

Thomas Patrick Hughes, Missionary to British India: The Class Ceiling

By Elizabeth Hughes Clark 2002

Assistant Professor Sociology, Arcadia University, Glenside, Pennsylvania

Visiting Scholar, Linacre College, University of Oxford, 2000

Introduction

“The great ridge of the Hindu Kush in its full panorama stands out clear against the sky. But little is now remembered of the story these mountains could tell. ... they have been seen and crossed at intervals since the dawn of history by famous men of many nations. Alexander knew them, and founded a city under their shadow; more than one Chinese pilgrim, seeking the birthplace of Buddha, battled his way across their windswept ridges and through their long valleys. Marco Polo gives them brief mention as he passed them far off on his journey to the Court of Kublai Khan. Chengis and Timur and Babur of the Mughals crossed and recrossed them but left scant records of their journeys.... And yet this mountain ridge, the ‘Great Divide’ between Central and Southern Asia has in the past played a most vital role in history and may do so again.”¹

That very prophecy, made in 1967, now fords the United States and other nations confronting, in the 21st century, Afghan tribes, their loyalties and their historic experiences in the current ‘war on terrorism’. Tribal loyalties, differing languages, old and new religions, rugged terrain and difficult climate all conspire to make a land the size of Texas a bewildering landscape hard to traverse and impossible to rule. Even within Afghanistan, it has always been difficult for one tribal warlord to have both the military ascendance and the political acumen to gain the loyalty of other warlords and maintain cohesive coordination of internal and external policies over a long span of time.

Some of these same difficulties confronted the British in the 19th century, along with the international complications of ‘the Great Game’ for the hegemony of Central Asia between Russia and Great Britain. Still the Afghans, even given the complexities of the region can be doughty allies. “...in the great crises that have arisen from time to time in the chequered history of British-Afghan relations, the rulers of Afghanistan have kept their word and often in most difficult circumstances have carried out their undertakings to the best of their ability”.² It is interesting to read Fraser-Tytler’s support for the integrity of the Afghans when westerners, both historians and nations, often have had a jaundiced view of Afghan actions.

¹ W.K. Fraser-Tytler, rev. by M.C.Gillett, 3rd edition, *Afghanistan: A Study of Political Developments in Central and Southern Asia*, (Oxford University Press, London, 1967), p. 3.

² *Ibid.*, p.126.

Dost Mohammad, the dominant warlord in the mid-19th century, brought much tranquillity to a large portion of Afghanistan. His death in 1863, however, left his chosen successor son, Sher Ali, contending with great rivalry from several of his brothers. By that time in the 'Great Game', Britain and Russia had become active contenders for the right to protect the Afghans and/or for each of the great powers to expand the borders of their own interests.

Additional complications in these relationships were changes in London's Indian policies. There was a decision to introduce British institutions and western knowledge into India which meant the old East India Company's dominion no longer held sway. Another was the economic subordination of India to Britain. Free trade theories and the industrial revolution created a potential for India to supply great markets for British production particularly in cotton goods.³ Another brought to the fore the various British reactions to the famous Indian Mutiny of 1857 from revenge to expulsion to 'never again' must this happen. Succeeding viceroys frequently held differing attitudes on that event. Were the princes a vestige of old Indian life or useful for Britain in their westernizing India? Lastly, the Northwest Frontier of British India became embroiled in 'the Great Game' politics of Russia and Britain regarding India's borders. During this period Britain and the Afghans fought two wars: 1839-1842 and 1878-1881. Neither war resulted in clear victories for Britain but did leave the boundaries of the Northwest Frontier somewhat more settled and with some semblance of agreement with the Afghan ruler of the time.

Gregorian details the socio-economic development of Afghanistan in the 19th century: "1839-1880. Anglo-Russian rivalries in the Middle East and Central Asia led to two Anglo-Afghan wars (1839, 1879). The results were a British occupation of eastern Afghanistan, a successful resistance to that occupation, or "presence" on the part of the Afghans, a British withdrawal (though they retained the right to control Afghanistan's foreign relations), and the political and diplomatic isolation of the country. The wars, representing the Afghans first exposure to Europeans in any significant numbers, gave impetus to Afghan nationalism and xenophobia; the few attempts at reform and the concept of modernization assumed an anti-Western character."⁴ Tragically, this 19th century history added to the "linguistic, racial, cultural, and religious diversities [which] coupled with the country's predominantly semi-feudal, tribal, and nomadic social organizations presented great obstacles to the development of a modern state."⁵

Frequently, the world view and the self-view of groups of people or nations are not in synchrony. ... "for many centuries the world of Islam was in the forefront of human civilization and achievement. In the Muslims' own perceptions Islam was indeed coterminous with civilization and beyond its borders there were only barbarians and infidels. This perception of self and other was enjoyed by most if not all other

³ Percival Spear, "Material Progress and World Wide Problems", in F.H. Hinsley (ed), *New Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. XI, (Cambridge University Press, 1962), p. 414-425.

⁴ Vartan Gregorian, *The Emergence of Modern Afghanistan*, (Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA, 1967), p. 7-8.

⁵ Frazer-Tytler, p. 24.

civilizations—Greece, Rome, India, China, and one could add more recent examples.”⁶ The Muslims, however, “seemed well grounded [in the centuries designated in European history as medieval]. Islam represented the greatest military power on earth, its armies, at the very same time, were invading Europe and Africa, India and China. It was the foremost economic power in the world, ...⁷ Yet something happened which created much of what the world deals with today in the 21st century. Islam became entrenched behind its borders. Europe and the western world rode scientific, technological and commercial progress into modernity. “The changed relationship can be seen in a simple example, that Middle-Eastern indulgence, a cup of coffee. “Originally coffee and sugar came from Ethiopia to Europe as imports via the Middle East or from that area. But as European states developed new colonies they found they could bring the necessary products from other areas of the globe more cheaply than the Ottoman empire could provide them. By the 18th century if a Moslem or Turk were drinking coffee only the hot water was local and the coffee and sugar might have come from Dutch Java or Spanish America....⁸

Interestingly, “a significant contribution was made [also] by Christian missions. Proselytizing Muslims was a capital offense, but the Ottoman authorities had no objections to western Catholics and Protestants competing to win over Eastern Christians to their rites”.⁹ However, the religious groups used newspapers and other local publications to get their messages across so that they infiltrated local communications networks. And finally the telegraph, along with other western devices,—such as railways or new professionals became newcomers with means of reaching local Arabic populations in the mid 19th century.¹⁰

Thomas Patrick Hughes was to become enmeshed in the political machinations for power on the borders of India from January 1865 when he became a missionary at the Peshawar Mission, Northwest Frontier Province, British India, until he left the station in March 1884 for England. Like many another Englishman of the cloth, his role as missionary was part of the expansion of the British Empire whether he, the Church of England or the British Empire perceived it as such at the time. He was proud of the civilization that had bred him and saw the British Empire as part of a cherished and superior society. He went to British India to bring the values and glories of 19th century evangelical Christianity to a part of a world that had little or no knowledge of Christian traditions or little experience with Christianity except as an aggressive force. Who was this missionary of the Church Missionary Society (CMS)?

Recent scholars of Islam and 19th century missionaries have become interested in the life and career of Hughes.¹¹ Research by scholars and family members has uncovered additional information. The CMS was the most evangelical of the three major missionary

⁶ Bernard Lewis, *What Went Wrong? Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response*, (Oxford University Press, New York, 2002), p 3-6.

⁷ Bernard Lewis, p.6.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 50-51.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 51-52.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 52-53.

¹¹ Alan Guenther, M.A. and doctoral candidate, *The Hadith in Christian-Muslim Discourse in British India, 1857-1888*, “Contributions of Thomas P. Hughes and Edward Sell to the Discussion of Hadith Literature”, Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal, Canada, 1997, p. 91-140; Avril A. Powell, *Muslims and Missionaries in Pre-Mutiny India*, Surrey, England, Curzon Press Ltd., 1993.

societies in England at that time. It was the most evangelical part of the Church of England (C of E) and it occurred to one of Hughes' descendants to wonder how Hughes and his wife had raised six children to adulthood but not one of these children had brought up their own children in evangelical traditions or even had mentioned the evangelical connection.

Additionally, Hughes' eldest son, Percy, though respectful of his father's achievements had a distinctly ambivalent response to his father. On the one hand, there was recognition for the attainments and even loyal attempts to see that T. P Hughes' writings remained available. On the other hand, there was little spoken regard for Thomas Patrick Hughes as a person. Of the six adult children of Thomas Patrick Hughes, there was some divergence of views about this missionary though it was passed on to the grandchild generation in only occasional phrases that illuminated a very difficult personality. One of Hughes' daughters quietly said, "I have never minded slammed doors for it meant Father had left the house."¹²

Meshing historic and family sources, along with the integration of new and somewhat startling information about this missionary, has been one of the research goals of this project. What were the bases for Hughes' evangelical orientation? And why did he leave the mission field and the evangelical tradition when he came to the United States in 1885? After reading nineteen years of letters from Hughes to the various administrative forces in the CMS and the several irritations that writers expressed with him or he with them, was Hughes leaving the mission field because he had a difficult personality? Or was it that Hughes did not fit the definition of 'gentleman' and the distinctive class orientation demanded in Victorian England at the time? Yet his achievements were remarkable!

Thomas Patrick Hughes: 1838-1911

Thomas Patrick Hughes was born in Henley, Shropshire, England on March 26th, 1838 and was baptized in the parish of Bitterley by John Walcot, Rector, on April 22nd, 1838 in the ancient chapel of Middleton, Shropshire.¹³ Later he was confirmed by the celebrated Bishop Hampden in the Ludlow C of E Church. Hughes attended the Ludlow Grammar School for which his godfather, Thomas Massey, J.P., had provided the fees.

He had been born into a country rife with social and economic change. Population increases, the advent of industrialization, changes in the Corn Laws, the beginnings of 'professionalisation', evangelism sweeping particularly the northern and western Counties, the political and social fallout from the French Revolution in England were but a few of the roiling changes that occurred during the first half of the 19th century.

¹² Family conversations, Hughes papers, 1940s.

¹³ Parish of Bitterley, County of Salop, *Baptisms and County Records*, 1838, (Shrewsbury, England, Shropshire Records and Research Centre, 1894); *Journal/Memoir (J/M)*, Copy of Government Record pasted in p.93. Note: The Journal/Memoir, so-called by this author, was put together by Hughes during the last decade of his life in a paged Ledger with handwritten notes, cards, letters, newspaper columns & other memorabilia. The original is owned by Sidney Hughes. A copy is in the Oriental and India Office Collections (OIOC) of the British Library.

Though some had begun in the 18th century, their impacts came largely in the dislocations and subsequent imbalances socially, economically and politically in the 19th.¹⁴

Hughes' father, Thomas Hughes, had been a miller when his son was born in Henley and "died on Sunday when the bells were tolling for church" when that son was just ten years of age. The father, mother and two sons had lived in Grandmother Hughes' home on Com Street in Ludlow both before and after the father died at age 38. A letter posted in the *J/M* gives evidence of a downward economic trend in the family's circumstances due to the father's health.¹⁵

Hughes noted in the *J/M* that it was unusual for a woman to own her own home. What he never mentioned in this ledger or in any family papers was that a widow, and her family, who had no direct family connections to money, land or other high status emoluments were in questionable economic circumstances. The only place where he gave evidence of limited financial means was in the admission papers for CMS college at Islington. "People reached poverty, and different degrees and kinds of poverty, by a variety of routes" ... the need to provide for 'any poor widow' was put first on the list of need.¹⁶

Shropshire lies on the northwestern border of Wales and England and Ludlow was, and is, a small market town in south central Shropshire. Through his mother's first marriage, Hughes was related to a family of some means, the Valentines. Hughes did not attend university nor had he any inherited money except the sum of five hundred pounds given him in 1863 by Samuel Valentine.¹⁷ In today's equivalent it is worth 10,000 pounds though hardly enough to constitute a lifetime inheritance without land.

While Hughes lived in Ludlow, he had been a teacher in the Sunday School of the Ludlow C of E church. Later he moved to Manchester where his occupation was "that of a salesman in the Silk Department of Messrs. S. and J. Watts & Co. wholesale warehousemen."¹⁸ "Watts & Co. built one of the great buildings of Manchester's years as 'Cottonopolis'. It was elephantine and echoed the palatial Fondaco dei Turchi in Venice. Built in the late 1850s, Watts vast edifice contained the largest drapery business in Manchester. Each of the six floors had a different treatment, ranging from Italian Renaissance to Elizabethan. The building and the city foreshadowed the unashamed grandiosity of great American cities."¹⁹ It was from this city and this firm that the twenty-three year old Hughes applied in 1861 to become a deacon and missionary for the CMS. His religious experience in Manchester had been at St. Anne's where he first became a

¹⁴ G. Kitson Clark, *The Making of Victorian England*, (New York, Atheneum, 1986), pp.32-42.

¹⁵ T.P. Hughes, *J/M*, p. 96 and p.122.

¹⁶ Paul Slack, *Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England* (London and New York, Longman, 1988), p.37-8.

¹⁷ *J/M* p. 114.

¹⁸ T.P. Hughes, CMS Archives, University of Birmingham, Birmingham, England, Letter to Admissions Committee.

¹⁹ Paul Barker, "The kings of King Street", *The Times Literary Supplement*, (London, England, Dec. 28, 2001), p. 3.

teacher and then Superintendent of the Sunday Evening ‘Ragged’²⁰ Sunday School as he had written in his admission application.

“My first desire for missionary work was produced by addresses delivered at the Missionary meeting in connection with our association at St. Anne’s about Feby 1860 but in the course of the year the desire gradually diminished until the next meeting Feb 13 1861 at which the Rev Mr Collins attended as dep. The addresses of the evening were full of pleadings for young men to devote themselves to the missionary work, the desire of twelve months standing then revived and after making it a matter of prayer for about a month I mentioned the subject to my dear pastor Mr Bardsley.²¹

The letter continued with information as to his education and his commitment to missionary work. “I believe I have a good share of the missionary spirit and although I am much attached to my native country and have many dear friends and relatives in it the immensity of the missionary field and the fewness of suitable labourers and above all the Master’s command (Mark XVI, 15v) are to me claims far stronger than either that of the ties of kindred or the love of country.”²²

Hughes offered three names as referees for his CMS application. All three were ministers known to him and he to them. The first was Reverend Russell of Ludlow. The other two were a Reverend Hore and the Reverend Canon James Bardsley, Rector of St. Anne’s, Manchester. Bardsley was active in the committee structure of the CMS and was probably most instrumental in urging Hughes to join the missionary field. Both Russell and Bardsley are pictured in the *J/M*.

It appears that Hughes and his family came from the lower middle class from the little that is known of the family. Social historians have given much consideration to aspects of class in Victorian England. Crossick points out ... “the local orientation of the lower middle class [is important]. Its members lived and operated within communities, and thus in the context of a complex stratification of both the middle class and working class.”²³ Hughes would have had considerable awareness of how little distinguished him from working class origins as it was his godfather, not his own family, who had underwritten his early education in Ludlow. The English class structure of the 1860s may have dictated that a diaconate in the colonies not only provided the best opportunity for Hughes, the son of a widow, but may have offered the only semi-professional opportunity to him.

The CMS college in Islington was the educational and historic base of the Clapham Sect of the evangelical Church of England. Their admissions policies were strict and even some university graduates were required to matriculate at Islington before leaving for the colonies and missionary work with CMS. It was a remarkable feat, if not impossible, to serve in churches in England without a university degree. Recruitment for the colonies required fewer credentials. Several admissions interviews with Hughes were held over a two month period in late 1861 and he was admitted only “on six months

²⁰ Schools for poor uneducated children and adults run by churches to teach reading and writing.

²¹ T.P. Hughes, CMS Archives, Letter to Admissions Committee, 2 Oct 1861

²² Ibid, Letter to CMS.

²³ Geoffrey Crossick, *The Lower Middle Class in Britain: 1870-1914*, (St. Martin’s Press, New York, 1977), p.12-15

probation [to matriculate] after Xmas”. No reason was given for the probation in the admission committee notes.

Was it a lack of evangelical commitment as described in Piggins’ chapter on ‘religious motivation’?²⁴ Could it have been, as Stock indicated in his history of CMS, related to a “serious falling off in the supply of men... missions... and funds?”²⁵ Or could it have been related to the character of the CMS institution?²⁶ The regulations were detailed, microscopic in coverage of all daily social, economic and academic behaviors. It involved being aware of others’ behaviors and reporting the same when others broke rules. Every single minute of the day and night was completely organized and covered by these regulations. The last regulation stated that ‘No one is to be received into the Institution but in the belief that he is a partaker of the Grace of God, it be deeply impressed on the minds of all the Students, that the Committee mainly rely on their conscientious sense of obligation, as Christian Men, for the due observance of the Regulations of the Institution, and their general good conduct while residing in it’.²⁷

Hughes’ clerical papers for Deacon in 1864 clearly state “For the Cure of Souls in Her Majesty’s Foreign Possessions”.²⁸ This underscores Piggins’ study. “... it is as if the office of missionary were a profession, and that most missionaries were recruited from the professions.... There are many qualifications which must be made to this general observation.” And later adds “religious conversion and social ambition were not mutually incompatible.”²⁹ Another social historian, Reader, puts it more baldly, “...it is a study of the English middle classes at three of their characteristic activities: earning a living, raising the moral tone of society and social climbing.”³⁰ Unfortunately, Hughes had no financial backing for the start of a career so that the missionary diaconate was virtually the only entree he had to enter even a seeming profession.

The summer of 1864 was an eventful one for Hughes. He was ordained as a deacon on July 26th, 1864, in the chapel at Islington College. He and Eliza Lloyd were married in the Manchester Cathedral on August 17th, 1864 by Canon Bardsley, of St. Anne’s Manchester. To be sent originally to China, the young couple boarded The Malabar of Green’s Shipping Line September 12th 1864 on their way to India and the Northwest Frontier Province. No language study had been included in the Islington curriculum. It was not until 1867 that such language requirements were thought to be necessary. Therefore, the voyage and the first year of a missionary’s work were spent learning the critical languages for a given mission station.

²⁴ Stuart Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries: 1798-1858: The Social Background Motives and Training of British Protestant Missionaries to India*, (Surrey, England, The Sutton Courtenay Press, 1984), p. 124-139.

²⁵ Eugene Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society, Its Environment, Its Men and Its Work*, Vol. II, (London, CMS, 1899), p. 336-337.

²⁶ ———, *Regulations for the CMS’s Institution at Islington*, (Crown Court, Temple Bar, R. Watts, London, 1830), p. 1-6.

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 6.

²⁸ Declaration of Assent, Clerical Subscription Act, 59th year of the reign of George the Third.

²⁹ Piggin, p. 29-30.

³⁰ W.J. Reader, *Professional Men: The Rise of Professional Classes in Nineteenth Century England*, (New York, Basic Books, Inc., 1966) p. 1-3.

India and the Northwest Frontier

The young couple arrived in Calcutta in early January of 1865 four months after having embarked in London. After a short stay in Calcutta, they went across northern India to Peshawar by rail, and dak-ghari—the mail train.³¹ They stopped on their way at “Benares, Agra, Delhi, Umballa, Ludrandi, Amritsar” mission stations.³² Their first view of Peshawar was “certainly the prettiest station I have seen in North India.”³³ However, it was both an unhealthy and a dangerous area. Epidemics of cholera and other fevers were frequent and several missionaries, who had been stationed there, had died.

At least three, preferably four, languages were needed by missionaries in the Northwest Frontier. Persian, Pushto, Arabic and Urdu were crucial and Panjabee and Peshwaree, the village languages, were important if one did any ‘itinerating’—traveling to small nearby villages to evangelize the villagers and talk with the mullahs. A younger colleague of Hughes noted in his memoirs the sage advice of Bishop T. Valpy French, “You must of course commence with Urdu or Hindustani so as to be able to talk with your servants, to help in services of the Church and in the schools. You had better give some six or eight hours to the study of Panjabi, to be able to talk with the villagers. ... you should try to give two or three hours to Persian which you will find invaluable for the schools and all your spare time to Arabic so as to be able to read the Quran”³⁴ Any new young missionary had his work cut out for him upon arrival at his mission station.

In the early letters from Hughes to the home office of the CMS in London, there are careful evangelistic phrases and references such as that all the Bibles were sold on the ocean journey to Calcutta, that Mrs. Hughes unites with me in Christian regard to yourself and all Christian friends who feel an interest in our work.³⁵ There is a distinct falling off in this kind of language as Hughes became more centrally involved with the actual day-to-day mission work. As one reads through the early years’ letters, it becomes clear that Hughes was most interested in the languages and in the culture of the people he was meeting. He limned the lives of his colleagues for publication by the CMS in England and he began to translate Genesis and Exodus into Pushto. Within the first decade of his Peshawar stay, Hughes published in 1872 a text of Pushto prose and poetry for students that was quickly approved by the British government. A work on the basic tenets of Mohammedanism, that he later enlarged to a full dictionary, was finished in 1875.³⁶

³¹ Note: Hindu words were often spelled idiosyncratically by each writer of the time. Direct quotes will simply follow that writer’s spelling.

³² Hughes, *J/M*, p.103.

³³ Hughes, CMS Archives, to Colonel Dawes, May 3, 1865.

³⁴ The Rev. Worthington Jukes, *Reminiscences of a Missionary Work in Amritsar 1872-1873 and on the Afghan Frontier, in Peshawar, 1873-1890*, (Royal Commonwealth Society Archives, Cambridge University, 1925) p. 9.

³⁵ Hughes, Letter to Dawes, May 3rd, 1865

³⁶ Rev. T.P. Hughes, *Khalidi-I-Afghani, Being a Selection of Pushto Prose and Poetry for the Use of Students*, 2nd Edition, (Lahore, India, Munshi Gulag Singh & Sons, 1873); *Notes on Muhammadanism*, (London England, Wm. H. Men & Co., Publishers for the India Office, 1875).

However, Hughes found the administrative layers of CMS Parent, Corresponding, and Home Committees difficult. The Society tried very hard to keep tight reins on its missionaries in the field but timing made that virtually impossible. Peshawar was on the far west of India fifteen hundred miles from Calcutta. It took 5-6 weeks for mail to reach London from Calcutta or Peshawar and as long to return. If Calcutta Committees needed time to meet on an issue even more time elapsed. There was slippage in central control for those in distant colonies in the 1860s and 1870s despite the development of the telegraph for it was not used for the ordinary weekly or monthly communications among stations, regional offices and the home office.

Monetary issues were always of concern on all sides—missionaries, CMS London offices and regional offices such as Calcutta committees. Stipends and expenses were strictly administered with detailed protocols on all money usage at the mission stations. From the first year in 1865 until he left India in 1884, Hughes' letters indicated he was frequently short of money. "It is certainly very kind of the Parent Committee to consider my case exceptional. I however hope that ere long they will restore the old salary of 240 pounds [per annum] for I am sure we cannot live on less. The Committee appear to think I am in debt. This not the case as I believe I told you I have some money invested."³⁷ This refers undoubtedly to the money give Hughes by the Valentine family in 1863.³⁸ His application papers to CMS noted that "I have a mother who is in needy circumstances and to whom I have also contributed a small sum monthly."³⁹ Hughes needed to keep close account of whatever monies he had and he resented needing to have his requests evaluated by Committee men. "I could wish that our Home Committee could so arrange these private matters without bringing them before our Lay Committee out in India. It is not pleasant for a clergyman of some years standing in Province to have his allowances discussed by men younger than himself in years, and whom he may meet in social circles."⁴⁰

All three mission societies were noted for being parsimonious with living allowances and stipends. They were so well known for that practice that a small book was published anonymously with scathing descriptions of the Societies' patterns of behaviour. It details the many frustrations that missionaries felt in their work. "Some of the points discussed in this book may be deemed out of place in a book open to public gaze. But what I ask is a missionary to do? Should he write the secretary of the home or local committee on such matters his letter will probably find a premature grave in the wastepaper basket of that official.... I do wish to raise my voice against the adoption of policy on the representations of men who, from their position in the world, are utterly incapable of placing themselves in the missionary's position or entering into any of his difficulties.... Missionaries accept the most trying work for the honour of God on the smallest salaries."⁴¹ That anonymous work catalogued, discussed and stamped with

³⁷ Hughes, CMS Archives, to Rev. E.C. Stuart, Secretary, Calcutta Correspondence Committee, May 6, 1867.

³⁸ Hughes, *J/M*, p. 114.

³⁹ Hughes, Application to CMS, CMS Archives, 2 October 1861.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, CMS Archives, to Rev. Robert Clark, Secretary: Punjab and Sindh Missions, India, March 7, 1882.

⁴¹ By a Missionary, *A Missionary's Dream: Being a Discussion upon the Action of The Missionary Societies, The Clergy, The Universities and The Church of England in their Relation to Foreign Missions*, (London, Rivingtons, 1880), p. 17-18.

disapproval of all the major players, except the missionaries. Its author has apparently never been discovered for the most recent Dictionary of Anonymity in the Bodleian Library has no listing. In terms of Hughes' letters, the book carries supportive weight for his financial and social irritations.

As Hughes grew into the missionary role and became adept at handling what was required at the mission, his letters show little hesitation in speaking his mind though often followed by carefully couched phrases. He could be authoritative, thin-skinned and difficult. In September 1872, Hughes wrote the Bishop of Calcutta that he was having 'some correspondence' with the Chaplain, The Reverend J.W. Adams, about how Divine Services should be conducted at the military chapel in Peshawar.

The points under discussion related to where the priest stood at the altar during different times of the service. The services under question were those Hughes conducted when Adams was away. "I find that he has decided to exclude me from ministering in that church (unless otherwise advised by your lordship) if I will not conform to (his) following arrangements."⁴² Hughes cited the current customs of the Church of England as defined by the Privy Council. Bishop Milman of Calcutta agreed with Hughes and wrote Adams a stinging letter ordering him to desist. Milman also sent Hughes a copy of his (Milman's) letter to Adams. The Reverend James William Adams later led the Coronation Procession and became the Chaplain Ordinary to King Edward VII, a formidable social and religious position in England. The situation cannot have endeared Hughes to Adams. Hughes duly recorded the coronation pictures in his *J/M* without including any comments from the letters that he had written Bishop Milman at the time.

Though Hughes had been made a deacon when he graduated from Islington College, accreditation as a priest would only come in India after further study and work. In 1867, Hughes was made a priest at St. Paul's in Agra. By the time he had been ordained to the priesthood, the laws regulating priests serving in English churches had been changed. Non-university educated priests could serve Church of England churches in England if the resident bishop and presiding bishop accepted them. Later in his stay in India in 1882, Hughes was given a Bachelor of Divinity by recommendation of Archbishop Tait to the Queen. However, this latter recognition might well have been seen as "a battlefield commission" and might very well be perceived by university colleagues as a somewhat less than acceptable commendation.

With Hughes' difficult disposition also came a wicked sense of humor which he exercised to the fullest anonymously in one of the March 1881 publications of the CMS. "Reminiscences of Missionary Deputation Work" may have suggested itself to Hughes after the 1880 publication of *A Missionary's Dream*. His article carefully appended in the *J/M*⁴³ in full describes a home visit to England presumably for 'rest and recreation' by a missionary. Instead the missionary is hustled from parish to parish to speak to every group and age about his work. The Society made all these 'deputation' arrangements for the returned missionary. He left England exhausted, "The Missionary deputation is never

⁴² Hughes, CMS Archives, to the Rt. Rev. R. Milman, Lord Bishop of Calcutta, August 8, 1872; The Rt. Rev. R. Milman to the Rev. T.P. Hughes and to the Rev. J.W. Adams, Sept. 8, 1872.

⁴³ Hughes, *J/M*, p. 151; *The Church Missionary Intelligencer and Record*, "Reminiscences of Missionary Deputation Work," (London, Second new series, 6 March, 1881), p. 141-148.

off duty.... A missionary is public property and every individual from the newspaper editor who does not subscribe to missions down to the veriest country bumpkin who does, and considers himself at liberty to discuss the missionary's merits after his talks.... There are several people who wish to speak to him. There is an old schoolfellow whom he has not met for thirty years who wishes to shake his hand. There is Mrs. A. who wants to know if he has ever met her son in India. There is Mrs. B. who would like to ask him to visit her husband's grave at Patanpur. There is Miss C who would be glad if he would take a small parcel for her sister as she resides only 2000 miles distant from his station."⁴⁴ Hughes did end the essay noting the many kindnesses he had received during his home stay that he remembered upon his return to India's hot, dry and inhospitable climate. It is to the CMS' credit that they published this biting essay.

Hughes did manage to accomplish much writing and studying while working intensively in other aspects of mission work. He thoroughly enjoyed itinerations into the rural areas surrounding Peshawar. He always wore native dress and there are many pictures of him in Arabic clothes. "Hughes was most energetic in dealing with the Afghans and spoke Pakhto fluently. A few years before he had been told that if he went amongst them in their villages he would be murdered, but he adopted their native dress when travelling to their villages and was received by the Chiefs in a most friendly way and accepted their hospitality."⁴⁵ He attended missionary conferences in India and England at which he was asked to speak on the Afghans and Muhammadanism. He also served as secretary to the Punjab Missionary Conference. He wrote annual reports, helped with the schools and continued to study the people of the surrounding area. Several times during his almost twenty-year odyssey he was the only European at the Peshawar mission.

The letters and reports tell some of the story but his own particular goals for the mission become clear as he stated and restated them in many of his letters. They were the creation of the Hujrah/Guest House at the mission, the development and enrichment of the library at the Peshawar mission and the building of a native memorial church in Peshawar that would call attention to a Christian church in that city as the mission chapel could not. All of these to Hughes put the emphasis upon serving both the missionaries in the field and the Afghan peoples in surrounding villages.

The hujrah/guesthouse became central to Hughes' understanding of the Afghans themselves. In several letters he wrote how important hospitality was to the Afghans in that unforgiving climate. The hujrahs were core to that hospitality. "My intercourse with the Afghans in the surrounding district is not without encouragement. Some of the chiefs all very friendly—(one having built a house in his village chiefly for my use)—and I seek through their influence to introduce a knowledge of Christian truth to people connected with them—with what success it is impossible to say—that will be more evident to those who come after me."⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Hughes, "Reminiscences", CMS, p. 146-7.

⁴⁵ The Rev. W. Jukes, *Reminiscences*, p. 16.

⁴⁶ Hughes, CMS Archives, Annual Letter to Rev. E. C. Stuart, London, January 23, 1873, from Davidzai, p. 3.

Jukes wrote, “As they had shown him [Hughes] the greatest hospitality he determined to reciprocate it by building a hujrah, by making all Afghans welcome, by keeping an Afghan servant to offer the pipe of peace and to cater for them in their Afghan simplicity whenever it was convenient for them to come. He was always glad to see them come and they soon found that they were very welcome. In no other mission in India did I ever see so many natives coming voluntarily under Christian influence.”⁴⁷ Hughes in another letter wrote, “A hujrah is one of the National institutions of the Afghan and I am glad to say that it has become one of the institutions of the Afghan mission”⁴⁸ He had little to say positively for those, whether missionaries or government personnel, who did not have great respect for the peoples of the Northwest Frontier.

When travelling in the villages, it was important for visitors to remember that though hospitality is the chief virtue in the ‘puktun wali’ or Afghan code, the ancient proverb of the Afghans still held, ‘two days as a guest, three days an enemy’. Therefore, Hughes carried all his essentials with him on his hired camels and only allowed his servants to serve him when he was not known in a village. By wearing Arabic clothes he could sit cross-legged on the rug or on the bedsteads while speaking with the chiefs and mullahs. Often he sent tents, servants, books and cooking utensils ahead with a letter to the chief requesting permission to pitch a camp in his (the chiefs) hospitable village.⁴⁹

In November 1876, Lord Lytton, the Viceroy, visited Peshawar with Sir Lewis Pelly, the Queen’s Plenipotentiary and others on his staff. The Viceroy summoned Hughes and Jukes “in Company with all the other officers.... The next day we both received a summons to give him a private audience. He chatted in the freest possible way, asking Hughes about the attitude of the Afghans at Peshawar and in Kabul, the probable feeling existing between Kabul and Persia and Kabul and Russia, the possibility of a Jihad and our personal relationship with the Afghans in general. He let out that the Russian government had proposed to the English government the advisability of disarming the whole of central Asia. Hughes, who had had long experience of the Afghan policy, was of course the person to reply. On leaving, he took hold of Hughes’ hand with both of his, and thanked him for all that he had done, and promised him a subscription to the School.”⁵⁰ Over the next year or two prior to the Second Afghan War, Sir Lewis Pelly and others, including Afghans, often consulted with Hughes about frontier conditions.

Part of Hughes love of visiting the villages was the hope that he would be sent to ‘Cabul or Cashmire’ in order to push the boundaries of Christianity into the heart of Islam. He was not asked by the Society to visit or be in Cashmire and its salubrious climate for even part of a year. “Wade has lately received a letter from Elmslie saying that the Committee at Home have sanctioned his [Wade’s] appointment to Cashmire for the hot season. Although this arrangement appears to have been made without any consideration for either Peshawar or my own strength—still I should not wish to say a word against it”. In another letter he wrote, “What about poor me and Peshawar?”⁵¹

⁴⁷ Jukes, *Reminiscences*, p. 128.

⁴⁸ Hughes, CMS Archive, Annual Report to the Secretaries, December 30, 1873, p. 8.

⁴⁹ Jukes, Letter to Venn Hughes, Hughes Papers, 1933, p. 2.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7; *J/M*, p. 143.

⁵¹ Hughes, to Rev. E.C. Stuart, CMS London, Jan 6, 1872; to the Rev E.C. Stuart, London, June 30, 1872.

Hughes' second objective was to establish a well-ordered, scholarly library for missionaries and others to use at the mission. Books that taught about the Koran and The Traditions in the Muhammadan religion would help all to better understand the way of life of the Afghan villagers. He himself had studied and continued to study with a Wahhabi and Persian scholar, Mullah Ahmad, when learning the languages and frequently studied with other Arab scholars.⁵² A distinctive feature of this library became the Pushto manuscripts, unique in the library of Europeans in India and likely as unique in Europe as well. This library was so important to him that he used money earned from his own writings to underwrite the care, maintenance and getting of these books. The Pushto manuscripts were given to the British Museum by Hughes when he left India.

In March 1873, Hughes wrote the CMS in London, "I enclose an order for one thousand rupees—100 pounds which I shall be much obliged if you will place in the CMS office and allow Messrs. Dickson and Stewart to draw upon it on acc't for Books—I have already paid them 70 pounds.... The library at Peshawar has not had a book of any kind for the last seven years". Earlier he had written, "I have frequently been asked why I have given money to the library and not for some more direct missionary object. We are as you know—300 miles from the Conference library—and besides this, in the course of years Peshawar must become a centre of missionary work instead of being merely a corner of the field."⁵³

The last objective related to the mission was a 'native memorial church'. More than ten years before Hughes left Peshawar, he began thinking and writing about this project and how it might be brought to fruition. He was politically astute in proffering the idea to the London office. The Home office was not overly interested in bricks and mortar and it was wise to make it a native church in an era when many had resisted the concept of 'a self-governing church'.⁵⁴ Making it a memorial to those who had died at Peshawar, numbering eight missionaries in all by this time, was a tribute hard for the CMS to deny as was the unblemished record of the church being led by native priests from its very beginning.⁵⁵

In building the church, Hughes felt it important that craftsmen and materials, to the extent it was possible, should be those of Peshawar and surrounding villages. The builder was a native stone-mason and entrepreneur. The interior floor was covered with Persian carpets. The chancel was paved with blue and white Peshawar tiles. The wood screens were traditional pinjara tracery. Brick covered with with chunam, Indian stucco, was the outer surface. The whole edifice was made in eastern style with minarets and a dome. Jukes in his *Reminiscences* wrote, "The greatest credit is due him [Hughes] for the genius he displayed in all his ideas for All Saints [Memorial] Church, and in raising most of the Building Fund whilst in England."⁵⁶ Hughes himself wrote in 1884 that "The

⁵² A. S. Cribbs, Watercolor portrait of Mullah Ahmad. Mrs. Cribbs was the wife of a Colonel Cribbs. The portrait remains in the Hughes family, Hughes, *J/M*, p.113.

⁵³ Hughes, CMS Archives, to Rev. E.C. Stuart, London, March 4, 1873; to the Rev. E.C. Stuart, Jan 28, 1873.

⁵⁴ C. Peter Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church: A Study in Victorian Missionary Strategy*, Studies in Christian Mission Series, (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1990), p. 258-263.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, "The Ideal in Retrospect", pp. 259-263.

⁵⁶ Jukes, p. 131.

Native Christian Church in the city of Peshawar has been constructed with a three-fold object: that it might be a place of worship for the Native Christians of that city, a memorial of departed missionary brethren, and a witness for Christ in a Muhammadan city. The Peshawar mission has for some years past endeavoured to carry on its evangelical labours as far as possible on Oriental lines, and it is in accordance with this intention that this Memorial Church now stands in an *Oriental dress*.⁵⁷ Most of the verses on the walls are written in Pushto or Persian. It was dedicated on December 27th, 1883 and was Hughes final accomplishment in Peshawar.

Leaving India: March 1884

Why did Hughes leave the mission field? Five days after the dedication of his beloved church, on 2 January 1884 Hughes wrote to Mr. Grey, Secretary, CMS London, that he wished to leave Peshawar with his wife and two youngest children. They had sanction to leave Peshawar and now he wished to go to England with them. “As you are aware, I have during my nineteen years service, only had two short periods of six months leave each—during which periods I was worked hard on Deputation duties and for five years was separated from my dear wife.—”

“These arrangements were, as you know, made entirely in the interests of the Peshawar Mission, and I have given continuity to the work of the station which has been most beneficial....”

“As Mr. Jukes is now settled down and Mr. Holden has joined him, and as our new church is finished earlier than I expected Providence seems to indicate that I can best leave my work this spring, and in addition I am most anxious to see something of my children who are growing up. I need not remind the Committee of the very trying character of the Peshawar climate, or of my steady work at this station since Jan. 1865 to show that my desire to take furlough at this time is not unreasonable, for I feel sure the Committee will not object to grant me that rest and change which I feel & so much need. I should like to leave Peshawar in March next [1884]”⁵⁸

As one reviews the letters, the Jukes memoir and other CMS missionary writings of the period, it becomes evident that CMS never quite felt Hughes could become head of a mission station for whatever reasons. Jukes was a forebearing gentleman and it cannot have been easy to deal with Hughes as a senior colleague but with neither the educational nor the social standing to lead a station. Hughes several times, in his letters to other CMS personnel, wrote that ‘Jukes agrees with my reading of the issue’ as if acknowledging that his was not the definitive word. Over and over again Jukes and other CMS personnel when mentioning friends refer to the friends’ connections to themselves—school friends—Christ’s Hospital School, university friends—Cambridge University and Trinity College, family connections—he knew my uncle. Never does Hughes do this and rarely even in the *J/M* did Hughes say that someone had been a ‘friend’. Yes, they were prominent. Yes,

⁵⁷ The Rev. T.P. Hughes, *The Church Missionary Gleaner*, vol. XVI, No. 131, “All Saints’ Memorial Church”, (CMS, November 1884)

⁵⁸ The Rev. T.P. Hughes to Mr. Grey, CMS London, 2 Jan 1884, p. 1-4.

he had met or worked with them but very rarely is the personage cited as friend. When Hughes so abruptly, after the All Saints Memorial dedication, asks to leave Peshawar, it must have become very clear to him that he had no future in India and too little recompense to educate his six children.

The missionary world of the Northwest Frontier had undergone administrative changes. Mission stations would report to a central authority for a region such as the Punjab and Sindh under one person. The Reverend Robert Clark, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge would be that man. No advancement for Hughes lay in returning to India. Peshawar would not be the “centre of missionary work” he had envisioned but “merely a corner of the mission field.”

Hughes, during 1884 and early 1885, tried to find a church in England that would accept his services. Despite a laudatory testimonial from the Bishop of Lahore, Thomas Valpy French, a well recognized figure in both church and governmental circles, the few letters in the Hughes files show that, for whatever reasons, his writings, his papers in conferences and his work in Peshawar were not enough for him to become even an assistant and to allow the family to stay in England. “The Rev. T.P. Hughes (B.D. by special degree conferred by the late Archbishop as I believe for special literary gifts & high missionary services) requests a testimonial certifying to his fitness for holding an ecclesiastical preferment in England. I gladly bear witness that Mr. Hughes has been one of the most distinguished & exemplary clergy in my diocese: and that his life has been one of very self-denying toil, & devotion of his great gifts to the building up & establishing of the Church of Christ in the Punjab. As a result of this, he has gained universal respect & I am persuaded that his labours would be most helpful & fruitful in any parish.... I shall be happy to answer any questions further which may be proposed to me by any clergy standing in need of such exceptionally valuable service.”⁵⁹

Neither the testimonial nor direct contact with Hughes himself brought a ‘living for this priest. Even the changes in parliamentary laws governing Church of England ministers had no effect. “More than half the advowsons of the C of E in England and Wales and a higher proportion of country livings were still in private ownership.”⁶⁰ The United States offered the only escape from the fields of conflict. Emigration out of England was often used at this time to better one’s family’s position.

Family conferences held in early 1885 were described by Hughes’ eldest son, Percy, in conversation with this author. This son would be unable to complete the last Form at Christ’s Hospital School where he had matriculated in preparation for university work. Both older sons had been able to go to Christ’s Hospital School because Hughes himself had found patrons for them. Over the centuries since being founded by King Edward VI, it had become one of the fine public schools in England helping boys whose fathers were either in the military or church institutions in the colonies.

Now it would be necessary for him to become a clerk and help support the family. This [perceived] lack of support for completing his preparatory education left Percy saddened and rather bitter towards his father. It was decided that Hughes would go to the

⁵⁹ The Rt. Rev. T. Valpy French, Bishop of Lahore, April 24, 1884

⁶⁰ Marjory Harper, “British Migration and the Peopling of the British Empire” in *The Nineteenth Century*, III, *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, (London, Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 75-76.

United States to seek adequate employment.⁶¹ Hughes left England on the *City of Rome*, the fastest ship on the seas, on May 21, 1885.

The other children may have had other resentments. The children were separated from their parents for long periods of time and spent vacations from school with relatives or other missionary-connected families. The children usually left India at three as the first two daughters of Reverend and Mrs. Hughes had died in India before that age. These children, when adult, always referred to their mother as “the little Saint” but rarely mentioned their father. Victorians, in many ways, the six surviving children as adults rarely gave voice to their concerns and disagreements *en famille*, but there had been distinct family tensions.

It was not until 1888 that Mrs. Hughes and five of the children were able to come to the United States. Again a difficult decision was made to leave the youngest son, Sidney, in England to finish school. There is a picture in a family album that this son described as taken on ‘the saddest day of my life.’ It was the day his mother, his sisters and his brothers left to rejoin the husband and father in the United States.

There is little documentation of Hughes’ accomplishments in India in the church histories of the times or valedictory in the letters. The papers he gave at missionary conferences in India and England were printed but that is all. It is hard to assess this. There surely had been some recognition given in the Bachelor of Divinity that Archbishop Tait had awarded him in 1876. There was also acknowledgement in being made a Fellow of Punjab University in 1882. The publication of his writings stood on their own merit. Still it was little to show for nearly twenty years work in the vineyards of Christianity.

Jukes’ later memoir in the Royal Commonwealth Society archives reports other accomplishments: “It was very much to the credit of Mr. Hughes that the sum of 300 pounds which he received from the government for the publication of *Khalidi-I-Afghani* was entirely spent for the good of the Mission, in fixing the massive shelves into the Mission library, and buying a great many standard authors which have proved so helpful to me and all successive missionaries and many officers of the Garrison.... To him also is due the success of the Edwardes Mission School, in making it very popular throughout the District by starting the Annual Educational Durban which were held annually either in the school or in the Mission compound.... English officers and their wives were seated to one side and the leading Arabs and Chiefs on the other. Hindu masters were requested beforehand to escort from their homes the important guests in true Eastern manner. Recitations in various languages were made by the senior boys. Prizes were given to the scholars and speeches made by the more important people.”⁶²

“Hughes also edited the Civil and Military Gazette of Lahore and it proved the greatest value to all Church readers in the Panjab. This was at the time that the young Rudyard Kipling was there.... He also in the early 1880s suggested and carried out a most excellent improvement of the Mission House. By altering two rooms facing the front and changing the entrance to the Library, Hughes made an Oratory where the Mission clergy

⁶¹ The Rev. T.P. Hughes, *J/M*, p. 168.

⁶² Jukes, *Reminiscences*, p. 128-131.

could say their office together. It proved of the utmost value and should have been done years earlier.”

“Lastly, he established the Book Shop in the Kissi Khani, the chief street in Peshawar which was originally very narrow. Avitabila, Italian general of the Sikh Army had both sides of the street beat down by his elephants and ordered the inhabitants to rebuild it three times wider. In all Afghanistan there is no street to compare with it.”

“There is no doubt he [Hughes] was a very able man and very much respected by the Afghans who came into contact with him.”⁶³ This listing of Hughes’ mission accomplishments is part of a four page citation complete with a picture of him in turban and robes, 1884, in Jukes’ *Reminiscences*.

In 1885 when Bishop French heard from Hughes that he was leaving not only the mission field but also England he wrote from Murree, India. “Exhausted by a difficult schedule, ... still I am constrained to write a few poor lines, the best I can achieve to assure you how deeply afflictive a bereavement your loss from our mission roll will be if indeed (which I can scarcely believe) your severance from it is permanently & resolutely fixed beyond recall. Even should it be so, I should be the last to tear your heart by scolding and remonstrating for few know better than I do the exceeding value of your work, & something at least of the rending of spirit you have experienced on several occasions.” The eight-page letter continues... “Whether you return to us or no, your place both in the Church above & below must I believe be very far above what my own work can ever occupy. Should you finally leave us, I can only say it will be what it was when Jacob was taken from his Brethren “they mourned with a great & a very sore lamentation” & [when] the people of the land saw it they said: This is a grievous mourning to the Egyptians. Nor is it a great mourning alone, but humbling also when we lose our best and & ablest”.⁶⁴

Hughes had become a missionary after having been in the business world of Manchester and made a distinct choice between alternatives—the new white collar salaried occupations of the commercial world or that of the “minor professional” people such as missionary. In 1861 he had applied to attend the two year training college at Islington in order to become an evangelical missionary. More than nineteen years of missionary work had followed. The lack of a university degree, the lack of money, the lack of notable family or ‘old India hands’ all may have boded ill for his career or his own distinctive personality may have diminished his viability. He was of them, but as Jukes unintentionally made so obvious, had none of the gentlemanly attributes so important in the latter half of the 19th century in England to be one of them. Hughes letters show how sensitive he had been to slights intended and unintended. His eldest son had voiced resentments about the career. Neither of these could have been easy for this driven and sensitive man.

How was it that Hughes’ grandchildren had been unaware of his evangelical connections? Bradley’s book, *The Call to Seriousness*, discusses why so many children of evangelicals turned away from that religious orientation. “There were good reasons why sensitive and intelligent men and women brought up as Evangelicals should have

⁶³ Ibid., p.130-131.

⁶⁴ The Rt. Rev. T. Valpy French, June 24, 1885, British Library, OIOC, p. 1-8.

abandoned the religion of their parents in the mid-19th century.... by this time Evangelicalism was a less vital religion than a dry and formal creed. Those brought up in Evangelical homes who became Catholics or atheists were reacting not only against the endemic narrowness and oppressiveness of their parents' faith but also against a new obscurantism and fanaticism that had crept into it.... [However], those who were brought up as Evangelicals retained one enduring characteristic of their creed—seriousness. Matthew Arnold defined this seriousness as 'an energy driving at practice, a paramount sense of the obligation of duty, self-control and work and an earnestness in going about with what light we have'.⁶⁵ There certainly was 'seriousness' in Percy Hughes home and undoubtedly not so much in any other of the adult children's homes in the United States.

Viewing the trajectory of Hughes' career in India, his accomplishments were remarkable. All Saints' Memorial Church⁶⁶ still stands in Peshawar complete with many memorials from important officers and government people of the time. One of these is the baptistry dedicated to Hughes two baby daughters, who had died in India during their infancy. Visitors over the decades have remarked upon the church. The Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava, wife of a Viceroy, on one of her trips through Northwest Frontier wrote: "We went to see the Mission Church, which is an exceedingly pretty one. The outside is built like a mosque and looks like one except for the cross which replaces the crescent on the dome. Inside is a beautiful screen of perforated wood all around the back of the altar, and the texts in Persian characters have a good decorative effect."⁶⁷

In 1902, the Secretary of the CMS visited Peshawar and it was reported in one of the CMS publications. On February 23 he wrote: "A wonderful frontier city, I have never seen anything like it. Not a single European was to be seen anywhere.... I went with Carpenter to the beautiful CMS church, built by Hughes. It is quite Eastern, with its dome and minarets, and the interior is exquisite. In the ambulatory there are tablets to the memory of the missionaries and laymen. We had a nice service in Urdu. In the *J/M* above the article, Hughes had written "I am not altogether forgotten at Peshawar."⁶⁸

Hughes finished his magnum opus, *The Dictionary of Islam: Being a cyclopedia of the Doctrines, Rites Ceremonies and Customs, Together with the Technical and Theological Terms of the Muslim Religion*, (New York: Scribner, Welford & Co., London: W.H. Allen & Co. 1885) in his first year in the United States along with a novel that sold through several editions, *Ruhainah: Maid of Herat*.⁶⁹ The novel was printed under a nom de plume. The dictionary has since been published 25 to 30 times throughout the world, though apparently many of those publications have been pirated. The latest of these appeared in an attractive paperback edition in 1994 by Kazi Publications, Chicago, IL. In the 1920s Dr. Percy Hughes had correspondence with *The Moslem World* hoping to keep the dictionary in print with an editor who would continue to recognize T.P. Hughes as

⁶⁵ Ian Bradley, *The Call To Seriousness: The Evangelical Impact on the Victorians*, (Jonathon Cape, London, 1976) p.194-195.

⁶⁶ The Rev. T.P. Hughes, *The Church Missionary Gleaner*, vol. XI., No. 131, "All Saints' Memorial Church, Nov. 1884."

⁶⁷ The Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava, *Our Viceregal Life: Selections from my Journal*, II, (London, John Murray, 1889) p. 220.

⁶⁸ The Rev. T.P. Hughes, p. 215.

⁶⁹ Evan Stanton, *Ruhainah: The Maid of Herat*, (Cassell & Company, Limited, New York), 1886, J41 p. 115. The author's copy is owned by Alfred Lloyd Hughes.

original editor. All the copies this author has seen have maintained Hughes as author but do change some of the Christian aspects of Hughes' original dedication to Bishop French of Lahore by omitting that.

Recent visitors to Pakistan, acquainted with this author, echoed the remarks of the other visitors. The Indian chunam is still pristinely white and a native Church of England priest is there holding daily services in the church.⁷⁰ Hughes church has, so far, withstood the tests of time, of religious and other kinds of wars. Perhaps the tactics of creating a hujrah, developing the mission library, building the native church and opening the bookstore made two cultures feel a bit more at home with each other. Might these tactics be used to advantage in the 21st century? Is it not possible to study about, meet with, learn of, and in particular *listen to each other* in order to create a more kindly society of disparate cultures, a more tractable world of nations, a more tolerant and accepting climate for all the world's religions?

There are current attempts to verify that the church has not been damaged in any way from the recent Afghanistan and Pakistan difficulties. However, as yet, no responses have come from these inquiries to the Anglican Communion in Pakistan.

⁷⁰ Angie Naylor, "Notes and Photographs of the Memorial Church and current Rector, Peshawar, Pakistan, 1995", P. Hughes Papers.