missionaries in India, the Christian missionaries got little success only in Portuguese settlements and very few were converted to Christianity.

We can consider European colonial powers of colonial India under these three categories (I) Establishment of trade relation with India. (II) Conquest. (III) Christianization. But in the beginning they had no idea of conquest and domination of India. In this regard Portugal was the first European nation which monopolized Indian trade then appeared a political power. Portugal maintained its monopoly on the basis of famous policy “divide and rule”. In this regard Portugal took full advantage of political disintegration of India. The following factors also played their part in this regard.

(a) Portugal had the Christian religious authority and support of Pope to carry on wars against non-Christians.

¹⁹ Jesuits is the popular name of a Roman Catholic group “the society of Jesus.” Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556) founded it. Later Pope III formally in 1540 approved it as a religious order. The early activities of Jesuits were to combat and contest Protestants later its activities extended to missionary activities.

²⁰ Barrett David .B (ed) *World Christian Encyclopedia: A Comparative Study of Churches and Religions in Modern World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980) p, 373.

(b) Fire arms which they possessed of which Indians were ignorant. So, Portuguese faced no difficulty in gaining victory over Indians.

The Portuguese political and commercial success in India astonished other European nations. So, in 17th century other European companies emerged such as Dutch, Danes, English, and French. These companies significantly reduced the power of Portuguese.

At the end of 17th century Portuguese disappeared as a political power in India, except in Goa they remained in power. The Governor of India Alfonz de Souza (1545) said about Portuguese. "The Portuguese entered India with the sword in one hand and the crucifix in the other. Finding much gold they laid aside the crucifix to fill the pockets and not being able to hold them up with one hand. They were grown so heavy. They dropped the sword too"²¹

In 17th century Christian European powers in India make no significant effort in missionary field, because they were in competition to occupy more and more parts of the country. In these colonial powers Denmark had a Protestant king Frederick IV, he considered himself responsible for the spread of Christianity, particularly for his colonial dominion of India. So, in the beginning of 18th century Danish Royal mission send first protestant missionary to India who were the German Lutheran M .B. Zeigenbalg and H. Pleutschau. In 1706, they arrived India from Denmark and began their missionary work in Danish settlements of Tranqrebar. At first they adopted direct missionary method for the conversion of Indian native through preaching, after their failure in this method they adopted indirect missionary method by establishing schools in India. This missionary provided a foundation for later Christian protestant missionaries in India, which developed on large scale to the end of 18th century.²²

(2) Mughal Dynasty's Attitude toward Christian Missionaries.

As we mentioned earlier the second factor which had impact on early Christian missionaries the Mughal emperors' liberal policy toward Christian missionaries and later the decline of Mughal empire. At first we will discuss briefly the history of Mughal Dynasty.

Mughal reign started in India from 1526 when Zaheer u Deen Muhammad Babar (reigned from 1526 to 1530) came to India at the request of Daulat khan, Governor of Punjab when he declared independence from the Delhi sultanat and called him for help against Ibrahim Lodhi,

²¹ Basu, B. D, *Rise of the Christian Power in India* (New Delhi: Low Price publication,) p, 20.

²² Athyal, Saphir, *Church in Asia Today: Challenges and Opportunities*, (Singapore: the Asia Lausanne Committee for world evangelization) 1996, p, 405.

the last head of Delhi Sultanat (1451-1526). Zaheer u Deen Babar defeated Ibrahim Lodhi at the battle of Panipat and founded Mughal Empire in India. The Mughal emperors from Babar (1530) to Aurang Zaib Alamgir (1707) provided India peace, prosperity and stability in every field of life.²³

Most of the Mughal emperors followed a liberal policy toward early Christian missionaries. They treated missionaries and European traders hospitably. The Christian missionaries enjoyed the liberty of preaching their faith in Mughal reign. We may refer to some examples which illustrate their Liberal policy regarding Christian missionaries and European traders.

The most famous in this regard was Emperor Akbar (1556-1605) he had a complete liberal religious policy and tried to show tolerance for all religions. He married with a Rajput princess, appointed Todar Mall a Hindu his finance minister and Governor, permitted conversion from Islam to other religions, and abolished the Jizya.

In Emperor Akbar's reign (1556-1605) Christian missionaries had many opportunities to preach the Gospel in India. The Jesuits reached to his court they found full liberty of opinions there and got concession for their missionary work. Emperor Akbar granted permission to Christian missionaries to preach and build church in his Kingdom particularly in Kashmir, Agra, and, Lahore.²⁴ To sum up, he followed a complete liberal religious policy in his reign.

Emperor Akbar was succeeded by his son Jahangir. He inherited liberal policy and tried to follow it to some extent. During the reign of Emperor Jahangir (1605-1627). Christian missionaries enjoyed freedom for their missionary activities. In 1608, the English Captain Hawkins met Jahangir at Agra to secure concession for English trade. Emperor Jahangir treated him in a very hospitable manner and awarded the demanded concession in trade. As a result of this sanction English established a factory in Surat soon after. Furthermore, he allowed English ambassador to reside at Mughal court.²⁵

²³ See for details:

(1) Hunter, William. Wilson, (ed) *Comprehensive History of Indian Empire*, (New Delhi: Anmol publications, v.2) pp. 156-157.

(2) Bhatt, S. C. and Bhargava, Gopal K. (ed) *India Land and People*. (New Delhi: Kalpaz Publication, 2005), p. 22.

²⁴ Sharma, Sri Ram, *The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*,(Bombay: Asia Publications House),pp-30-39

²⁵ Basu, B. D. *Rise of the Christian Power in India*, pp.24-25.

The writer of “Rise of Christian power in India” B. D. Basu mentioned amazing details of British ambassadors residence in the Kings court, then he concluded the basic causes of the rise of British rule in India as follows:

(I) The planting of British residents in the courts of Indian rulers.

(II) The grant of permeation and concession by Indian rulers to foreign Christian traders. Furthermore, he analyzed that the political downfall of India dates back from the day when Mughal emperor granted concession to British traders in India as no modern Christian power would never think of it to anyone.²⁶

After the death of Emperor Jahangir in 1627 his son Shah jahan succeeded to the throne (1627-1658). He brought some changes in the complete liberal policy of his predecessors so, he stopped the conversion from Islam to other religions. As a result of war against the Portuguese the permission granted to the Christians were withdrawn and he prohibited Christians to build churches in his kingdom.²⁷ On the other hand he also appointed an Armenian Christian Mirza Zul Qurnain as Governor of Lahore.²⁸

In 1658 a war of succession broke out among the sons of emperor Shah jahan, Dara Shikoh intended to pursue the previous liberal policies of Mughal rulers and Aurang Zaib Alamgir (1658-1707) committed to turn Mughal Empire into an Islamic state. At last, he defeated his brothers and succeeded to occupy the imperial capital Agra. In his reign (1658-1707) which lasted for 45 years until his death in 1707. He had great ability so he further extended the Mughal Empire and proved himself a successful emperor. In his time he strictly followed the Islamic law and treated Christian and follower of all other religion in India according to the rules of Islam. On the other hand he provided them religious freedom and complete security. In his reign the Jesuits had a church in Agra and a building which they were using for their doctrinal instructions. Aurang Zaib Alamgir also confessed grants through imperial order and properties on Hindu temples which even exist today.²⁹

²⁶ See for detail:

Ibid, pp, 35-37.

²⁷ Sharma, Sri Ram, *The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*, pp, 104-113.

²⁸ Zafar, Muhammad Imtiaz, The Christians in Pakistan “*Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern studies*” 29(2006)1.

²⁹ Haq, Syed, Moinul, *The great revolution of 1857*, (Karachi: Pakistan: historical society, 1968), p,23.

After the death of emperor Aurang Zaib Alamgir signs of decadence and disintegration appeared in Mughal empire. The successors of Aurang Zaib Alamgir failed to face external and internal problems, thus Mughal dynasty began its downward journey. The British East India Company got a chance for political intervention. In 1757 after British victory in Battle of Pallacy East India Company appeared ruling political power of India. The rise of British rule in sub-continent and the decline of Mughal Empire provided great opportunities for Christian missionaries in India.

(3) Growth and Development of Christian Mission in the 19th Century.

The 19th century was marked by the success of western colonialism. The world had come under the political and economical power of European nations. The industrial and French Revolution in 1789 had given them confidence to conquer and colonize other parts of the world. With the growth and development of colonialism Christian mission also developed and expended on large scale in colonial India. Some Christian historians like Stephen Neil bishop of Tinnevelly marked 19th century the greatest century of Christian expansion. He considered the real start of 19th century from 1789, with the beginning of French Revolution till the First World War.³⁰

Here we are going to discuss the important features, growth and development of Roman Catholic and Protestant Missionaries of colonial India in 19th century.

It is historical fact that Christianity was exclusively a western Religion and Christian missionaries in India were dependent on foreign support of the west. So, western political situation had great impact on Roman Catholic missions in India. At the start of 19th century Roman Catholic mission was in disorder as a result of the French Revolution of 1789 and European wars. Roman Catholic mission in India was weak and unorganized, because the famous General and French ruler Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821) had created problems for Roman Catholic Pope of his time and, even humiliated him. He also dissolved Jesuits and all other religious orders.

The supply of missionaries from Europe to India became impossible for Roman Catholic Church. However in 19th century the situation changed completely. Jesuit order was reconstituted in 1814 by Pope Pius VII, and again Jesuits and other Roman Catholic missionaries started their

³⁰ Neill, Stephen, *A History of Christian Mission*, (England: Penguin Books Ltd Harmond Worth, 1964), p, 245.

missionary work in India. All European Christian countries took their share in Indian missionary work. Thus, Roman Catholic missionary activities were renewed in India.

In comparison to Roman Catholic Church the protestant church developed more in 19th century when it produced new Missionary movements and missionary societies for Christian mission. The first of these societies was English Baptist (1792). Later on, other protestant missionary Societies were established. For example, Church Missionary Society (1799) and many more entered Indian missionary field.³¹

It is difficult to provide complete details of 19th century growth and developments of Roman Catholic Church in India because it is a huge subject. The present writer will give only the statistical data of the census of the 1911. According to the census data of 1911, the Roman Catholic in India were 2,271,179 with 6106 public churches and Chapels and 4116 missionary schools and colleges.³²

The Protestants in India were under one and a half million. Details of different Protestant denominations in round figure is as follow:³³ 333.000 Anglicans, 332.000 Baptists, 217.000

³¹ Ibid. pp. 250-252.

³² see for details:

India and its Mission, (ed) capuchin mission unit, Appendix table No 1.

³³ They are Protestant groups, here we will briefly introduce each one.

Anglicans: The Church of England and its affiliated churches. This protestant denomination got independence from Roman Catholics.

Baptists: They are Protestant Christians which follow Jhon Smith. The main base of Baptists is United States. They believe that only Christians should be baptized.

Lutheran: are also Protestant Christians which follow the teaching of Christian reformist Martin Luther (1483-1546). The main base of Lutherans is the Northern Europe.

Methodists: Protestant group basically separated from the Church of England. Jhon Wasley (1703-1791) founded it in 18th century. The main base of this denomination is in United States.

Presbyterian: It is also a reformed Protestant denomination and the national Church of Scotland. It basically established after 16th century.

Congregationalists: This Movement basically established in Protestant Church of England in late 16th century. The Congregationalists emphasize on the responsibility of congregation and independence of local church.

Salvationists: The real name of this Protestant movement was Salvation Army founded in 1878 by a former Baptist William Booth (1829-1912). This movement adopted Army pattern for their missionary and philanthropic works.

See for detail:

(1) Donigar, Wendy, (ed) *Merriam Webster's Encyclopedia of World Religions*, (Massachusetts: Merriam Webster, Incorporated Springfield,1999).

(2) Hinnells, jhon, R.(ed) *The Penguin: Dictionary of Religions*,(England: Penguin Books Ltd,Harmondsworth,Middlesex,1984).

Lutherans, 162,000 Methodist, 164,000 Presbyterians, 134,000 Congregationalist 52,000, and Salvationalists.³⁴

As mentioned above, It would be difficult to give the complete detail of all missionary activities and developments in India because thousands of Christian missionaries reached colonial India but it would be helpful if we make general comparison between the missionary enterprise of Roman Catholic and Protestant Missionaries because in their Indian colonial history both Christian denomination adopted plenty of direct and indirect missionary methods like education, medical and social works for evangelization of Indian natives.

Generally, despite their resources, organized work, foreign and British support these missionaries failed to achieve their goals. However, the role and impact of British on Christian will be treated separately as we proceed. On the other hand a comparative study shows that protestant missionaries were progressive as they pioneered in some missionary methods. According to Dr .K. S. Latourette. "In some respects the 19th century was pre-eminently the Protestant century in both numbers and influence. Protestantism grew relatively much more rapidly than any other division of Christianity."³⁵

Now let us mention some examples which illustrate the difference of Protestant missionary approach from the Roman Catholic one in the context of India.

(1) In 19th century Protestants started new missionary movements on large scale. One of such movements was the student missionary movement. John Ralieg Mott (1865-1955) the chairman of Edinburgh conference. once said about the importance of this movement" if the student of the East are to be won for the church, it must be done by the students of the West."³⁶

Most notable among these Protestant movements was "Mass Movement". Protestant missionaries started it when they failed to evangelize the Muslims of better social standing and high caste Hindus so, they started missionary work among the weaker and depressed classes like, "scheduled or out casts" because Protestant missionary found less resistance among them. As a result The Christian population was increased in India by these movements, for example

³⁴ Thomas ,P, *Christians and Christianity in India and Pakistan*: General survey of the progress of Christianity in India from Apostolic time to the present day,(London: George Allen s unwin Ltd) p.49

³⁵ Latourette, Dr. K.S. *The Expansion of Christianity*, (Zonervan: Grand Rapids, V, 7, 1974), p, 442.

³⁶ *India and its Mission*, (ed) Capuchin Mission Unit, p, 198.

“Churas” were completely Christianized by Mass Movement. In other words the missionaries in India worked on underprivileged and illiterate people who were unable to oppose Christian faith which had support and prestige of the colonial power.³⁷ On the other hand, in Roman Catholic missionary history of India we did not find such Movements.

(II) The Protestant missionaries conducted the missionary enterprise during 18th century By missionary societies which had distinction from the national Roman Catholic missions of 16th and 17th century.

(III) As we mentioned earlier that from its beginning Protestant had used education and medical field as an indirect missionary method, so educational institutes and hospitals were used as means of evangelistic work. Later these institutions were up graded to university level, so by means of education mind of the natives were influenced. If we see Roman Catholic missionary history in this regard, they started these means of evangelization very late and their work in these fields was limited to primary stage. Later Jesuits felt in Roman Catholics the importance of these fields in missionary works.

(IV) The Protestant missionaries solved the problem of native languages. They translated the Gospel in all important languages of the world. At the end of 19th century they had translated Bible in more than 100 languages. In Roman Catholic missionary circles no attention was paid to this side. It was almost wholly protestant effort.

(V) The Protestant missionaries used every field of life as means of evangelistic work, for example, they established printing presses and publishing houses. According to Christian sources the standard of Methodist press at Mysore was higher than Oxford press.

(VI) The Protestant missionaries tried to give an indigenous shape to Christian mission in India but the Roman Catholic Church realized it very late so they had no Bishop of non European origin in India till 1914.³⁸

(VII) Protestant missionaries adopted new techniques for the evangelization of native people and to implant Christian thoughts and doctrines in their minds they were aware of Indian culture and nature who love singing, so, for missionary cause they employed Hymns to divert

³⁷ Neill, Stephen,(ed) *Twentieth Century Christianity : A survey of Modern Religious Trends by Leading Church Men*, , (New York: Dolphin books) ,pp,15-16.

³⁸ See for details:

Neill, Stephen, *A History of Christian Mission*, pp, 251-259.

attention of Indians toward Christianity by singing it in local and English languages in simple words. Like the following hymns:

There is a green field far away,

Out side a city wall,

Where the dear Lord was crucified

Who died to save us all.

We may not know, we cannot tell

What pains He had to bear.

This missionary method was used by Protestant missionaries in schools, hospitals and even in the open streets.³⁹

(VIII) Protestant missionaries in general had great resources at their command than Roman Catholics. For instance in one year, 1912, 38 million dollars were collected for Protestant missionary work, and Indian mission field was recipient of a large portion of this amount. As stated above, the Protestant had a large capital at their command. So, they devised new plans to awaken home interests in the missionary field of India.⁴⁰

The above mentioned examples show us that Protestant developed new ideas and techniques in missionary fields. They started missionary conferences, organized missionary societies as well they emphasized that the church is an administrative organization rather than divine creation. Another new theological view also developed in Protestant missionary circles. They separated church and mission particularly in Germany, Holland, Switzerland so, according to this decision the Protestant missionaries of 19th were ordained by missionary societies rather than church.

³⁹ *India and its Mission*, (ed) Capuchin Mission Unit, p. 193.

⁴⁰ Ibid, pp. 186-198.

(4) Christian Mission and British Colonial Power in India.

In the preceding part of this chapter, the writer had the intention to deal separately with the close relation which existed between British government and Christian missionaries and the active role which British government played in the expansion of Christianity in British India.

As earlier mentioned, since the European exploration of India in 1498 there had been a strong and cooperative attachment between papal authority and Portuguese Kings. These kings played an active role in carrying out Christian mission in the newly explored areas. On the other hand, Papal authority assigned them the task to Christianize new explored areas particularly India. Moreover, the Popes awarded them Papal bulls simultaneously for the approval of their work.

That historical survey shows that a close relationship existed between missionaries and Christian colonial powers and each of them benefited from the expansion of other. Here we are going to discuss the role of British colonial power in the growth and development of Christianity in the British India. In this regard our study will be limited to British colonial power, due to its complete domination over India and its last position in all Western colonial powers.

After the decline of Mughal Empire in 1707 and British victory in the battle of Pallasy in 1757, English established their rule gradually through East India Company. Since the victory till 1800th East India Company officials had no clear idea to bring any kind of cultural and religious change in Indian society. Furthermore, they had no idea to rule India. In this span of time they avoided from any kind of aggression. On the contrary they were careful and reluctant to interrupt themselves in conflicts with the Indians.⁴¹

After this period they brought changes in their policies. British parliament changed the charter of East India Company. The sole purpose behind this change was to provide Christian missionaries an opportunity and access to India without any kind of restriction.

As a result of colonial association with Christian mission different missionary societies emerged and started their missionary work in the continent. Even some state churches were formed like, Anglican Church.

⁴¹ Solangi, Muhammad Farooq, *1857 And the Muslim India: A latest 20th Century view*, (Rawalpindi: Alavi Publisher, 1990), pp. 1, 2.

British administrators assisted Christian mission in different secret ways, but officially they tried to oppose Christian mission in India in order to avoid from native hostility.

In this connection Arthur Mayew cited many of British administrator s, statements which clearly show that it was part of their duty to Christianize India. Here it will be appropriate to quote one of these statements. In 1854 Lord Palmerstone the British prime Minster said: "It is not only our duty but in our own interests to promote the diffusion of Christianity as far as possible throughout the length and breadth of India".⁴²

It will be appropriate to analyze only the educational policy of British colonial power which provided great opportunities to Christian missionaries in India.

From the start of 19th century when the change was brought in the charter of East India Company by the British Parliament, the company showed keen interest in the education of India. In order to meet their colonial aims which were westernization and conversion of native Indians toward Christianity.

In 1854 British government announced its educational proposal which awarded financial support only to those institutions which accepted government inspection and followed its concerned policies. The conditions of this educational proposal favored only Christian missionaries, as a result of the British government support, Christian missionary institutions multiplied in British India.⁴³

It is interesting to note that high official of East India Company T. B. Macaulay known as Lord Macaulay formed this educational policy. He defined the underlying aims of this educational policy in the following words.

"... to form a class who will be interpreters between us and the millions we govern. A class of persons, Indians in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinion, and in intellect".⁴⁴

The detail of above mentioned British educational policy clearly shows that British administrators were extremely favorable to Christian mission in British India. British government's patronage and support of the evangelistic work of Christian missionaries provoked distrust among the native Indians, particularly, the Muslims. Because, it was impossible for them to tolerate British interference in their social and religious life. So, it created resistant

⁴² Mayhew, Arthur, *Christianity in India*, (New Delhi: Gyan publisher house, 1993), p 194.

⁴³ Neill, Stephen, *A history of Christian mission*, p, 357.

⁴⁴ Al Ahsan, Abdullah, *Elite Formation under Colonial Rule: Capable administrators or loyal servants?* A General survey of colonial rule in Muslim countries, ,(Islamabad: Islamic studies, Islamic Research Institute, V,37, No,1,1998),p,46

impulses for freedom to bring down the British colonial government. In May 1857, both the Muslims and Hindus revolted against the British government. This famous event in the sub continent history is known as War of Independence 1857.

At last British government succeeded to control the situation and found the way to get direct control over India. After this political change British authority considered the Muslim as their political rival and main culprits of mutiny. As a result, they tried their best to destroy the political power of Muslims and subjugated them to extreme discrimination and cruelty like , hangings, imprisonment with cruel torture ,removal of social rights and confiscation of their properties, Moreover, to add insult they adopted spiritual and mental kind of torture, such as stitching Muslim bodies in pig skins and its burning. In some cases they were compelled to clean churches and later they were hanged. British officials used to sit closed by to enjoy the struggle of these hanging bodies.⁴⁵

After the Mutiny of 1857, there was no change in British favorable attitude toward Christianity. Furthermore, it urged Christian missionaries to continue preaching without any fear and restriction.

In 1858 the British Queen accepted the responsibility to rule India directly with the following proclamation: "Firmly relying overselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion."

According to Stephen Neill, this proclamation proved as a charter of liberty for Christianity, although some parts of it intended neutrality to restore the confidence of native people.⁴⁶

According to Arthur Mayhew the term "Neutrality" was removed by the Queen's hand from the draft because it was impossible for a Christian government to be neutral and tolerant.⁴⁷

Thus, the British Crown recognized Christian missionary work and provided it opportunities and financial assistance. The purpose behind this was to organize Christian missionary enterprise for the establishment of Christianity in India. In this regard for mutual cooperation between Christian missionaries and British government, a special officer was appointed by British government to keep them in touch, and safeguard mutual interests. On the

⁴⁵ Wasti, Syed Razi, *A Muslim Struggle for Freedom in British India*, (Lahore: Book Traders Main chambers Temple road) pp, 7-24.

⁴⁶ Neill, Stephen, *A History of Christian Mission*, pp, 323-324.

⁴⁷ Mayhew, Arthur, *Christianity in India*, p,187.

other hand, British officials never hesitated to assist Christian missionaries and grant them privileges in their relevant fields. Although they tried to avoid themselves from open profession. Besides, this careful attitude of British government we found high British official's statements which clearly acknowledge the importance of Christian mission for British government in India. Here we will mention only the following one. Lt. governor of Bengal, Sir Charles Elliot, in 1891, described the Christian missionary effect as follow: "An unrecognizing and unofficial branch of the great movement that alone justify British rule in India".⁴⁸

The International Missionary Conference Edinburgh (1910) examined the attitude of British government towards Christian mission in India. The participant concluded in their report that British government provided great opportunities and complete protection to Christian mission. They acknowledged the British government's supportive role in its encouragement, assurance and financial assistance. On the other hand they welcomed official refusal of Christian mission in India and considered it wise and unavoidable action.

The same trend was pursued at the International Missionary Conference of Jerusalem (1928). But it further recommended the indigenous shape of Christianity and disproved open identification of missionary enterprise with the administration of colonial powers.⁴⁹

Apart from these conferences, later all other International Missionary Conferences particularly (Tambaram) Madras, (1938), Whibty, (1947), also disapproved the colonial character of Christian mission. The reason behind this attitude was close attachment of Christian colonial powers and Christian mission giving rise to problems and difficulties for Christian mission in the colonized areas.

So, these details showed that organized Christian missionary work was active under the British government patronage, on the other hand Christian missionaries tried to clear the way for British colonialism, thus, both of them proved beneficial for the expansion of other.

⁴⁸ Ibid, P, 194.

⁴⁹ Ibid, PP, 197-199.

(B) The Missionary Conferences.

(1) Historical Background of Christian Missionary Conferences.

In the history of Christianity from the Ecumenical Council of Nicaea (325), till Vatican II, (1965), we found Christian gatherings which were convened for the consideration of Christian religious affairs and other doctrinal issues. They are called Ecumenical councils and are 21 in number. These councils have great impact on Christianity particularly in adaptation and determination of new ideas in Christian faith.⁵⁰

Here, our study is restricted to another sort of Christian gatherings which are Christian missionary conferences. This new phenomenon of Christian gatherings appeared in protestant missionaries in the end of 19th century. We have pointed out earlier that with western colonial expansion Christianity expended to Asia and Africa.

In the above mentioned missionary fields Protestant missionary societies faced problems and difficulties to evangelize these areas due to strong resistance from the native people regarding Christian mission. They considered Christian missionaries colonial agents and Christian mission a unwanted imposition attached with the help and progress of colonial powers.⁵¹ On the other hand Christian missionaries felt their denominational divisions a hindrance in the conversion of non-Christian of these areas toward Christianity.

In this regard William Carey (1761-1834) was the first person in Protestant missionary circles who tried to organize Christian mission against these strong obstacles so, he proposed consultation and gathering of Christian missionaries and coordination among them. He proposed a missionary conference at the Cape of Good Hope in 1810 but, the main hindrance in this regard was the problem of representation particularly. From Muslim world so, he failed to realize his plan.⁵²

⁵⁰ see for detail :

Eliade, Mircea,(ed) *The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, (Christian councils),(New York: Macmillan Publishing company1987),pp,125.131.

⁵¹ Neill, Stephen, *A History of Christian mission*, p, 250.

⁵² Ibid, p, 253.

Later on, however, missionary conferences started on local level, for example: London (1854) Liverpool (1860), London (1888), New York (1900).⁵³

Gustav Warnack German expert of Christian mission felt the importance of unity among different Christian denominations and considered essential their mutual cooperation for the expansion of Christianity. He forwarded his plan in a paper at London Missionary Conference (1888) that a missionary conference should be convened after every ten years. He also emphasized the appointment of a central committee for coordination between these conferences but his plan could not be materialized.⁵⁴

In this period, Christian missionary work was expanding everywhere with the expansion of western colonialism. Christian missionaries were neglecting Muslim world in their missionary enterprise in comparison to other areas. Here the important thing to be noted is that even the above mentioned Warnack plan excluded Muslim world from his plan of world evangelization. He wrote an extensive history of the Protestant mission in six hundred pages. In this history only one paragraph is written about Muslim and which is labeled as: "hopeless"⁵⁵

According to Stephen Neil, the real encounter between Islam and Christian missionaries started from the mid of 19th century onward.⁵⁶

After colonization of the Muslim world by Western powers, Christian missionaries saw it great opportunity to evangelize Muslims so, they started their missionary enterprise among Muslims. However, soon they realized great resistance from Muslims regarding Christian mission. On the other hand, Christian missionaries felt themselves weak and incompetent to evangelize Muslims due to their inner weaknesses and strong denominational divisions. John. R. Mott describes this situation in the following words:

"The consideration of the defects, shortcomings, and weakness of the home church, has led some to question whether we have a Christianity which should be

⁵³ see for detail.

Hogg, William Richy, *Ecumenical Foundations: A History of the International Missionary Council and its 19th Century Background*, (New York: Harper's brother, 1952), pp, 38.47.

⁵⁴ Neill, Stephen, *A History of Christian Mission*, p, 543.

⁵⁵ Zwemer, Samuel. M, *Islam a Challenge to Faith: Studies on the Muhammadan Religion and the Needs and Opportunities of the Muhammadan World from the Standpoint of Christian Missions* (New York: Laymen's missionary movement, 1909), p187.

⁵⁶ Neill, Stephen, *A History of Christian Mission*, p, 366.

propagated all over the world. Were it necessary to propagate the blemishes and errors of our Christianity....our western idiosyncrasies of thought and practice, and our endless sectarian sub-divisions should be overcome or at least be left at home. Without doubt our home divisions are a great hindrance to the evangelization of the world".⁵⁷

So, this critical situation compelled Christian missionaries to take following decisions for world evangelization, particularly Muslim world.

(I) To draw a comprehensive plan for the evangelization of the world particularly, Muslim world through missionary conferences.

(II) Unification of Christians for cooperation and eradication of Christian denominational divisions.

⁵⁷ Mott, Jhon. R. *The Decisive Hour of Christian Mission*, p, 121.

(2) Christian Missionary Conferences among Muslims.

Here we will explain the first point with detail. Muslim world was the most important and problematic missionary field for Christian missionaries. In this regard they needed adaptation of suitable missionary methods based on complete awareness of Muslim mind as well as the conditions of Muslim world. Resultantly, the following missionary conferences were held to deliberate on the Christian mission among Muslims.

(a) General Missionary Conference of Cairo 1906.

In this regard the first step was the General missionary conference of Cairo which was held from April 4th to 9th, 1906. This conference was held to focus on the whole Muslim world. In this conference 62 representatives from 29 missionaries' participated. The proceedings of this conference were published under title "The Muslim world" for limited circulation. In this conference the Christian missionaries reviewed the religious, intellectual, and social conditions of the Muslim world and suggested suitable measures to convert Muslims to Christianity.⁵⁸

(b) General Missionary Conference of Lucknow 1911.

The second general missionary conference with regard to the Muslim world was convened at Lucknow, India, from January 23 to 28, 1911.⁵⁹ The proceeding of this conference too were published for limited circulation under the title "Lucknow 1911".

(c) Further Missionary Conferences among Muslims.

In 1910, the International Missionary Conference Edinburgh (1910) passed a resolution to form a continuation committee to organize missionary councils and conferences in different parts of the world and to facilitate arrangements for it.⁶⁰ Eventually, the continuation committee

⁵⁸ Zwemer, Samuel. M, *Islam a Challenge to Faith*. P, 250.

⁵⁹ Hogg, William Richy, *Ecumenical Foundations: A History of The International Missionary Council and its 19th Century Background*, p, 159.

⁶⁰ There is difference between councils and Christian missionary conferences which as follow: Christian missionary conferences met for temporary missionary issues to bring different opinions of participants and pass resolutions on these certain issues. The conferences have no permanent existence and staff like General missionary conference of Lucknow 1911. On the other hand, Christian councils are permanent Christian bodies for the purpose of Christian cooperation. These Christian councils have permanent staff and continuous activities in a certain geographical areas like National missionary council of India Burma and Ceylon. The term "council" also refers some time to the ancient Christian councils like, Nicaea 325 etcetera.

was formed in 1911. Thus chairman of committee, Jhon. R. Mott organized 21 missionary conferences focusing on Muslims between 11 November 1912 and 11 April 1913.⁶¹

All these conferences were held in the most strategically cities of the Muslim world for example Constantine, Helwan, and Jerusalem. The findings of these conferences were made available for all missionaries working among Muslims though the circulation of these documents were strictly confined to Christian missionaries only.⁶²

⁶¹ Neill, Stephen, *A History of Christian Mission*, p,545

⁶² see for detail of these conferences:

Conferences of Christian Workers among Muslims 1924:A brief Account of the Conferences Together with their Findings and lists of Members, (New York :The Chairman of The International Missionary Council,1924).

(3) Missionary Conferences and the Ecumenical Movement.

Here we will explain the second point. The history of Christian ecumenical Movement.⁶³

The modern Ecumenical Movement started among Protestants for mutual cooperation and unification of different Christian denominations for the purpose of world evangelization. It is interesting to note that it were the missionary conferences held among Muslims that compelled them to make a united front of all Christians for the accomplishment of this difficult missionary field. Thus, they got a great opportunity to bring together all Christian divisions. As we find in the proceedings of a missionary conference held among Muslims. "We believe that the necessity of showing a united front to Islam should make all Christian bodies active supporters of the movement toward Christian unity...".⁶⁴

For this purpose in 1910, the first International Missionary Conference Edinburgh was convened, more than 1200 delegates participated as representative of different protestant missionary societies. American Methodist John Raleig Mott (1865-1955) was the chairman of this conference. He raised the famous slogan in this conference "The evangelization of the world in this generation".⁶⁵

The important issues of this conference were evangelization and unity among Christians. Apart from these issues, the most important concern of this conference was the issue of Christian mission to the followers of non-Christian religions. For this purpose John. R. Mott surveyed the missionary activities in the Muslim world and presented a report at the conference.

⁶³ The word "Ecumenical "or Ecumenism" is derived from the Greek word "Oikoumene" which means "the whole inhabited earth" so this word later used in Christianity for those tasks which were related to the entire world like ecumenical councils or modern ecumenical movement. The purpose behind modern ecumenical movement is to bring unity among all Christians of the world.

See for detail:

Neill, Stephen,(ed) *Twentieth Century Christianity : A Survey of Modern Religious Trends by Leading Church men* ,p,396.

⁶⁴ *Conferences of Christian Workers Among Muslims 1924: A Brief Account of the Conferences together with their Findings and Lists of Members*, (New York:The Chairman of The International Missionary Council,1924), p,20.

⁶⁵ Neill, Stephen, *A History of Christian mission*, p. 393.

He concluded the report in these words: "Mohammedanism exhibits the greatest solidarity and the most activity and aggressiveness, and is conducting a more widespread propaganda at the present time than any other religion save Christianity".⁶⁶

As we mentioned earlier that the unity among Christian denominations was the important concern of International Missionary Conference Edinburgh (1910). It is partly because of this conference the modern Ecumenical Movement started among Christians. This conference gave birth to these three organizations:

- (a) The International Missionary Council 1921.
- (b) Life and Work Movement 1925.
- (c) Faith and Order Movement 1927.⁶⁷

Now we will briefly discuss these three organizations.

(a) International Missionary Council.

This organization came into being in 1921 in New York. It established the Protestant Missionary Councils in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The basic reason behind the establishment of IMC was to encourage and conceptually clarify important missionary issues and then provide the obtained results for all missionary societies. The International Missionary Council held the following five world missionary conferences. Jerusalem (1928), (Tambaram) Madras (1938), Whibty (1947), Willingen (1952), Accra (1958), and later in 1961 the International Missionary Council of Church was dissolved into World council of Churches.⁶⁸

(b) The Faith and Order Movement 1927.

This movement was set up in 1927 in Lausanne, Switzerland and was a result of International Missionary Conference Edinburgh 1910. The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States emphasized on the consideration of doctrinal issues. It is important to be noticed that for the sake of unity among Christian denominations discussion over doctrinal issue were avoided in the earlier missionary gatherings like Edinburgh (1910). So, for the consideration of doctrinal issues the first faith and order conference was convened in Lausanne in 1927. The basic

⁶⁶ Mahony, Anthony.O, and, Siddiqui, Attaullah, (ed) *Christians and Muslims in the Common wealth: A Dynamic Role in Future*, (London: Altajir world of Islam trust,2001),p,80.

⁶⁷ Ibid,pp,82-83.

⁶⁸ Siddiqui, Attaullah, *Christian –Muslim Dialogue 20th Century*, (London: Macmillan press ltd, 1997), p, 26.

aim behind this movement was to reduce differences among Christians and bring unity among them on the issue of faith.⁶⁹

(c) Life and Work Movement:

This movement was established in 1925 in Stockholm. It was also outcome of International Missionary Conference Edinburgh (1910). The reason behind its set up was to bring the Gospel into daily and practical life of Christians.

In 1948, the Faith and order movement and Life and Work Movement both merged together to form World Council of Churches. Later in 1961, International Missionary Council was too merged into World Council of Churches. Thus, World Council of Churches came into being which later played important role in the establishment of dialogue process with the people of other faiths. The World Council of Churches appeared in the second half of twentieth century as the most important expression of the Christian Ecumenical Movement.⁷⁰

In the above mentioned period some ecumenical development as well took place in the British India. Christian missionaries held conferences to discuss their propositive strategies. These conferences include the missionary conference of Lucknow (1911), and the International Missionary Conference of (Tambaram) Madras (1938). Both conferences are the focus of our study. In these conferences Christian missionaries realized their failure and weaknesses to evangelize India. They realized the basic reason behind their failure was the presence of divisions and the lack of unity among Christians. To get rid of this problem the evangelical church in India reached to the conclusion that there should be one united church for the evangelization of India. For this purpose they adopted the rule of "comity". According to this rule, different geographical areas were allotted to particular Christian denominations and the missionaries of other denominations were prohibited to enter there for missionary purpose. Thus, in 1947 Church of South India came into being which consisted on four different denominational churches, which were Anglicans, Methodists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists.⁷¹

From the above discussion it can be seen that great organizational development appeared in Christian mission in the first half of twentieth century. And due to strong resistance of the

⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 27.

⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 27.

⁷¹ Bengt, Sundkler, *The World of Mission*, (Michigan: WM.B. Eerdmans Publisher Company Grand Rapids, 1965), pp.270-271.

followers of other religions in the face of Christian mission, Christian mission itself became changed, as regard its relationship with other religions. In the following pages we will elaborate these points in detail in the light of General Missionary Conference of Lucknow (1911), and International Missionary conference of (Tambaram) Madras 1938.

Chapter:2

The Lucknow Missionary Conference and its Significance.

Chapter 2: The Lucknow Missionary Conference and its Significance.

(A) Background of the Conference: Christian Mission at the beginning of Twentieth Century.

As we have discussed above, the Christian missionary enterprise had close connections with the political powers during the colonial period. The Christian missionaries found great opportunities in the colonial expansion of western powers and expanded their missionary work to those new areas where western colonial powers were politically dominant. However, in India Christian missionaries faced great resistance from Indian Muslims as was the case in other parts of the Muslim world. Due to this resistance pessimistic views prevailed among missionary thinkers regarding the prospects of mission to Muslims. Apart from Muslims the Christian also concentrated on other social groups like “Out casts” and depressed classes of Hindus because of the less resistance on their part.

By the end of 19th century, the situation started changing in favor of Christian mission. According to Stephen Neill the beginning of twentieth century brought hope for Christian mission due to the increasing domination of the Western powers. He details that at the beginning of twentieth century Christian missionaries were profiting from British political power. They were no more under fear and restriction as was the case in early 19th century. Turkish Empire which was a big hindrance in the progress of Christian mission was declining and Balkan states were getting independence from Turkish Empire and appearing as Christian states. Churches in the West were becoming strong as their membership increased on large scale especially in the United States. Although scientific developments created problems for Christianity as it resulted in Biblical criticism but overall situation for Christian mission was favorable.⁷²

So Christianity entered the twentieth century with the strong conviction put by the prominent missionary leader J. R. Mott in the following words:

“The evangelization of the world in this generation”.⁷³

This missionary leader and founder of Christian Ecumenical Movement surveyed different missionary fields of the world and reached to the conclusion that non-Christian world

⁷² Neill, Stephen,(ed) *Twentieth Century Christianity : A Survey of Modern Religious Trends by Leading Church Men.*pp, 1-5.

⁷³ Ibid.p, 225.

was passing through a change and revolution. He further considered the situation of non-Christian religions as a “plastic situation”. He informed the Christians that this favorable condition may change into rigidity against Christian mission.⁷⁴ He tried to convince Christians that the conditions were favorable for them than before. He further elaborated this opportunity in the following words:

“It is decisive hour for the non-Christian nations. Far reaching movements, National, racial, social, economic, religious are shaking them to their foundations. These nations are still plastic...it is the decisive hour for the Christian church. If it neglects to meet successfully the present world crisis by failing to discourage responsibility to the whole world. It will lose its power both on home and on foreign field.⁷⁵

In that favorable atmosphere there were still some areas where Christian missionary work did not reach. John. R. Mott described those areas as “Unoccupied Fields” According to his assessment the unoccupied fields were the following areas. Afghanistan, Turkistan, Bhutan, Nepal and some parts of Arabia like Hijaz, and Najd.⁷⁶

Apart from these unconquered fields, the overall favorable circumstances provided Christian missionaries confidence about possibility of evangelizing the Muslim world. However, it demanded comprehensive planning and a carefully sketched out strategy. Here Samuel Marinus Zewemer,(1867-1952) an important expert of Muslim missionary field, presented a plan to hold missionary conferences in the areas of Muslim populations for their conversion towards Christianity. He succeeded in convening the first conference in Cairo in 1906, under his own chairmanship. In this conference, Christian missionaries working among Muslims surveyed different aspects of their activities and adopted organized plan for conversion of Muslims. It is interesting to note that previously S. M. Zewemer himself had described the Muslim world “the immovable block” due to inaccessibility and Muslim resistance to Christian mission.⁷⁷

In the beginning of twentieth century the political situation was in favor of Christian mission in India as in many other parts of the world. They had stations almost in every area of India and lower caste Hindus and aborigines were converting to Christianity in large numbers through Mass Movements. According to Stephen Neill in one area alone, one million people

⁷⁴ Mott, John R. *The Decisive Hour of Christian Mission*. (London: The Christian Literature Society for India, 1912)

⁷⁵ Ibid, pp, 180-181.

⁷⁶ Ibid. pp, 76-77.

⁷⁷ Bengt, Sundkler. *The World of Mission*, p, 218.

from underprivileged classes were converted to Christianity in thirty year missionary work. However, he notes that among the converts very few were Muslims and high caste Hindus.⁷⁸

The mission to Indian Muslims had great importance for Christian missionaries. The Chairman of Cairo Conference (1906) S. M. Zewemer wrote on the basis of the census of 1901, "The chief numerical strength of the Mohammadan faith, however, is in India, which has a larger Moslim population than all Africa and far more than the total population of Arabia, Persia, and Turkish Empire combined."⁷⁹

Due to this demographical factor, S. M. Zewemer tried to draw the attention of Christian missionaries to this important missionary field. He succeeded in convening General missionary Conference Lucknow (1911) in India. This Conference was convened five years after the General Missionary Conference of Cairo (1906). Christian missionaries selected the city of Lucknow for this Conference because it was an ancient Muslim capital and had geographical importance for its location in the center of India. So the Lucknow conference was held from January 23 to 28 in 1911, in the Hall of Isabella Thoborn College. The Christian Missionaries in this conference concentrated exclusively on the missionary work among Muslims. The reason behind this exclusive strategy was the presence of huge population of Muslims in India and the failure of the earlier Christian missionaries to evangelize them.

⁷⁸ Neill, Stephen,(ed) *Twentieth Century Christianity : A survey of modern religious trends by leading church men*, pp,12-13.

⁷⁹ Zewemer, Samuel. M, *Islam a Challenge to Faith*. p,161.

(B) Proceedings Themes and Resolution of the conference.

(1) Proceedings of the Conference.

In the General Missionary Conference Lucknow 160 delegates representing 54 missionary societies participated. The organizers of this conference had taken strict measures to prevent the leakage of program details. They had also arranged an exhibition on Islamic literature in major languages spoken by Muslims and bookstalls on Islamic history and philosophy were also arranged at the occasion.⁸⁰

The important participants and missionary leaders of the Lucknow Conference were as follows:

Samuel Marinus Zewemer the Chairman of the Conference, H. U. Weitbrecht the vice chairman, F. W. Whery, W. H. Gairdner, and George Alfered Lefory, Bishop of Lahore and so on.⁸¹

The organizers of the conference had proposed program for discussions and presentations of the papers comprising comprehensive plans for evangelization of the Muslim world. The program of Lucknow conference was started with the speech of chairman of the conference S. M. Zewemer on the following topic.

"General survey of the Muslim world"

Other important topics of discussion by different participants included:

- (I) The political changes in the Muslim world.
- (II) Governmental attitudes toward missions to Muslims.
- (III) The pan-Islamic movement and how it affects Muslim evangelization.
- (IV) Islam among pagan races and practical measures to check the advance of Islam.

⁸⁰ *Lucknow, 1911: Papers and Discussions of Lucknow Missionary Conference*, (London; The Christian Literature Society for India, 1911), pp, 7-9.

⁸¹ See for the detail of all participants:
Ibid, pp, 12-24.

(V) Social and educational developments among Muslim women, and

(VI) Conclusions of the conference.⁸²

At the end of conference an appeal was made from home churches and different missionary bodies. This appeal emphasized the need to unify the Christian forces for accomplishment of the difficult missionary task of Muslim evangelization and to halt the progress of Islam in various lands. The appeal was sent to home boards with the signatures of executive committee of the conference.⁸³

The overall attitude of the general Missionary conference Lucknow was negative and offensive regarding Islam. In this conference missionary leaders adopted aggressive approach towards Islam. The participants of this conference were confident to evangelize Muslim world due to favorable conditions for Christian mission. In spite of their optimism, they were well aware of the formidability of the task of Muslim evangelization. In this connection, they were afraid of the presence of Pan-Islamic sentiments, which in their view were the basic cause behind Muslim resistance.

We may conclude that the aggressive approach of Lucknow conference concerning Islam was twofold:

(a) To stop the progress and spreading of Islam.

(b) To triumph over Muslims and convert them to Christianity.

The reason behind this negative approach which Christian missionaries adopted in this conference was due to the participants of this conference, especially, the chairman of the conference S. M. Zewemer. Throughout his missionary career and writings he misrepresented Islam. He attributed false ideas to Islam. The key reason behind his approach was to present Islam in a distorted form and prove the superiority of Christianity over it.

The important thing to be noted here is that, G. A. Lefory, Bishop of Lahore in the closing address of the Lucknow conference criticized the offensive approach toward Islam and suggested to the participants of the conference that criticism of Islam must be done carefully, the good aspects of Islam should also be recognized. He further viewed that the approach of former

⁸² See for the detail of thies topics:

Al- Khaṭīb, Muhib u Dīn and al yāfi, Sa’īd (tr.) *Al-ghārah ‘ll ‘ālamīl islāmī*, Al- dārassa ‘udīyya linnashri watawzīh jidah, 1985.

⁸³ Lucknow, 1911: *Papers and discussions of Lucknow Missionary Conference*, pp, 30-33.

missionary leaders had complicated their goal of evangelization of Muslims. He pointed out that their negative approach was the chief cause of slow progress of Christian mission in the sub-continent.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Ibid, pp, 258-260.

(2) Themes and Issues of the Conference.

Now, let us mention the important themes of General Missionary Conference Lucknow. In this conference, the missionaries discussed evangelization of Muslims in detail. The delegates presented papers on issues related to problems and obstacles in the way of missionary objectives. The point to be noted is that the discussions in this conference were focused exclusively on evangelization of Muslims. The major themes of Lucknow conference were the following.

- (a) Pan-Islamism and its bearings on Christian mission.
- (b) Training of Christian missionaries for evangelization of Muslims.
- (c) Missionary literature for Muslims.
- (d) Integrated policy of the missionaries to counter spread of Islam.

Each of these themes is detailed below:

(a) Pan-Islamism and its Bearings on Christian Mission.

One of the Lucknow Conference's important themes was the flourishing pan-Islamic movement and its impact on Christian mission. The missionaries considered this movement as a major threat for Christian mission and an obstacle in the way of Christianization of Muslims. The movement was seen as a source of motivation for Muslim brotherhood and unity. It was recognized that Islamic beliefs and rituals play a vital role in uniting the Muslim world. Particularly the ritual of Hajj was focused upon in which Muslims from all over the world despite their ethnic difference come together and display their unity.

In this regard the Lucknow conference emphasized the Christian unity in the following words.

“As the Muslim hajj makes for the spirit of unity and Pan-Islamism, so must Christian unity mark all our policy and strategy; there must be one united front and in all great moves, the forces at work must move in concert”.⁸⁵

In the same vein, the chairman of Lucknow conference S. M. Zewemer suggested in his book that: “We must meet Pan-Islamism with Pan-evangelism”.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Lucknow, 1911: *Papers and discussions of Lucknow Missionary conference*, p, 10.

⁸⁶ Zewemer, Samuel. M, *Islam a Challenge to Faith*, p.240.

The point made above indicates that the famous Ecumenical Movement in Christianity emerged in the context of Pan-Islamic movement. So it can be maintained that Pan-Islamism among Muslims was one of the important factors behind emergence of ecumenical movement among Christians.

(b) Training of Christian Missionaries for Evangelization of Muslims.

The second important theme of the Lucknow conference was the training and qualification of Christian missionaries for the conversion of Muslims. in view of the strong resistance from Muslims in face of the Christian mission. Let us mention here some important ideas presented by the Conference delegates on this subject:

Professor R. S. McClenahan from Egypt emphasized the selection of trained and competent missionaries having appropriate qualification for the evangelization of two hundred million Muslims. He highlighted that Muslim population at that time was one seventh of the world population. He also noted the uncompromising and self satisfactory attitude of the Muslims. On the issue of training, he emphasized that missionaries working among Muslims must be experts of respective languages and familiar themselves with Islamic literature especially with the text of the Quran. Furthermore, he advised the missionaries working among Muslims that they must avoid western style and manner of life like language, dress and so on, while dealing with Muslims because it is intolerable to them.⁸⁷

S. M. Zewemer, the chairman of the conference brought forth some social issues like eating pig. He advised that the Christian missionaries must be "Muslim" to Muslims.⁸⁸

Ahamad Shah from India emphasized the importance of learning Arabic language alongside the local languages. He analyzed in detail the syllabus of traditional Islamic institutions such as Dāral 'ulum Deoband and Nadwat- al 'ulāmā. He prescribed the syllabus of these institutions for the missionaries sent to India. However, he modified the above mentioned syllabus and considered some books unnecessary for Christian missionaries⁸⁹. According to him for the Christian missionaries it is possible to study eight year course in only three years.

⁸⁷ Lucknow, 1911: *Papers and Discussions of Lucknow Missionary conference*, pp, 46-59.

⁸⁸ Ibid, p,71.

⁸⁹ Ibid, pp,8597.

C. G. Mylrea finally proposed establishment of a training school for Christian missionaries in Cairo to increase their qualification.⁹⁰

(c) Missionary Literature for Muslims.

Another important theme of the Lucknow conference was preparation and production of specific Christian literature for Muslims. In this regard the following views were presented in the Lucknow missionary conference:

H. U. Weitreich presented the details of languages spoken by Muslims and emphasized on the production of Christian literature in these languages. According to him Arabic was spoken by 45 million: and Urdu by nine million (but a shared dialect of 62 millions), Persian, by 9 million, Bangali, by 23 million, Punjabi, by 13 million, Pashto, by 12 million, and Sindhi by 2 million. He further stressed the need of the production of Christian literature in English language for the modern educated Muslims influenced by the west. Then he presented the catalogue of books of Christian literature in four important languages spoken by Muslims. The Urdu catalogue alone consisted of 72 books and other pamphlets.⁹¹

E. M. Wherry detailed the production of Christian literature and periodicals in Urdu language. According to him the production of Christian literature in Urdu language started with Karl Gottlieb Pfander(1803-1865) 's book "Mīzān -ul ḥaq". Then he mentioned those Muslims 'Ulāmā' who engaged in polemics against Christians like Rahmat Allah Kayrnāwi and Dr Wazīr Khān. He tried to demonstrate the superiority of Pfander in the polemical debates. In his article he also ventured to raise some objections to Islamic faith and praised the aggressive Christian writers like Pfander, William Muir, and W. st. Clair Tisdall. His views indicate that orientalism played active role in Christian mission as did the colonial power.

By contrast, Canon. J. Ali Bakhs in his article pointed out that the production of Christian literature should be in a conciliatory tone. He criticized the controversial style of Christian literature. He maintained that their indecent attacks on Islam had compelled Muslims to take aggressive attitude toward Christian faith. This was in his view, dangerous for the expansion of Christianity. He further said that their aggressive style had been counterproductive and thus the idea of corruption of Bible had become more common among Muslims. Muslims

⁹⁰ Ibid, p,115.

⁹¹ Ibid, pp, 118-127.

had clung to their position that Europeans themselves approved the corruption in bible and at the same time were propagating it on a large scale.⁹²

Here it seems appropriate to quote W. Wilson Cash:

“Missionaries during the past fifty years have learned much, and probably some of the older controversial work should be now scraped. Christians have come to understand the Muslim mind better, and through this experience have learned to approach the Muslims not as antagonist, but rather in the spirit of love as one brother seeking to help another along life ‘s way....”⁹³

(d) Integrated Policy of the Missionaries to counter the spread of Islam.

Another important consideration of Lucknow Conference was to draw an integrated policy against the spread of Islam.

The situation in Muslim world compelled the missionaries to take a united action of all Christian churches. They considered the efforts of individual societies working among Muslims insufficient due to their weakness and lack of strength. C. G. Mylrea, a delegate at the conference, proposed the following solution: “Advance and advance all along the line, is the only way in which both the progress of Islam among pagan races can be arrested, by the preoccupying the field and also by direct evangelization of the Muslims”.⁹⁴

He further referred to the progress of Islam in Africa and other parts of the world and emphasized the Christian missionaries to take urgent practical measure to stop Muslim advance. In this regard an appeal was made from western and Indian churches to take active part in missionary enterprise to counter the progress of Islam and convert Muslims to Christianity. For this purpose the training of Christian missionaries and their relevant qualification were emphasized.⁹⁵

⁹² Ibid, pp, 169-170.

⁹³ Cash, W. Wilson, *The Muslim World in Revolution* (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1926), p87.

⁹⁴ Lucknow, 1911: Papers and discussions of Lucknow Missionary Conference, p,209.

⁹⁵ Ibid, pp, 210-212.

(3) Resolutions of the Conference.

As mentioned earlier, the proceedings of Lucknow Conference were published for private circulation among missionaries working in Muslim areas. The resolutions of Luknow Conference were classified as “Confidential”. These resolutions were related to Christianization of Muslims and countering the spreading and progress of Islam. Now, we will discuss these resolutions one by one:

(I) The next missionary conference about the Muslim world will be convened in Cairo in 1916. If the political situation was not good to hold it there, London will be the alternative place.

(II) A continuation committee was formed to bring in practice the resolutions passed by Lucknow Conference and to accomplish the necessary arrangements for the upcoming conference.

(III) The Conference recognized the weakness of Christian missionaries working among Muslims and identified the causes of their weakness. The conference also made an appeal to rectify these deficiencies.

(IV) The consistent progress of Islam in different parts of world was noticed and it was strongly recommended for the Christian organizations and mission boards to take practical and prompt measures to stop the advance of Islam. A comprehensive policy for the evangelization of Muslims was emphasized.

(V) The Conference accepted the findings of International Missionary Conference Edinburgh (1910) on how to stop the advance of Islam, especially in Africa. It recommended practical action of Christian missionaries in this regard.

(VI) The Conference emphasized the need for establishment of a college in Cairo for the training of missionaries working among Muslims. It further recommended that missionaries for Muslim evangelization should be highly qualified and specially trained in Islamic history and related disciplines.⁹⁶ For this purpose the Henry Martin School was established in 1930 in India to equip the Christian missionaries and develop in them an understanding of Islam. Thus, the conference provided the bases for the establishment of Henry Martin School.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ .Ibid, pp, 34-38.

⁹⁷ . See for detail:

Lelvis, Patricia M, *The Henry Martin School of Islamic studies of India: its History and Function*,(Hertford: Seminary Foundation,1970),

(VII) The Conference showed keen interest in evangelistic work among depressed and animistic communities to stop the Muslim progress among these tribes. It is believed that the sole reason behind this decision was to increase Christian population as they had faced great resistance from Muslims and high caste Hindus. This point will be dealt with in detail in the following chapter.

(VIII) The Conference recommended the preparation and production of Christian literature for Muslims by experts and trained Christian missionaries. It further emphasized on the selection and establishment of important centers in Muslim world to make possible easy supply of Christian literature to Muslims.

(IX) The Conference recommended that female Christians should work for the evangelization of Muslim women.

(X) Another resolution of Lucknow conference was about the Muslim advance in Africa. The conference stressed on Christian churches to increase missionary efforts there. It was further recommended to Indian Christian missionaries to help the church in Africa.

(XI) The Conference highlighted some policies of colonial governments which had created difficulties for Christian mission.

(XII) The Conference demanded from the colonial powers to compel Turkish government to give freedom and create suitable conditions for the Christian mission in all Turkish territories.⁹⁸

⁹⁸ Lucknow, 1911: *Papers and Discussions of Lucknow Missionary Conference*, pp.38-42.

Chapter: 3

The International Missionary Conference (Tambaram) Madras and its Significance.

Chapter No 3: The International Missionary conference

(Tambaram) Madras and its significance.

(A) Background of the Conference: The Jerusalem Missionary Conference (1928).

After the Edinburgh Missionary Conference (1910) and the Jerusalem Missionary Conference (1928) the (Tambaram) Madras was the third Missionary Conference held in Tambaram near Madras, India in 1938. To mention the historical background of Madras Conference, it is necessary to refer to the International Missionary Conference of Jerusalem 1928, because this conference had great significance and impact on Christian missionary thinking of that period, especially regarding the Christian approach towards other religions.

As mentioned earlier, the political situation and colonialism had great role in the progress of Christian mission. At the time of General Missionary Conference Lucknow 1911 and the Edinburgh conference 1910, political circumstances were completely in favor of Christian missionaries. They were confident to accomplish the task of evangelization of the world in that generation. However, the following years were full of change and witnessed manifold disturbances which affected missionary activities on large scale. The foremost factor which interrupted the progress of Christian missionaries was World War I and its aftermaths, which resulted in different kind of crisis. Furthermore, the emergence of communism as the result of Russian revolution and the rise of nationalism imposed further restrictions on Christian mission in the first half of the 20th century

Apart from these political difficulties there were also some intellectual challenges to Christian mission. Secularism gave rise to the liberal theology among Christians and a great increase was seen in the Biblical criticism.⁹⁹ These tremendous changes greatly affected Christian missionary enterprise. By that time Christian missionaries had lost their confidence in imposing their Christian belief on the followers of other faiths.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Fife, Eric S, and, Glasser, Arthur F, *Mission in Crisis: Rethinking Missionary Strategy* .by. (London: Inter Varsity Fellowship 39 Bedford Square, W,C, London,1962), pp,118-119.

¹⁰⁰ Eliade, Mircea, (ed) *The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, (Christian councils), (New York: Macmillan, 1987). Pp, 576-577.

The Jerusalem Conference (1938) was held to rethink missionary enterprise amid the changing world situation. The issue of “Establishment of Secularism in the world” dominated the discussions of the conference. The participants considered it to be a great threat to Christianity. It is important to note that hitherto religions like Islam were considered an obstacle in the way of evangelization. Now, in the changed political scenario it was not feasible for Christian missionaries to treat non Christian religions negatively. So, the Christian missionaries started to re-evaluate previous missionary attitude toward other religions. In this regard the participants of the Jerusalem Conference realized the value in other religions and further emphasized the Christians to join the followers of other faiths to avert the threat of secularism. Although some participants showed their concern over the liberal and exclusive approach in the recognition of value in other faiths but at the end the message of the Jerusalem Conference was unanimously accepted by the participants of the conference.¹⁰¹ In sum, a comprehensive change had taken place in the Jerusalem conference (1928) regarding Christian attitude toward other religions. This new Christian missionary understanding of non-Christian religions has been documented in the report of Laymen’s foreign missions inquiry entitled “Re thinking mission”.¹⁰²

According to Stephen Neill due to the impact of Jerusalem conference a change occurred in missionary direction. Now the mission's focus was shifted from conversion to philanthropic service like education and health care. He further concluded that “evangelism was no longer in the center of the picture, and no more was heard of the evangelization of the world in this generation”¹⁰³

A commission was established after the Jerusalem conference under the leadership of W. E. Hocking, who traveled to Asia and Africa to observe the Christian missionary enterprise and recommend suitable approaches towards other religions. The commission published a report in which the point of view was inclusive, liberal, and completely different from earlier missionaries.

¹⁰¹ Lossky, Nicholas and others (ed) *The Dictionary of Ecumenical Movement*. (Dialogue interfaith) (Geneva: World Council of Churches), pp312.

¹⁰² Neill, Stephen, *A History of Christian Mission*, p, 455.

¹⁰³ Neill, Stephen, *The Unfinished Task*. (London: Edinburgh House Press Eaton gate, 1958), pp,151-152.

The main points of the report were as follows:

- (I) Christian missionaries have to observe the best in other religions.
- (II) The aim of missionary activities should not be conversion or to establish Christian monopoly over other religions but to cooperate with them.

This new liberal approach towards non Christian religions provoked reaction among conservative Christians under the influence of Christian theologian Karl Barth (1886-1968) who rejected liberalism in all shapes.¹⁰⁴

The above discussion shows that before the Madras conference Christian mission was in a critical situation due to inward and outward crisis and the conditions were unfavorable for Christian mission. The reasons behind this scenario was the rise of nationalism as a reactionary force against colonialism, growing opposition to Christianity, decrease in missionary finances due to the decline of the West, and other restrictions upon Christian missionaries.

Apart from these difficulties and opposition, there were great difference among Christians themselves on the missionary approach and attitude towards other religions. So need for a new gathering was felt to consider new strategies in the changed situation.

¹⁰⁴ Neill, Stephen, *A History of Christian Mission*, p-456.

For the detail of Karl Barth critique of "Modernity" and "Liberalism" see:

Webster, John,(ed) *The Cambridge Companions to Karl Barth*, (Cambridge: University Press,2007),pp,280-293.

(B) Proceedings Themes and Resolutions of (Tambaram) Madras Conference.

(1) The Proceedings of Madras Conference.

The third International Missionary Conference was convened in Tambaram town which is on 16 mile away from Madras, India. This conference was held from 12 to 29 December at Madras Christian College. In this conference, 471 missionaries participated from 69 countries. The Conference authorities provided equal right of participation to Younger churches in Madras conference. J. R. Mott was the Chairman of this conference:

The central theme of the conference was the church itself, particularly the upgrading of the younger churches and the problem faced by them. The conference stressed that nothing is more important for the progress of Christian missionary movement than the consolidation of the church itself.¹⁰⁵ The important topics of the Madras conference were the following:

- (I) The church, its nature and functions.
- (II) The faith by which the church live.
- (III) The witness of the church in relation to non-Christian religions.
- (IV) The economic basis of the church.
- (V) Church and international order.
- (VI) The church and the state.¹⁰⁶

Before the conference, preparatory literature was produced and later on distributed among the participants. In this regard, two books were the most important and notable. The first book was *The Economical Basis of the Church* by J. Merle Davis. He discussed in his book the economical problems of the younger churches and suggested for their solutions. The second book was *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World* written by the historian Hendrick Kreamer. He wrote this book on the request of the committee of the Madras conference. The main issue discussed by the writer was the Christian approach toward non-Christian religions and how to

¹⁰⁵ Mott, John R, *Addresses and Papers of John R. Mott*. (New York: The International Missionary Council, 1947), v, 5,) pp. 283-287.

¹⁰⁶ *The World Mission of the Church: Finding and Recommendations of the International Missionary Council*. Tambaram (Madras), India , 1938,(London: International Missionary Council,1939) p, 4.

reaffirm Christian mission in the changing world. Hendrick Kreamer and his book had immense impact on Madras conference.¹⁰⁷

He tried in this book to respond to the liberal approach of Jerusalem Conference and to reaffirm Christian mission. Due to his impact on this conference, some Christian writers have considered Madras conference as Hendrick Kreamer's conference. The exclusive assumption of Hendrick Kreamer regarding Christianity provoked reaction among scholars like the former principal of Madras Christian College A. G. Hogg. He criticized Hendrick Kreamer and rejected his exclusive assumptions.¹⁰⁸

Another important preliminary work prepared for the Madras Conference was the inquiry conducted by Near East Christian Council on the subject of evangelization of Muslim world. This report was compiled by Henry. H. Riggs. This report basically focused on two fundamental questions regarding Christian mission to Muslims:

- (1) Difficulties that make the evangelization of the Muslims unfruitful in comparison to other people?
- (2) Which missionary approach and attitude toward Muslims produce better results?

As regard the first question, it was concluded that there were two great hindrances in conversion of Muslims to Christianity:

First, certain Christian teachings are unacceptable for Muslims. Second obstacle was Muslim solidarity and brotherhood safeguarded them from conversion to Christianity.

Regarding the question of suitable attitude and approach toward Muslims, the inquiry report recommended following suggestions to be adopted: Christians working among Muslim should adopt a sympathetic approach towards Muslims and present Christian message in an acceptable manner to impress Muslims. The report further put forward the following recommendations:

- (a) Doctrinal debates should be avoided because they provoked the Muslims to reject Christianity.

¹⁰⁷ Mott, John R, *Addresses and Papers of John R. Mott*, v, 5, p, 287.

¹⁰⁸ Hewitt, Gordon, *The Problem of Success: A History of the Church Missionary Society*, pp, 34-35.

(b) Christian believers should be remained integrated in their former social and political group to avoid difficulty and resistance from native people. In this regard, the report suggested substitute for baptism.¹⁰⁹

For preparation of group reports, the participants were divided into eight sections. Each group comprised 55 persons. Finally, the details and findings of the Madras Conference were published with the following title *The World Mission of the Church*.

Another important document of the Madras conference is the seven volumes of *The Madras series*. In this series, we find the discussions and papers presented in Madras conference.

¹⁰⁹ Lelvis, Particia M, *The Henry Martin School of Islamic studies of India: its history and Function*. pp, 29-31.

(1) Themes of the Conference.

As mentioned earlier, that International Missionary Conference (Tambaram) Madras was an international gathering of Christian missionaries. The conference was held in the context of changing world situation, so the themes of this conference were not confined to a specific religion as was the case of General Missionary Conference Lucknow(1911), which had focused exclusively on the issues of Muslim conversion.

The major issues of Madras Conference were following:

- (a) The growing opposition to Christian mission.
- (b) Establishment of indigenous church in India.
- (c) Christian Mass Movement in India.
- (d) Survey of Indian and Muslim missionary fields.

(a) The Growing Opposition to Christian Mission.

One of the important themes of Madras conference was the emerging oppositions to the Christian mission in the changing world. As we saw earlier the chief threat to Christianity which the participants of International Missionary Conference Jerusalem (1928) had noted was “Secularism” but at the International Missionary Conference Madras (1938) the participants considered the rise of “new paganism”¹¹⁰ and revival of traditional religions a new challenge for Christian mission because they demanded complete loyalty and devotion from their followers.

Other challenges for Christian mission according to the conference report were as follow:

(I) The Madras conference considered the emergence of nationalism in following three types: Self expressive, self satisfied, and self assertive. It was considered as a great emerging threat to Christianity. To deal with this challenge, the participants of the Madras conference discussed suitable Christian attitude toward nationalism. In fact, the rise of nationalism was in part a reaction against the West, so the nationalistic sentiments compelled Christian missionaries to give Christian mission and church an indigenous cast and get rid of its image of being a western institution.

¹¹⁰ *New Paganism*: The word Paganism is applicable to the believers of non Abrahamic religions, here they used this term to indicate toward the polytheistic religions of Europe.

see for detail:

Kocku Von Stuckard (ed) The Brill Dictionary of Religion (Boston: Brill Leiden,2006),V,III,pp,1393-1397,

(II) The Madras conference considered the emergence and popularity of communism another challenge to Christianity. According to the report of Madras conference, communism at that time was impressing people on large scale especially the youth of society.

(III) The third perceived opposition to Christianity was the rising scientific skepticism. The reason behind this development was the thrust of scientific method which demanded, according to many, that all religious beliefs need to be affirmed through scientific examinations and experiments.¹¹¹

(b) Need for the Establishment of Indigenous Church in India.

As discussed earlier, out of the central themes of the Madras conference was the institution of church from different aspects. In this regard, the important issues discussed were as follow:

- (I) The role of the church in evangelization.
- (II) The indigenous ministry of the church.
- (III) Faith by which the church lives.
- (IV) The relation of the church and the state.
- (V) The economic basis of the church.¹¹²

The above mentioned topics show that Madras conference recognized the important place of the church in evangelization and tried to remove the weaknesses of the church and to adjust it to the changing environment.

Apart from these issues, the need for indigenous church was emphasized especially for the younger churches. It is important to note that previously younger churches were under the control of western churches. Now due to the political changes, the rise of nationalism, and the awareness of Eastern people regarding Christianity's foreignness. Thus, the issue of indigenous church, independent from western influence, came to the fore in Madras conference.

¹¹¹ *The World Mission of the Church: Finding and Recommendations of the International Missionary Council.* Tambaram (Madras), India, 1938, pp.20-22.

¹¹² *Ibid*, p.4.

In this regard, the conference suggested these younger churches to adjust to their native environment and convert the local people to independent self supporting, self governing, and self propagating indigenous churches.¹¹³

(c) The Mass Movement in India.

In India Christian missionaries at first started their work among high caste Hindus and Muslims. However, by and large they failed to convert them. As a result of this failure Christian missionaries diverted their attention to the low caste Hindus. They found among them less resistance and succeeded to convert them in large groups. This approach is known as Christian Mass Movement in the missionary history of India. The Madras conference also analyzed the impact and results of Mass Movement in the light of inquiry of Bishop J. W. Pickett. He had conducted this inquiry on the request of National Christian Council of India. The conference analyzed merits and demerits of Mass Movement for Christian mission. It was noted that this movement had little usefulness rather it had created difficulties for Christianity.¹¹⁴

However, this Movement accelerated the numerical growth of Christian church and played a big role in the expansion of Christianity in India. According to the estimates of J. W. Picket, 85 percent of Indians converted to Christianity because of this Movement. Only in Punjab American Methodist Church increased its membership from virtually nil to 35000 numbers in the span of 30 years. Similar results were achieved by other Christian denominations.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Kreamer, Hendrick, *The Christian Message in a non-Christian World*, (Michigan: kregel Publications 1956.),pp, 407-411.

¹¹⁴ *Evangelism, The Madras Series: Presenting Papers based upon the meeting of the International Missionary Conference at Tambaram Madras.*(New York: International Missionary Council 1939),V3,pp,58-72.

¹¹⁵ *The world Mission of the Church: Finding and Recommendations of the International Missionary council.* Tambaram (Madras), India, 1938, pp. 256-257.

(d) Survey of Indian and Muslim Missionary fields.

One of the important themes of Madras conference was the Christian mission in relation to other religions. In this regard let us first mention their considerations about Hinduism:

The participants of the Madras conference observed that in reaction to Christian mission Hinduism had changed its Indian national character. For the first time in history Hindus tried to present their teachings globally. Furthermore, Indian nationalism strengthened the resurgence of Hinduism.

The participants of the conference observed the changing situation in the Muslim world after the rise of nationalism and abolition of caliphate. On the one hand, and the spread of secularism and materialism among Muslims on the other.¹¹⁶

In this connection, the Madras Conference appointed a group of 35 missionaries working among Muslims to survey the missionary field of Muslim world and to identify the problems which missionaries confronted there.

The Madras conference committee for Muslims pointed out the weaknesses and discussed the failure of Christian missionaries in Muslim lands. The committee pointed out that the attitude of Muslims toward Christian mission was largely unresponsive. On the other hand, the committee also highlighted the opportunities in front of missionaries and urged to reaffirm Christian mission to Muslims despite all difficulties and hindrances.¹¹⁷

It is interesting to note that the Madras conference focused mainly on the Muslims of India. According to the details of the conference proceedings, there were more Muslims in India than any other country of the world. The Muslim population in India was 82 millions. The participants of the Madras conference also discussed the characteristics of Indian Muslims like their strong sense of being a single community, and their devotion to the imposition of Islamic law in certain Indian states.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Ibid, pp, 49-50.

¹¹⁷ see for detail :

Evangelism, The Madras Series: Presenting papers based upon the meeting of the international missionary conference at Tambaram madras,pp,407

¹¹⁸ Ibid, p,134.

(3) Recommendations of the conference.

Here, recommendations of Madras conference related to our topic will be analyzed one by one:

(I) The Madras conference recognized the moral value of the non-Christian religions. At the same time, it reaffirmed Christian mission to non-Christians. In this connection, the conference recommended the localization of Christian mission. The conference emphasized that Christianity should be expressed in indigenous forms of literature, institutions, architecture and so on. It further urged that the presentation of Christian mission should be in persuasive manner, not in aggressive style. The reason behind this changed stance was the awakening of the national consciousness among Asians. In this regard, the missionaries observed that presentation of Christianity as a western religion has no attraction for locals. This lead to the recommendation of indigenous Christianity.¹¹⁹

(II) Madras conference observed the existence of social values in other religions such as the social teachings of Islam. They felt that Christianity lacks such social dimension. Furthermore, several recommendations of the Madras conference were focused on church and society, church and international order, and church and state. Main idea behind these focuses was to bring Christian teachings into practical life of individuals and society.¹²⁰

(III) The delegates of the conference recognized the importance of missionary literature for the purpose of evangelization and passed several recommendations in this regard. The conference emphasized the publication of Christian literature and training of missionaries for this purpose. It was also recommended that the publication of literature should be undertaken keeping in view the local culture. Moreover, the conference emphasized that the foreign outlook of missionary literature must be avoided.

(IV) The conference recommended the production of literature specific for each social group such as educated class, youth, blinds, and children. Journalism was seen as an important approach to non-Christians. It was emphasized that Christian missionaries have to create place

¹¹⁹ *The World Mission of the Church: finding and recommendations of the international missionary council.* Tambaram (Madras), India , 1938, pp,24-26.

¹²⁰ Ibid. see for detail the following sections:
13, 14,15, pp.121-144.

for Christianity in the news papers. The conference also recommended the use of drama, songs, and emerging communication equipments like radio and cinema for the mission.¹²¹

(IV) The conference reaffirmed the evangelistic purpose behind philanthropic activities like education and health services. It was further proposed that these activities must be controlled directly by missionaries. Apart from the fulltime evangelists in the field, the conference particularly recognized the contribution of students and women and considered their efforts helpful for Christian mission. The conference emphasized that opportunities must be provided to them to work in the field of evangelization.¹²²

(V) The conference received reports from all over the world about development of Christian unity and cooperation among Christian churches. The conference considered church divisions a big hindrance in the evangelization of non-Christians.

The participants felt the necessity of joint planning and action in missionary enterprise and emphasized the need for cooperation among different Christian denominations. In this regard, Madras conference hailed the achievements in the direction of church union in various parts of the world, particularly in South India.¹²³

Before Madras Conference Delhi Conference had taken place on December, 6 to 7 in 1938 for the evangelization of the Muslim world. Madras conference reviewed the implementation of Delhi Conference agenda.

It was considered that a fruitful approach to Muslim evangelization would be to encourage the people to remain loyal to their social and political environment to which they belong before converting toward Christianity. It was suggested that it would be sufficient if the head of an indigenous Christian mission were a Christian. They also suggested to avoid reaction and draw Muslims gently from their strong social bonds towards Christianity.

¹²¹ Ibid, pp,102-114.

¹²² Ibid, pp,43-44.

¹²³ Ibid, pp,151-156.

Chapter:4

**From Lucknow to Madras: New Dimensions in
Christian Mission.**

Chapter 4: From Lucknow to Madras: New Dimensions in the Christian Mission.

(A) General Developments.

Our study of Lucknow and Madras Conferences showed that between the periods of these conferences great changes had taken place in the Christian missionary enterprise. The reason behind these changes was the apparent and invisible difficulties which Christian missionaries confronted. The above mentioned conferences brought comprehensive changes in the missionary techniques. We have observed that at the time of Lucknow Conference the missionaries were confident in the evangelization of the whole world and their style was aggressive. However, after changes in political order of the world such as World War I, the rise of communism and nationalism, and revival of non-Christian religions missionaries brought changes in their missionary strategy. However, since the Jerusalem conference, and the time of (Tambaram) Madras Conference missionaries had realized the value of other religions and decided to take positive steps towards non-Christian religions.

As noted above, the post Madras conference situation created unfavorable scenario for Christian mission. Shortly after this conference, World War II started which imposed restrictions on missionary activities. As a result of this instability, western dominance over colonized world declined. So, reactionary and anti-Christian movements started in the colonized world, especially, in the Indian Sub-Continent. To avoid opposition in such a critical time the missionaries introduced the concept of indigenous Christianity. As elaborated earlier, the reason behind this move was to persuade native people that Christianity is not a western imported religion.

As a result of the independent movements India and Pakistan got freedom. India declared itself as a secular democratic republic and its constitution guaranteed religious liberty to adherents of all religions. But for the fundamentalist Hindus India was the land of Hindus. They opposed any kind of Christian missionary activity, particularly conversion towards Christianity. Anti-Christian movements emerged among them to reconvert Hindus from Christianity.

According to Stephen Neill, situation for Christian missionaries in Pakistan was more complicated due to the following reasons:

Firstly, Christian population in Pakistan was less in number than in India. At the time of independence Christian population in Pakistan consisted only one percent of total population. Secondly, Pakistan declared itself as an Islamic Republic. Although, it provided religious freedom to all minorities but, the missionaries lost their previous privileges and established position. In this scenario, the chief goal for Christian missionaries became preservation of the achieved successes instead of missionary advance.¹²⁴

Observing the above political changes and decline of western rule in India, Indian historian K. M. Panikar has stated explicitly that the western imperialism eventually ended in 1945 that had started with Vasko Da Gama in 1498.¹²⁵ We will further analyze the developments in the missionary techniques. Here, In this regard we will notice the following three developments.

- (1) Development in the direction of ecumenism.
- (2) Development in Christian missionary attitude towards other religions: from mission to dialogue.
- (3) Dependence on indirect missionary method in the field of medical and education.

(1) Development in the Direction of Ecumenism.

In the introductory chapter, it has been discussed how Christian missionary enterprise moved toward the ecumenicity. The question is what were the factors behind this development. We have mentioned earlier that modern Christian ecumenical movement was a Protestant movement, and its roots go back to Edinburgh Conference (1910). The main reason behind this development was the failure of Christian missionaries. The causes behind this failure were many such as:

- (I) Resistance toward Christian mission. Particularly, by Muslims.
- (II) The existence of divisions among Christians.

¹²⁴ Neill, Stephen, *A History of Christian Mission*, pp, 85-486.

¹²⁵ Neill, Stephen, (ed) *Twentieth Century Christianity: A Survey of Modern Religious Trends by Leading Church Men*, p, 368.

The Institutional development of this movement was divided in the following three organizations.

- (a) The International Missionary Council.
- (b) The Faith and Order Movement.
- (c) The Life and Work Movement.

Eventually, these three organizations merged to establish the World Council of Churches in 1948, which proved to be the most important sign of Christian Ecumenical Movement.

Another interesting point which has already been discussed was the initial marks towards Christian unity and mutual cooperation established in the missionary fields of India. The first church union was the church union of South India that was established in 1947. This union brought different denominational churches under the rule of comity.

It is because of this movement that Stephen Neill named the twentieth century as the century of Christian unity. Priorly, he had termed the ninetieth century the century of Christian expansion in the world.¹²⁶

As discussed earlier the Christian Ecumenical Movement emerged among Protestant missionaries in the first half of twentieth century, for the unity of Christians. Let us briefly analyze here the response of other Christian denominations to this movement.

Many of the Orthodox Churches became the members of World Council of Churches and participated in its activities. However, these churches considered themselves as the undivided church of the first eight centuries. Furthermore, they denied accepting some newly established churches.

The response and attitude of Roman Catholic Church to the Ecumenical Movement was more exclusive than the Orthodox churches. In 1949, the supreme congregation of Rome released the following official order on the issue. "Indeed, with the true love of a mother, she the Catholic Church embraces all who return to her as to Christ's one true church."¹²⁷

Another important development which appeared in Roman Catholic Church was the establishment of its own secretariat for the unification of Christians. So, in Vatican II council 1962, Pope officially approved the move and the Roman Catholic Church invited all Christian denominations to send their representatives for participation. They also invited the World

¹²⁶ Ibid, p, 327.

¹²⁷ Ibid, pp, 380-381.

Council of Churches to send their observers.¹²⁸ Because of the divisions on the issue among Christians and denominational growth of ecumenism, Stephen Neill considered this movement unrestraint and yet at the same time a threat for Christianity.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ *Ibib*, p. 383.

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 355.

(2) From Mission to Dialogue: Development in Christian Attitude towards other Religions.

Another development which appeared in the first half of twentieth century regarding Christian missionaries was the changed attitude towards non-Christian religions. The new approach later developed into a direct contact with adherence of other religions through interfaith dialogue. As noted above, at the time of Edinburgh conference (1910), the Christian missionaries were confident to evangelize the world within their generation. Their attitude towards other religions was quite aggressive. This aggressiveness was evident at Lucknow conference (1910) especially towards Islam. Stephen Neil stated the view of the participants of the Edinburgh conference that with the establishment of Christianity, all non-Christian religions would dissolve and their adherents would decrease to the extent of the followers of Zeus and Apollo.¹³⁰

But later political developments forced Christian missionaries to take a sympathetic and inclusive stance. In Jerusalem (1928) and Madras (1938) conferences great changes were seen in the Christian missionary attitude towards other religions. At the first time they admitted positive values in non-Christian religions.

Post Madras conference situation was more tough for Christian mission because shortly after this conference World War II started which weakened western political powers. The war resulted in the independence of different countries like India and Pakistan. After independence, anti-Christian movements emerged in different countries which aimed at reconverting people from Christianity to their respective religions. Now, previous aggressive approach to non-Christians was out of date as it could have posed a threat to the existence Christian mission itself and to the Christians citizens in these countries. It is not surprising then, that the missionaries adopted more suitable inclusive approach. The new approach later culminated in the form of dialogue with non-Christian religions. The development in this direction initially appeared among protestant missionaries.

The Roman Catholic Church also moved in this direction. In Vatican Council II (1962-1965), the organizers tried to prepare a document about Judaism. On this occasion the bishops of Eastern Roman Catholic churches raised the point that equality should be practiced regarding

¹³⁰ Neill, Stephen, *A History of Christian Mission*, p.454.

Islam and Judaism. In response, the Vatican Council II issued the following two important documents on the attitude of Roman Catholic Church toward Islam:

(I) *Lumen Gentium* (Light of the Nations) (II) *Nostra Aetate* (our Age) These official documents of the Roman Catholic Church conferred respect to Muslims and regarded them the followers of Ibrahimic faith. Islam was herald as a monotheistic religion with good qualities.¹³¹

The document of *Nostra Aetate* emphasized to establish interfaith dialogue with Muslims. The document reads: "Although in the course of centuries many quarrels and hostilities have arisen between Christians and Muslims, this most sacred synod urges all to forget the past and strive sincerely for mutual understanding".¹³²

The document discusses the difficulties in the way of dialogue with Muslims. Furthermore, it admits injustice committed by Christians towards Islam in the past. The document aspires to get rid of the previous crusader attitude towards Islam.¹³³

To materialize this new approach towards non-Christian particularly the Muslims, Roman Catholic Church founded secretariat which were later merged into the Pontifical Council for Interfaith Dialogue. The World Council of Churches also tried to institutionalize this approach and established a separate unit for the purpose of dialogue with other religions.

These developments show that that Christian missionary attitude towards non-Christians moved from confrontation towards close contact and understanding of other faiths. Thus, in the second half of the 20th century, Christians moved from direct mission toward dialogue.¹³⁴

¹³¹ See for detail:

Mahony, Anthony.O, and, Siddiqui, Attaullah , (ed) *Christians and Muslims in the Common wealth: A Dynamic Role in Future*, pp,107-110

¹³² *Guide lines for a Dialogue between Muslims and Christians*, (Roma: Secretariatus pro non Christians, 1969),p 73.

¹³³ *Ibid* , pp 74-77

¹³⁴ see for detail:

Mahony, Anthony.O, and, Siddiqui, Attaullah , (ed) *Christians and Muslims in the Common Wealth: A Dynamic Role in Future*, pp,110-111

Siddiqui, Attaullah, *Christian –Muslim Dialogue 20th Century*, pp, 23-48.

(3) Mission through Medical and Educational Service.

Right from the beginning, Christians had institutionalized their missionary enterprise. They employed different methods and approaches for their missionary objectives. Notably, they used medical and educational services on large scale to influence people and convert them towards Christianity. The missionaries in India used these means for the expansion of Christianity quite earlier and they remained useful source for the diffusion of Christianity.

No doubt, the missionaries have contribution in the field of education and medical, but it is also evident from the missionary history of India that the driving force behind their social activities was not merely service to society rather it was conversion to Christianity. As elaborated earlier, missionaries converted depressed classes of Hindus in large number through Mass Movements. The rationale behind these movements was to increase Christian population in India. With this approach in mind the Christian missionaries decided to achieve their objectives through educational and medical services. In this way they hoped to create an image among the people of India that Christianity was not the religion of only poor.

Social service proved to be a quite successful approach. Through indirect incentives of educational and medical services they succeeded for the first time to outreach to Muslims and influence them. They became able to influence the mind of Muslim Children through education.

The founder of Ecumenical Movement, J. R. Mott, considered education as the most useful strategy to outreach non-Christians. To elaborate the importance of this approach, he said: “what you would put into the life of a nation, put into its school.¹³⁵

Medical work among Muslims provided the missionaries an opportunity to present Christianity. In this regard, Dr. Spear, a famous missionary expressed: “The medical work is the only department of our enterprise that has as yet gained any extensive influence over Muslims.”¹³⁶

Later on when political situation changed after the independence of India and Pakistan the missionaries shifted their concentration completely on indirect evangelization through the fields of education and medical services. Thus, Christian missionaries found in education and medical services a good substitute for the direct evangelism. However, this approach also

¹³⁵ Mott, John. R. *The Decisive Hour of Christian Mission*, p,87.

¹³⁶ Watson, Charles R, *What is this Muslim World?* (New York: Friendship Press, 1937). pp, 162-163.

attracted criticism that the missionaries tried to proselytize immature and deprived people exploiting their basic human necessities.

(B) Results for Missionary Enterprise in India.

Let us analyze the results of Christian missionary enterprise in the first half of twentieth century in the sub-Continent. In view of the efforts of organized missionary societies with their huge expenditures and support of the colonial government, they failed in achieving their objectives. Missionaries mostly succeeded in converting only the depressed and outcast Hindus. Later on, with the political changes in the sub-Continent, the missionary enterprise declined quickly and became near to collapsing.

Our investigation shows that India remained the most important missionary field because of its huge population, which consisted one seventh of the whole population of the world. It was this demographical importance of India that some Christian missionaries attached the missionary future of the world with the future of India. In the final analysis, Christian missionaries succeeded to increase Christian population in India, but it is also a matter of fact that this increase in population occurred through Mass Movements amongst depressed classes of Hindus only.

According to the statistical details provided by the famous missionary Dewi Morgan this increase in the growth of non-Romans was more rapid than of the Roman Catholics. He also acknowledges that a large proportion of Christian converts were drawn from outcast Hindus.¹³⁷ The census of 1941 showed eight million of Christian population in undivided India against the total population of 38,89,97,955.¹³⁸ It is interesting to note that increase in Christian population mostly occurred in the south of India. The reason was that the Mass Movement had taken place only in the south of India.

Christian historian Stephen Neill admitted that Christianity in the sub-continent remained the religion of poor and depressed people. Christian missionaries hardly succeeded in converting the followers of dominant three religions of the sub-continent, namely Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism. Eventually, Pakistan became a Muslim, India a Hindu, and Sri Lanka a Buddhist country.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Neill, Stephen,(ed) *Twentieth Century Christianity : A Survey of Modern Religious Trends by Leading Church Men*, p. 23.

¹³⁸ *Directory of Church and Mission in India and Pakistan* 1951,(Ootacamund: World Dominion press,1951) p,XV.

¹³⁹ Neill, Stephen, *Under Three Flags*, pp.68-70.

They found greatest difficulties and opposition from Muslims. Due to this reason Charlis. R. Watson considered the expansion of missionary work among Muslims to be “microscopic”. He wrote: “Missionary work in Muslim land has a strange fatality for turning away from Moslims and addressing itself to non-Moslim groups. The latter are generally pagans, as in Africa; Hindus and out casts, as in India.”¹⁴⁰

Similarly, Stephen Neill admitted that there has never been Mass conversion of Muslims. It is not surprising, then, that missionaries like, Dr. McGavran suggested that Christian mission among Muslims should be either abandoned or reduced.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Watson, Charles R, *What is this Muslim World?*, p,153.

¹⁴¹ Neill, Stephen, *The Unfinished task*. P,124.

Conclusion

Conclusion.

There is no doubt that close contacts existed between Christian missionaries and western colonial powers in the Sub-continent. Due to this reason Pope issued Papal bulls in the acknowledgment of Portuguese kings missionary efforts. The missionaries pursued their work in the colonial India with the indirect support of government. This relation existed till the independence of India and Pakistan from British rule. Eventually, the political situation had great impact on Christian mission and the missionary strategies. Furthermore, when political changes occurred in the first half of the twentieth century, Christian missionaries needed to adopt new missionary strategy and techniques.

For this purpose, they held conferences continuously in the first half of the twentieth century. The basic aim behind these conferences was to readjust Christian mission according to the changing world. It is through these conferences that the missionaries devised comprehensive plans for the evangelization of the world. Certainly, these conferences had great importance in the rethinking of missionary strategy. Furthermore, these conferences were instrumental in changing attitude toward other religions.

Let us conclude the changes which came about in Christian mission through the Lucknow and the (Tambaram) Madras conferences. In 1911, at the time of the Lucknow conference British rule in the Sub-continent was on rise and the political circumstances were favorable for missionaries. In such circumstances, missionaries were confident to Christianize the world. In Lucknow conference, their attitude to non-Christian religions such as Islam was aggressive and provocative. However, political changes in the world Like the World War I, rise of nationalism and communism and revival of other religions resulted in the decline of western political dominance. So, at the time of the Jerusalem conference 1928, and the (Tambaram) Madras conference 1938, the above mentioned factors compelled Christian missionaries to change their missionary strategy to adjust Christian mission with the emerging situation. These changes were as follow:

(I) To avoid opposition and to avoid the alien imprint of Christianity, missionaries tried to establish indigenous churches in India.

(II) Christian mission gradually moved toward Ecumenism and unification because they found denominational divisions among Christians a hindrance in achieving the objective of evangelization.

(III) Organizational development led toward the establishment of World Council of Church.

(IV) Christian mission moved from polemical and controversial approach toward realization of values in non-Christian religions. Later on, this approach developed into the Christian dialogue with other religions in the second half of twentieth century. Here, it is to be noted that previously in colonial period, Christian dialogue was in polemical and controversial tone (Munazarah). However, the establishment of World Council of Church and development towards religious dialogue with the adherents of other faiths can be seen as useful means for the missionary purpose and count for the indirect missionary tactics.

(V) After the process of decolonization and independence of India and Pakistan, Christian mission confined its activities to the fields of education and medical services. We can say that Christian mission came from direct to indirect approach.

The reason behind these changes in Christian missionary strategy was to readjust and pursue mission tactically after the change in world order. It is important to note that another striking factor behind the change in Christian missionary strategy was the strong Muslim resistance and opposition of Christian mission. As a result Christian missionaries turned towards ecumenism when they felt the need of united front for the evangelization of Muslims. They considered Pan Islamism as a threat for Christian missionary enterprise. Due to this reason Christian Missionary leader in Lucknow Conference stressed on pan-evangelism to meet the threat of pan-Islamism.

Another interesting thing to be noted relates to Orientalism is that the orientalists like, Freeland Abott¹⁴² propagate frequently that Islam was spread in India by political force. But our investigation shows the other side of the coin that western financial support and prestige was continuously used to propagate Christianity in the soil of Sub-continent.

In spite of colonial support, the Christian missionaries failed to achieve their perceived goals. True, they succeeded in increasing Christian population in India through Mass Movement carried out among the underprivileged depressed classes but their efforts completely failed as regard Muslims and high caste Hindus. As a result of this failure, Christianity generally remained

¹⁴² See for detail:
Jameela, Maryam, *Islam and Orientalism*, (Lahore: Mohammad Yousuf Khan & Sons, 1981), pp-168-171.

in sub-continent the religion of poor. Later on, when political scenario changed leading to the independence of India and Pakistan, Christian mission declined and lost its privileged position.

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