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Other Men Laboured

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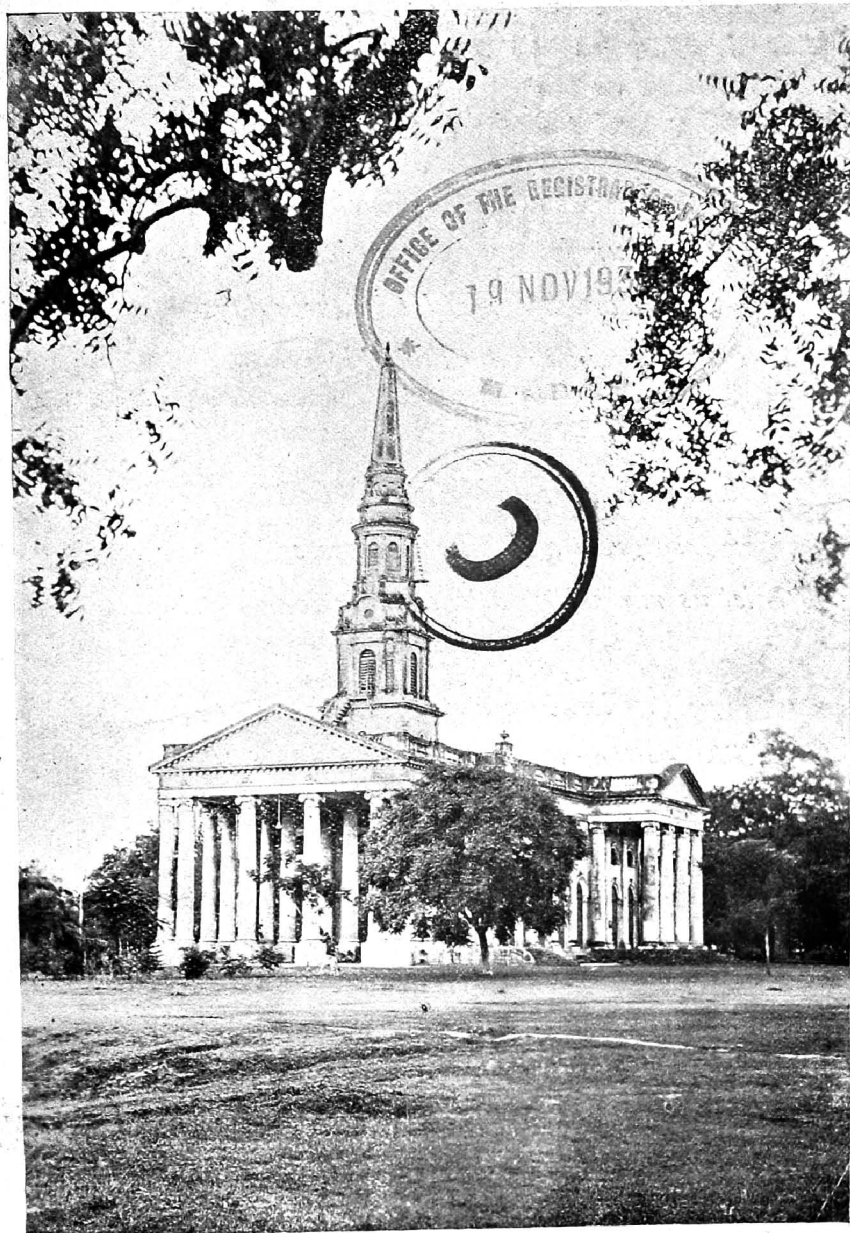


CENTENARY OF THE DIOCESE OF MADRAS

1835-1935

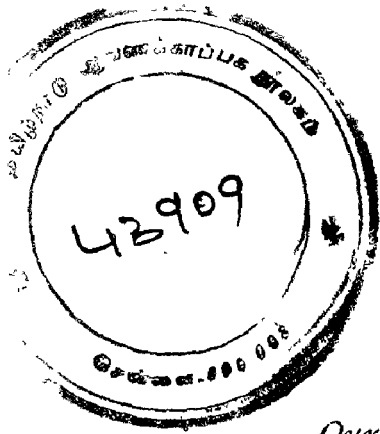
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Other Men Laboured



ST. GEORGE'S CATHEDRAL, BUILT 1815

CENTENARY OF THE DIOCESE OF MADRAS
1835-1935



*Our fathers have told us
what work Thou didst in their days
in the days of old*

* * * * *

*Seeing we are compassed about with
so great a cloud of witnesses
let us run with patience the race
that is set before us
looking unto Jesus*

The Author and Finisher of our faith

* * * * *

*God, having provided, that apart from us
they should not be made perfect.*

EDITOR'S NOTE

THE first four chapters of these studies in the history of the Church in Madras were written by the Rev. P. C. Kerslake. Owing to his departure from Madras on account of illness the remaining chapters had to be compiled from his notes and other sources by another

EDITOR.

HISTORICAL DATA

1608. The first English traders arrived in India, at Surat.
1640. Founding of Fort St. George, Madras.
1647. Appointment of first English Chaplain at Fort St. George.
1680. Consecration of the first English Church built in India—St. Mary's, Fort St. George.
1706. Beginning of Missionary work at Tranquebar in Danish Territory.
1714. Danish Missionaries began to work under the patronage of the Archbishop of Canterbury, being assisted by the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. for 100 years.
1733. First ordination of an Indian convert by the Danish Lutheran Mission.
- 1746-1761. War with the French (Robert Clive).
- 1767-1799. Mysore Wars.
1805. Beginning of the regular Establishment of Chaplains.
1814. C.M.S. began work in South India.
1814. Charter establishing a Bishopric of Calcutta and Archdeaconries of Bengal, Madras and Bombay.
1815. Bishop Middleton, first Bishop of Calcutta.
1826. S.P.G. took over the former S.P.C.K. Missions in Madras Presidency.
1829. First English-born Missionary of S.P.G. in India arrived in Madras.
1830. First ordination in South India by a Bishop of the Church of England, when the first Tamil to receive Holy Orders in the Church of England was ordained.
1835. First Bishop of Madras.

DAUGHTER DIOCESES OF MADRAS WERE ESTABLISHED AS FOLLOWS:—

1879. Travancore and Cochin.
1898. Tinnevely, Madura and Ramnad.
1912. Dornakal.

BISHOPS OF MADRAS

Daniel Corrie, 1835-1837.
George Spencer, 1837-1849.
Thomas Dealtry, 1849-1861.

Frederick Gell, 1861-1898.
Henry Whitehead, 1899-1922.
Harry Waller, 1923-

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I. IN THE EARLY DAYS OF JOHN COMPANY

The Beginnings of our Church in Madras

BY THE REV. P. C. KERSLAKE

THE Diocese of Madras was founded with the installation of Daniel Corrie as its first bishop on October 28, 1835, but the Anglican Church in Madras began much earlier. In celebrating the Centenary of the Diocese it will be well to give some consideration to the building up of Church life which went on before the arrival of the first bishop.

The beginnings of Anglican history in Madras, like the beginnings of Christian history in most parts of the world, were occasional and indirect. John Company, as Mr. Penny has shown in his book, was far from being the soul-less thing that it is often represented to be. It is true that trade profits and good dividends were the chief concern of its Directors and officials, but they were not altogether unmindful of their duties and responsibilities as Christians. There were chaplains on their ships, for instance, before they appointed any for the spiritual oversight of the inhabitants of their 'factories' and forts. Very soon, however, we find them doing the latter. Madras began in 1640 and in 1647 the first chaplain was appointed, and from then onwards, we find a regular series of chaplains coming first to Fort St. George and soon afterwards to Masulipatam and from 1692 to Fort St. David (Cuddalore); chaplains on £50 a year who came for periods of three or five or seven years, and who were to see that the Company's rules about regularity of divine service, Sabbath observance and Christian conduct were kept. The Company provided and frequently replenished a library for the use of chaplains so that the ponderous theological literature of the Jacobean and Caroline divines soon found its way out here. From time to time also they sent out Bibles and catechisms for their parishioners. It was a small congregation for which to provide a minister, but in that age religious services on Sundays were seldom neglected and even before a chaplain was appointed, the Governor himself probably in a periwig and a laced coat would read the Church service to a group of factors and merchants, clerks and soldiers, a few of whom would be European and most of the remainder the

mercenaries of mixed Portuguese and Indian blood who formed the greater part of the Company's troops in those days.

The work of a chaplain at that time cannot have been excessive, and some of them like other servants of the Company apparently indulged in private trade. They were not 'suffered to trade openly' says an early traveller 'and yet frequently they lay up several thousands of pounds: one of them particularly I knew who hoarded up money enough to purchase a bishoprick and sit in the English House of Lords at his return'. The chaplain would say daily prayers in a room set apart for that purpose in the fort and on Sundays would preach in gown and bands to his small congregation. Funerals perhaps were rather frequent then, as we may infer from a consideration of the average of the ages inscribed upon the monuments of our old churchyards. Moreover if the number of parishioners was small, their spiritual shortcomings must have been a burden on the soul of a conscientious chaplain. There is extant a letter written in 1676 by the godly Master Patrick Warner, chaplain of Fort St. George, in which he deplors greatly the drunkenness and debauchery of the soldiers and the drinking and the dicing of writers and factors. 'It may be for a lamentation to hear and see the horrid swearing and profanation of the name of God, the woful and abominable drunkenness and uncleanness that so much reign and rage among the soldiery There are also some of the writers who by their lives are not a little scandalous to the Christian religion; so sinful in their drunkenness that some of them play at cards and dice for wine that they may drink, and afterwards throwing the dice which shall pay all and sometimes who shall drink all, by which some are forced to drink until they be worse than beasts.'

There were also children for the chaplains to catechize, and in this side of their work they seem to have had much help and encouragement from the 'powers-that-be', for we read in official records in 1678 for instance that 'There being nine boys which have repeated the catechism by heart in the chapel upon the Lord's Day, it is ordered that two rupees be given to each of them for their encouragement according to the Honourable Company's order.'

The reference above to 'chapel' shows that a special room in the fort was set apart for religious services. In this connexion it is interesting to read that on one occasion at Masulipatam in the same year the Rajah of Golconda was present at divine service in the hall of its factory and much interested in what he saw and

heard, particularly the fact that women could read the Bible and Prayer Book, and then the record continues 'after their prayers were ended they entertained him with music and dancing wenches belonging to their Chief's lady in the very place where just before they had performed their devotions'.

In Madras, it seems that at first the dining hall of the factory was used as a chapel, but very soon a light timber room was built on the upper floor of the reconstructed Fort House. Of this, a Dutch traveller, Havant, wrote about 1670 :—

'Inside the small fort is a little church, very neat, and prettily built of wood, and inside so beautiful that it is a pleasure to peep into it. I do not know that I have anywhere in the whole of India seen a finer'.

But Sir Edward Winter, Governor of Madras 1661–1664 spoke of it as 'only a shedd and would not keepe us drye'.

St. Mary's Church, 1680

At Madras the need for a permanent church was soon felt and with the arrival of Mr. Streynsham Master as Governor of Fort St. George in 1677, the need was soon supplied. On Lady Day 1678, work was commenced on what was to be St. Mary's Church and in 1680 the oldest Anglican church in India was ready for consecration. No grant was given for it from the funds of the Honourable Company, but it was built entirely from private subscriptions, largely owing to the influence and driving power of Streynsham Master, who himself gave a subscription which amounted to about £33 of our money. Probably the church was designed and built by the master gunner of the fort, the designer of its bastions, and S. Mary's certainly was built with thick walls and a vaulted roof able to resist bombs and shells, the value of which was proved when Madras was bombarded in 1746 and again in 1758.

Its consecration or dedication (authorities differ as to the correct word to be used) throw an interesting light upon the ecclesiastical history of that time. India, and indeed all the Anglican world outside England was under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, as an Order of Council in 1634 had given him jurisdiction over English congregations abroad. Application then was made to the Bishop of London, and soon afterwards the chaplain of Madras, the Reverend Richard Portman solemnly took oaths before Mr. Streynsham Master so that he might be duly licensed to

officiate in the Diocese of London, after which he received his commission to dedicate the church, on behalf of a bishop six thousand miles away.

A traveller named Lockyer visited Fort St. George in 1703 and he has left an account of the St. Mary's as he found it. 'The church', he says 'is a large pile of arched building, adorned with curious carved work, a stately altar, organs, a white copper candlestick, very large windows, which render it inferior to the churches of London in nothing but bells, there being only one to mind sinners of devotion'. He then speaks of prayers being said twice a day and on Sundays religious worship was strictly observed, the bell beginning between 8 and 9. He then describes the Governor going to church in state, between lines of soldiers, to the number of 200, drawn up between the church and the gate of the inner fort, the ladies and gentlemen awaiting his arrival in the churchyard and following him within the sacred edifice, whilst the organ pealed out its welcome to him.

Another traveller of about the same date, Thomas Salmon, also gives an interesting description of the congregation of St. Mary's. 'The church, as I remember, is floored with black and white marble, the seats regular and convenient, and all together it is the most airy lightsome temple that is to be found anywhere, for the windows are large and unglazed to admit the cooling breezes, and if it were otherwise the people must sweat intolerably at their devotions; for though in their own houses they are as thinly clothed as possible, yet when they come to church it is always in the European dress; and when I was there full wigs happening to be in the fashion every time a man visited the church he lost some ounces by perspiration; but to avoid these inconveniences as much as possible prayers are appointed at seven in the morning, and in the evening they are usually comforted with a sea breeze'.

Mission Work

The building of St. Mary's occurred at the time when the Church of England was beginning to wake up to its missionary obligations. The end of William III's reign saw the founding of many religious Societies, which did much to stir up Christian activity and raise the standard of devotion in England. The S.P.C.K. was founded in 1698 and at once began to send missionaries to the American 'plantations' and provide parochial libraries

at home and abroad. The S.P.G. also was founded in 1701 and began its work in North America.

In Queen Anne's reign the famous scientist and scholar Robert Boyle urged upon the East India Company the importance of missionary work and when the Company's Charter was revised in 1698 definite provision was made for the Christian instruction of natives in the Company's service and chaplains were ordered to learn the language of the country so as to be able to do this.

But it seems that for the most part little was done in this direction. The chaplains were generally short service men and few of them got very far with the language of the country. They interested themselves in the Eurasians and learned 'Portuguese' for this purpose, but the missionary side of the Church began to develop rapidly at this time from another cause. In 1706 the Danish missionaries Ziegenbalg and Plutschau arrived at Tranquebar, which was then a possession of the kingdom of Denmark. These Danish missionaries soon extended their work beyond the small area of Danish territory and were kindly received and assisted by the Company's officers and welcomed by the chaplains. The S.P.G. at that time was unable to find missionaries itself to come to India, but it welcomed the opportunity of helping these Lutheran missionaries to do the work it could not do itself, and for many years frequent donations were sent them for their work. The Company too was ready to help both in England and in India. Free passages in the Company's ships were granted to the Lutheran missionaries supported by S.P.G. and the services of these missionaries were gratefully used both in Madras and Cuddalore. In 1710 we find Ziegenbalg either on horse-back or in palanquin travelling both to Fort St. David and to Fort St. George and being kindly received by the chaplain and the Governor at each place.

In 1717 the Danish missionaries were permitted and encouraged to open schools in Cuddalore and in Madras, and in 1726 a Danish missionary Schultze obtained permission to reside in the Company's territories. Two years later the S.P.C.K. accepted him as one of their missionaries and he began to live and work in Madras. A letter of 1730 speaks of two hundred converts belonging to this mission and in 1735 he built a church in Madras, probably near where the lighthouse now stands. In 1737 Sartorius began work in Cuddalore and the famous missionary Kiernander worked there from 1740 to 1758.

Educational Work

The beginnings of our Diocesan educational work can also be traced in this period. Quite early in Company days there was a school in the fort for the children of the Eurasian (chiefly Portuguese) mercenary soldiers and the early chaplains were expected to take an interest in this school and catechize the children. There are several references in the Company's records to the appointment of a schoolmaster for the school.

The first, a Mr. Ralph Orde was engaged as early as 1677 on £50 per annum and he was followed in 1682 by a John Barker who worked for twenty-five years until he died in 1707. In 1715 a charity school after the English model was planned by the chaplain, the Rev. William Stevenson, and the Portuguese and Tamil children to whom the old free school had been open were entrusted to the Danish missionaries. They were ready to do this work and started two mission schools in Madras which were placed under the charge of some of their converts from Tranquebar.

The St. Mary's Charity School began with 18 boys and 12 girls who were to receive both education and board. From this small beginning, as we shall see in later chapters, has come the present Civil Orphan Asylum, the oldest of our Diocesan schools.

Conclusion

The beginnings of our Church in Madras then go back to the days when Cavalier and Puritan fought the civil war, and its first Church was established in the days of Charles II. During the days of William and Mary and of Queen Anne, an England much occupied with commercial expansion and the beginning of colonial development was not unmindful of the spiritual well-being of its young men who travelled overseas. It is true of course that factor and writer as well as the soldier in the Company's army were not the kind of people who would be religious enthusiasts. Still less would this be likely at that period of our history, when Church life at home was occupied mainly with philosophical controversy about deism and the Trinity, and Church life and devotion was at the low ebb which did not turn until the advent soon to follow of the Wesleyan and Evangelical revivals.

But if our forefathers then were not religious enthusiasts the services of the Church were at any rate kept before their

minds, and from time to time the sonorous sounds of the Prayer Book liturgy and offices reminded writer and soldier alike of the village church over the seas. In the age of Swift, Steele and Fielding, the morals of the gambler and duellist may have been more frequently found amongst a youth who tried to imitate English society life in distant Madras rather than the higher ideals of a later age, but nevertheless the Church was planted in Madras at this time and being planted grew stronger and spread far and wide.

II. IN THE DAYS OF THE CARNATIC WARS : THE CHURCH OF CLIVE AND SCHWARTZ (1746-1801)

BY THE REV. P. C. KERSLAKE

THE story of the next fifty years of Church life in Madras has as its background a constant series of wars. The period begins with the contest of the French and the English for supremacy in southern India, a contest which is especially associated with the triumphs of Robert Clive, and ends with the political completion of Madras Presidency with boundaries practically as they are at present. Between 1746 and 1761 occurred the two wars by which the English opposed the French and between 1767 and 1799 were the four Mysore wars in which the English had to maintain the supremacy won from France first from its challenge by Hyder Ali and afterwards by Tippu Sultan. Sieges of Madras and Cuddalore, battles at Arcot, Porto Novo (Cuddalore) and Seringapatam all occurred during this period. The repercussions of war upon Church life were very marked, as we shall see, and the influence of war gives this period very distinct characteristics as a period of Church history and the wars did much to determine the direction along which the Church developed and the way in which progress was made.

First of all, the extension of the sphere of Christian influence was mainly the result of the movement of troops and the choice of positions for establishing barracks and garrisons. In 1746, as we saw in Chapter I, Anglican Church life was almost entirely confined to Fort St. George, Madras, and Fort St. David, Cuddalore. There was occasionally a chaplain at Masulipatam and sometimes one visited Pulicat. The Danish missionaries also were found in

Tranquebar, Cuddalore and Madras and those few stations, we may say, were the beginnings of the Diocese of Madras.

But with war, British and European soldiers proceeded further afield. As early as 1755 Madura and Palamcottah were occupied by troops, in 1772 Ramnad Fort was taken and garrisoned and Vellore, Trichinopoly and Tanjore had garrisons even before this. These places as yet had not become British possessions: they were merely in military occupation, but as we shall see, where the troops went, chaplains paid at least occasional visits and soon churches began to be built.

Clive

The first part of this period is the time of Clive and brief mention must be made of his connection with Madras church life. He was first and foremost a busy man of action, a soldier and a statesman, but he makes some appearance in church records. The first is characteristic and interesting. In 1748 when a young writer at Cuddalore he soundly thrashed a chaplain, Fordyce, who had grossly insulted him. The Governor held an enquiry and Clive was considered justified in his action because the chaplain was suspended for troublesome and unbecoming behaviour and the Governor reporting the matter to the Company spoke of him as a 'meddling mischievous person'. The next reference to Clive is his marriage in 1753 in St. Mary's Church by the missionary Fabricius. He was Governor of Madras in 1755-6 and then went to Bengal to win the Battle of Plassey in 1757. He cannot have been lacking in interest in Church affairs and at least he was impressed by the work of the Danish missionary Kiernander in Madras, for we find that afterwards he invited that missionary to work in Calcutta and placed a house at his disposal in which Kiernander resided rent free.

The Church in Days of War

In 1746 Fort St. George was bombarded and surrendered to the French. St. Mary's Church was not damaged, its church plate and its registers were preserved but its organ was carried away to Pondicherry. The Company considered that the presence of Roman Catholic soldiers in the Fort may have had something to do with its capture and after they returned in 1749 not only were Roman Catholic priests excluded from the Fort area, but their church at Vepery was given to the Lutheran missionaries, who

used it for English, Portuguese and Tamil services. From 1754 onward British troops arrived and the Company relied less upon foreign mercenaries. This must have involved much additional work for the few chaplains whom the Company provided. Garrisons and outstations at Vellore, Masulipatam, Arcot and Trichinopoly had to be visited: burials were frequent and ministrations required for many men in hospitals in addition to preaching and services. We hear of 480 deaths of soldiers and sailors in the hospital at Cuddalore in 1758 when the French under Lally took the Fort and partly destroyed its church and completely destroyed its schools. In the same year also Madras was besieged, St. Mary's Church badly damaged, 150 men quartered in the church in spite of the chaplain's protest and its steeple used as a look-out post. At the same time the mission church at Vepery was plundered by Mohammedan soldiers amongst the forces of Count Lally.

During the Mysore wars also, although churches were not destroyed the fear of danger was frequently present with Christian worshippers. About 1771 a party of Mahrattas appeared in Vepery and the missionaries and the Christian community took refuge in the Fort. Similar scares occurred again in 1774 and 1780. In 1781, before the Battle of Porto Novo, Hyder Ali and his French allies were in Cuddalore and used the church as a powder magazine. From March 1782 to the end of 1783, St. Mary's Church was closed and used as a military store room and church services had to take place in the hall of the Governor's house. At the same time the church and school buildings of the Vepery mission were occupied by British troops for two months, and when they evacuated them it was found that all the woodwork had been used as firewood by the cooks.

Reference was made above to the heavy burden of work to be borne by a few chaplains. Between 1761 and 1796 the Company provided no additional chaplains: financial embarrassment, the expense of war and the loss of trade hit the Company badly and it was not ready to find money for additional spiritual ministrations. Chaplains were neither appointed nor paid regularly: money was begrudged for repairs and church building and supplies of Bibles and Prayer Books were difficult to obtain: and all this at a time when a huge army was in the country and barracks were built at Vepery, St. Thomas' Mount, Pallavaram, Poonamallee and Chingleput and garrisons stationed at Ellore, Arcot, Vellore, Cuddalore, Trichinopoly and Tanjore.

It was at this time that the Lutheran missionaries proved especially valuable. Sometimes they were appointed officially as additional chaplains and paid by the Madras Government, sometimes they visited outstations and ministered to troops voluntarily. They were excellent linguists and we hear of them ministering in German, Portuguese, French, Tamil or English as required, and all these languages were required by the mercenary troops in the Company's army. Fabricius in 1752 ministered to four or five hundred Swiss soldiers in St. Mary's, Fabricius, Paezold and Gericke in Vepery, Kiernander in Cuddalore and Schwartz in Madura, Trichinopoly and Tanjore. We hear of one or other of these missionaries visiting Negapatam, Vellore, Arcot, Pulicat, doing work which could not possibly have been done by the one or at most two chaplains provided by the Company. Nor was their work limited to preaching and prayer, visiting the sick and burying the dead. Their knowledge of the country and its language and their influence with the people of the land often enabled them to facilitate the procuring of supplies which was of great benefit to an alien army in a barren country. The career of Schwartz shows in particular that a missionary who was trusted by the Indian could be an emissary on State affairs and do work in a way which an army officer could not do it.

The history of the Church at this time was determined by this background of war. A peaceful settlement of merchants had become an armed camp. Even such of the Company's servants as were not doing military work became army contractors and made much wealth in consequence. Another social factor to be considered in connection with the development of Church life at this time was the rapid increase in the number of Eurasians (now called Anglo-Indians) who belonged to our Church. An attempt was made to induce a number of Englishwomen to go out to be wives of the large number of British soldiers who had been sent to India. But the conditions under which the soldiers had to live did not make for the success of this plan and so the majority of the soldiers in the armies of Clive and his successors had to find wives among the women of India. Many did and the large population of Anglo-Indians to be found in South India to-day owes an honourable origin largely to this fact, and not as is often represented to the illicit intercourse of European and Indian at all times. Before this time the Company's soldiers had generally found 'Portuguese' wives who were Roman Catholics and the Protestant zeal of its

Directors and Governors strove to discourage such marriages, the children of which were invariably brought up as Roman Catholics. For the same reason the marriages between Britishers and Indians were now encouraged, and the need of education and pastoral oversight of the large population of mixed race which was now coming into being must have brought heavy responsibilities upon the few chaplains that were available.

Education

The growth of this large Anglo-Indian population together with the repercussions of war determine in a great measure the educational history of Madras during this period. The St. Mary's Charity School continued to be the only European school apart from a few mission schools until 1787 and its existence and progress were greatly affected by war. In 1746 when Fort St. George surrendered to the French the school which was then situated near the west end of the island bridge was pulled down. It was re-built in 1756 and remained in the Fort until 1872. As the wars proceeded there were many war-widows and orphaned children and St. Mary's vestry often found it difficult to raise money enough to pay for the board and clothing of the numerous children who sought admission.

The Tranquebar missionaries continued their educational work and had schools for Anglo-Indians at Vepery and Cuddalore as well as numerous vernacular schools there and elsewhere. Schwartz did much to develop educational work. In Trichinopoly in 1763 as the result of an explosion which killed many soldiers Schwartz raised money from civil officials and soldiers which enabled him to found a school and take charge of the orphans. From such a beginning came the Trichinopoly Vestry School. In Tanjore two years later he established an English charity school with the proceeds of a present he had received from Hyder Ali; who had the highest respect for him. Besides this, in 1785, as a result of the interest of a Mr. John Sullivan and the influence of Schwartz, the Rajahs of Tanjore, Ramnad and Sivaganga were induced to assist in a scheme which led to the establishment of mission schools at Tanjore, Ramnad and Sivaganga; and in 1790 Schwartz opened a school at Kumbakonam.

The Orphan Asylums

But the most noteworthy advance in education at this time was the founding of female and male orphan asylums in Madras.

These were the direct outcome of war conditions. In 1784 the S.P.C.K. in London added an appeal to its mission reports which began as follows :—

‘ The Society has received information that there is a considerable number of children born annually in the British settlements in the East Indies of fathers who are Europeans and mothers who are natives. That of this description there are born annually not less than seven hundred at Madras and on the coast of Coromandel—that the fathers of these children being usually soldiers, sailors, and the lower order of people, too often neglect their offspring and suffer them to follow the caste of their mothers.’ The report then goes on to speak of their consequent loss to Christianity and urges the need of bestowing a Christian education upon them.

In Madras itself, Lady Campbell, the wife of Sir Archibald Campbell, the Governor, interested herself much and aroused public sympathy on behalf of the many children who were destitute because their fathers had been killed in war. Subscriptions were raised, a grant from Government obtained, the interest of the Nawab of the Carnatic secured and a house and garden in Mount Road near the west end of Harris Bridge was acquired and in 1787 the Female Orphan Asylum made a start with sixty girls. The famous missionary Gericke was its chaplain till he died in 1803 and he was succeeded by Rottler, but the Fort chaplain had to take services for him at first as his pronounciation of English was not very good.

The Male Asylum

Two years later a similar school was opened for boys, and with this the St. Mary's Charity School was amalgamated. It was located at the Egmore Redoubt and was for many years under the charge of the chaplains of the Fort. A traveller of that time describes the buildings in which the boys lived and in which the education was carried on as consisting of three large open sheds, whose roofs of bamboo and tiles were supported by wooden pillars.

The first Principal of this school was the famous Dr. Andrew Bell. He was on his way to Calcutta at this time but being a person ‘ eminently qualified to superintend the education of youth ’ he was persuaded to stay in Madras and the Directors of the Company were asked to appoint him as a junior chaplain. He worked in Madras until 1796 and made for himself a name famous

in the history of education. This was by the adoption of what was called the monitorial system (sometimes the Bell system or the Madras system) a plan by which the abler pupils taught the younger ones. This plan developed later in England into the pupil-teacher system and was afterwards adopted in Greece and other parts of Europe. It was an excellent system where the education was only of an elementary character and where qualified teachers were difficult to obtain.

Missionary Work

Much has already been said in this chapter of the work of the missionaries and the diocese owes much to the devoted labours and linguistic skill particularly of Schwartz, Fabricius, Gericke and Kiernander. Missionary work, like European work, was greatly affected by the wars. Indeed mission schools and churches suffered more. When the French captured Madras in 1746 all the mission schools were destroyed because the French cleared completely the area surrounding the Fort. Fabricius had to retire from Vepery three times. The Cuddalore mission was to a great extent destroyed in 1758 and in the same year the Vepery mission was plundered by a mob of soldiers. In 1781 when Hyder Ali and his French allies invaded the Carnatic, mission work suffered still more. The following quotation from one of Schwartz's letters illustrates the kind of experience that might occur any day at that time. 'The Tanjore affairs begin to grow serious. There is a little Fort near Tanjore, Vallam, which was battered yesterday. We heard the report of the guns very plainly.'

Reference has already been made to the work the missionaries did as chaplains to the troops, as ambassadors and as men who could assist the armies through their influence because they were so trusted by the Indians. Mission work also suffered in another way owing to war conditions. One result of the Napoleonic wars in Europe was that no reinforcement of missionaries arrived in India between 1793 and 1818 either from Germany, Denmark or England. In 1792 Schwartz wrote to the S.P.C.K. in London 'Would to God some labourers could be sent in addition,' but Europe was preoccupied with war, and neither money nor men were supplied.

Yet in spite of these obstacles progress was made and the beginnings of the Indian Church firmly established particularly in Tinnevely. Converts were made, schools and churches were built

and Indian workers appointed as catechists and some even ordained in the Lutheran way.

The Work of Schwartz

The man mostly responsible for this progress was Schwartz who laboured in south India from 1750 to 1798, but only brief mention can be made of his career and work. Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Tinnevelly owe their Christianity almost entirely to his apostolic labours. His first interview with the Rajah of Tanjore is one of the classic episodes of missionary history and the influence which he had over that ruler and the confidence and trust which the ruler had in the missionary are outstanding instances of the power of Christian personality and the opportunity of Christian witness. 'Padre, I have confidence in you, because you are indifferent to money,' said the Rajah, when using Schwartz as a mediator between himself and the British Government.

Schwartz's work in Trichinopoly was equally noteworthy and successful and reference has already been made to much of it. His kindness and simple courtesy, as well as his piety and Christian sincerity attracted officer and common soldier alike, and with the help of civilian and garrison Schwartz's mission work flourished; Christian influence spread in camp and Indian village, congregations were assembled, converts gathered in and the foundations of a Christian Church were laid. He was a man of tireless energy as well as Christian zeal and a letter written in 1780 gives some indication of what was probably the work of one of his normal Sundays. 'After I have preached in the Fort to the English, I go out to the Malabar Church, when I preach from ten to twelve. In the afternoon a catechist repeats the sermon, and at seven o'clock in the evening we have prayer; then I go to rest pleasingly tired.'

It is to Schwartz that the Anglican Church in Tinnevelly owes the beginnings of its Christian history. He first visited Tinnevelly in 1771 and a second time in 1778. He found a few Christians there and baptized a Brahmin widow who had been living with an English officer and who had learned from him the rudiments of Christianity. When Schwartz visited Palamcottah the third time in 1785 he dedicated a church which had been built largely through the effort of Clorinda. Schwartz left a catechist named Sathianathan to look after this little congregation and in 1790 ordained him according to Lutheran rites. Other Tranquebar missionaries particularly Jaenicke and Gericke visited

Tinnevelly and very soon a living and growing Church begins to come into being in the extreme south of the peninsula.

Church Building

At the beginning of this period, apart from Madras and Cuddalore, there were few Anglican churches in the diocese. During the period a large number were built. Trichinopoly had a temporary church in 1762 when Schwartz visited the station. He found a number of army officers and soldiers very keen about their religion and in 1765 the foundations of Christ Church in the Fort were laid and the church dedicated in 1766. At Tanjore similarly the presence of European officers in the service of the State who asked for sacramental ministrations led to Schwartz's visits from 1762 and the building of a church soon followed. The marriage of an officer gave Schwartz his opportunity and in 1773 a church was built at Vallam Fort near Tanjore and in 1780 Christ Church in the Tanjore Fort and a mission church were dedicated.

When the British acquired the Dutch possessions in south India the churches which the Dutch had built were used for English services. This happened at Negapatam from 1785, at Pulicat from 1795 and at Tuticorin about the same time or a little earlier.

At Cuddalore a new church was built in 1767 and called Zion Church although later on the name was changed to Christ Church. It is interesting to read a letter from the Tranquebar missionary to the Governor of Madras asking for help which concluded 'It will at the same time furnish a convenient place for an evening lecture, whereby many of our soldiers have been reclaimed from the pernicious ways of Drunkenness and Debauchery'. At Vellore where troops were stationed from 1761 a chapel was built by the Company's Resident Mr. George Torriano and dedicated in 1793.

Palamcottah as we have seen had Clorinda's church in 1785 and in Ramnad also at that time a small church was built and in 1800 Gericke dedicated a church there which was largely built by an army officer Colonel Martinsz. At Madura a chapel was built about 1800 and a church in 1827.

One interesting feature which the records of these early churches reveal is the way in which devoted colonels, civilians and merchants living in far away outstations helped the missionaries and chaplains to build a church. Col. Wood at Trichinopoly, Major Stevens at Tanjore, Mr. Torriano at Vellore, Col. Martinsz at

Ramnad raised subscriptions and caused churches to be built, which were to be used not only for British troops and officials but for Indian Christians also. The work of a Mr. Sawyer, a writer of the Company working in the sandy wilderness of Tinnevely is even more remarkable for he bought land upon which a Christian village was established, and we know practically nothing about him except this fact, which has been commemorated in Sawyerpuram, the name of the village which sprung up upon his land.

War may have been a hindrance to Church life and work: money and workers may have been scarce because of it: but in spite of this, the Church in Madras flourished and spread. One does not think of an army on the march as an evangelising agency, but the story of these fifty years of diocesan history shows that there were many real Christians amongst the troops, and largely through their witness and encouragement the Church in Madras grew, missionaries were helped and encouraged and churches were built.

III. BISHOPS OF CALCUTTA AND ARCHDEACONS OF MADRAS (1800-1833)

BY THE REV. P. C. KERSLAKE

Extension of the Church's sphere of influence.

WHEN the rule of Tipu Sultan, Rajah of Mysore, came to an end with the fall of Seringapatam in 1799 a considerable force of troops was left in the State of Mysore to overawe the country. This fact resulted in an extension of the boundaries of the future diocese to Bangalore, Mysore, Bellary and Secunderabad at the beginning of the nineteenth century. At first troops were kept at Seringapatam itself and at Nundidroog, Royapett and Mysore in the neighbourhood. But these places soon proved to be unhealthy, and a site for a camp was selected about a mile from the Fort of Bangalore. The Cantonment established there became the first military station on the Madras Establishment. The station was primarily military up to 1827, but from that time the civil population increased considerably, an additional chaplain was necessary, and Bangalore became an increasingly important centre of diocesan activity.

Bellary and Cuddapah in 1799 became part of the territory of the Nizam of Hyderabad, but as this ruler had not paid the

Company for the use of its troops these districts were ceded to the Company instead of payment and British troops were sent there. Secunderabad was close to the Nizam's capital and, when Seringapatam fell, it was considered advisable to station an army there to assist the Nizam to maintain order in his extensive territories. Churches were soon built at these places, and chaplains were appointed.

Poonamallee also, although it ceased to have a garrison, was maintained as a convalescent depot and the barracks, which now house a school for the blind, were built: a church and a chaplain soon followed.

Madras itself, even before this time, had begun to develop outside the walls of Fort St. George. After 1781, when the people thought that war scares were over, the practice began of building garden houses on the Choultry Plain which was situated three and four miles away from the Fort on both sides of what is now Mount Road: and also in the country districts around Egmore and Vepery. To these houses the higher officials frequently escaped from the closeness and heat of the buildings in the Fort and spent week-ends often in shooting and recreation. After 1800, when all danger of enemy attacks were over, this practice continued and many permanent residences were built. This fact had its influence upon the development of the diocese: the church in the Fort now no longer served the needs of the population and church-going began to fall off. A traveller writing in 1798 or 1799 says 'the people live in the country; every gentleman has a villa; the ladies seldom approach the Fort; very few even attend Divine Service there on Sundays; the gentlemen use it only as a scene of business'. We can understand how keen about church-going a person must have been to undertake a three or four mile journey in a palanquin in order to attend morning prayer at St. Mary's. Very soon steps were taken to build a church in the middle of Choultry Plain itself and in 1815 St. George's, the present Cathedral, was built there. Vepery, too, towards the end of this period became more and more thickly populated and additional churches and chaplains were needed there. At Mysore also, about 1832, there were a large number of civilians in residence, while Ootacamund, which was being discovered and explored between 1818 and 1827, became a recognised sanatorium in the latter year. In 1829 its church was built and soon afterwards its first chaplain was appointed.

Beginning of the Ecclesiastical Establishment, 1805.

So the diocese, though still without a bishop, has widely extended its borders by this time and a much larger supply of chaplains are needed. We may indeed date the beginnings of the Establishment from 1805. The officials at this time had begun to realise the need for more chaplains: Kerr, one of the chaplains in Madras, was asked to prepare a report and recommended the appointment of nine in addition to the six already in the country, and made suggestions as to the places where they should be posted and the pay they should receive. A despatch sent to the Directors in England in 1805 ran as follows:

'We have taken into consideration the state of the establishment of chaplains under your Presidency, and being of opinion that in consequence of the increased acquisition of territory by cession and conquest of late years, it is not sufficient for the due performance of religious duties, which we must always be anxious to provide for in all the settlements subject to the British administration in India, we have resolved that the same shall be augmented.'

and augmented they were: provision was made for nine additional chaplains—two at the Presidency and one each at the following military stations: Masulipatam, Trichinopoly, Vellore, Seringapatam, Canara, Malabar and Bellary. Regulations were made about pay and pensions and a separate ecclesiastical department was formed. These additions were a natural consequence of the political changes which had resulted from the overthrow of the State of Mysore. All South India now comes under the rule of the Government of Fort St. George. The Church has no longer to minister to a scattered army of occupation, but to civilians as well as troops, and to a large number of Anglo-Indians and to an increasing number of Indian Christians scattered throughout a wide area. Civil and Military establishments increased, the country was divided into districts; barracks and military hospitals, court houses, and jails were built and the chief town in each district became the headquarters of revenue, judicial, and civil officials.

Furthermore, as the Company had been forced to relinquish part of its commercial monopoly, when its Charter was revised in 1793 and again in 1813, private traders now have opportunities of entry and we find that the oldest of the trading firms of Madras

began about this time e.g., Parry & Co., in 1795 and Binny & Co., between 1797 and 1803. Changes like these in the Government and economic aspects of a country's history imply changes in Church life as well. The Christian population in the towns must have increased, and consequently there was a greater need of clergy, places of worship and Christian schools.

The chaplains who came out to India at this time were for the most part, as Penny has shown, able and devoted men. This was the period of the Evangelical Revival in England, and the time when the earliest of the great Missionary Societies came into being and directed the attention of religious people in England to the needs of their kith and kin in the Colonies. David Brown, for instance, the missionary-hearted friend of Charles Simeon arrived in Calcutta in 1787, Claudius Buchanan in 1797 and Henry Martyn in 1806. These three were the most famous of many like-minded devotional evangelical chaplains and missionaries who came out at this time. In Madras, Hough, Bell and Kerr were men of the same type and there were doubtless many others. 57 chaplains worked in Madras between 1805 and 1835 and 22 of them died in the country. Some of them may have been unworthy of their calling, but the conditions of service in a distant land, in insanitary houses and an unhealthy climate were such that the men of education and good social position who came out must have done so for the most part in response to a call to duty and devoted service that was inspired by the highest Christian motives. We have already referred to the work of Andrew Bell; the name of Richard Kerr is another to be remembered with honour. He arrived in Madras in 1792, worked as a Military Chaplain at first and succeeded Bell at the Fort and the Male Asylum in 1796. It is largely due to his efforts that a church was built in the Black Town (now St. Mark's, North Georgetown) and he had something to do, as we have seen, with the increase in the ecclesiastical establishment in 1805. He died at his post exhausted in mind and body in 1808. His zeal, courage and faith were outstanding. He was veritably a burning and shining light in a dark place. He was fearless and outspoken, and aroused opposition as a Christian worker often does, but his zeal and devotion were respected and commended after his death even by his opponents. Hough, another chaplain and friend of his, to whom we shall again refer in connection with mission work in Tinnevely, wrote of European society at this time as at the lowest ebb of morals

and religion. Church attendance was bad, except at Christmas and Easter, when it was customary for most persons to go to church and on these occasions the natives used to crowd into the Fort to see the unusual sight. They looked upon these festivals as the gentlemen's poojas. Other sabbaths, he tells us, were devoted to billiards and tennis or hunting the jackal at the Mount with a pack of hounds. Holy Communion used to be celebrated at St. Mary's only four times a year. But Kerr was still more severe in his strictures when he said 'If ten sincere Christians would save the whole Church from fire and brimstone, I do not know where they could be found in the Company's Civil and Military Service in the Madras Establishment.'

But these were the days before the Oxford Movement, and similar charges would have been made about the people in London, especially by chaplains filled with the zeal of Evangelical Revival.

The Bishopric of Calcutta.

In 1813, when the matter of renewal of the East India Company Charter was being considered in Parliament, an opportunity was taken by Wilberforce, Buchanan and other stalwarts of the Evangelical Revival to press for official support of missionary work on the part of the Company as well as for an increase of the number of chaplains. These proposals aroused tremendous controversy. Many retired 'nabobs' feared that the religious prejudices of the people of India would be seriously offended and a rising might be expected. Government, it was said, would appear to be going to force Christianity upon the Indians, and the mistake which had been made by the Portuguese in the 17th century would be committed over again.

However, Wilberforce did succeed in obtaining a great measure of liberty for Christian Missions when he introduced a clause worded as follows: 'It is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge and religious and moral improvement. In the furtherance of the above objects sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to and remaining in India for the purpose of accomplishing those benevolent designs' This cautiously worded clause, without any direct reference to

missionaries and Christianity, was passed and marks a real advance for missionary opportunity in India.

Societies, which before had been straining at the leash and forced to send missionaries to India by round-about routes or in the guise of traders, could now send them direct.

But another clause of this Bill is of still greater interest to us here. It reads as follows: 'It is expedient that the Church Establishment in the British territories in the East Indies should be placed under the superintendence of a Bishop and three Archdeacons, and that adequate provision should be made from the territorial revenues of India for their maintenance.' This enactment is a very definite landmark in the history of the Church of England in India and therefore in this diocese. India now ceases to be part of the Diocese of London and has its own bishop under the supervision of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Madras from now until 1835, when it had its own first bishop, comes under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Calcutta and has its own Archdeacon as his representative. Dr. Middleton, Vicar of St. Pancras, a strong High Churchman and keen supporter of the S.P.C.K. was appointed as the first Bishop of Calcutta, 'the most important charge with which any Englishman left his native shores' said the *Missionary Register* of January 1814. He was consecrated privately in Lambeth Chapel on May 8, 1814 for fear of offending the natives, and the Bishop of Chester in a valedictory address at S.P.C.K. House said 'The establishment of Episcopacy will most effectively check every erroneous doctrine, stop the wild progress of enthusiasm and spread the knowledge of uncorrupted Christianity'. Sir John Kaye in his history is amusingly ironical about the calm way in which India accepted this appointment.

'There was no commotion—no excitement at its dawn—offended Hinduism did not start up in arms; nor indignant Mohammedanism raise a war cry of death to the infidel. English gentlemen asked each other, on the course, or at the dinner table, if they had seen the bishop; and officious native sircars pressed their services upon the "Lord Padre Sahib", but the heart of Hindu society beat calmly as was its wont. Brahminism stood not aghast at the sight of the lawn sleeves of the Bishop. . . . No one looked differently; no one felt differently; and it really seemed probable, after all, that British dominions in the East would survive the episcopal blow'.

The diocese of the new bishop consisted of the whole of India, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, the trading stations in China, St. Helena, Cape of Good Hope and the settlements in Australasia—an enormous area to supervise before the days of railways and steamships. Except for one visit of the aged Bishop Wilson to Borneo, the Bishops of Calcutta did not attempt to visit the districts outside of India and Ceylon, any more than the Bishops of London had attempted to visit India, but India and Ceylon were no light burden to supervise when travelling had to be done in palanquin or on horseback, except that the journey to Ceylon or Madras might be done in a sailing-ship. Moreover, even that method of travelling cannot be regarded as comfortable, for we read that on one occasion Bishop Wilson, after taking nine days to do the 280 miles between Trincomallee and Madras, had to come ashore here in a surf boat, and while he was in it a wave swept bishop, chaplain and doctor from their seats and their hats and books were seen floating in the boat. The record continues ‘Dignity agrees not with drenched clothes, and whilst guns were firing, bands playing and troops presenting arms, the bishop was hurrying away to find shelter and dry clothes in Government House’. There were five Bishops of Calcutta between 1815 and 1835, and four of them died within five years largely in consequence of excessive labour in an exhausting climate. They did not neglect to visit Madras even to its southern end, where missionary work was so rapidly developing in Tinnevely. Bishop Middleton got as far as Palamcottah in 1816 and again in 1820. Bishop Heber got as far as Trichinopoly where he died in 1826. Bishop James who occupied the See only between January and August 1828 did not come to Madras. Bishop Turner visited Madras, Bangalore and the Nilgiris and then went on to Ceylon in 1830 and Bishop Wilson in 1834–35, before the arrival of the first Bishop of Madras, visited Penang, Moulmein, Singapore, Madras and Ceylon while Tanjore and Travancore were visited by him in 1835. Five episcopal visits in twenty years cannot be regarded as excessive, and ordinations and confirmations, to say nothing of problems regarding caste-difficulties which were disturbing the missionaries and problems of administration which affected the archdeacons and chaplains, all helped to make such a ‘care of all the churches’ veritably Pauline and must have shortened the lives of these early occupants of the See of Calcutta.

At his first visitation Bishop Middleton consecrated St. George’s

Church in the Choultry Plain outside Madras and cited 14 chaplains, 8 of whom attended. At his second visitation 20 were cited and 7 attended. Bishop Turner at his visitation held the first ordination service of the Church of England in Southern India, at which two Europeans and one Indian were ordained deacon and one S. P. G. missionary ordained priest. The Rev. John Devasagayam was the first Tamil Christian to receive Holy Orders. Bishop Heber at his visitation confirmed 578 candidates in Madras and on the following day 120 at Poonamallee. Bishop Wilson held ordinations at Tanjore and Madras. Such in brief were the labours of the Bishops of Calcutta in the diocese between 1815 and 1835.

The Archdeacons of Madras.

The Act of Parliament which established the Bishopric of Calcutta also made provision for three archdeacons. These were Commissaries of the Bishop and did a good deal of visitation work and regulated the work of the Church. In March 1815 John Mousley was inducted at S. Mary's as the first Archdeacon of Madras. He was naturally more a student than an administrator. His epitaph in the Cathedral says he was '*Ad vitam umbratilem natura comparatus*' i.e., 'suited to the cloistered life' but it goes on to say that he was not unsuccessful also as an archdeacon.

He died in 1819 and Edward Vaughan succeeded. When he retired in 1828 Thomas Robinson became Archdeacon and he remained in office until after Daniel Corrie had become the first Bishop of Madras. The last named in particular was a very busy Archdeacon and did much to prepare the way for a Diocesan organisation in Madras. He held two visitations, originated the practice of parochial administration by a chaplain and two lay trustees, and made useful regulations about Church property. He had great difficulty in persuading Government that they should make a grant to pay for his travelling expenses when on a visitation tour, and it is interesting to read that for one of these tours the Quartermaster-General was ordered to provide the following equipment: 2 field-officer's tents, 2 subaltern's tents, 5 private's tents, 2 other tents, 2 elephants, 4 camels, 14 cart bullocks, 29 other bullocks, 6 carts, 1 dhoby, 18 lascars and bearers etc.

Church Building.

Between 1808 and 1833 twenty-three churches and chapels were built in the diocese—three for the use of Indian Christians

and the remainder for Europeans and Anglo-Indians. Fifteen of these were built and furnished entirely by the Government. This was the outcome of a change in the Company's policy. A despatch from the Commander-in-Chief in 1807 ended with the words 'from the almost total absence of religious establishments in the interior of the country, from the habits of life prevalent among military men, it is a melancholy truth that so infrequent are the religious observances of officers doing duty with battalions that the sepoys have not until very lately discovered the nature of the religion professed by the English'. This seems to have aroused the Company and orders were issued authorising the building of chapels at all permanent military stations where there was a chaplain. Of course the military authorities prescribed the plan of the building and saw that it was erected as cheaply as possible. For instance, bells and punkas were not regarded as necessary nor backs for the soldiers' seats. For this reason many of the churches in the diocese are very similar in design and not specially devotional and ecclesiastical in appearance, but still churches were built and chaplains and worshippers since have been able to make them more suitable for devotion.

The Fort chapel in Bangalore was the first to be built (in 1808) followed in 1811 by S. Mark's and in the same year the church at Cannanore, Fort Church, Bellary, and S. John's Church, Trichinopoly. In 1812 a church was built at Secunderabad and in 1816 others at Arcot, St. Thomas' Mount and Poonamallee. In 1818 the C. M. S. Chapel in Black Town was built. This was afterwards known as Tucker's Church because a C.M.S. Secretary of that name was its incumbent for fifteen years (1833-1848) and was well-known as an attractive preacher. In 1828 S. Thomas', Quilon, was built, in 1829 S. Stephen's, Ootacamund, and a church at Tripassore and in 1832-33 churches at Nagpur and Kampti, which were then military stations included in the Archdeaconry of Madras. All these were built and furnished at Government expense. In addition to these S. John's, Masulipatam, (1810) and S. Matthias', Vepery, (1827) were built partly at Government expense.

Six other churches during this period were built without Government assistance. They were S. Mary's, Masulipatam (1810), S. George's, Madras (1815), S. John's, Tellicherry (1820), Holy Trinity, Aurungabad (1828), John Pereira's Chapel in Madras (1828), and S. Bartholomew's, Mysore (1832).

Reference has already been made to the need for a church on Choultry Plain outside Madras and the building of St. George's in 1815. It was consecrated by Bishop Middleton at his first visitation in 1816. A contemporary writer speaks of the pulpit, with the clerk's desk before it, standing in front of the chancel facing the central aisles and the view from the organ gallery at the end being very inspiring. Bishop Middleton wrote 'Yesterday I consecrated a handsomer church than any which I recollect in London, supported on eighteen Ionic columns, which no English eye would distinguish from marble; with a lofty and elegant spire; and standing in a field (also to be consecrated) of five or six acres surrounded with rows of palm trees. The whole conveys a magnificent idea of Christianity in the East. I was assisted on this occasion by seven of my clergy, a great number to bring together in this country; and the solemnity seems to have been very gratifying to the inhabitants'.

A chaplain writing about 1850 is not so flattering, for he says that it was a huge ungainly structure of brick and mortar, outwardly plastered and fitted up with large and cumbrous pews and that a huge reading desk and pulpit in one formed the presiding pews and deities of the temple. The altar was completely obscured.

Trinity Chapel, or John Pereira's, Madras, has also an interesting history. The land on which it was built, together with a house standing on it, was bought in 1729 by Schultze, the S.P.C.K. Missionary. This was destroyed during the French occupation of 1746-49 but the site remained the property of the Vepery Mission. It was not built upon until 1828—part was used as a Christian burial ground, and part was used for cock-fighting especially on Sundays. Ridsdale, the C.M.S Missionary in charge of Tucker's Church at that time, used to hold open air services for the cock-fighters and started a fund for building the church now known as Trinity Chapel which was licensed in 1833 by Archdeacon Robinson for all ecclesiastical purposes.

Mission Work.

The first thirty years of the 19th century. was a period of great missionary activity all over the world. In 1794 the London Missionary Society was founded, in 1799 the C.M.S., in 1804 the British and Foreign Bible Society. The debates in the House of Commons upon Wilberforce's famous attempt to get included in

the India Bill of 1793 a resolution in favour of missionary work aroused much public interest in the cause of missions and bore much fruit. Between 1807 and 1813 five S.P.C.K. missionaries came to India and were welcomed by the Company's officers. Between 1804 and 1812 ten L.M.S. missionaries came to Madras, the first being the famous Ringeltaube. Between 1814 and 1836 the C.M.S. sent 29 missionaries to Southern India.

The biggest advance in missionary work in this diocese during this period took place in Tinnevelly, where in 1802 a mass movement began. The veteran S.P.C.K. missionary Gericke just before he died in 1803 baptized 5,000 converts in three months and the harvest of the work of Schwartz, Jaenicke and especially of the catechist Sattianathan began to be reaped. Then came persecution, reaction and a disastrous period of over ten years when there was no missionary or priest in Tinnevelly. During this time many of the new converts lapsed to Hinduism. In 1816 Hough, a missionary-hearted chaplain, was sent to Palamcottah and in addition to his work with troops and civilians he did much to reorganise, revive and extend the Tinnevelly Mission. He has been called, after Schwartz, its second father. The site on which Trinity Church, Palamcottah, stands was bought, congregations were visited, Bibles, Prayer Books, devotional literature obtained, catechists trained, teachers posted, schools established and the C.M.S. urged to send a missionary; all this was done by this devoted chaplain, in addition to the establishment work that he was alone expected to do. He was a proficient Tamil scholar and himself began to revise the Tamil Bible, besides writing in English a History of Christianity in five volumes which is a mine of learning and information.

In 1820 Rhenius was sent by the C.M.S. to Tinnevelly and Hough relieved. The history of Tinnevelly for the next fifteen years is largely the history of his multifarious activities. Trinity Church, Palamcottah, was built in 1826, fresh schools and congregations established and converts gathered in. Over 6,000 were baptized in ten years.

A further landmark in the missionary history of the diocese was the handing over of the S.P.C.K. work to the S.P.G. who sent missionaries to Tanjore and Cuddalore in 1825 and to Tinnevelly in 1829. The S.P.C.K. felt that the missionaries would be placed on a better footing under the S.P.G. which was a chartered Society under the presidency of the Archbishop of Canterbury,

than under a voluntary association of their own; 'their missionaries will in fact be missionaries of the Church of England' and certainly very soon great progress in missionary work was seen. A regular supply of English missionaries began to arrive, sent both by S.P.G. and C.M.S. and the two Societies worked side by side in Tinnevelly with great success. Rosen, who went to Nazareth from Cuddalore, was the first S.P.G. missionary in Tinnevelly and Nazareth a Christian village in a barren wilderness soon came into existence. Its first church was built in 1830 and there were 96 communicants there on Christmas Day of that year.

The Bishops of Calcutta fostered the growth of this Indian Church although it was so far away. Bishop Middleton passed through Palamcottah on his way to Travancore in 1816 and what he saw there possibly led to the sending of Hough as chaplain. Bishop Middleton refused to license missionaries or ordain Indians because he honestly believed that his commission from the State gave him no authority to do either. His successor, Bishop Heber, however had no such scruples. He put the evangelization of India in the forefront of the Church's duty. In 1824, for instance, five C.M.S. missionaries were licensed in Madras before the Archdeacon as Bishop's Commissary and this practice continued. Bishop Heber ordained the first Indian to the ministry, a certain Abdul Masih at Calcutta in 1824. The first Indian clergyman in the diocese of Madras as we have seen was John Devasagayam ordained by Bishop Turner in 1830. Bishop Heber at Tanjore attended a service at which there was a congregation of 1,300 and his chaplain reports that the bishop said as he took off his robes 'Gladly would I exchange years of common life for one such day as this'.

Apart from the missionary work in Tinnevelly, in the Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts and in Travancore where the C.M.S. began work in 1816, we do not in this period find records of any other work organised by the great Societies. But there are scattered references to occasional work being done by the Company's chaplains. For instance, Thomas at Bangalore between 1811 and 1820 originated and established a local mission which was managed by succeeding chaplains in that station by means of local subscriptions until it was taken over by the S.P.G. in 1872. Similar work was started by the same chaplain in Bellary. In Poonamallee also, Hough, on being transferred there from Palamcottah erected a small church and two schools. So

the message of the Gospel spreads by the labour and zeal of Christian men.

Educational work.

At the beginning of this period the following schools were in existence: St. Mary's School, Fort St. George, and the Military Male and Female Asylums in Madras: the Vestry Schools at Trichinopoly and Tanjore and smaller schools at Vellore, Cuddalore and other military stations. These were for Anglo-Indians, and in addition to them there were a number of village schools where the S.P.C.K. missionaries had established them and English schools for Indian boys of the higher castes at Tanjore and Kumbakonam. These schools continued to flourish and we find a reference to some of them in the report of Archdeacon Robinson's tour in 1830. The Vestry School at Trichinopoly, for instance, had been transferred from close quarters in the Fort to the healthier atmosphere of the Cantonment. Eighteen boys, descendants of European soldiers, were being boarded and taught and a free education was given to a number of Eurasian boys. The Archdeacon refers also to English and Tamil schools at Cuddalore.

Between 1800 and 1833 there was a great increase in the number of schools founded both by chaplains and missionaries.

In Madras, Civil Male and Female Asylums were founded and principally supported by the Anglo-Indian community under the patronage of the chaplains, especially the chaplain of North Black Town. In the mofussil a number of new stations had been established and at these Cantonment schools were started, for instance, at Masulipatam, Bangalore and Bellary which were then the headquarters of the three principal divisions of the Madras Army. At Waltair also in 1817 an orphanage was established by the chaplain for children of soldiers and it was remodelled in 1831. Similarly, schools were started at Secunderabad and Vizagapatam, and probably in all the military stations where there was a resident chaplain.

In Tinnevely, of course, wherever missionary work spread schools were founded and run by mission catechists, but as yet these were all elementary schools and little information about them is available.

Conclusion.

It is plain from the preceding summary of establishment, missionary and educational work, that great progress and



BISHOP CORRIE, 1835-1897

expansion has been made between 1800 and 1833. Attempts at co-ordination and organisation had been made by Bishops of Calcutta and Archdeacons in Madras. But Madras now needed a bishop of its own and the next chapter will show that it received one.

IV. THE FIRST BISHOPS AND THE END OF THE COMPANY'S RULE

A period of Organization and Consolidation 1833-1858

BY THE REV. P. C. KERSLAKE

ON October 28, S. Simon and S. Jude's Day, 1835, Daniel Corrie was enthroned at S. Mary's as the first Bishop of Madras and the diocese strictly speaking came into being. In another sense its beginnings may be placed two years earlier and dated from August 21, 1833, when the Bill for the renewal of the East India Company's charter was passed, for that Bill contained the clauses which empowered His Majesty to divide the Diocese of Calcutta and appoint Bishops of Madras and Bombay. The delay of over two years in appointing the bishop was chiefly due to financial difficulties and ultimately the salaries of the new bishops were found by reducing the salaries of the archdeacons. Another factor in the delay was the fact that in those days it took anything from three to five months for letters to reach India from England. The Bishop of Calcutta proposed as Bishop of Madras, Archdeacon Corrie who already for nearly thirty years in Bengal, at Calcutta, Chunar, Cawnpore, Agra, Benares had followed in the footsteps of the great evangelical chaplains Brown and Martyn. He was intimate with Bishop Heber who made him Archdeacon and with Bishops James, Turner and Wilson. He went to England for consecration in 1834, and arrived in Madras on October 24, 1835.

Our not very artistic diocesan coat-of-arms was registered by the authorities of the Heralds' College in June of that year and its details are described in heraldic parlance as follows: 'Argent, on a mount vert in front of a banyan tree, a kid on the dexter, couchant looking towards the sinister and on the sinister a leopard couchant guardent, all proper; a chief azure, thereon a dove rising in the beak an olive branch also proper between two crosses patee or.'

The creation of the new diocese was evidently regarded as bringing the message of the Prince of Peace to a wild savage land only recently recovering from the ravages of war.

The first three bishops

The gentle unobtrusive Daniel Corrie, who was 58 years of age when he came to the diocese, only lived another year and a half as its bishop. But he did much in that short time. His reputation in Bengal ensured him a hearty welcome and he greatly endeared himself to the people of Madras also. He was described as 'a most noble looking old man, with a very fine countenance and a gentle benevolent manner, a pattern for a Bishop in appearance as well as everything else.'

St. George's Church in the Choultry Plain now became the Cathedral in preference to S. Mary's, and we read of improvements as to the position of the reading desk and pulpit and the introduction of chanting as taking place at this time. At the bishop's first visitation in 1836, 42 clergy were summoned to the Cathedral but 29 of them were excused attendance as they resided too far away to attend. In his charge on this occasion, the bishop deplores the shortage of chaplains and the way in which Christians in important out-stations are deprived of the means of grace.

During his short episcopate the mild and gentle bishop had some unpleasant duties to perform. Almost as soon as he arrived, he had to visit the mission stations in Tanjore to deal with the problems of caste, and Tinnevely to deal with the Rhenius schism. Fuller treatment of these matters will come later on in this chapter.

Another unpleasant matter arose in his relations with Government. It had long been customary for English officers to attend officially at heathen festivals partly for the preservation of order and often out of mere courtesy. Salutes of guns were sometimes fired by troops in honour of the occasion. It is significant of the religious-mindedness of many soldiers and civilians of that time that conscientious objections to this practice were being made, and in 1833 the Directors issued orders which reflected the spirit of tolerance and sympathy with all religious views that has always marked official documents in India, but which while enjoining official presence to prevent disorder would not go further. 'Beyond this civil protection' ran the despatch, 'we do not see that the maxims of toleration enjoin us to proceed. It is not



BISHOP SPENCER, 1837-1849

necessary that we should take part in the celebration of an idolatrous festival, or that we should assist in the preparations for it, or that we should afford to it such systematic support as shall accredit it in the eyes of the people.'

Though this change of policy was officially ordered by the Directors in 1833 it remained a dead letter until 1838. Officials in Madras were too timid to enforce it or indifferent to its purpose. A memorial to Government was prepared signed by over two hundred chaplains, missionaries, civil and military officials and private citizens. It was a tolerant and respectable document but Bishop Corrie for forwarding it was severely rebuked by the Governor in Council. Indeed the abuse was not abolished until the Commander-in-Chief in Madras had resented so strongly the punishment inflicted upon a drummer-boy, who refused to beat his drum at an idol procession, that he sent in his resignation.

Bishop Spencer

The second Bishop of Madras was George John Trevor Spencer who was consecrated at Fulham and arrived in Madras towards the end of 1838. He was invalided home in 1847 and resigned the following year. He was an aristocrat, a High Churchman of the old school, had had no experience of India but proved to be a bishop of great energy, keenly interested in missionary work, church building and the provision of an efficient ministry. He held no less than 23 ordination services in the nine years of his episcopate, and ordained 34 men. In 1838 there were 46 clergy in the diocese, in 1849 there were 79. Amongst his ordinands were several who before ordination were working for the Wesleyan or London Missionary Societies, the most famous of whom were W. Hickey, Carver, Pope, Caldwell, and Henry Bower, afterwards distinguished as the chief reviser of the Tamil Bible. Quite a number of the clergy ordained by Bishop Spencer were Anglo-Indians trained at Bishop's College in Calcutta and the bishop certainly believed that the Church should find its clergy as far as possible from within its own borders.

His interest in mission work will be dealt with later on in this chapter: it will be enough here to illustrate its need and its strenuous character by stating that in one tour, in 1845, he confirmed no less than 3,308 Indian converts.

Bishop Dealtry

The third Bishop of Madras was Thomas Dealtry who held the See from 1849 to 1861. He had been a chaplain in North India for about 20 years, had been Archdeacon of Calcutta since 1835 and was 54 years old when he came to Madras. He was well known as an evangelical preacher. During the twelve years of his episcopate also there were frequent ordination services—no less than twenty at various centres,—at which 44 deacons, half of whom were Indians, and 61 priests, 17 of whom were Indians, were ordained. In 1850 there were 97 clergymen in the diocese, 29 of whom were chaplains on the establishment and when Bishop Dealtry died in 1861 there were 151 including 35 chaplains.

This great increase in the number of clergy, over a hundred in twenty years, together with the great interest in church building to which we shall refer later on, point to a rapid development of diocesan activity and great growth in numbers at this time. This was especially true of Tinnevely but applied also to the European and Anglo-Indian part of the Church for the following reasons :

Social changes

The period 1833-1858 saw many changes in European social life and conditions in India as well as in England. The early days of the Victorian Age brought improved communications, increased industrialism and a wider interest in commerce and colonies on the part of Englishmen everywhere. In 1833 the East India Company lost its commercial monopoly entirely and by this time its merchant-princes have become judges, administrators and revenue officers. Private traders in consequence, now come in large numbers, and many chaplains who had formerly ministered primarily to troops and civil Government officials now find many merchants and Anglo-Indian employees in their stations. The country inland is being occupied by Westerners and hill-stations are being sought by pensioners and other folk in retirement.

From Bishop Dealtry's third charge delivered at the Cathedral in 1856, we are able to obtain some information about the number of Christians in certain parts of the diocese. He speaks of Vepery with between four and five thousand Protestant inhabitants requiring another chaplain. He refers to 129 European residents and 140 Anglo-Indians in Tinnevely besides 40,000



BISHOP DEALTRY, 1849-1861

Indian Christians. Rajahmundry district has a Protestant population of 180 European and 100 Anglo-Indians : six stations around Berhampore have a population of more than 200 Protestants including ' numerous European overseers and officers employed in the new works and roads who have separate establishments of clerks, etc. The maritime stations on this coast also ' he adds ' are fast increasing in settlers—a chaplain ought to have been placed there long ago.'

The time when the danger of enemy attack was always a possibility has gone, and troops live in open cantonments outside closed Fort areas. This meant healthier houses and the possibility of women coming out to India in larger numbers. It is difficult to estimate the change which this one fact must have made to Church life and work in Madras. Before this period, the chaplains were largely soldiers' padres ; at the end of it, conditions of parish life and work nearly similar to those in England must have been the normal thing. Novels of Indian Mutiny days contrasted with novels of John Company days serve to illustrate the social changes which have taken place—changes which have a vital bearing upon the life and work of a church.

Lastly, the improvement in means of communication at the time is another factor to be considered. The development of railways in South India comes after rather than before 1858 but the passage to India becomes much shorter and faster at the beginning of this period. It is interesting to remember that Bishop Wilson of Calcutta headed the movement for the introduction of mail steamers and in his day they plied from England to Alexandria and from Suez to Bombay. In 1841, the P. & O. Company came into being. India now became only two months' journey away from England instead of four or five. Before this time it is interesting to remember it was quite common for officers stationed in India to take their leave in Cape Colony and quite a number of marriages with Dutch ladies took place there, traces of which remain to-day in many of the names of families long established in this country.

The means of conveyance on the improved roads are also changing at this time. We hear less of the coolie-borne palanquin, at any rate in the larger towns, and more of the landau and the phaeton while the gentlemen of course ride on horseback. We must picture people going to St. George's or to the Fort in this way but of course thick English clothes will be the fashion, and

the Victorian bonnet and top hat, as portrayed in the novels of Dickens and Thackeray.

Church Building

As would be expected a period marked by great expansion of diocesan activities is characterised by much church building. During the period 1835–1861 there were no less than 37 churches built, for half of which Government contributed a considerable amount towards the cost of construction. Bishop Spencer consecrated 21 churches and Bishop Dealtry 15. In addition to these ten others were projected during this period but were not finished until after 1858. This rapid increase in the number of churches was made possible, partly by a change in the policy of the Government in the matter of grants for church building and partly by the increase in the number of Christians and the vigour shown by local efforts to raise money for a church. Up to 1835 Government had been ready to provide money for 'plain' churches in military stations. After 1835 as most of the military areas had been supplied the practice was followed of giving grants-in-aid towards building churches in civil stations or in stations where the number of troops was very few. After 1844 it was usually the practice to contribute half of the cost of the essential part of the church and to make available the services of the Government engineers to examine plans and estimates.

But while Government did much the Christian community did more. The formation of a Diocesan Church Building Society in 1854 served to supplement the amounts raised in local areas. It is interesting to notice where these new churches were built. Nearly half were erected in the northern part of the diocese, six in Madras and its neighbourhood, four in hill-stations, three on the West Coast and two in Bangalore. Those in the north were S. Paul's, Waltair (1838), S. George's, Jalnah (1839), Christ Church, Chudderghaut (1844), S. John's, Vizagapatam (1845), Holy Trinity, Bolarum (1846), S. Mary's, Vizianagram (1849), S. Matthew's, Chicacole, S. Thomas', Cocanada, Christ Church, Cuddapah, and Judge Prendergast's chapel at Rajahmundry (all in 1850). In addition to these, churches were projected and in some cases work upon them started at Kurnool, Bimlipatam, Rajahmundry and Dowlaishwaram.

It is interesting to notice here, as in earlier periods, how much the diocese owes to the zeal and interest of individual Christians.

A Mr. Justice Prendergast, for instance, was largely responsible for two of the above churches; those at Rajahmundry and Cocanada were erected almost entirely at his own cost. Again Bishop Dealtry in his 1856 charge speaks thus of two others 'I cannot help expressing my own obligations and those of the Church in India to W. Elliot, Esq., Judge of Cuddapah, and F. H. Crozier, Esq., Judge of Vellore. The former, Mr. Elliot, has raised with some help from others, at Cuddapah, one of the most beautiful Gothic churches in the diocese and the latter, Mr. Crozier, has been the means of providing us two churches, one at Vizianagram and the other at Nellore, the latter, a noble Gothic building, an ornament to the station and country.' The development of trade and the influx of British merchants to places like Waltair, Vizagapatam and Cocanada possibly account for the church building in this area.

It is interesting, too, to notice the need for churches in hill-stations during this period. The practice of retiring in India was becoming popular and Planting districts began to be opened, such as that in Coorg for coffee where S. Mark's, Mercara, was consecrated in 1853. During this period S. Stephen's, Ootacamund had to be enlarged. Major-General Gibson in 1850 built a small chapel on his property, Kota Hall, which continued until quite recently to be the English church at Kotagiri. In the same year Holy Trinity, Yercaud, was built, and in 1854 All Saints', Coonoor.

On the West Coast a chapel was built at Courtallam in 1838, S. Paul's, Mangalore, in 1843, Holy Trinity, Palghat (1847) and Christ Church, Mallapuram (1858). Churches were also projected at Calicut, Coimbatore and Salem.

To this period also belongs Holy Trinity (1852) and S. John's Bangalore (1856), and in Madras S. Thomas', Mylapore (1842), and Christ Church (1852), while in the neighbourhood were built S. Luke's, Chittoor (1837), S. John's, Pondicherry (1845), Christ Church, Kumbakonam (1854), and Christ Church, Nellore (1856).

The churches built in Tinnevely will be mentioned along with the account of missionary work—it is only necessary to refer here to the great church built by John Thomas in Megnanapuram in 1847.

The story of the beginnings of Christ Church, Madras, is an interesting one. About 1842, Mount Road consisted of private houses and not shops and in the neighbouring villages of Royapettah and Pudupet lived a number of poor Anglo-Indians

who worked in the offices between Mount Road and the Fort. Henry Taylor, as assistant chaplain of S. George's, at this time felt the need of provision being made for these people, who had no conveyances to take them the two miles or so to the Cathedral for worship, and who probably thought they were not welcomed by its fashionable congregation or able to pay its pew rents. Taylor secured a room in Mount Road and started a congregation and school. Then a Mr. T. P. Waller, owner of the Mount Road Stables, offered some premises to this zealous chaplain and Christ Church soon came into being. Carver, the ex-Wesleyan ordained by Bishop Spencer, worked this district as well as San Thome up to 1845 and then Symonds the S.P.G. Secretary, took up this work. In 1847 an agreement with the Colonial and Continental Church Society was made and in 1852 Christ Church was consecrated.

Education

The period which begins with the episcopate of Bishop Corrie is, as we should expect, one in which occurred important developments in diocesan education. Corrie began inspecting schools almost as soon as he arrived in the diocese and did much for the improvement of regimental schools in Wallajabad, Vellore and other out-stations. In July 1836 he opened that Grammar School near Tucker's Church in South Georgetown which continued there until its amalgamation with Doveton College in 1929. The Bishop's purpose was to found a school for children whose parents could afford to pay fees. Most of the schools then in Madras were for the poorer Anglo-Indians. An attempt to found such a school had been made by the Anglo-Indians themselves in the very neighbourhood, which at the time must have been a more fashionable residential district than it is now. This school went by the very Dickensian name of the Parental Academy but had not been a success and was closed in 1834. Bishop Corrie School began with 33 boys. A similar school for girls was started also in 1836 but only lasted twenty years.

In the same year, John Pereira's School in Park Town was started for boys, and four years later a school for girls. Two other schools for Anglo-Indian girls were started in 1837, one in the Fort and the other in Vepery.

When Bishop Corrie died in 1837 public subscriptions were raised to perpetuate his memory, and the greater part of this money was used to establish scholarships tenable at the Corrie School

and which still remain and help many poor Anglo-Indian children to get higher education.

Early in this period also the Military Female Asylum was moved to Kilpauk, to Conway's Gardens, the extensive property of a Brigadier-General of that name who died in 1837. Here it remained until further amalgamations took place early in the 20th century.

In 1852 as we have seen Christ Church Madras was started, and its school began in 1851 with 34 poor children and the following year was rebuilt to hold 100 children.

Lastly in 1855 extensive property in Vepery was purchased as a result of the munificence of Captain Doveton, an ensign of the Madras Native Infantry, who left sufficient money to endow large schools in Madras and Calcutta for the benefit of the youth of his community—a noble example which might well be copied to-day.

At the beginning of our period Corrie, at the 'end of it Doveton, were founded—the two famous Madras schools which amalgamated in 1929. This period was a noteworthy one in the development of European education in the city of Madras.

Outside Madras the Residency School at Hyderabad was established in 1834, a school which was rebuilt in 1844 and is now S. George's School Hyderabad. In 1854 S. John's School Bangalore was founded.

Noteworthy advance is made in this period in Indian education also. In 1835 a school was established in Egmore, which was transferred to Armenian Street in 1837 and has grown to be the famous Madras Christian College. The need for higher training in mission centres is being increasingly felt and as we shall see schools like Pope's Seminary at Sawyerpuram, a similar one at Palamcottah and in Madras the Vepery Mission Seminary were established. At these schools selected Indian Christians were given special training in order to fit them to be village teachers and catechists and some ultimately to be clergymen. This was the first step in missionary higher education and from this beginning have sprung the High Schools which are to be found in so many mission centres to-day.

Another benefactor of this period to whose name many students to-day owe a debt of gratitude is Mr. Peter Cator of the Company's Service, who left a large sum of money 'to benefit both the Eurasian and native population by placing within their reach a superior education based upon religion'. Similarly a sum of

money raised to perpetuate the memory of Bishop Heber was used to provide scholarships for students at the Vepery Mission Seminary. In 1836 this seminary was divided into two parts, the Vepery Grammar School which was a school for boys and the Diocesan Institution, which was to be a school preparing European, Anglo-Indian and Indian Christians for the ministry. Religious education benefits to-day from these two funds.

1854 is an important date in the educational history of Madras because a despatch of that year inaugurated the Government's practice of giving grants-in-aid for education provided by private bodies and the establishment of a Department of Public Instruction. The schools to which we have referred, both mission and European, soon began to avail themselves of the help which Government afforded.

Mission Work

At the opening of this period mission work in Tinnevely was greatly affected by the Rhenius schism, but this only lasted until 1838. Rhenius was a Frisian, brought up as a Lutheran, with Lutheran Orders. He had worked in loyalty to the English Church from 1814 to 1835 but possibly about that time came under the influence of persons antagonistic to it. He had been removed from his office as chaplain of Palamcottah by Archdeacon Robinson for refusing to baptize an illegitimate child and he now wanted to ordain Tinnevely catechists with Lutheran Orders. Permission was refused on the natural ground that there was now a Bishop in Calcutta and soon to be one in Madras. Rhenius next published a tract attacking the tenets of the Church of England, left Tinnevely with Schaffter, Muller and Lechler, three of his missionary neighbours and started an independent mission at Arcot. Pettit, a C.M.S. missionary, was sent from Madras to re-organise the work in Tinnevely and Rhenius and his companions soon returned to Palamcottah and started a German Evangelical Mission alongside the C.M.S. work. The popularity of Rhenius, and the results of his ability, his zeal and his strenuous labours were seen in the fact that 67 out of 176 of the C.M.S. congregations joined him, and he obtained abundant money from European friends in every part of India to enable him to carry on his work. Rhenius died in 1838 and the schism soon came to an end. Bishop Corrie was greatly concerned about this schism, and also the caste difficulties at Tanjore and Trichinopoly which will be considered later. He

hurried south to Palamcottah with amazing speed considering the means of travel possible at that time. He ordered double relays of palanquin bearers and travelled 900 miles in a month. The 218 miles from Madras to Tanjore were covered in six days.

Caste difficulties.

The development of the caste spirit in the Indian Church at this time caused a great deal of controversy and all mission reports and episcopal charges contain frequent references to it. The older missionaries seem to have tolerated it, but the younger ones strenuously opposed it. Bishop Heber died at Trichinopoly on his journey south from Calcutta to enquire into it. Bishop Wilson in 1834 very strongly opposed it, basing his stand upon 'neither Jew nor Greek' but met with much resistance from catechists and other mission workers, and there were many secessions in consequence of his action. He came south and pleaded earnestly at Trichinopoly and Tanjore for the abandonment of caste but without much success. There was one service at Trichinopoly referred to in Bishop Wilson's life at which Christians came up to the altar to communicate in the following order: first a Sudra catechist, then two pariah catechists, then a European gentleman, then a Sudra and then some Anglo-Indians. Bishop Corrie condemned caste distinctions inside Church as strongly as Bishops Heber and Wilson, but was not ready to express an opinion about caste observances on social matters which had nothing to do with Christian worship or Christian conduct. His patience and kindness did something to prevent an increase of seceders, but the problem was not solved until long after his day. Bishop Dealtry in his charges in 1853 and 1858 refers to it, saying for instance in his second charge 'In the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts, the polluting system of caste still continues to a very great extent, notwithstanding that it has been all but universally condemned and every effort made to put away the evil. In some places the higher castes keep themselves as much apart as ever from the lower—refusing even to partake of the Holy Communion with them'. Dr. Pope who was at Tanjore between 1851 and 1856 says 'Caste distinctions have been allowed in the boarding schools, caste catechists (zealous for caste) have been employed and caste distinctions have been permitted even in the celebration of the Holy Communion'. Bishop Gell also in a charge delivered in 1873 shows that even as late as that the difficulty still existed.

Progress in Tinnevelly

In spite of schism and controversy, however, great progress was made in the Tinnevelly mission at this time. 'The eyes of the world are turned to Southern India' said Bishop Dealtry in a charge in 1850, "There is nothing in the present history of Christian missions to be compared with those of which we have now to speak. They are emphatically termed by our Metropolitan 'The honour of India (and the glory of Christ)'. In 1829 there were about 6,000 Christians in Tinnevelly. By 1858 the number had increased to 30,000. The number of villages where there were Christians had increased in the same period from 205 to 531, the number of schools from 46 to 306. In a charge given in 1856 Bishop Dealtry speaks of 60,000 Indian Christians in the diocese.

The names of many of the missionaries of those days should be held in honour to-day. They were men who planted and watered to enable God to give that great increase. On the C.M.S. field, there was first of all Pettit whom we have already mentioned in connection with the Rhenius schism and who worked at Palamcottah from 1835 to 1847. He was a great Tamil scholar and Church builder, an able organiser and administrator and did much to steer the Tinnevelly Mission through difficult times. There was John Thomas who lived and 'ruled' at Megnanapuram from 1837 to 1870 and created a flourishing mission station in the midst of sandy wastes. He was of the type of missionary pioneers; doctor, missionary and pre-eminently builder; a good Tamil speaker and administrator: a father of his people. The wonderful church with its spire towering above the palmyras is a witness to his memory which will never be forgotten. There was J. T. Tucker who worked from 1842 to 1861 at Pannivilai and built up similar work there, and at the end of our period Ragland who from 1845 began itinerating work in north Tinnevelly.

In the S.P.G. part of the field the outstanding names were Caemnerer who built up the work at Nazareth between 1838 and 1858, Pope and Caldwell. Dr. G. U. Pope was at Sawyerpuram from 1842 to 1846 and is still remembered as an educationist and stern disciplinarian. He founded congregations and schools and his 'Seminary' did much to supply the need for trained catechists and missionary workers which the rapid expansion of the Indian Church demanded. It is interesting to read what Caldwell his neighbour and contemporary wrote about

him. 'He was a man of varied abilities and accomplishments, and an enthusiastic teacher. He taught his students not only classical Tamil, but also Greek, Latin and Hebrew. . . . not only during the day but from 8 to 11 every night'. But as the bishop goes on to say he was trying to attempt the impossible. An insignificant village was not the place nor were the sons of illiterate converts the material to profit by this kind of learning. 'What was wanted at the time was a superior Primary School, not a University.' Caldwell himself worked at Idaiyangudi for over forty years (1841-1883) and as we shall see in the next chapter was afterwards made Assistant Bishop. As a Tamil scholar, as an organiser and administrator, as a father of his little flock in that 'Shepherd's village', he was one of the greatest missionaries Tinnevelly ever had.

The name of one other of the distinguished missionaries of this period must be mentioned and that is Cruikshanks, the Anglo-Indian educationist and evangelist who was the head of the Anglo-Vernacular School at Palamcottah from 1844 to 1870. He was a blind man, had been blind from the age of ten, but in spite of that was amazingly successful in his little school which was a small unpretentious building, thatched with palmyra leaves, and his name is now a household word in Tinnevelly. He was a successful evangelist as well as schoolmaster: many caste people were baptized through his influence, the most famous being Tiruvengadam Naidu who afterwards became the Rev. W. T. Saththianathan, whose work and that of his descendants have counted for so much in the Indian Christian history of the diocese.

The story of Cruikshanks reminds us what a large part was played in the early period of mission work in South India by Anglo-Indians and country-born Europeans. No less than fourteen were working in the diocese at this time, Dent, Coombes, Guest, Reilly, Ross, Watkins, Spratt, Taylor, Barenbruck, Howell, Huffton, Boyd and Strange as well as Cruikshanks and later on reference will be made to two still more distinguished, Dr. H. Bower and C. E. Kennett. Where are their successors to-day?

Under the leadership of these missionaries and others the work in Tinnevelly made rapid strides. The boundaries of the areas worked by C.M.S. and S.P.G. were carefully demarcated; the organization of each mission area in separate districts with headquarters stations was carried out: work amongst women

began and women missionaries began to arrive (from 1849) and ten Indians had been ordained to the ministry by 1859.

In Travancore, too, advance is being made. Since 1817 the C.M.S. had worked in connection with the Syrian Church; from 1837 they began to work independently. Bailey and Baker were the outstanding C.M.S. missionaries here at this time and work spreads in Kottayam, Trichur and Tiruvella. About 1842 Whitford the chaplain was doing mission work at Quilon.

Madras and the Centre

In Madras itself the outstanding missionary personality was John Tucker the C.M.S. secretary (1833-1847) to whom we have already referred in connection with the church in Georgetown. Caldwell, then a young L.M.S. missionary about to be ordained as an Anglican, was greatly impressed with the personality of Mr. Tucker. He writes in his Reminiscences 'There was then a bishop in Madras, only recently arrived, Bishop Spencer, a good but sentimental and somewhat feeble man; but the real bishop, as long as he remained in the country, was undoubtedly Mr. Tucker'. A few sentences later he says that he might have been called the Pope of Madras. 'It should be admitted however that he never acted the Pope or obtruded his opinions upon others though it might be surmised that he possessed a calm consciousness of his infallibility.' From 1848-1874 another mission secretary Symonds of the S.P.G. also is a leader of Church life in Madras. He arrived in 1841 and was made Principal of Bishop Corrie Grammar School, but from 1848-1874 he was head of the Mission Training Institution at Sullivan's Gardens. S.P.G. work also extended to San Thomé at this time largely owing to the activity of Symonds. The Wesleyans had worked here from 1822-1837 and then Carver, the Wesleyan missionary who became an Anglican worked there. In 1848 Symonds bought the Wesleyan chapel for Tamil Christians. San Thomé at that time was a fashionable health resort for both Europeans and Indians.

The outstanding name in connection with the Trichinopoly and Tanjore area at this time was Dr. Henry Bower who was Principal of a mission training 'institution at Vedearpuram near Tanjore. Dr. Bower is famous as the principal reviser of the Tamil translation of the Bible, and afterwards became head of the Vepery mission and died at Palamcottah in 1885.

The other name to be remembered in connection with Tanjore

at this time is Kohlhoff. J. B. Kohlhoff was one of the Tranquebar missionaries and worked there for 53 years (1737-1790). His son J. C. Kohlhoff was ordained by Schwartz in 1787, worked at Tanjore for 57 years and died in 1844. His son C. S. Kohlhoff was ordained by the Bishop of Calcutta in 1839 and worked in this diocese for 42 years and died in 1881. 152 years of mission work by one family is an interesting record.

Besides these Hickey at Madura between 1847 and 1858 should also be remembered.

The S.P.G. also worked at Chittoor between 1841 and 1857 and then handed over their work to the American Arcot Mission.

The Nilgiri Mission began during this period. There was a small Tamil mission in Ootacamund as far back as 1830 of which little is known. In 1857 however a church was built near S. Stephen's and Archdeacon Dealtry invited the C.M.S. to take charge of it.

In Bangalore, mission work had been started by some of the S.P.C.K. German missionaries and their work had been transferred to the S.P.G. About 1817 new life was given to this mission through the interest which the chaplain, Thomas, took in it and later on another chaplain, Trevor, who was at S. Mark's (1838-1845) reorganised the work ; additional schools were opened and S. Paul's Church built.

In Secunderabad, a chaplain, Whitford, inaugurated mission work and his successors took a great interest in it. The great name in this mission is that of the Rev. N. Paranjothi (1842-1860) who was a pioneer missionary in the Deccan. Schools in Secunderabad, Bolarum and Trimulgherry, an orphanage at Secunderabad and S. Thomas' Church all owe much to his devoted labours.

So not only in Tinnevely, but in the parts of the Madras diocese which have not been cut off by daughter dioceses, the period from 1833-1858 was one of great activity and advance.

Telugu work in North Madras

Finally this period saw the beginnings of the work amongst the Telugu-speaking people to the north of Madras, which multiplied so much that the creation of the Diocese of Dornakal became necessary in 1912. Here as in Tinnevely both S.P.G. and C.M.S. shared the work and the story of its commencement in both areas is exceedingly interesting.

In the early part of the 19th century a Eurasian P. W. D. surveyor named William Howell did missionary work at Cuddapah in his spare time. His congregation was taken over by the L. M. S. in 1822 but about twenty years later Howell was ordained in the Church of England and given work near Madras. The Anglican part of his Cuddapah congregation was looked after by the chaplains until in 1849 an S.P.G. missionary began to work there. In 1852-53 there was the beginning of a forward movement amongst the Malas there and 80 were baptized in 1853. The following year the Rev. J. Clay and others from the Vepery Seminary were sent to direct this work and Mutyalapad instead of Cuddapah became its centre.

C.M.S. work in this area was the outcome of the efforts of another Government officer of higher rank. Mr. John Goldingham, Collector of Guntur, wrote in 1838 to the Madras Corresponding Committee of the C.M.S. pleading the cause of the Telugu people, and he himself raised in India nearly £2000 for such work. In 1841 the C.M.S. sent Fox and Noble who began work at Masulipatam. Noble was an outstanding educationist, who worked there until 1865, and saw the beginnings of the college which still bears his name. Work also began at Bezwada during the period and the Sharkey Normal School was established there.

Conclusion

The period, it is clear from what has gone before, was a period of consolidation and organisation as well as of advance. Episcopal visitations and charges tended to the development of a diocesan spirit and assisted in the co-ordination of work. On the missionary side of diocesan activities this was particularly the case, and expressed itself not only in the way in which both the S.P.G. and C.M.S. centred their work in mission stations and linked up out-stations with them, but still more by the formation of what were called 'Corresponding Committees' at Madras. The home boards corresponded with a secretary in Madras and the missionaries in the country sent reports and received grants through him. The trusteeship of mission property and the administration of its affairs was placed in the hands of local committees, and a secretary was its executive officer. As we have seen, men, such as Tucker and Symonds, played a large part in Church work. They were the forerunners of a line of mission secretaries, who from now onwards appear in diocesan history.

V. MADRAS THE MOTHER OF DIOCESES

The Episcopate of Bishop Gell 1861-99

The Mutiny of 1857-58 which did so much to mould the future of Northern India left the south practically untouched. The Memorial Hall in Madras was built as a thanksgiving to God, for the peace and quietness which prevailed during those terrible years, in South India. But the Mutiny did affect the whole of India in a notable manner, for it marked the conclusion of the rule of the East India Company and the direct control of Indian affairs by the Imperial Government and thus paved the way for that development of self-government, which has reached such an important stage in the passing of the Government of India Bill in 1935.

Commercial Development

Unharassed by political convulsions, the south developed its trade and its railways. In 1863 the American Civil War cut off supplies of Lancashire cotton and India developed her cotton trade, Cocanada in particular rising to considerable importance as the port for Godavari cotton. The coffee industry reached its zenith in the years 1870-80 and in 1891-1905 manganese works of great importance were flourishing in the Vizianagram District. The Buckingham and Carnatic Mills developed in 1874-1883 and the Kolar Gold Fields 1875-85. Railway development naturally followed this increase of trade : in 1856-64 the Madras-Bangalore line was constructed and in 1861-71 Arkonam and Raichur were linked ; northwards, 1888-1900 saw the line opened as far as Bezwada. To the south Negapatam, Tanjore, and Trichinopoly received their lines in 1859-1862 and by 1876 Tuticorin had a railway to carry the merchandise from its port.

Church Life

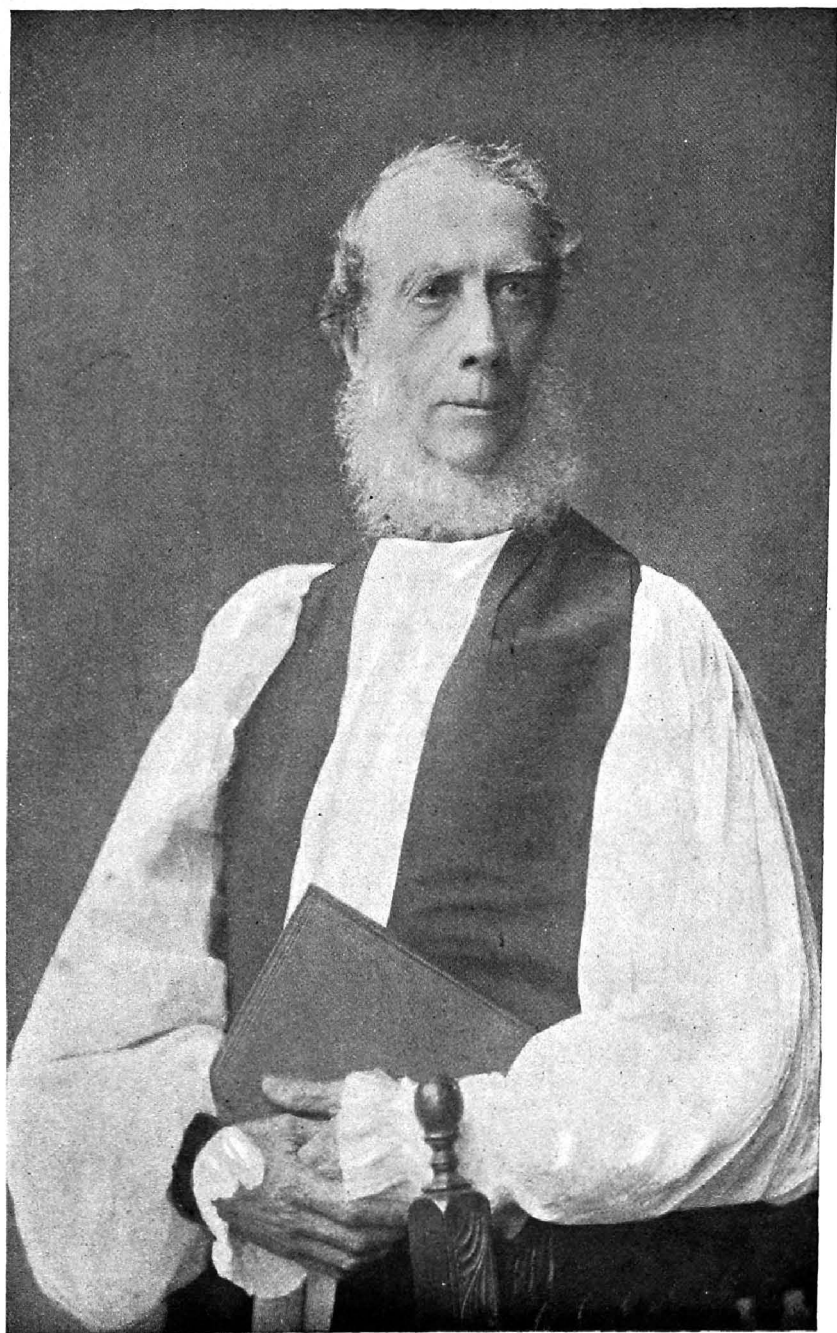
The influence of the Oxford Movement which had done so much to introduce reverence and decency into public worship, and to secure more frequent opportunities for Communion made itself felt in India during this period and the Bishops were not behind-hand in urging their clergy to take these duties seriously. Bishop Spencer (before the period under consideration) had, in 1842 and afterwards, both in his charges and in episcopal letters enjoined such elementary duties (as they appear to us now) as the keeping

of Easter, Ascension day, Whitsunday and Good Friday, and the public baptism of infants. Before that, Christmas day was practically the only festival observed and baptisms were private functions at which only invited guests were present. The Rev. John Tucker, whose name is still preserved in ' Tucker's Church ' Georgetown, was a friend of Arnold and Keble and he did much during the period he was C.M.S. secretary in Madras (1833-47) to revive religion among the Europeans. But there was at times opposition too. It is said that when Pettigrew in 1867 introduced Hymns Ancient and Modern into St. Stephen's Church at Ootacamund, the lay trustee threw his copy into the font and left the church. Again when Wynch had introduced a surpliced choir, credence table, weekly communions and the eastward position in Holy Emmanuel, Madras, though we hear of no disturbance, when he went on furlough in 1868, the new furniture was removed and the old methods restored. It is probable that then, as now, people brought from England their habits of worship and took the sides in controversy which they had favoured there. And there was much ecclesiastical and theological controversy in England throughout the period. We have spoken of the Oxford Movement. There was also the Colenso controversy, when Colenso, Bishop in South Africa, advanced views on inspiration and on the authorship of the books of the Old Testament, which resulted in his trial and deposition. That teaching was discussed in India and in 1863 Bishop Cotton gave a charge in the Cathedral lasting from 11-40 to 3-15. It seems probable that both the subject and the audience were exhausted !

Bishop Frederick Gell

Bishop Gell held the See of Madras from 1861, when he was consecrated at Lambeth, to 1899 when he retired to Coonoor. This is the longest episcopate of any Indian Bishop and it is due to it that the present Bishop of Madras in the centenary year is only the sixth to occupy the See, whereas Calcutta founded in 1814 has its twelfth bishop now. But it has also to be remembered that in the twentieth century senior bishops, already in India, have been appointed to Calcutta and naturally they cannot hold office so long.

Bishop Gell was a Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge; in views he was a pronounced evangelical but always fair and just to everybody, no matter what his theological position might be. He



BISHOP GELL, 1861-1898

was a generous benefactor of Missions and by his gentle and loving character he won the respect of Christian and non-Christian alike. This is what *The Hindu* said of him: 'as true Hindus we are tolerant, nay, large-hearted enough to recognise in Dr. Gell a saintly personage. From the day he landed here, he has been the same, shedding a benign influence all round, offending none, irritating none. Orthodox Hindus who have come into contact with him bear witness to his work as eloquently as the most enthusiastic of his followers. The man who spreads the Gospel most successfully is not he who has made the largest number of converts but he who has commanded the love and respect of most men who are not Christian. Such a one has been Bishop Gell.'

Bishop Gell as pastor of his people

Gell was indefatigable in his pastoral duties. He held many visitations of the clergy when he delivered charges concerning the progress of the work, but in addition he was an industrious traveller and his signatures in the various registers always follow 'our —th visitation.' In those days of leisurely travel a bishop could not run into a place for a night and hold services and pass on. His visit must be a 'visitation' when everything was enquired into, and so his charges are full of interesting facts about the progress of the diocese: in 1863 the shortage of clergy and negotiations with the Colonial and Continental Society to supply more; in 1866 the increase of Europeans in the coffee plantations; in 1873 he is urging daily services and weekly celebrations and he returns to that subject again and again throughout his episcopate. In 1877 he is concerned about the reduction of the Government grants for chaplains, which had already begun.

Before a visitation each chaplain received a questionnaire of some 70 questions which had to be filled in and from it he made his review of the progress of the work.

The Bishoprick of Tinnevelly

The Diocese of Madras, comprising as it did, the whole of the Madras Presidency with the States of Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore and Cochin, was an impossible charge for one man. It had to be divided. The first relief was provided by appointing two assistant bishops, Sargent and Caldwell, to supervise the C.M.S. and S.P.G. Missions in Tinnevelly. It was not a happy arrangement for it emphasised a separation in the Church, which was

accidental and foreign and later it made the task of the Bishop of Tinnevely much more difficult, but it was the best that could then be done. We will speak later of the wonderful work accomplished by these two assistant bishops. They were consecrated in 1876 and it was in 1896 that Bishop Morley was consecrated as Bishop of the whole Diocese. But even so he was not an independent Bishop. There were seven bishops in India, appointed by the Crown. To divide a diocese required an Act of Parliament and Parliament had no time to legislate for the Church. Indeed that was one of the chief reasons for the present arrangement of the Church Assembly in England, with quasi-legislative powers, for nothing could be done when every Bill had to be explained in detail and passed by overworked and apathetic members, who were longing to be prorogued and go on holiday. So a new arrangement was made whereby the Bishop of Madras gave a commission to the Bishop of Tinnevely to administer that part of his diocese and he acted nominally in the name of the Bishop of Madras, actually independently of him. Samuel Morley was consecrated in 1896 as the first Bishop of Tinnevely.

Bishoprick of Travancore

We have mentioned the legal difficulties in the matter of Tinnevely. They were not so great in Travancore and Cochin, which were Indian States under the suzerainty of the Crown and not under Parliament. The need of a bishop was as great as in Tinnevely and the difficulty was met by using the Jerusalem Act which provided for the appointment of bishops in foreign countries and J. M. Speechley was consecrated in 1879 and worked till 1889. He was succeeded by E. Noel Hodges who held the See for 14 years.

Two daughter dioceses were thus launched during Bishop Gell's episcopate and that fact alone shews the great progress of the Church in the south. *The Madras Mail*, in commenting on the consecration of Bishop Morley says: 'Never before has the Church of England put forth so much power and attractiveness and exhibited to the public gaze of the city so splendid a demonstration of the vitality and energy which characterize her solidarity and ever-extending organisation. When the history of the nineteenth century comes to be written, it will be seen that as regards the Church of England the latter half of it has been identified with cheering signs of unmistakable growth, progress and expansion.'

Some Statistics

That these words are not simply the expression of a robust optimism, the figures prove in an interesting manner. The numbers of the chaplains remained throughout the period 1861-98 fairly constant at 40-36 and the missionaries at 44 but the Indian clergy who in 1861 numbered only 27 were 154 in 1896 and the Indian Christians rose from 40,000 in 1861 to 122,000 in 1896. The figures for the Domiciled Europeans and Anglo-Indians remained fairly consistently at 25 to 30,000. These figures do not include Travancore and Cochin to which 15 Indian clergy were transferred at the formation of the diocese.

Diocesan Organisation

We are apt to think of our diocesan organisation of councils and synods as belonging to our new status as a self-governing Church but the seed was sown much earlier. We read of a Diocesan Conference as early as 1872 and in 1886 a committee was appointed to draw up a constitution for a diocesan council which met first in 1888 and again at somewhat irregular intervals throughout Bishop Gell's episcopate. It could have no mandatory powers but it had Boards of Missions, Education and Finance, which did effective work. The Registrar of the diocese was Frederick Rowlandson who entered on his office in 1875 and held it for 53 years. His experience and knowledge helped to give continuity to the organisation.

Church Building

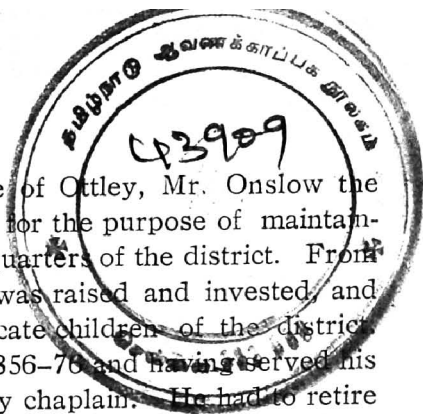
An episcopate of nearly 38 years naturally saw an immense amount of activity in church building: and in bringing into the diocesan organisation parishes which had quietly erected a building for their worship without any help from the diocesan authorities. Several such churches were consecrated by Bishop Gell. He had noted in one of his early charges the increase of population in the planting districts and in 1858 St. Luke's Church Mercara, was opened: in 1865 St. Bartholomew's, Mysore, was consecrated but its building dates much earlier and in 1889 the church at Vayitri in the Wynaad replaced a chapel erected in 1855: to that time also belongs the Church of St. John at Gudalur in the Nilgiri-Wynaad.

The needs of the mercantile community were thought of also. In 1859 Christ Church, Tirvandrum; in 1864 St. Peter's, Bimlipatam

and St. Mary's at Calicut ; in 1870 St. Thomas's, Cocanada (built in 1850), was taken over by Government and consecrated. To that year also belongs St. Mary's at Vizianagram ; and two years later (1872) comes All Souls', Coimbatore. At Cuddappah Christ Church built in 1868-71 was consecrated in 1881. The railway and mills at Perambur brought a large population to north Madras and in 1895 Bazeley the chaplain who had been collecting for 12 years had the joy of seeing Holy Cross Church consecrated. In the same year the beautiful church at Kolar Gold Fields (Ooregaum) was built and for the railway settlement at Bangalore St. Matthew's Church. In 1898 the railway church at Podanur was built for the railway colony.

For the military we have in 1858 St. John's, Bangalore (now a church with a large civilian population), and in 1860 All Saints' at Trimulgherry, one of the largest churches in the diocese. In 1887 St. George's, Wellington, was consecrated. The need of a church in this military sanatorium had become imperative.

Turning to churches built to meet the needs of the resident community, we have in 1862 Holy Emmanuel, Georgetown. At that time Tucker's Church still catered for the resident Europeans and there was a long controversy, partly arising from questions of ritual but, the matter was settled and Bishop Gell agreed to the consecration. That he was wise in his decision is shown by the fact that for many years now Tucker's Church has been filled by a congregation of Indians and in spite of an exodus from that part of Madras, Emmanuel Church still has its English congregation. In 1866 St. Stephen's at Berhampore, in 1867 Holy Trinity at Rajahmundry, in 1868 St. John's, Tellicherry—three churches in three successive years testify to the widespread activity of the clergy and people. Berhampore demands more than a passing reference. It was constituted a chaplaincy in 1855 and the Rev. W. B. Ottley was appointed chaplain. It was a military station and he only had a mess-room for a church. So he prepared designs and collected half the money needed (some Rs. 11,500). Government gave their share of this sum. The great Orissa famine came just the year it was built and before it was properly furnished. Ottley relinquished his collection for furnishing the church and raised Rs. 10,000 for a fund to feed the children ; further he presented his own house for the same purpose. The endowment (somewhat quaintly called ' the Uriya Flock Fund') still exists and its income goes to help the Uriya United School in



Berhampore. Fired by the example of Ottley, Mr. Onslow the Collector of the district left his house for the purpose of maintaining a school at Chatrapore, the headquarters of the district. From the proceeds of this bequest, a fund was raised and invested, and the Onslow Bequest still helps to educate children of the district. Ottley remained as chaplain from 1856-76 and having served his time, offered to work on as honorary chaplain. He had to retire in 1881 owing to ill-health.

In 1870, All Saints', Bangalore, was consecrated. This was never a Government church. There had been for many years a 'Drummer's Chapel' in the Fort, Bangalore, and this was used by the civilian population. But they gradually emigrated to the suburbs and a new church had to be built. The old chapel remained in use for occasional services till an Indian congregation took it over; and they in their turn left it for a beautiful church in the newly planned town, for the building of which the Mysore Government gave liberal grants and a splendid site; but this goes far beyond our present period. In the same year 1870 St. Thomas' Church, Ootacamund, was consecrated. St. Stephen's was too far away and too high on the hill for residents in the lower parts of the town and, after 14 years' planning, St. Thomas' Church met their needs. The next year 1871 saw Christ Church, Salem, consecrated and 1873 three churches in the north, which have long ago ceased to be connected with Madras diocese at Ellichpore, Umraoti and Akola; in 1874 we have St. Matthew's at Chicacole; and in 1875-80 St. George's, Madura, was rebuilt by the energy and generosity of Col. Robert Fischer, R. E., in memory of his father George Frederick Fischer, Zamindar of Salem.

That same period saw the building of Christ Church, Salem, and in 1879 Aurangabad had its church (Holy Trinity). We have not been able to mention all the churches built or enlarged in this period; but we have given sufficient to shew how every community, commercial, planting, military or residential set to work to provide suitable places of worship and how generously they gave their contributions for that purpose. Two Indian churches may be mentioned here for they come at the beginning and end of our period. St. Paul's, Vepery, consecrated in 1858 and the church of the Good Shepherd in Sullivan's Gardens, Madras, consecrated by Bishop Gell in 1899. In Tinnevely, however, many churches were built by the Indian congregations during this period. To give a list would be impossible, for the

activity in this direction is incredible. In 1921, the Bishop of Tinnevely had occasion to enquire how many churches were actually under construction at the moment, in order to distribute a grant given by Lord Willingdon, then Governor of Madras. There were thirty ranging in cost from a lakh of rupees to Rs. 2,000, and that zeal has always been characteristic of South Indian Christianity.

Education

Turning to education, to this time belongs the consolidation of the Lovedale Schools. In 1856, Sir Henry Lawrence had offered a donation of Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 1,000 per annum for a school. The project was delayed by the Mutiny but the school was opened at Stonehouse in 1859 and after other moves in Ootacamund and amalgamation with the Military Asylums of Madras the school was moved to Lovedale in 1869 and began its historic career. It was not till 1904 that the girls were moved from Madras. The further development of Lovedale belongs to the next period. There was a number of small schools started for Anglo-Indians in different places; of these only a few larger institutions now survive.

The Civil Orphans' Asylums took their present form when first the male military orphans (1871) and then the female military orphans (1904) went to Lovedale. The Boys' School had been located in Egmore but when the S.I.R. required the buildings, the school moved over to what had been the Girls' School on Poona-mallee Road. That was the last move (in 1904).

The Gordon Orphan Refuge was opened at San Thome in 1860. It provided for some thirty orphans and was financed by endowments given in memory of Rebecca Gordon.

In 1861 the Waltair Orphanage, provided for Anglo-Indian children, was completely remodelled by the efforts of the Rev. J. W. Wynch who raised some Rs. 20,000 for the purpose. It prospered greatly to 1884 but did not keep pace with modern requirements and in 1894 it was decided to close it and the children were sent to the Civil Orphans' Asylums in Madras. In 1867 St. George's School at Hyderabad was opened: and it provided education for children of the domiciled community throughout our period. In 1872-73 money was raised in Ootacamund to commemorate J. W. Brecks the Collector. A school was started in 1873 and in 1885 it was moved to its present

buildings on Church Hill. The school was placed under a Committee but its finances were not satisfactory and it was finally made over to Pastor J. W. Theobald (in 1915) and under his energetic management was greatly enlarged and became very popular.

Bishop Corrie Schools which grew out of the Parental Academy, which has already been mentioned, had been remodelled in 1836 and continued to serve the community throughout the period. In 1886 Canon Foley became headmaster. He worked there for many years and devoted his time and his money ungrudgingly to their service.

The year 1893 saw a conspicuous advance in the education of girls; in that year Bishop Corrie's Girls' School was opened in Georgetown: in Vepery the Sisters of the Church (Kilburn) opened the Collegiate School in Vepery and in Ootacamund they opened St. Hilda's, a school intended for European girls, daughters of planters in the Wynaad and of others in different parts of India.

And so we close this period of European education. Great efforts had been made to bring schools within reach of people who were widely scattered. The next period will show how it became necessary to concentrate on central institutions where the standard of education could be maintained and funds could be spent more effectively than in running a large number of small institutions at a starvation level. But in days when educational standards were not so exacting, a great service had been rendered to the people.

Indian Education

Schwartz is always looked to as the pioneer of education and in 1863-64 the school which he had founded in 1776 was moved into Tanjore Fort and became a high school and later a second grade college. In 1866 the C.M.S. used a legacy given in 1843 as a memorial to General Harris, famous in the Mysore War, to found a school in Madras, which for many years educated Muslim boys in Madras. In 1873 the high school at Trichinopoly became a second grade college and in 1880 H. Schaffter started a high school in Tinnevely town, which later became a second grade college. In 1885 All Saints' Girls' School began its work at Trichinopoly, as an Industrial school for women and from 1886-96 T. H. Dodson worked in the boys' school at Trichinopoly and greatly improved the buildings and the hostel. Finally in 1893

the Caldwell College at Tuticorin became a high school and the Noble College at Masulipatam a first grade college.

Mission Workers and their Work

With such great activity in so many different parts of the vast diocese of Madras, our account must be very scrappy and mention can only be made of a few outstanding men and their work.

In 1863 the caste troubles which have been such a sad feature of southern Christianity were troubling the diocese. In a well-intentioned effort to make the transition from Hinduism to Christianity more gradual the Roman Church had allowed caste to continue; the Lutherans had followed their lead; the Anglican Church had never officially recognised caste, but the difficulties which followed both policies were great and that year saw many secessions to Lutheranism in Tanjore and outlying districts. Bishop Gell alludes to these in his first charge: and in 1866 he says 'the cords of caste tyranny are stronger than those of Christ's love and too many love to have it so.'

We also learn that as early as 1864 proposals for an Indian co-adjutor Bishop of Madras were considered. They seem to have been laid aside for the better solution of making fresh dioceses. The problem had to be tackled for there were nearly 50,000 Indian Christians at that time, the greater number of whom (42,000) were in Tinnevelly.

Tinnevelly

The work had steadily progressed among the Christians in the south. There was a great revival of spiritual life led by V. Vedanayagam, pastor of Vagaikulam and Arulappan formerly a catechist in C.M.S. The formation of pastorate committees and district councils gave a coherence and strength to Church life, which had good results though unfortunately they were centred in the Societies' organisations and not in the diocese. The time had not yet come when the full development of the Church life was possible. The fact that in 1869 Bishop Gell ordained at one ordination 22 deacons and 10 priests (an unprecedented number in Tinnevelly) is testimony to the progress of the work: and in 1877 it was beyond the powers of the Bishop of Madras. Caldwell (S.P.G.) and Sargent (C.M.S.) were consecrated as assistant bishops. In that year there was a great famine and a mass movement to Christianity followed. The converts were not

however properly shepherded and there was later a great falling away. In 1883 Bishop Caldwell left Idaiyangudi where he had greatly strengthened the work and lived in Tuticorin in the south where strong congregations were developed. He died in 1891. During this period, Sharrock at Sawyerpuram and Tuticorin, Billing at Ramnad and Margoschis at Nazareth played a great part in the development of the work of S.P.G. On the C.M.S. side Bishop Sargent consolidated the work in the whole area. He celebrated his jubilee in 1885 when many testimonies were given to the wonderful work he had done. He died four years later and at that time there came to Tinnevelly men who did notable work. T. Walker, the great evangelist and teacher, E. S. Carr for many years chairman of the C.M.S. Council and others like minded. And there were notable Indian leaders, Vedanayagam Sandosham (died 1871), P. Abraham (1876), Devanayagam, Veeravagu, who was a kind of commissary for Bishop Gell in the Mengnanapuram District, his brother Vedanayagam who developed the work in the northern parts of Tinnevelly, P. G. Simeon and his brother-in-law Rao Sahib Rev. S. Paul, who was a great author as well as a devoted pastor.

In 1896 Bishop Morley was consecrated Bishop of the diocese and Tinnevelly was launched on its independent life.

Travancore

The C.M.S. decided, as we have seen, to continue to minister to their adherents after the connection between themselves and the Syrian Church had been broken. They gave their attention to educational work in various centres and the numbers of the Church increased to 30,000 in 1887. They did not confine their efforts to the educated but evangelised the poorer classes, who had been neglected by all Christian bodies. When Bishop Speechly was consecrated in 1879 he had over 20,000 Christians, 17 Indian clergy and 5,000 communicants. The Church made steady progress under him and his successors.

Madras Diocese

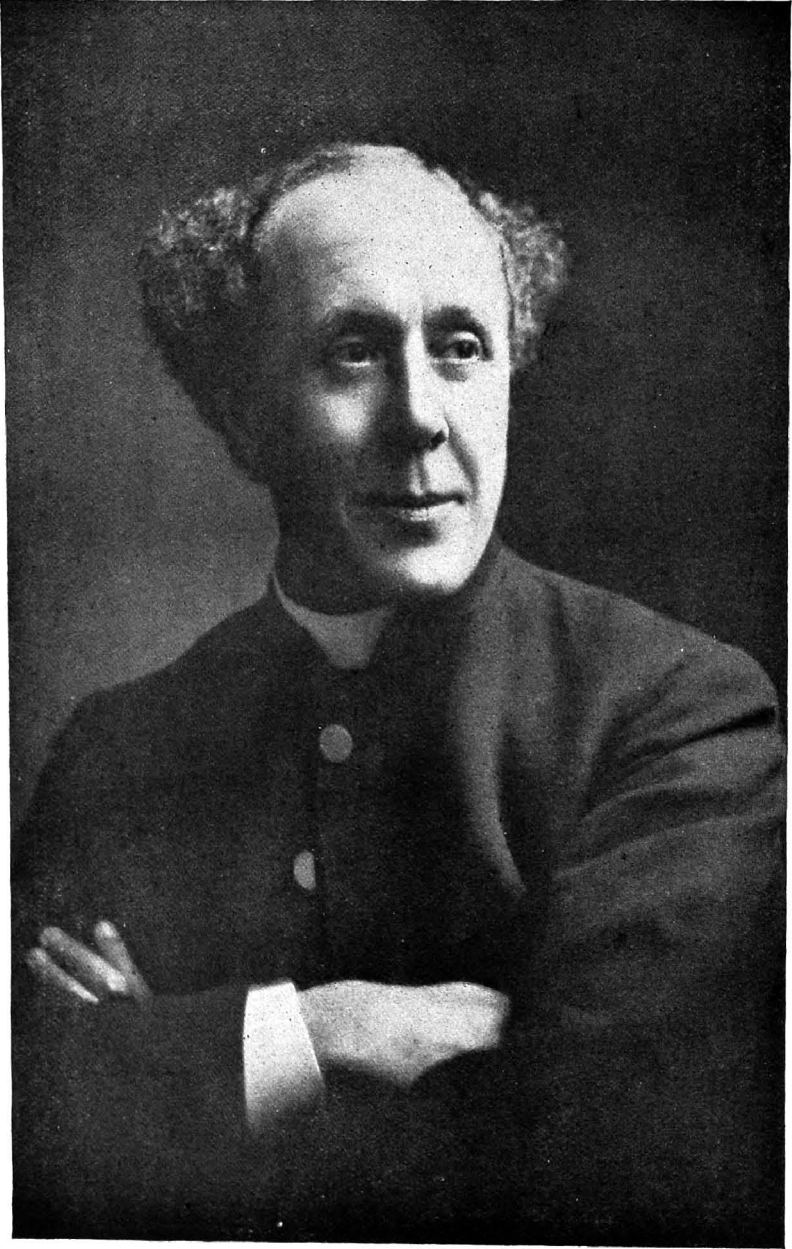
After the formation of Tinnevelly and Travancore dioceses, there were no further divisions till the next period. We will glance at the progress of Mission work during the period, which prepared the way for the foundation of the great bishoprick of Dornakal.

In 1864 the first Telugu clergy were ordained. In 1865 Robert Noble, the maker of the college at Masulipatam died but his work, fostered and supported by Rugby School, continued and the college still flourishes. Work was opened in the Godavari district in 1874 and still flourishes at Dummagudem. In 1887 the C.M.S. extended its work to Khammamet, which later became the centre of a great mass movement. To the west the S.P.G. started work in 1861 in the Cuddapah district and later Alfred Britten opened work at Nandyal, now an important centre. Great developments followed in 1883 and there have resulted two powerful Churches extending from Bezwada to Dornakal in the east and round Nandyal in the west.

In Madras City the most notable name in this period is that of Canon Edward Sell. Ordained in 1867 he worked continuously in Madras (except for a brief spell when he went to settle the mission finance of Bombay) for 67 years. He had come out in 1865 to the Harris School and continued in it till 1880. He was a great Arabic and Persian scholar, wrote many books on Islam and its history; he re-created the Diocesan Press and made it an important concern. A financial genius, he built up the resources of the C.M.S. in the whole diocese. From 1881-1920 he was Secretary of C.M.S. In 'retirement' he wrote numerous commentaries on the Bible for the benefit of Indian clergy; and his wise counsel and experience were invaluable to the dioceses in the south.

The brothers Henry and Malcolm Goldsmith devoted their talents to work among Muslims. In Zion Church, Chintadripet, William Devapiriam Clarke succeeded his father-in-law Saththianadhan in 1893 and kept up the tradition of that famous church.

There were no spectacular events or accessions of great numbers to Christianity but solid work was done and quiet progress was made throughout the Presidency.



BISHOP WHITEHEAD, 1899-1922

VI. THE CHURCH IN INDIA BECOMES A SELF-GOVERNING PROVINCE OF THE CHURCH 1899-1935

BISHOP WHITEHEAD (1899-1922)

BISHOP WALLER (1923-

Self-Government

We have now reached the last period of our hundred years' history. It is a period full of interest, for in it the Church of the Province of India, Burma and Ceylon became a self-governing province of the Anglican Communion, with its own Councils, and a carefully elaborated constitution. Bishop Copleston (1902-13) spent much time in educating the dioceses while he was Metropolitan, explaining the meaning of synodical government. The position was indeed becoming impossible. Legally the Church was a sort of annexe of the Church of England, under the supervision of the Archbishop of Canterbury: but he possessed no machinery for supervising and the Church in India could never be certain what laws of the Church of England applied in India: nor was it ever consulted formally on any liturgical changes or revisions of the Prayer Book. Its bishops were appointed in five different ways and its affairs could never be brought to Parliament, which alone had power to legislate. It would take too long to narrate all the steps which were necessary in England and in India to effect the necessary changes. Diocesan Councils and a Provincial Council were formed: a constitution was framed and in 1927 the necessary legislation was passed by Parliament (through the Church Assembly) and March 1, 1930, was fixed as the date when the Church became finally self-governing. In each Diocese there is a Diocesan Council which sends representatives to the General Council, which is the supreme legislative body. There are also Diocesan Synods of the clergy which report to the Episcopal Synod.

This change coincided with the review of the political constitution which was undertaken with fresh vigour from 1919 and culminated in the constitution of 1935. As the numbers of the Church members increased it was natural that they should desire to

have control of their own Church affairs : but it was inevitable in any case, for the Church could not have continued much longer adapting impossible laws framed for another country and another generation to the needs of a young and growing indigenous community.

Missionary Societies and the Church

If the general position of the Church needed review, the work of the societies had also to be considered. The control which the Missionary Committees exercised over the first generations of Christians whom they had brought into the Church was not appropriate to strong communities of Indian Christians, who were more and more financing their own work and desired more fully to direct it. The War had reduced the number of foreign missionaries and the funds available from abroad, but in any case the development was inevitable and had been foreseen and provided for by missionary statesmen. In fact as early as 1849, Henry Venn (1849-61) had laid plans in his organization for the *euthanasia* of the foreign Mission and the evolution of the indigenous Church. During our period, this was most fully worked out in the Diocese of Tinnevely under Bishops Waller (1915-22) and Tubbs (1923-28) where the Societies' Mission Committees were dissolved in favour of a complete diocesan constitution. The new Diocese of Dornakal also adopted a completely diocesan organization : and in Travancore and Madras considerable progress was made in the direction of a diocesan constitution.

Dornakal Diocese

The outstanding event of the episcopate of Bishop Whitehead (1899-1922), was the foundation of the Bishoprick of Dornakal. He found that the Church in the Telugu area was increasing rapidly. It was obviously impossible for a bishop who had charge of the major part of the Presidency and the oversight of thirty chaplaincies to give the necessary time to the work. There was a large C.M.S. area, working in the districts around Bezwada, and overlapping into the Hyderabad State at Dornakal, and an S.P.G. area on the west around Nandyal : and, especially on the east, there was one of these periodic mass movements, which suddenly arise, often from the impetus of some economic cause, among the poorer classes in all parts of India. The Tinnevely Church had originated in such a movement at the beginning of

the nineteenth century : the close of the nineteenth and opening years of the twentieth centuries had seen such movements in the United Provinces and in the Panjab : and there were many others. But there is probably no parallel to the movement in the Telugu country either for its steady continuance or for the careful way in which the congregations were organized and an enduring Church built up. And its fruits are seen to-day, not only in the fact that over 120,000 have been added to the Church in twenty-two years, but, as always happens, the movement is spreading upwards to communities higher in the social scale.

The Bishop of Dornakal

On December 29, 1912, Vedanayagam Samuel Azariah was consecrated Bishop of Dornakal in St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta. He belonged to Tinnevely and was one of the founders of the Indian Missionary Society of Tinnevely, which sends Indian clergy and laymen to work in the new diocese : another notable mark of the progress of the Church. He was already a leader of note : he had taken a prominent part in the great international Conference of Missions at Edinburgh (1910) and he was familiar with the work of the Church in various parts of the world. Of his work as Bishop of Dornakal this is not the place to speak. The daughter diocese has far outstripped its mother of Madras in numbers, in evangelistic work, and in its organization : indeed so great has been its progress that 1935 saw the consecration of Archdeacon Elliott as assistant bishop, for the work has got beyond the power of one man, however vigorous he may be.

The Great War

The Great War of 1914-18 necessarily had its repercussions in every part of the globe. In some ways the Madras Presidency was probably as little affected as any part of the world. With the exception of the *Edmen* raids Madras saw no warfare. Of course hundreds of volunteers were recruited for service, in East Africa, Mesopotamia, and France : lakhs of rupees were contributed to the various charitable funds and the Presidency was no whit behind any other part of the Empire in service and sacrifice. But the work of the Church was carried on without faltering : great concentrations of troops in Bangalore, and the Nilgiris received ministrations as required : chaplains went on war service in India and in Mesopotamia and the work was carried on with depleted

staffs. The repatriation of the German missionaries taxed the resources of the British, American and Swedish Societies, who carried on their work as far as possible and contributed what they could to its maintenance. As the German Societies were not episcopal the Church of England (as it still was) could do little in Madras in the way of supplying workers, though it was able to render notable help in Chota Nagpur to the Gossner Missions. Bishop and Mrs. Whitehead devoted themselves with the utmost energy to ministering to the British soldiers, who were stationed in the diocese and the chaplains and the British missionaries found their time fully occupied with the great task thrust upon them.

Bishop Whitehead

As we have seen, the episcopate of Bishop Whitehead was fully occupied first with the establishment of the Diocese of Dornakal and then with the cares and responsibilities entailed by the War. He had brought to the diocese experience gathered in Calcutta where he was in charge of Bishop's College. In the south he found a large Christian community, old established churches and in many respects a different world altogether. He realised the great part which the village Christian communities must play in the development of the Church. He considered that in devoting so much of their effort to higher education the Societies were missing their opportunity. He became almost the champion of the village school against the college and high school: he studied and wrote concerning the primitive cults of the villager and he maintained his interest in the village congregations after his retirement in 1922. The abiding memorial of his statesmanship and his practical ability is the Dornakal Diocese.

Church Union

Before we leave general topics connected with our period we must record the initiation and progress of the Church Union Scheme in South India. When a small minority of Christians are engaged on the same task amidst an overwhelming mass of non-Christians they naturally draw together. Missionaries of many denominations had been meeting in conference and working to some extent in co-operation all through the nineteenth century. This informal co-operation was systematised in the Missionary Councils established after the Edinburgh Conference of 1910, under the guidance of Dr. J. R. Mott.

Agreeing first not to trespass in each other's areas, they were led into various co-operative efforts (educational, medical and the like) until it became clear that the enterprise demanded fuller co-operation still. The Indians too felt the disability of Church divisions imposed on them by the accidents of geography and the fact that they were born or converted in the area of one Mission rather than of another. The Church divisions meant little or nothing to the rank and file. Separations and secessions which mean real matters of principle to those who felt themselves bound to separate for conscience sake lose most of their meaning when transported to far away lands with a different history and to people of an entirely dissimilar mode of thought. At first indifferent or oblivious of the divisions, the Indians began to resent the separations which cut them off from their fellows, sometimes even from members of their own family.

In 1919 a conference of Indians (led by Bishop Azariah) issued a call to the Anglican and South India United Churches to attempt a union on the basis of the Lambeth Quadrilateral (the Bible, Nicene Creed, two Sacraments and the Episcopal ministry). Bishop Whitehead became an ardent advocate of the proposal. The two Churches appointed their committees in 1920. In that year, too, the Lambeth Conference issued its great appeal for union. The sittings of the committees have been continued ever since and in 1925 the Wesleyan Methodist Church joined the committee. An elaborate scheme has been framed; the Lambeth Conference of 1930 gave its advice and the proposals should be finally adopted or rejected in the course of the next two or three years. The matter is noteworthy for, while there has been much conference throughout the world about Church Union and people are more and more recognizing the sin of disunion; while notable unions have been effected between Churches of a similar polity, episcopal or non-episcopal, South India stands alone as the one area where a definite plan for a union on an episcopal basis, has been made between episcopal and non-episcopal Churches. It was only to be expected that the proposals would be examined line by line and strong opinions expressed on either side. That some sort of union is inevitable, if the Christian Church is to make any headway in the overwhelming mass of non-Christianity with which it is surrounded is far more clear to those who live there than it can be to those who have not had their opportunity of judging of the necessities of the case. And on the other hand the opinion of those

who are not in the grip of an overwhelming necessity is valuable too, so long as it shews the right way of accomplishing the divine command and is not simply negative.

The Establishment

During our period the Diocese experienced great changes in the cadre of its chaplains. There were some thirty-three Government chaplains in 1899 when Bishop Whitehead became Bishop of Madras. This was more than ample in 1899 but with the changes in population, the Indianization of all Government services and the diminution of commercial staffs in the lean times which followed the peace settlement, it became necessary to review the establishment. In 1923 the Government enunciated their principles. They must provide for British troops ; they would provide in headquarter towns for Government servants brought out to the country ; and they would give grants-in-aid for other Churches. This reduced the number of chaplains to seventeen and in a later revision to fifteen, with a field service chaplain who in peace time would serve in the diocese but would be mobilised with the troops in time of war. It was obvious that such a large number of diocesan chaplains could not be recruited from England or, if recruited, could not be maintained. The Domiciled community came forward nobly and some ten or twelve were trained at Bishop's College, Calcutta, which had been remodelled in 1915, and were ordained for the work. The Anglo-Indian community had in the early days of Missions given some notable men to the service of the Church but the number had for various reasons fallen off and this regular recruitment of clergy for English congregations is a notable step in the establishment of the Church in India. We ought to mention here that several chaplains and missionaries also elected to spend their retirement in India and give to her the services which are so often given to the Church at home.

Finance of the Diocese

It will be at once seen that these things laid a heavy financial burden on the Diocese of Madras. The Government grant for 'reduced' chaplaincies could not maintain their chaplains. During the years 1923 to 1935 the diocese had to call on the congregations to produce by some system of assessment a maintenance fund gradually increasing to Rs. 30,000 a year. That the

congregations have so generously responded is a source of great satisfaction but even so the fund falls short of requirements and the inevitable consequences of cuts in salaries, undermanning of work and starved institutions have followed.

The Bishoprick Endowment Fund

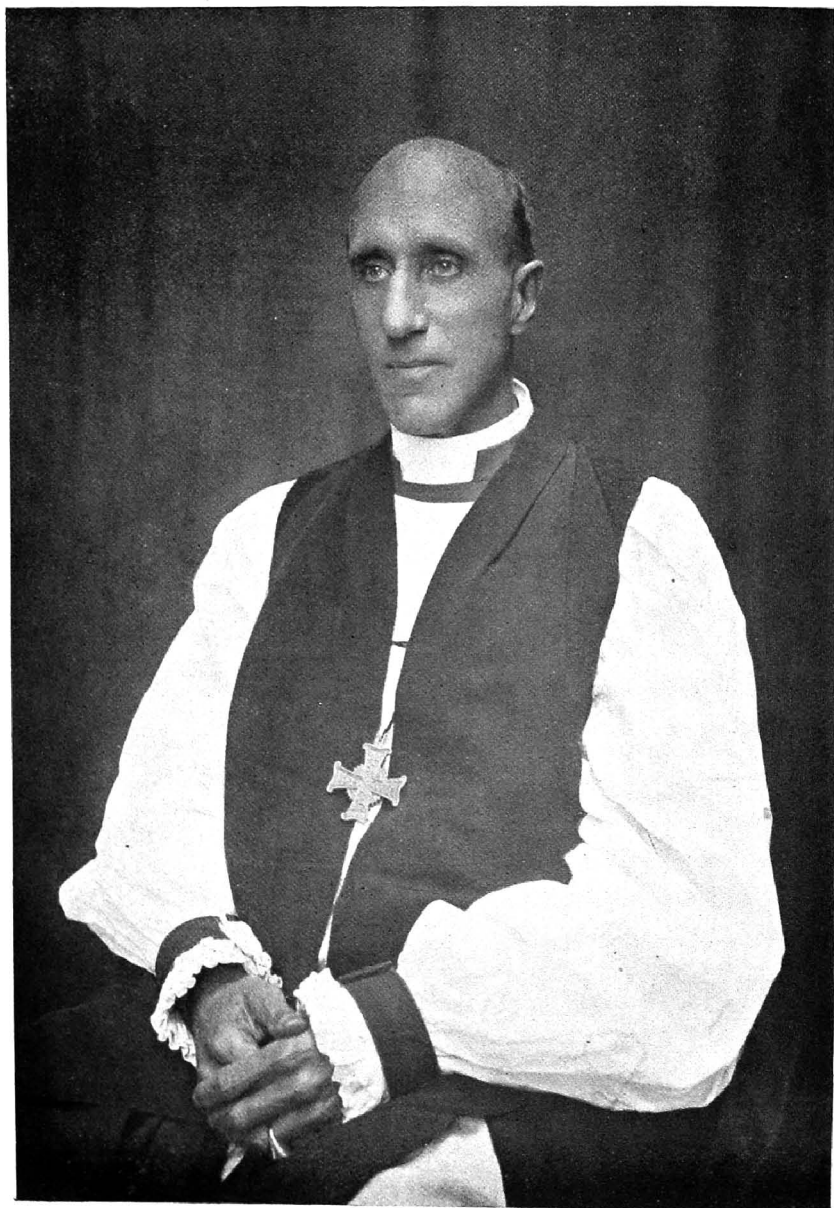
When the Church became self-governing the Government ceased to appoint and pay its bishops. It continued to appoint and pay such chaplains as it required and to maintain the churches as before. If it recognized the bishop, elected to a diocese, as superintendent of its chaplains, it agreed to pay to the Province a sum about equal to two-thirds of his pay and allowances. The continuing bishops were not affected by the change which was to operate as each one relinquished the See. The Church in England generously gave a gift of £50,000 to the Church in India; the necessary balance, not less than £25,000, was to be raised in India. This is the meaning of the Bishoprick Endowment. The diocese of Madras decided to try to raise Rs. 1,50,000. Came the slump and the reduction of chaplains with the consequent increase of annual expenditure: and to date a little less than Rs. 50,000 has been raised, one-third of the estimated sum. The Centenary Thanksgiving gift is to be this endowment and it is urgently necessary that it should be increased in time to provide properly for the successor to the present bishop, who will this year complete twenty years in the strenuous work of a bishop.

Church Building in Madras Diocese

In such a troubled period it was not to be expected that there would be so much activity in building as there was in previous years, but the Church did try to keep pace with the needs. In 1899, as part of the Swartz Centenary, the old 'church in the garden', at Trichinopoly, was again enlarged. Schwartz had built a chapel, which was rebuilt by the Rev. L. P. Haubroe and consecrated by Bishop Spencer in 1845. It had been called Peter's Church after Haubroe and was dedicated as St. Peter's Church. The present church, enlarged twice, still contains the original graves and the site of Swartz's chapel. In 1901 the Church of the Epiphany in Cuddalore, New Town, was consecrated. There was great activity in building while the Rev. J. A. Sharrock was in charge of the Coleroon Mission (Trichinopoly District) and six churches were built in the villages and the All Saints' Church at

Puthur was completed with a tower. In succeeding years 1929-35 five more churches were built in the district, in two cases almost the entire cost being met by Indian laymen interested in the place. Before we leave Trichinopoly District we must mention the church built in 1931 at Golden Rock, the new works colony of the S. I. Railway. It is in the modern style of architecture and the money was raised in a remarkably short space of time by the European community and their friends. In the same colony the Anglicans and Methodists combined to build a church for the Tamil population and they use it alternately for their services. At Erode when the S. I. Railway moved their colony from Suramangalam (Salem) the people found the need of a church and they purchased a modest building in the new colony and equipped it as a church.

At Bangalore St. Mark's, the great church in the centre of the civil station, sustained various misfortunes. Opened in 1812 and extended at different times during the nineteenth century, it was being enlarged in 1902 when the tower fell in and destroyed the chancel and the organ. It took some years before the damage was repaired. In 1923, on February 17, a thief broke in and having taken what he wanted set the church on fire. It was gutted and the rebuilding again took years, partly owing to the collapse of the roof during the restoration. It was not till 1927 that the church, beautifully restored and furnished, was again opened. The catastrophe called out a wonderful response: all communities, led by H. H. the Maharaja, contributing munificently to the fund for refurnishing, while the cost of rebuilding was almost entirely borne by Government, whose property the church is. A beautiful organ was given at a cost of over Rs. 33,000 by a member of the congregation. Bangalore is a large and ever-increasing city. St. John's parish feels the need of a daughter church and has in 1935 purchased a piece of land for its erection. St. Paul's (Tamil) Church is too small for its congregation and is planning an extension. In the suburb of Basavangudi, an Indian resident has built a small church at his own expense: and in the old Fort, which has been completely replanned and laid out with wide roads, the Government of Mysore have granted a spacious site and contributed liberally to the beautiful Church of St. Luke, consecrated in 1935. The old 'Drummers' Chapel' which had been in use for nearly a hundred years has been dismantled to make way for the new developments.



BISHOP WALLER, 1923-

Madras itself was already supplied with the churches which it needed. St. John's, Egmore, was enlarged and beautified by the addition of transepts and in 1935 a small and beautiful church, built largely by the collections and efforts of the small congregation, was consecrated at Pallavaram. In the north of the diocese the Vizianagram Church was refurnished in 1905 and at Gopalpur a church was built by the efforts of Mrs. Fraser of Yatton Hall. In 1915 St. Paul's, Villupuram, where there was an important railway colony, was opened.

Bishop Waller

In December 1922 Bishop Whitehead resigned and he was succeeded by Bishop Waller of Tinnevely on January 1, 1923. The new bishop had come to North India under the C.M.S. in 1897 and had been engaged in education (theological and high school) till 1909 when he returned to Allahabad as Secretary of the Mission in the United Provinces. From 1913-15 he was Secretary of C.M.S. for India in London and from 1915-22 Bishop of Tinnevely. He thus brought to his task a knowledge of Church work in all parts of India. The first task to be taken in hand was the systematising of

European Education

Owing to movements of population several of the schools were badly situated and some of them in a dangerous state of inefficiency owing to lack of money. Bishop Cotton Boys' School had been put on a satisfactory basis by the formation under H. Pakenham Walsh (afterwards Bishop of Assam) of St. Peter's Brotherhood in 1907 and the school has a long record of successful service ever since. Mr. A. G. Haynes, headmaster and acting principal from time to time, has been a source of strength to the school, for which it cannot be too grateful. The girls' school was also greatly improved during this period by additional accommodation and new buildings. Canon Foley who gave long service to the diocese both in Madras and in Bangalore, was a munificent benefactor of both schools. But it was in Madras city that reconstruction was urgently necessary. Serving the needs of the non-Roman community there were in 1923 two boys' high schools, Doveton (inter-denominational), and Bishop Corrie. Neither was full, both were in financial straits; two girls' high schools, Doveton, and the Collegiate, managed by the Sisters of the Church; St. Mark's Elementary School in North Georgetown; Christ Church Middle School;

the Civil Orphan Asylums (middle standard); the Gordon Orphanage and three parish schools. By a series of amalgamations, the Doveton-Corrie Schools in Vepery became the high schools; St. Mark's (enlarged) became the Bishop Corrie Middle School; Christ Church School was largely rebuilt; and an arrangement was made for more co-operation in teaching in the whole group of schools, for admission from the middle schools to the high schools and for a better use of the scholarships formerly attached only to the Corrie High School. There is still need for a more satisfactory income but the general standard of the schools has been raised and the financial situation in most of them is more secure. The Teachers' Training School was moved from Lovedale to Madras in 1928 and in 1934 an arrangement was made to admit men as well as women. This school is attached to the Doveton-Corrie Schools.

The Vestry School at Trichinopoly was completely rebuilt at a cost of over a lakh of rupees and is now one of the most commodious schools in the diocese. The diocese cannot be too grateful to the people of Trichinopoly who generously maintain the school and to officials of the S. I. R. like Mr. R. H. Martin who devote so much time and sacrifice to helping the school.

St. George's School, Hyderabad, Deccan, was taken over by the Australian C. M. S. in 1921 and has since been managed by its missionaries. The buildings have been improved; and an excellent kindergarten and girls' school are maintained. The arrangement entailed a long controversy for the character of the school was changed and it became an 'English' school under the Indian Code. There were not enough British-born children to fill an entirely European school and arrangements had to be made to provide for their instruction in other institutions, if desired. By the exertions of Sir Terence Keyes, then Resident, a compromise was reached and the matter was settled, on the lines indicated.

One more institution must be mentioned. St. Mary's Home, Bangalore, was started in 1897 for rescue work among women and children. Miss Hewitt managed it till 1904 and then the Wantage Community took it over. They have acquired a fine property, erected suitable buildings and a chapel and maintained it ever since. The last addition to the buildings is a kindergarten room given in 1935 by the Mothers' Unions of the diocese in memory of Irene Waller, wife of the Bishop, who died on August 2, 1933. The Home receives children rescued from all

over South India and is always full: the kindergarden and industrial work are carried on in the Home; for higher education, the children go to St. John's Middle School, which with improved buildings and an efficient staff is meeting the needs of the community in that rapidly growing quarter of Bangalore.

Turning to

Indian Education

The last few years of the centennium have seen great changes. The Lindsay Commission, headed by the Master of Balliol, was invited to make a tour of the colleges of India and to advise the Churches and Missions. The Missions had been pioneers in education in the nineteenth century. But the rapid advance of higher education in India, the establishment of many new universities, the increase in the technical requirements, especially in science subjects, had taken the leadership out of the hands of voluntary institutions. The financial resources at their disposal were too meagre to keep pace with the evergrowing expenditure; the staff available was taxed to the uttermost to keep pace with the teaching requirements. Large numbers of students were necessary if the institutions were to remain financially stable. And so it had come about that the mission colleges found themselves less and less able to concentrate on character building and more and more compelled to serve tables. The optimism of Macaulay and his generation, who believed that the mere introduction to Western thought, would bring large numbers of non-Christians into Christianity had been falsified. It was time to reconsider the position; and so the Lindsay Commission came. It advised the closing of weak institutions; the concentration in selected colleges of all the missionary forces available and the maintenance of these as institutions which by their sheer excellence would give the best contribution from the West to the East. And they advised the breaking up of large institutions into halls where manageable groups of students could receive individual attention—in fact the system of grouping small units round the central college on the pattern of the older universities of England. In accordance with its recommendations the Heber College at Trichinopoly was closed and a Heber Hall opened in the Madras Christian College, at first in Madras, and when their great new college is ready, at Tambaram on the outskirts of Madras.

If the plan was to be successful, it was at once obvious that the schools must also be improved. The two high schools were

re-organised at Trichinopoly, the old one in the Fort, the new one at Puthur. The S. P. G. gave liberal grants; an Education Board was formed for Tanjore and Trichinopoly; the improvement of the schools was taken in hand both in Trichinopoly and Tanjore and also in the district. A training school for village teachers was opened at Irungalur by co-operation between S. P. G., the Church of Sweden and the Danish Missions. A training school for women already existed at Puthur; this was strengthened, given adequate buildings and properly staffed. The ancient rivalry between the Missions in the district was ended by the amalgamation of some six schools of the S. P. G. and the Church of Sweden Mission. Plans were put in hand for the strengthening and concentration of the education in Tanjore.

For Madras and the northern part of the diocese another board was formed with similar aims.

The plans have given fresh hope and inspiration to the workers, but they are still in the initial stage and no final report is possible yet.

Churches and their work

The formation of the new dioceses, inevitable as it was, necessarily deprived the mother diocese of those sections of its work where the life had proved most vigorous. The congregations found it a hard task to maintain their parochial staffs and activities, for the War brought a great increase in the cost of living and grants, on which they had been accustomed to rely, were curtailed or proved inadequate to maintain existing work. The Indian contributions increased greatly but there was little margin for aggressive work outside. And little is being done. In Kumbakonam there is a steady movement to Christianity among the depressed classes and an efficient boarding school is being maintained by that parish and the self-sacrificing efforts of the Indian clergy in charge. In the Wynaad Mr. and Mrs. Moorhouse have developed a great work among the people employed on the ever-spreading tea estates and there are large numbers of Christians there. Apart from these two places little systematic evangelism is being done. Perhaps this record of the great events of a hundred years will help to give the needed stimulus.

Work among women is maintained for the Europeans and Anglo-Indians by St. Faith's Society. Deaconess Creighton, daughter of a former Bishop of London, opened work in Madras



ST. MARY'S, FORT ST. GEORGE

at the request of Bishop Whitehead and there has been a small band of deaconesses working with her among the poor of Madras ever since. The difficulties of finance have so far stood in the way of the extension of the work to other places and of a scheme for training deaconesses in the country. The Church of England Zenana Mission carried on its work in Madras and Bangalore and the Nilgiris but there has been no striking extension of it. The high school at Madras, the Deaf and Dumb School in San Thome, the Hospital and the Hindustani School at Bangalore; schools at Ootacamund and Miss Ling's Toda colony are a notable contribution to the work of the Church. And here must be mentioned the great Christian College for women in Madras. Started in the War, maintained by 13 societies in Europe and America, staffed by women from America, Europe and India it is probably the most notable piece of co-operative work which has been seen in the Mission field; and the Anglican Church has contributed a share to it.

Notable personalities in the period

Our list cannot be a long one: we have already mentioned the unique career of Canon Sell. Another name greatly revered in Tanjore is that of Rev. W. H. Blake. He came to India in 1875 and devoted himself to education at Tanjore visiting England only once in his service. He died in 1923 revered by all who knew him. Another long service is that of Rev. Canon Malcolm Goldsmith. He and his brother Henry devoted their lives to work among Muslims. Malcolm Goldsmith, who came to Madras in 1872, is still living there in retirement doing such work as his strength allows. Another remarkable service was that of Miss Ling in the Nilgiris where she worked for fifty years. She devoted much of her energy to work among the Todas, a very interesting aboriginal tribe: and her work found its climax in the Toda colony of which mention has already been made. We have mentioned some names of those whose long service mark them out. Time (and space) fail us to tell of such men as Sharrock, M. D. Israel, Paranjoti, Canon Foley, R. U. Potts or of men who are still with us, Canon Peachey, H. A. D. Moorhouse and many others who have rendered notable service to the Church. Suffice it to say that throughout all our period God has raised up men for the task in hand and in the faith that He will continue to do so we go forward.

Final word

We have now completed this survey of a hundred years. It has necessarily omitted many things of interest and importance. Readers will be disappointed not to find names and efforts which they are interested fully discussed. It could not be wise, in the limits which have been set.

But if the survey strengthens our faith in the overruling of God in the guidance of His Church: if it inspires us to effort for the establishment of His kingdom; if it makes us realise that it is by devoted lives and by unfaltering faith in Him and His revelation of life, that true success is achieved: if it strengthens our resolve to live and work better for the Society of God, Who died and rose that India might live to Him, it will have failed in its purpose.



