

Holiness Heritage: The Case of Pandita Ramabai

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For twenty-five years Benson and Emma Sellew Roberts, the son and daughter-in-law of Free Methodist founder B. T. Roberts (1823-1893), served as co-principals of Chesbrough Seminary (now Roberts Wesleyan College) in North Chili, New York. In addition to being educators, both shared the strong foreign missionary interest that had been nurtured by B. T. Roberts and his wife Ellen.¹

Around 1890 Benson and Emma Roberts learned of the remarkable work of India's Pandita Ramabai. Over the ensuing decade this new interest brought consequences that affected not only their lives but also that of Ramabai and her daughter, Manoramabai. The story of Chesbrough and of B. T. Roberts and his family thus intersected with that of Pandita Ramabai Sarasvati, "the most widely known and widely acclaimed Indian woman (if not indeed Indian person) of the nineteenth century."²

Chesbrough Seminary in upstate New York was a liberal arts-based coeducational Christian academy, not a theological seminary. In the 1890s the school community was unusually cosmopolitan and international. Chesbrough was linked in multiple ways to the growing foreign missions enterprise of the Free Methodist Church, but also with other groups such as A. B. Simpson's newly-formed Christian Alliance and Evangelical Missionary Alliance (combined in 1897 as the Christian and Missionary Alliance). In 1891-92 the Chesbrough student body included William Warwick from England, George Oberdorf from Germany, George and Mary Lucia Bierce Fuller (children of Marcus and Jennie Fuller, Alliance missionaries in India), Rangit Singh from India, Eduardo Galan from Mexico City, and two Japanese students. Howard Simpson, son of A. B. Simpson, was also enrolled as a student.³

¹ This essay is adapted from chapter thirty-nine of the author's forthcoming biography, *Populist Saints: B. T. and Ellen Roberts and the First Free Methodists* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005).

² Philip C. Engblom, "Translation Editor's Preface," in Pandita Ramabai, *Pandita Ramabai's America: Conditions of Life in the United States*, ed. Robert Eric Frykenberg, trans. Kshitija Gomes (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2003), xvii.

³ *Catalogues*, Chili and Chesbrough Seminary (North Chili, NY), 1869-96; Adella A. Carpenter, *Ellen Lois Roberts: Life and Writings* (Chicago, IL: Woman's Missionary Society, Free Methodist Church, 1926), 126f. Marcus Bell Fuller (b. 1852) was later editor of the *India Alliance*. His first wife Jennie (née Amanda Jane [Jennie] Frow [1851-1900]) wrote the book, *The Wrongs of Indian*

Emma Roberts was especially passionate about foreign missions. She served as associate editor and later editor of *The Missionary Tidings*, the organ of the (Free Methodist) Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, which began publication in 1897. When she learned of the work of the Indian educator and reformer Pandita Ramabai, a convert from Hinduism to Christianity, she was intrigued. Emma became active in the Rochester Ramabai Circle, serving as president in 1905-06.⁴ It was not lost on Emma that Ramabai was among other things a strong model of female leadership and that Ramabai employed women preachers in her rescue and evangelistic work in India.⁵

Pandita Ramabai's connection with Chesbrough Seminary is a little-known but remarkable chapter in the larger stories of both B. T. Roberts and Ramabai. It makes an instructive case study in the character and influence of Roberts and early Free Methodism. At the same time, Ramabai's spiritual pilgrimage presents an interesting contemporary historiographic problem. Though there has been a virtual explosion of scholarly interest in this remarkable Indian educator, reformer, and feminist over the past decade in both India and the United States, virtually all her contemporary interpreters misunderstand the Holiness Movement context of the later stages of Ramabai's spiritual pilgrimage. This is true of the eminent contemporary Indian feminist and scholar, Meera Kosambi, but also of the American Evangelical Robert Eric Frykenberg.⁶

The evidence of Ramabai's association with Chesbrough Seminary is abundant, however, including even such details as the fact that Ramabai had two of B. T. Roberts' books in her personal

Womanhood. An Oberlin graduate (as was his wife and daughter), Marcus Fuller received his call to missionary service through hearing a sermon by Free Methodist Wilson Hogue. See Wilson T. Hogue, *History of the Free Methodist Church* (Chicago, IL: Free Methodist Publishing House, 1915), 2:362; Oberlin College, *Seventy-Fifth Anniversary General Catalogue of Oberlin College, 1833-1908* (Oberlin, OH: Oberlin College, 1909), 350, 352; "Fuller, Jennie (Frow)," Gerald H. Anderson, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions* (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1998), 231.

⁴ "Roberts, Emma Sellew" in John W. Leonard, ed., *Who's Who in New York City and State*, 3rd ed. (New York, NY: L. R. Hamersly and Company, 1907), 1111.

⁵ Emma Sellew Roberts, "Pandita Ramabai and Her Work," *Missionary Tidings* 2:6 (June 1898), 6.

⁶ As noted below. I refer here to two significant recent books: Pandita Ramabai, *Pandita Ramabai's American Encounter: The Peoples of the United States (1889)*, trans. and ed. Meera Kosambi (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2003), and Pandita Ramabai, *Pandita Ramabai's America: Conditions of Life in the United States*, ed. Robert Eric Frykenberg. Each book is a translation, with commentary, of Ramabai's report on her 1886-88 visit to the United States, published in India in the Marathi language in 1889 but never translated into English until recently.

library.⁷ This essay explores Ramabai's connection with Chesbrough Seminary but also, more broadly, her links with the Holiness Movement and her role in the rise of Indian Pentecostalism.

The Saga of Pandita Ramabai

Pandita Ramabai (1858-1922) was born into a high-caste Hindu family. Her father, a distinguished scholar in Sanskrit and Indian literature, took the controversial steps of giving his daughter a classical Hindu education rather than allowing her to become a child bride. Ramabai's parents and sister died of starvation when Ramabai was only about sixteen, but she and her brother survived. In 1880 she married Bipin Medhavi and the next year their daughter, Manoramabai ("Heart's Delight"; "Mano" for short) was born. In 1882 Medhavi died of cholera, leaving Ramabai, then twenty-three, to support herself and her infant daughter. A brilliant scholar, Ramabai had already at this young age become an expert in Sanskrit and in the Hindu classics, and her learning became the means of her own economic survival.

Through reading the New Testament and contacts with Anglican missionaries who treated her kindly and assisted her English learning (and her disillusionment with Hinduism), Ramabai became intellectually convinced of the truth of the Christian faith. While studying in England in 1883 she and two-year-old Mano were baptized in the Church of England. Ramabai later wrote that in England she "found the Christian *religion*, which was good enough for me, *but I had not [yet] found Christ, Who is the Life of the religion*, and 'the Light of every man that cometh into the world.'"⁸ However her writings at the time show clearly that this was a major spiritual breakthrough for her—finding Christian truth after her increasing disaffection from Hinduism, though not from Indian culture.

⁷ The personal library of Ramabai and Manoramabai included Roberts' *Fishers of Men* and the posthumous collection, *Holiness Teachings* (two copies), compiled and published by Benson Roberts in 1893. All are inscribed by Benson Roberts. One copy of *Holiness Teachings* is inscribed "To the Pandita Ramabai With the love of BH and E. S. Roberts, A. M. Chesbrough Seminary, North Chili, N.Y. June 27 1898. May his love and power compass you." The other is inscribed "To Manorama Medhavi, Domini filiae [daughter in the Lord]. Pax gratia que Domini tecum. Natalie die XVII. With the regards of Benson Howard Roberts, A M Chesbrough Seminary." The inscription is undated but the reference to day of birth suggests it was a birthday gift. The volume *Fishers of Men* is the 1886 revised edition and is inscribed "To the Pandita Ramabai, from B H and E S Roberts, North Chili, N.Y. June 27 1898. 'All things are possible.'" Benson and Emma likely gave Ramabai the two books inscribed to her on the occasion of her visit to Chesbrough Seminary to enroll Manoramabai there in 1898. See "The Papers, Publications, Pamphlets and Selected Books of Pandita Ramabai (1858-1922)," microfilmed archival collection from the Pandita Ramabai Mission, Kedgaon, India, 2001 (microfiche #1 and subsequent fiches). This still largely unexplored source would likely shed further light on the matters explored here and specifically on the Ramabai-Chesbrough connection.

⁸ Pandita Ramabai, *A Testimony of Our Inexhaustible Treasure*, reprinted in Meera Kosambi, comp. and ed., *Pandita Ramabai Through Her Own Words: Selected Works* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 309 (emphasis in the original).

Ramabai's passion to improve the lot of Indian women burned even as she continued her studies in England. It was deepened when she saw the rescue work being carried out near London by the (Anglican) Sisters of the Cross. When she witnesses this "work of mercy" she was confronted with a huge "real difference between Hinduism and Christianity." When she asked one of the sisters what prompted this selfless service of caring for and reclaiming "fallen" women, the sister turned to the Gospel of John and read the story of Jesus and the Samaritan woman. Ramabai wrote, "I had never read or heard anything like this in the religious books of the Hindus. I realized after reading the 4th Chapter of St. John's Gospel, that Christ was truly the Divine Saviour He claimed to be, and no one but He could transform and uplift the downtrodden womanhood of India and of every land."⁰

Beginning in 1886, Ramabai spent two and a half years in the United States traveling, lecturing, and raising support for her Indian reform work. She brought little Mano with her, but due to her constant travels she soon sent the five-year-old back to England, putting her in the care of the (Anglican) Sisters of St. Mary the Virgin there. While in the U.S. Ramabai published an influential book, *The High-Caste Indian Woman* (1887) which quickly sold over 10,000 copies and earned her some \$8,000. Ramabai developed an influential circle of well-connected American friends who helped her financially, arranged hundreds of speaking opportunities for her, and organized the Ramabai Association. Through this network Ramabai received donations of over \$20,000 to start a child widows' home in India, plus pledges of \$5,000 per year for ten years.⁰

In America Ramabai paid particular attention to educational and reform movements. She learned of the pre-Civil War abolitionist movement and immediately saw parallels to the cause of liberating India's child widows. She was deeply impressed with the lives of Harriet Tubman (whom she visited twice at her home in Auburn, New York), William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and also Abraham Lincoln—liberators all. She became close friends with Frances Willard, president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), who appointed Ramabai vice president of the India WCTU. Willard described Ramabai as a "young woman of medium height and ninety-eight pounds"; "delightful to have about; content if she has books, pen and ink, and peace"; "a sort of human-like gazelle; incarnate gentleness, combined with such celerity of apprehension, such swiftness of mental pace,

⁰ Pandita Ramabai, "A Short History of Kripa Sadan, or Home of Mercy" (March 1903), in Kosambi, *Pandita Ramabai Through Her Own Words*, 279. Kripa Sadan was the rescue home Ramabai established for sexually-abused and "fallen" young women.

⁰ A. B. Shah, ed., *The Letters of Pandita Ramabai*, comp. Sister Geraldine (Bombay, India: Maharashtra State Board for Literature and Culture, 1977), xx-xxi; 192f.

adroitness of logic and equipoise of intention as to make her a delightful mental problem. She is impervious to praise, and can be captured only by affection.”⁰

Ramabai also paid close attention also to the various Christian denominations in the United States, and especially the ways they treated women. She commented on the Methodist Episcopal Church General Conference held in New York City in 1888, at which women’s rights were an issue. Ramabai spoke caustically of Methodism’s failure to open the doors of leadership fully to women and noted that except for a few denominations such as the Quakers, Unitarians, “and a progressive branch of the Methodists,” Christian churches “do not allow women the liberty to expound the Scriptures in their churches—for no other reason than that they are women!” She added, “Women may be as pure as anybody could wish, they may be learned, they may be eloquent and talented, they may be a hundred times superior to male preachers, but their one and only failing is that they are women” and so are not permitted to preach even if called by God.⁰ By “a progressive branch of the Methodists” Ramabai may have meant the Free Methodists who at this time had a number of women preachers and evangelists, even though they did not fully ordain women.

Ramabai also observed that in America most of the financial support for missions and reform efforts came from the poor and from women. In general wealthy folks “are not that greatly concerned about religion.” The support for propagating the Christian faith that “comes from the poor and especially from poor women is greater than that which comes from the wealthy.”⁰

Ramabai arrived back in India in early 1889, at age thirty. Within months she opened a home and school, the Sharada Sadan (“Home of Learning”) for child widows. Mano returned from England, so mother and daughter were again united. With backing from the Ramabai Association and the support of over 4,000 members of some seventy-seven Ramabai Circles in America, and with Hindu as well as Christian support in India, Ramabai’s home for high-caste Indian widows was soon flourishing. Before long Ramabai also “admitted to her school other girls and women who were not child-widows, but whose life was a drudgery, misery, and a struggle for existence.”⁰

⁰ Edith L. Blumhofer, “From India’s Coral Strand’: Pandita Ramabai and U. S. Support for Foreign Missions,” in Daniel H. Bays and Grant Wacker, eds., *The Foreign Missionary Enterprise at Home: Explorations in North American Cultural History* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2003), 158. Blumhofer helpfully details Ramabai’s contacts and networking in America.

⁰ Ramabai, *Pandita Ramabai’s America*, ed. Frykenberg, 219.

⁰ Ramabai, *Pandita Ramabai’s America*, ed. Frykenberg, 203f.

⁰ Shamsundar Manohar Adhav, *Pandita Ramabai* (Madras, India: Christian Literature Society, 1979), 27. Opened first in Bombay, the Sharada Sadan was moved to Poona in 1891.

Due to the devastation of plague and famine, Ramabai vastly expanded her mission of mercy in the late 1890s. “The Sharada Sadan was now no more an institution meant only for the high-caste Hindu child-widows. It was literally open to all irrespective of caste and creed.”⁰ In 1898 Ramabai founded her famous Mukti (“Salvation” or “Liberation”) mission community at Kedgaon, near Poona (now Pune) and began taking in hundreds of child widows who were famine victims. Unlike her earlier work, Mukti was explicitly Christian from the start. Some of Ramabai’s widows had begun asking for Christian baptism and, given her own spiritual pilgrimage and some Christian conversions among her students, Ramabai could no longer maintain her policy of religious neutrality. She could not refuse or discourage the spiritual quest of the young Hindu widows who were of course influenced by their teacher’s example. “Ramabai’s intentional religious neutrality ultimately yielded to the force of her own goodness.”⁰

Advocating for the rights of women and children in India, Ramabai spoke out against British colonial rule as well as against the oppressive practices of Hinduism. In a letter published in a Marathi-language magazine in 1886 she wrote, “The British Government is sucking Indian blood and wealth while per force despatching Indian armies to march and fight the British battle in Egypt and ultimately die over there.” She complained also of unfair taxation and unjust legal proceedings.⁰

Meanwhile, Ramabai’s spiritual quest was continuing. In 1891 or 1892 as her work with child widows was growing Ramabai had an encounter with God that in some ways paralleled John Wesley’s Aldersgate experience of 1738. Faith became deeper and more personal, giving her a daily sense of Christ’s presence. She came “to know the Lord Jesus Christ as my personal Saviour and have the joy of sweet communion with him,” she later wrote.⁰ Then in April 1895 she experienced a deeper work of the Holy Spirit at the Holiness camp meeting at Lanauli (or Lanowli, between Bombay and Poona) established by the American Methodist evangelist and entrepreneur William Bramwell

⁰ Adhav, *Pandita Ramabai*, 28.

⁰ Blumhofer, “From India’s Coral Strand,” 163, citing a remark by the noted Oxford University philologist and Sanskrit scholar, Friedrich Max Müller. Max Müller (1823-1900) befriended Ramabai in England. His linguistic work was key to establishing the historical links between Indian and European languages and civilizations. See F. Max Müller, *Auld Lang Syne, Second Series: My Indian Friends* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1899), 142. Max Müller said Ramabai had “one of the most remarkable memories in the world,” according to Clementina Butler. Clementina Butler, *Pandita Ramabai Sarasvati: Pioneer of the Movement for Education of the Child-widows of India* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1922), 91.

⁰ Quoted in Adhav, *Pandita Ramabai*, 37.

⁰ Ramabai, *A Testimony of Our Inexhaustible Treasure*, in *Pandita Ramabai Through Her Own Words*, 314.

Osborn, founder of Ocean Grove, New Jersey, and other holiness encampments and one of the founders of the National Camp-Meeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness in 1867.⁰ This new experience was mediated partly through Ramabai's reading the autobiography of Amanda Berry Smith, the African Methodist Episcopal holiness evangelist and former slave (who served briefly as a missionary in India). Ramabai came "to realize the personal presence of the Holy Spirit" in her life "and to be guided and taught by Him," she wrote. "The Holy Spirit taught me how to appropriate every promise of God in the right way, and obey His voice."⁰

Frykenberg fails to mention this significant experience of the deeper life in his account of Ramabai's spiritual pilgrimage. He outlines what he calls four "stages" of Ramabai's "road of conversion," focusing finally on the 1905 revival as Ramabai's "baptism of the Holy Spirit" and thus her "fourth and final major turning point."⁰ Ramabai herself however cites the significance of her 1895 deeper experience. Frykenberg essentially misses the Holiness Movement connection, as do most of the accounts of Ramabai's spiritual journey. The background here is the significant Holiness Movement influence in India in the 1870s and 1880s, particularly through Methodist missionary and bishop James Thoburn, missionary and church planter William Taylor, and others. In 1880 John Inskip, prominent holiness evangelist and president of the National Association for the Promotion of Holiness, conducted a series of evangelistic and holiness meetings in India in cooperation with William Osborn, who had gone to India with William Taylor in 1875. Inskip preached the Methodist doctrine of entire sanctification as "the baptism of the Holy Spirit." Amanda Smith was also ministering in India at this time; Smith and Inskip crossed paths in Bombay in October 1880.⁰

⁰ Blumhofer, "From India's Coral Strand," 164; Padmini Sengupta, *Pandita Ramabai Saraswati: Her Life and Work* (Bombay, India: Asia Publishing House, 1970), 232; Nicol MacNicol, *Pandita Ramabai: A Builder of Modern India* (1926), republished as *What Liberates a Woman? The Story of Pandita Ramabai, A Builder of Modern India* (New Delhi, India: Nivedit Good Books, 1996), 142; William C. Kostlevy, ed., *Historical Dictionary of the Holiness Movement* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2001), 194. Blumhofer gives the year as 1894, but most sources indicate 1895 as the year of this experience.

⁰ Ramabai, *A Testimony of Our Inexhaustible Treasure* in *Pandita Ramabai Through Her Own Words*, 316. Cf. Sengupta, *Pandita Ramabai Saraswati*, 231f; Mary Lucia Bierce Fuller, *The Triumph of an Indian Widow: The Life of Pandita Ramabai*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, PA: American Council of the Ramabai Mukti Mission, [1939]), 40f.

⁰ Frykenberg, "Pandita Ramabai Saraswati: A Biographical Introduction," in *Pandita Ramabai's America*, 49-51. Frykenberg lists Ramabai's first three turning points as her encounter with Christianity before going to England; her "intellectual" conversion resulting from "her experiences in England and America," and her "more personal and spiritual" conversion of 1891.

⁰ W. McDonald and John E. Searles, *The Life of Rev. John S. Inskip, President of the National Association for the Promotion of Holiness* (1885; repr. Salem OH: Allegheny Publications, 1986), 328-42.

Ramabai developed connections with several American holiness people and also with Christian and Missionary Alliance workers in India. Her work at Mukti continued to expand. When the original ten-year mandate of the Ramabai Association ended in 1898, she returned to America to reorganize support. A more explicitly evangelical American Ramabai Association was formed. As Edith Blumhofer notes, Ramabai's

embrace of conversionist Christianity and affinity for aspects of the higher life and holiness movements had brought her into the flow of growing streams of popular Protestantism in the United States. D. L. Moody and his many networks promoted her as ever in their publications, collecting and forwarding funds. Still hailed for her learning, [Ramabai] now put more confidence in her heart than in her intellect. She had come around to the conviction that only the gospel could accomplish what she had set out to do.⁰

Manoramabai and Chesbrough Seminary

Ramabai's spiritual pilgrimage in the 1890s complicated her daughter Mano's educational progress. In 1896 Ramabai sent Mano, then fifteen, back to England where over the period of a year and a half she attended four different boarding schools. These changes were dictated by Ramabai and reflected her own spiritual and theological transitions. Sister Geraldine of the Anglican Community of St. Mary the Virgin, who had been Ramabai's principal mentor when Ramabai first went to England in 1883, was exasperated, complaining about "the mismanagement of [Ramabai's] only child's education." She and other Anglican friends constantly tried to strengthen Mano's ties to the Church of England and to steer her away from "dissenting" groups and what Sister Geraldine called "the adulterations of Methodism." But Ramabai told Sister Geraldine in 1896,

I believe in the Universal Church of Christ which includes all the members of His body, and am not particular about others being members of different sects. The dry discussion about sects and differences has never been an attractive one to me since I was converted. And now I enjoy the peace of God which passeth all understanding and do not trouble myself with small matters of opinion and differences.⁰

Sister Geraldine noted that Ramabai finally in 1897 sent Mano "to be trained as a missionary with people at Brighton," England, and "to be prepared to go with her to America early in January 1898."⁰

⁰ Blumhofer, "From India's Coral Strand," 166.

⁰ Shah, *Letters of Pandita Ramabai*, 335, 338.

⁰ Shah, *Letters of Pandita Ramabai*, 350; Ramabai, *Pandita Ramabai's American Encounter*, 29.

Ramabai brought Mano with her to America in early 1898, along with two high-caste Hindu child widows. Surprisingly, she had decided to enroll her daughter and these Indian girls in Chesbrough Seminary, which she learned about in India through the Fullers and perhaps others.⁰ As Blumhofer notes, the attraction this Free Methodist school “now held for Ramabai revealed her shifting religious sensibilities.”⁰ Ramabai had finally decided that Chesbrough was the best place for Mano and for selected others of her wards whom she wished to see receive further education.

Emma Sellew Roberts heard Pandita Ramabai speak in Rochester on this 1898 trip, but she and Adella Carpenter apparently had had contact with Ramabai for some time prior to this. In fact Ramabai sent three high-caste child widows to study at Chesbrough in the summer of 1897. Now she enrolled two more and her own seventeen-year-old daughter at Chesbrough.⁰

This mission accomplished, and with renewed pledges of support, Ramabai returned to India in 1898. Stopping briefly in England, she was invited to attend the July Keswick Convention. There in a five-minute address she challenged the 4,000 attendees to intercede for revival in India, asking them “to pray for an outpouring of the Holy Spirit on all Indian Christians” and “that 100,000 men and 100,000 women from among the Indian Christians may be led to preach the Gospel to their country people.”⁰

Mano’s education at Chesbrough Seminary, according to Sister Geraldine, “was given to her without cost, as was also that of the five Indian girls with her in the Seminary, by the liberality of Mrs. E. S. [Emma Sellew] Roberts, the Lady Principal.”⁰ Sadly, some of the Indian girls died while at the seminary; they lie buried in the North Chili cemetery, but others returned and gave years of faithful

⁰ Mary Lucia Bierce Fuller (1882-1965), a Chesbrough and Oberlin alumna, was especially close to Ramabai and looked upon her as her spiritual mother. She later wrote *The Triumph of an Indian Widow: The Life of Pandita Ramabai* (referenced above).

Of this journey to America Sister Geraldine wrote, “With Miss [Minnie] Abrams’ capable help at Mukti, . . . Ramabai felt able to leave [in early 1898]. She had, the year before, sent three of her best pupils to America, and she now took two others with her. In England, she was joined by her daughter Manorama whom she took to America. These six girls were placed under the care of Mrs. Roberts, Principal of the A. M. Chesbrough Seminary, North Chili, N.Y.” Shah, *Letters of Pandita Ramabai*, 353, 355; Adhav, *Pandita Ramabai*, 19.

⁰ Blumhofer, “From India’s Coral Strand,” 166.

⁰ Emma Sellew Roberts, “Pandita Ramabai and Her Work,” 5f; Emma Sellew Roberts, “The High-Caste Widows of India at the A. M. Chesbrough Seminary,” *Missionary Tidings* 2:6 (June 1898), 7f. Dyer notes, “When Ramabai went to America in 1898 she took with her several young women who were in moral danger from their relatives.” Helen S. Dyer, *Pandita Ramabai: Her Vision, Her Mission and Triumph of Faith* (London, UK: Pickering and Inglis, [1923]), 84.

⁰ Pandita Ramabai in *Mukti Prayer-Bell* 2:1 (Oct. 1905), quoted in Adhav, *Pandita Ramabai*, 216.

⁰ Shah, *Letters of Pandita Ramabai*, 351.

service.⁰ Mano—like her mother, an outstanding student—flourished at the school, completing a three-year course of study in two years.⁰ Sister Geraldine wrote,

[Mano] rose at five and spent her first half hour in prayer and Bible reading before beginning study and thus claimed a daily blessing on her work. She left the Seminary having gained the goodwill of all her fellow-students and the highest commendation of her teachers for the quiet and unobtrusive influence she had exercised. The five other Indian girls were her special charge while in the Seminary; she overlooked their studies, and was referred to by her teachers if any difficulty arose with regard to them. The examinations shewed [sic] that she had gained the first place of the year [1889-90] in the Seminary, and out of some ten subjects she gained honours in all but two. She also took extra science subjects. And to this must be added instrumental music. As a pianist she was brilliant.⁰

In April 1900, a month or so before Mano's graduation, Benson and Emma Roberts took her and some of the other Indian students to New York City to attend the great Ecumenical Missionary Conference there. Attended officially by over 3,000 missions personnel the conference drew tens of thousands of interested Christians to Carnegie Hall and other venues for the main services. Emma Roberts introduced the Indian students at a Woman's Work in Foreign Missions meeting at the Central Presbyterian Church site on Thursday morning, April 26, and Mano addressed a mass meeting at Carnegie Hall on Sunday, April 29, speaking on "What an Indian Famine is Like."⁰

Mano graduated from Chesbrough Seminary with honors in June, 1900. She intended to go on to Mt. Holyoke for her college education but decided instead to return to India to help her mother, who was in urgent need of assistance.

⁰ "Ramabai, Great Native Indian, Sent Daughter to Chesbro'," *The Pioneer* [of A. M. Chesbrough Seminary] 3:10 (June 1927), 1.

⁰ Benson and Emma Roberts took, or at least intended to take, Mano with them to D. L. Moody's Northfield Summer Conference for a week in August 1898, according to a July 30, 1898, letter in the Roberts Family Papers. Ambert G. Moody (D. L. Moody's nephew) of the Northfield Summer Conferences wrote to Benson Roberts, "We are . . . glad to know that you are planning to come to Northfield for the August Conference for a week at least. We trust that you and Mrs. Roberts will bring the daughter of Pundita [sic] Ramabai with you, for the outing can but do her good." A. G. Moody (Northfield, MA) to Mr. B. H. Roberts (North Chili, NY), July 30, 1898. B. T. Roberts Family Papers, Microfilm Reel 12, Frame 405.

⁰ Shah, *Letters of Pandita Ramabai*, 363. Shortly after graduating in June 1900, Mano sailed for England, where she visited Sister Geraldine and others before going on to India. Sister Geraldine notes that in returning to India Mano was commissioned by the American Ramabai Association to take charge of the Sharada Sadan, the residential school that Ramabai had opened in 1889. Shah, *Letters of Pandita Ramabai*, 364; cf. Ramabai, *Pandita Ramabai's American Encounter*, 28f.

⁰ According to the official conference report. See *Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900*, 2 vols. (New York, NY: American Tract Society, 1900), 2:353-77.

In his biographical introduction to *Pandita Ramabai's America*, Robert Frykenberg misunderstands the Chesbrough Seminary connection. He writes, “Soon after reaching America, Manorama was admitted to a women’s college (‘seminary’) in New York.” He doesn’t mention the name of the school, or Emma or Benson Roberts, and misses the Holiness Movement context.⁰ Chesbrough was not a college, and was coeducational. Blumhofer does mention the school and B. T. Roberts, but misidentifies Roberts as the founder of the Wesleyan Methodists. Kosambi mentions the school (misspelling it “Cheseborough”) but also is oblivious to the character of the school and its connections.⁰

Meanwhile in India Ramabai’s Mukti mission community expanded rapidly as Ramabai rescued hundreds of starving child widows from a devastating famine in which an estimated thirty-seven million people perished. “By the end of 1897, Ramabai has assembled the three hundred famine widows she had set out to find. She now began to develop plans to make Mukti a place for education, vocational training, and the equipping of Indian female village evangelists. The famine widows constituted the nucleus for this experiment,” notes Blumhofer.⁰ Eventually, as the result of subsequent famines, Mukti grew to a community of some 2,000. Mary Lucia Bierce Fuller, who knew Ramabai well, wrote that as Ramabai took in more and more girls during the 1900 famine, she “finally abandoned her original plan of a school for high-caste widows only, and [took] in girls of all castes, even thieving castes, aboriginals and out-caste scavengers,” much to the consternation of even her helpers and the older girls. Ramabai was assisted now by a whole corps of American and English women who “one by one, came to Ramabai’s help, never to leave her, some of them, till they died”—the Methodist missionary Minnie Abrams, Mary Macdonald, Lissa Hastie and many others, some of them medical doctors.⁰

At her mother’s urging Mano, together with Minnie Abrams, spent nearly a year in Australia in 1902-03, building support for Mukti Mission and keeping in touch with Ramabai by letter. On her return Mano continued helping with her mother’s growing ministries.

⁰ Frykenberg, “Pandita Ramabai Saraswati: A Biographical Introduction,” in *Pandita Ramabai's America*, 47.

⁰ Blumhofer, “From India’s Coral Strand,” 165f; Meera Kosambi, “Returning the American Gaze: Situating Pandita Ramabai’s American Encounter,” Introduction in Ramabai, *Pandita Ramabai's American Encounter*, 29.

⁰ Blumhofer, “From India’s Coral Strand,” 164f.

⁰ Fuller, *Triumph of an Indian Widow*, 48f, 52-55. “No other biographer was more closely and intimately associated with the Pandita” than Mary Lucia Bierce Fuller (Adhav, *Pandita Ramabai*, 47).

Revival at Mukti: The Indian Pentecost

A remarkable revival swept Mukti Mission in 1905. Ramabai said the revival grew out of “a special prayer-circle” consisting of “about 70 of us who met together each morning,” praying for “the true conversion of all the Indian Christians including ourselves, and for a special outpouring of the Holy Spirit on all Christians of every land.” Six months later “the Lord graciously sent a glorious Holy Ghost revival among us, and also in many schools and Churches in this country.”⁰ Sister Geraldine (based on Mano’s letters) described the revival as “a marvellous [sic] Pentecostal outpouring of the Holy Spirit,” continuing for “more than six weeks.” Mano said the revival’s outbreak “was manifestly God Himself working,” for “no stirring address [had been] delivered at the meeting; nor had there been any special effort to bring conviction of sin.” Mano reported that a “large number of girls and women” were converted, and “many have received the cleansing and fulness of the Spirit for life and service.”⁰

Three months later Mano wrote to Sister Geraldine,

I told [in my previous letter] how the Holy Spirit had begun to work in the hearts of the girls in a most marvellous [sic] way and how His working led to agony on account of sin, confession and restoration and then intense joy. Perhaps, I did not mention the joy, for I remember that I wrote that letter at the very beginning of this Revival; and for the first few days hardly any joy was seen, but a sense of awe pervaded the atmosphere, and there was deep sorrow for sin. Then came the joy and the baptism of the Holy Ghost and Fire; and what seems to be a special anointing for the Ministry of Intercession.⁰

News of revival outbreaks in Korea, Australia, and Wales appear to have helped spark the Mukti revival. Blumhofer writes, “[W]ith reports of the Welsh revival circulating widely, hundreds of Ramabai’s two thousand girls manifested unusual concern about sin, crying and praying for forgiveness. The noise of hundreds praying aloud individually and simultaneously permeated the compound day and night.”⁰

Mano would likely have witnessed somewhat similar scenes, if on a smaller scale, earlier at Chesbrough Seminary. In a circular letter Mano sent out in October 1906 she described the revival.

⁰ Ramabai, *A Testimony of Our Inexhaustible Treasure in Pandita Ramabai Through Her Own Words*, 320. Adhav says this revival “rooted at Mukti in 1905,” which began on June 29, spread to a number of other cities and towns including Poona, Bombay, Yeotmal, and Dhokla. Adhav, *Pandita Ramabai*, 21, 230.

⁰ Shah, *Letters of Pandita Ramabai*, 390f.

⁰ Shah, *Letters of Pandita Ramabai*, 391.

⁰ Blumhofer, “From India’s Coral Strand,” 168.

“A realization of the awfulness of sin, and a dread of its results took possession of many. And in almost all parts of Mukti, in the dormitories and school rooms, in the garden, and in the various compounds, there were to be found at all times of the day, souls crying to God for mercy and forgiveness.” Then as the Holy Spirit was poured out, the community experienced indescribable joy. Mano wrote,

God graciously granted to those who were seeking, the Baptism of the Holy Ghost and Fire, and to those who were willing, a real yearning for the salvation of souls and a special anointing for the ministry of intercession. In a marked way, God has been reminding us of the words of Scripture, “God hath *chosen* the foolish . . . the weak . . . and base things of this world,” the “things which are despised . . . yea and the things which are not, to bring to nought things that are: that no flesh should glory in His Presence.”⁰

Revival of a somewhat different character came in late December 1906 and early 1907. Ramabai called it “another and greater outpouring of the Holy Spirit.” Some of the girls “received a definite call to preach the Gospel” and some began “praying in different tongues.” Ramabai said she wasn’t surprised by the tongues-speaking because she had heard this gift had been given to Christians elsewhere in India.⁰ She was a bit surprised however when one of the girls, who did not know English, began praying and praising God in English. “She was perfectly unconscious of what was going on, her eyes were fast closed, and she was speaking to the Lord Jesus very fluently in English,” wrote Ramabai.⁰

News of Pentecostal revival in India filtered back to Azusa Street and was reported in *The Apostolic Faith*, the monthly paper associated with the Azusa Street revival that began publication in September 1906. A brief piece in the November 1906 issue entitled “Pentecost in India” reported that

⁰ Manoramabai, Circular Letter (Oct. 8, 1906), quoted in Adhav, *Pandita Ramabai*, 230.

⁰ An editorial in the September 1906 *Alliance Witness* spoke of “reports of the revival movement in India” which “frequently read like a continuation of the Acts of the Apostles. Some of the gifts which have been scarcely heard of in the church for many centuries, are now being given by the Holy Ghost to simple, unlearned members of the body of Christ and communities are being stirred and transformed by the wonderful grace of God. Healings, the gift of tongues, visions and dreams, discernment of spirits, the power to prophecy [sic] and to pray the prayer of faith, all have a place in the present revival.” Maud Wiest, “Editorials,” *Alliance Witness* (Sept. 1906), 30, quoted in Gary B. McGee, “‘Latter Rain’ Falling in the East: Early-Twentieth-Century Pentecostalism in India and the Debate over Speaking in Tongues,” *Church History* 68:3 (Sept. 1999), 655.

⁰ *Mukti Prayer-Bell* 3:4 (Sept. 1907), quoted in Adhav, *Pandita Ramabai*, 218-19. Other girls were said to have spoken in Sanskrit and Kannada. McGee notes that Minnie Abrams testified to speaking in Hebrew and that “Ramabai did not speak in tongues, but commended the experience.” McGee, “‘Latter Rain’ Falling in the East,” 656.

“the baptism with the Holy Ghost and gift of tongues is being received there by natives who are simply being taught of God.” This referred however to revivals elsewhere in India, not at Mukti.⁰ A longer article in the September 1907 issue entitled “Pentecost in Mukti, India” (reprinted from an Indian publication) specifically mentioned Pandita Ramabai and her work and the Pentecostal outpouring at Mukti just before Christmas, 1906. The report stated that both Ramabai and Minnie Abrams were impressed by the reports from Azusa Street and had exhorted the Mukti community to “tarry for the promised baptism of the Holy Ghost.” Ramabai, the report notes, “fully acknowledged all that God had bestowed through His Spirit in the past; but she discerned there was the deeper fullness of the outpouring of the Holy Ghost accompanied with the gift of tongues which had not yet been received.” Gifts of various tongues, interpretation, and healing were part of this movement. The report noted that at Mukti “the girls and women are pressing on to greater things and are believing for the restoration to the Church of all the lost gifts of the Spirit.”⁰

Reflecting on the tongues-speaking, Ramabai said she “praised God for doing something new for us,” but she saw this revival in continuity with the one two years earlier despite its “special features” including “the shaking of the body, and other physical demonstrations, speaking in different tongues, simultaneous prayer, and such other things.” Ramabai was very clear that tongues-speaking was not “the only and necessary sign” of the Spirit’s baptism. She wrote at the height of the 1907 revival, “The gift of tongues is certainly one of the signs of the baptism of the Holy Spirit. There is scriptural ground to hold this belief. But there is no Scripture warrant to think that the speaking in tongues is the only and necessary sign of the baptism of the Holy Spirit.”⁰ Pentecostal historian Gary McGee notes that “neither Abrams nor Ramabai registered tongues as indispensable to every instance of baptism in the Holy Spirit as did their American counterparts,” though both views were represented at Mukti.

⁰ “Pentecost in India,” *The Apostolic Faith* 1:3 (Nov. 1906), 1. This report quotes Maud Wiest’s September 1906 editorial, cited above. A similar report from Sister A. G. Garr, “In Calcutta, India,” appeared in the April 1907 issue of *The Apostolic Faith*, p. 1.

⁰ Max Wood Moorhead, “Pentecost in Mukti, India,” *The Apostolic Faith* 1:10 (Sept. 1907), 4. See the discussion in McGee, “‘Latter Rain’ Falling in the East,” 656.

⁰ *Mukti Prayer-Bell* 3:4 (Sept. 1907), quoted in Adhav, *Pandita Ramabai*, 219-21, 223. This was also Minnie Abrams’ view; like Ramabai, Abrams saw the 1906-07 revival in continuity with the 1905 one. Simultaneous praying aloud and outbreaks of prayer “all over the church while singing or preaching is going on, putting a stop to all other exercises,” had been part of the Mukti community’s experience “since the big Revival of 1905,” Abrams noted in 1907, as documented in Adhav, *Pandita Ramabai*, 225.

Ramabai and Abrams held a “more inclusive doctrine” of tongues that was similar to A. B. Simpson’s views and less like “that taught at Topeka and Azusa.”⁰

Through these revivals at Mukti, Pandita Ramabai became something of a bridge figure between the Holiness and Pentecostal movements. Minnie Abrams, baptized with the Holy Spirit during the 1905 revival, in 1906 published *The Baptism of the Holy Ghost and Fire*, an important book which influenced the beginnings of Pentecostalism in Chile and elsewhere.⁰ McGee argues in fact that the 1905 and 1907 revivals at Mukti challenge the common view that modern Pentecostalism traces exclusively to the 1906-09 Azusa Street revival. A Pentecostal revival was already well underway in India before news of Azusa Street arrived. “Early Pentecostalism in India [thus] represents an important chapter in the story of modern Pentecostalism that must be examined on its own merits and not just as a spinoff from the Azusa Street revival.” Further, McGee argues, the role of glossolalia as understood by Ramabai and others at Mukti calls into question “the dominance of the classical Pentecostal doctrine of speaking in tongues”—namely, that tongues-speaking is the essential initial evidence of Spirit baptism. As McGee puts it, “Despite claims that Pentecostalism first sprouted in America, the fact that Holiness seed had been scattered on the soil of India has been overlooked.” The Mukti revival was nurtured by holiness and Keswickian Higher Life streams, as Ramabai’s own story bears out. The language of “Pentecost” and “Spirit baptism” was common in these streams well before Azusa Street. This background is part of the reason that Ramabai and Minnie Abrams “did not insist that every Pentecostal had to experience glossolalia.”⁰

The controversy over tongues-speaking split the Holiness Movement in the United States, giving rise to modern Pentecostalism as a distinct movement.⁰ It is impossible to know just where B. T. Roberts would have come down on this issue, had he lived into the 1900s. Certainly he would have

⁰ McGee, “‘Latter Rain’ Falling in the East,” 657f.

⁰ G. B. McGee, “Abrams, Minnie F.,” in Stanley M. Burgess, Gary B. McGee, and Patrick H. Alexander, eds., *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1988), 7. McGee notes that through sending a copy of her book “to May L. Hoover (Mrs. Willis C. Hoover) in Valparaiso, Chile, with whom she attended the Chicago Training School for Home and Foreign Missions (Methodist-related), Abrams significantly influenced the beginnings of the Pentecostal movement” in Chile. See also Gary McGee, “‘Baptism of the Holy Ghost and Fire!’ The Mission Legacy of Minnie F. Abrams,” *Missiology* (Oct. 1999), 515-22.

⁰ McGee, “‘Latter Rain’ Falling in the East,” 648-65. McGee points out that “Pentecostal or Pentecostal-like movements” at various places in India antedated the Azusa Street revival by several decades. Of course it is also true that several of the key figures in the Azusa Street revival had some background in the Holiness Movement.

⁰ Best documented in Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition: Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997), rev. ed. of *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States* (1971).

rejected as unbiblical the view that tongues are the necessary evidence of Spirit baptism. But given his own “Pentecostal” leanings—his emphasis on the baptism and the freedom of the Holy Spirit; on the empowerment of *all* believers, including women, for ministry; plus his emphasis on revival, his passion for world missions, and his support of Vivian Dake’s Pentecost Bands—it is at least plausible that he might have embraced the more inclusive view of Pandita Ramabai that glossolalia was a legitimate but not the most important gift of the Spirit. If so, he would have been an exception among holiness leaders. Given the climate of controversy over tongues in the U.S. after 1906, with extreme positions taken by both sides, it is just as plausible that Roberts would have rejected tongues-speaking except perhaps as the gift of known languages for missionary proclamation.

Manoramabai was familiar with the Free Methodist emphasis on revival and the work of the Holy Spirit due to her years at Chesbrough. Her own spiritual journey in the 1890s essentially paralleled that of her mother. She embraced personal faith in Jesus Christ and the deeper work of the Spirit, sharing with her mother the emphasis on holiness and on the Pentecostal empowerment of the Spirit. In this sense Mano, like Minnie Abrams, was one of the early pioneers of the modern Pentecostal movement.

After graduating from Chesbrough in 1900, Mano worked steadily with her mother for the next twenty years. She took an active part in the 1905 and 1907 Mukti revivals, as noted. Mano accompanied Minnie Abrams on a voyage to England in 1908, intending to continue on to the United States to visit a number of Pentecostal centers. Mano became seriously ill, however, and returned to India, gratefully experiencing God’s healing on the return voyage.⁰

Ramabai expected that her daughter would succeed her in directing Mukti Mission, but Manoramabai, who had been in declining health for some time, died on July 24, 1921, at age 40.⁰ Ramabai herself died only seven months later, on April 5, 1922, at age sixty-four. The work has continued to the present, however. Sometime after Ramabai’s death the Christian and Missionary Alliance took over trusteeship of the Mukti Mission “in accordance with Ramabai’s will,” noted Mary Lucia Bierce Fuller, with the understanding that it would continue as an independent ministry, not as part of the CMA missionary enterprise.⁰

⁰ Dyer, *Pandita Ramabai*, 133; cf. McGee, “‘Latter Rain’ Falling in the East,” 658.

⁰ Adhav notes that Mano “was admitted in the Mission Hospital at Miraj for treatment . . . sometime during 1917 or 1918.” Adhav, *Pandita Ramabai*, v-vi.

⁰ Fuller, *Triumph of an Indian Widow*, 49. Information on Pandita Ramabai and Manoramabai is drawn primarily from the following sources, in addition to those already indicated: Eric J. Sharpe,

Solving the Puzzle: Why Chesbrough?

At first it seems odd that Pandita Ramabai, with her wide international network of well-placed Christian and reformist leaders, would send her daughter and her choice scholars to the rather obscure Chesbrough Seminary. It is true that Ramabai had a pronounced affinity for America over England; as Meera Kosambi notes, Ramabai viewed the United States as “a more progressive country than imperial Britain and as a more suitable model for a colonized India to follow in its pursuit of freedom and advancement.”⁰ So Ramabai apparently wanted Mano to be educated and shaped in America. But why Chesbrough Seminary?

Ramabai’s own spiritual pilgrimage provides clues. The attraction was at several levels. In hindsight, and in light of the growing body of literature on Ramabai, we can identify five interlocking factors, all of which have continuing relevance today:

1. *Commitment to social concern and reform—particularly women’s rights and ministry with the poor and oppressed.* Like her Hindu father, Ramabai was a life-long reformer. Even before she was a Christian she was an advocate for reform and liberation. Her concern especially was for full equality of women. As Frykenberg notes, Ramabai “stood as a champion of the lowly, the weak, and the poor, particularly downtrodden women and children.”⁰ She learned of the long-standing Free Methodist commitment to women’s equality as well as, no doubt, the church’s earlier opposition to slavery and its concern for the poor. It is unlikely that she would have sent Mano to study at Chesbrough if the school had not embraced and lived these values.

2. *Countercultural Witness.* While Ramabai openly admired the freedom and relative equality of American society, she was aware of discrimination against women and against African Americans,

“Ramabai Dongre Medhavi,” in Gerald H. Anderson, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions* (New York, NY: Macmillan Reference, 1998), 557; Rajas Krishnarao Dongre and Josephine F. Patterson, *Pandita Ramabai: A Life of Faith and Prayer* (Madras, India: Christian Literature Society, 1963) 33-38; “Ramabai, Sarasvati (Pandita),” in Burgess, McGee, and Alexander, *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, 755f; “Smith, Amanda Berry,” in Kostlevy, *Historical Dictionary of the Holiness Movement*, 235f; Basil Miller, *Pandita Ramabai, India’s Christian Pilgrim* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1949), 69, 80, 116. See also [Emma Sellev Roberts?], “Pundita Ramabai,” *The Earnest Christian* 75:6 (June 1898), 183-85. This issue of *The Earnest Christian* carried a photograph of Ramabai on the front cover.

⁰ Kosambi, “Preface and Acknowledgements,” in Ramabai, *Pandita Ramabai’s American Encounter*, ix.

⁰ Frykenberg, “Editor’s Preface to the English Translation,” in Ramabai, *Pandita Ramabai’s America*, xi.

Native Americans, and other minorities. She also disapproved of American materialism, pride, and the ostentation of the rich. These were all concerns that B. T. Roberts repeatedly had articulated.

Ramabai could see that Chesbrough Seminary maintained some critical distance from American culture, even though it was thoroughly committed to a classical quality education. Also, the Free Methodist emphasis on simplicity and plainness in dress and lifestyle would have attracted her—in principle, if not in detail. Ramabai always wore a plain white cotton sari and her hair short, both symbols of her widowhood, and maintained a simple lifestyle, including a vegetarian diet.⁰ These of course were reflections of her Indian Hindu culture, but she apparently affirmed them also as Christian values.⁰ Like Benson and Emma Roberts, and of course B. T. and Ellen Roberts, Ramabai looked on the ostentations of popular American fashion with disdain.

3. *Commitment to a broad liberal arts education for all.* Brilliant and well educated herself, Ramabai wanted her proteges to be thoroughly grounded in history, literature and languages, and the arts and sciences. She apparently became convinced that Chesbrough was committed to serious and rigorous study, within an explicitly Christian context.

Ramabai was well aware of the various reform movements in America and the fact that many of them were populist in character—that is, that they were energized by broad-based popular support, worked for the welfare of common people, and believed that the nation’s political and economic structures should benefit all the people, not just the wealthy and powerful.⁰ This populist current found resonance with her own spirit and agenda. She may have been attracted to the fact that Chesbrough was not elitist but provided quality liberal arts education for common people and the poor.

4. *Emphasis on Christian mission.* As Ramabai became increasingly Evangelical in her outlook, explicit Christian mission became a more central concern. Ramabai approved the strong missions emphasis at Chesbrough and the fact that it was not narrowly sectarian. Though the major focus of

⁰ Butler, *Pandita Ramabai Sarasvati*, 88f.

⁰ In a standard letter to prospective volunteer workers at Mukti, Manoramabai emphasized, “[O]ur style of living is thoroughly India. Our European workers do not wear the Indian dress, but they dress simply in their own way. Our rooms are very plain.” She explained that while “in most Missions where European workers are in charge, the food and manner of living is European, . . . ours is a thoroughly Indian Mission.” “The Papers, Publications, Pamphlets and Selected Books of Pandita Ramabai (1858-1922),” microfilmed archival collection from the Pandita Ramabai Mission, Kedgaon, India, 2001.

⁰ Despite many misinterpretations, this is the essence of American Populism.

missions at Chesbrough was on Free Methodist work, mission work of other groups, such as the Christian Missionary Alliance, was also celebrated.

5. Finally—and very importantly in the light of Ramabai’s own spiritual journey—was the Free Methodist *emphasis on the baptism of the Holy Spirit*, understood at this point in the Wesleyan Holiness sense, not in the later Pentecostal sense. Experientially at least, by 1895 Ramabai had become a part of the Holiness Movement, and she wanted Mano and the other Indian students to come under this influence. She presumably hoped the rising generation of Indian Christian leaders would arrive at the place where she had arrived.

Why Chesbrough Seminary? Strange as it may seem, this small school, reflecting the shadow of the now-departed B. T. Roberts, uniquely combined the set of concerns that were closest to Pandita Ramabai’s heart.⁰ Ramabai was always a pilgrim on a journey. Despite the colossal differences of culture, in her pilgrimage she found kinship with the Wesleyan Holiness pilgrim community in North Chili, New York.

⁰ Ramabai published *A Testimony of Our Inexhaustible Treasure* in 1907. This remarkable account (running to thirty pages in a recent republication) traces her spiritual pilgrimage. She also describes the 1905 revival and at the end recounts that she had now come to believe firmly in the imminent second coming of Jesus Christ. Pandita Ramabai, *A Testimony of Our Inexhaustible Treasure*, reprinted in Kosambi, *Pandita Ramabai Through Her Own Words: Selected Works*, 295-324. Ramabai’s testimony has been variously reprinted; see Pandita Ramabai, *A Testimony*, 9th ed. (Kedgaon, India: Ramabai Mukti Mission, 1968), 67 pp.