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they stand bowing their heads, about a teaspoonful (உத்திரணி) of the Holy Water is poured in the hollow of the right palm of everyone present, who supports his right palm with his left one underneath it and a portion of his cloth between thereto,<sup>1</sup> thus preventing even a drop of this Holy Water from falling to the ground. Then the devotee, lifting his head up, pours and reverently takes in half the quantity of this blessed water, and sprinkles the remaining half on his head and returns home rejoicing. It is considered unholy to lick or to sip the water from the hand.

"One day on questioning my father as to the meaning of this daily ceremony he explained that one's sins will fly away as soon as one partakes of this prasadam and water with bhakti.<sup>2</sup>

"Eight years after my father's death I embraced the Christian Faith,<sup>3</sup> and noticed the same sort of service is being conducted in our Churches. I am not unaware of the peculiar and the sacred significance of the Communion service in our Churches, but it appears to me in a different colour. Let me make myself more clear lest I should be misunderstood. The Prasadam and the Holy Water, after the Brahmins had their turns, are distributed irre-

<sup>1</sup> *sic*, <sup>2</sup> the two

<sup>2</sup> I never heard of the expression "Forgiveness of Sin" as long as I was a Hindu. This is purely a Christian doctrine. My father probably meant something like the forgiveness of sin when he said this.

<sup>3</sup> The word "Faith" is thoroughly Christian. *Bhakti* is the word which Hindus often use. This word conveys the sense better than the word "Faith."

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spective of caste or creed. It is opened to the public and is offered to any sinner. But the Communion Service in our churches, though it is preached to be the means of grace, is not opened to the public and is not offered to any sinner. There is a restriction. Only the members of that particular Church can partake of it. So it is not universal or Catholic. Any sinner with a penitent heart cannot have a claim over it even though it is specially meant for him. Did our Lord mean it in this way?

“Moreover, the very idea of sipping a sacred vessel and passing it on from lips to lips is a thing Hindus can never imagine. It was a Jewish habit which has automatically been Christianized in the West and transferred to the East.

“In Hindu families the father or the head of the family is the Priest of the family. He performs all the functions of a priest on festival days. Let me quote one instance to prove how this idea develops itself naturally in Christian families. There was a great and influential man in Madras who was a pious convert from Hinduism and a true bhakta. After I became a Christian he often used to invite me to dine with him, and I used to accept the invitation as I enjoyed the real fellowship of Christianity with him whenever I paid him a visit. I was present in his house one evening during the family worship. Never will I forget it. The

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service that was so instructive and impressive lasted for about an hour. Towards the end of the service there was the Holy Communion, and my friend, the father of the family, acted as priest. He blessed the bread and the wine, and after he had taken it offered them to his wife, children, grandchildren and relations. In this article I am neither to support nor to criticize his actions. He was one of the best Christian bhaktas I have come across in my life, and was at the same time a loyal and an important member of the Church to which he belonged. How can I conscientiously believe that God would not accept this service as it was not conducted by an ordained man and in a consecrated place? I dare not say anything on it. So I simply leave the question as I do not want to discuss it. But I know that God in the great personality of Jesus has promised to be present in a place where two or three are gathered together in His name.

“I will never also forget the sad and the most unpleasant Christian experience I had in my life once. Some ten years ago I had the rare privilege of conducting a big mass meeting on a Sunday morning in a big city in S. India. Hundreds of people were present and the whole service was left in my hands. This was followed by the Holy Communion service. As I belonged to another Church I had to leave this Church and come away with a sad and heavy heart. In the sermon I spoke

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of service for our country, and union, fellowship and love for our countrymen ; but in the very next minute I found that I could not put them into practice. I had to damp the spirit of God that was moving me and was compelled to disobey 'the voice of God.' I mean the conscience that was pressing within me. I felt I was kicked out of God's presence for the simple mistake of not being a member of that Church, for which I was not, in any sense, responsible. There I realized that 'Church' stands between a sinner and God.

"Well, the reader may say that we Christians cannot compare our religious practices to those of Hindus and accept their way of worshipping God as an ideal one. I do admit that. At the same time we do not want to be narrow-minded and sectarian, and our religious worship and practices to be less dignified and useful than those of Hindus. I am a Communicant member of a Church and a humble bhakta of Jesus Christ to-day for the simple reason that I earnestly believe that Christianity is far superior to Hinduism and the life and teaching of our Divine Master Jesus Christ are unique and unrivalled. But I do feel that it would be better if we have freedom to practise what we preach and to act according to our Lord's desire without any restrictions or reserve or doctrines or denominational spirit-tight compartments."



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Within the Christian community itself there are signs that all is not too well. I can give figures only for the South India United Church, but as it is a community of nearly a quarter of a million it might be taken as representative at least of the South. It has eight Church Councils, and in 1926 their nominal strength was as follows :

1.	Travancore	-	-	-	113,750
2.	Telugu	-	-	-	35,723
3.	Madura	-	-	-	28,567
4.	Madras	-	-	-	29,217
5.	North Tamil	-	-	-	11,099
6.	Malabar	-	-	-	—
7.	Jaffna	-	-	-	3,573
8.	Kanarese	-	-	-	1,984

(Malabar made no return for 1926).

Here is an interesting table :

*Percentage of Communicants to total Christian Community.*  
1926.

1.	Jaffna	-	-	-	69 per cent.
2.	Malabar	-	-	-	—
3.	Madura	-	-	-	34½ „
4.	Madras	-	-	-	24½ „
5.	Kanarese	-	-	-	27 „
6.	Travancore	..	-	-	14 „
7.	North Tamil	-	-	-	9 „
8.	Telugu	-	-	-	7½ „

Average for the whole community, 22 per cent.

The Telugu district with a Christian community of 36,000 has among these only 7½ per cent. of communicants. Of course, this is an area which

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has seen extensive mass movements, and maybe many are still unbaptized adherents ; but even in Madras, which is an old-established community and comparatively unaffected by mass movements, the percentage of communicant Christians only goes up to something under 25 per cent. But that this explanation of the very low percentage in the Telugu area does not hold is shown by the following figures :

*Percentage of baptized to the total number of Christians.*

				1926
1.	Jaffna	-	-	26.6 per cent.
2.	Malabar	-	-	— "
3.	Madura	-	-	46 0 "
4.	Madras	-	-	55 1 "
5.	Kanarcse	-	-	68 7 "
6.	Travancore	-	-	60.8 "
7.	North Tamil	-	-	78 4 "
8.	Telugu	-	-	68.9 "

Thus of the total baptized adherents in the Telugu council, only 11 per cent. are communicant members.

For other Christian communities I have no detailed figures at hand, but perhaps an examination of them all would reveal little that is different from the above. At any rate I know that in the Anglican Community in the South there are 91,355 communicant members and 250,461 "other Christians." This gives the communicant members as 27 per cent. of the whole. The Wesleyan Methodist

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body in the south returns 14,626 communicant members and 68,899 "other Christians." This gives a proportion of 18 per cent. Both figures seem to be comparatively low.

The most significant figure here is the very small percentage of communicant members to the total Christian population, from which one would infer that the Celebration of the Lord's Supper does not hold the place in the consciences and hearts of these Indian Christians that it does in the case of a Western Christian. Then the comparatively large number of unbaptized adherents would seem perhaps to indicate that baptism does not hold the place in their thoughts that it does in the West. Here one is not complaining. I merely cite these facts to show how in this Eastern country the Sacraments are obliged to take a lower place than they do in the West.

The Indian Churches in celebrating the Communion of the Lord's Supper universally use bread and wine. To a large number of the communicants this is the only time that they ever taste either bread or wine—neither forms part of their regular diet. In some areas there are difficulties in providing the bread and in other areas there is a repetition of the situation at Corinth, where the communion was being abused. I know at least one section of the Indian Church where the *per caput* consumption of wine at the Communion is a very high figure,

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and I know of at least one case of a communicant actually leaving the church in a state of intoxication. But so it was also at Corinth! Now I take it that the Holy Communion, while essentially a memorial rite, also stands for the consecration of the common things of life—the bread and wine of daily food in Palestine—and that by their consecration we have communion one with the other and with Him. This is at least one element. In the West, taking these common things of life for this purpose is defensible. But in the East, where the majority of the people are quite unacquainted with either of the elements, the whole service demands careful handling. The very strangeness of the physical elements tends to encourage or at least is good virgin soil for the growth of a magical idea of the sacrament which needs to be strongly resisted.

I have already stated that most of the Christian Churches have a credal test for membership; this is a purely Western introduction. Most Churches ask questions of their candidates for membership on a similar basis to one of the great creeds of Christendom. This has always appeared to me to be a Pauline element that is not in the gospels. St. Paul says let him that is not able to say Jesus is Lord be anathema—the beginning of the credal basis. Jesus said, Love God with all your being and your neighbour as yourself—this do and thou

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shalt have eternal life. Now Hinduism has no creed—and indeed it would be a very great problem for the Hindus if they required a creed—it certainly could not be as short as our Apostles' Creed ! But they have no need for one, for their basis is not credal, but social. It is not what do you believe, it is not a definite creed, but rather conformity to certain social usages and conduct. In actual practice, conduct may not mean anything more than correct observance of caste rules, but whatever it be, the emphasis is on conduct rather than belief.

This raises important questions for the Christian Church. In a land surrounded by non-Christian forces it is necessary that the Church should have a distinctive mark to separate itself from these forces. It has usually insisted that those wishing to call themselves Christian should be publicly baptized, and at that baptism make confession of a faith usually in terms of the ancient creeds. One result of this insistence has been that converts from caste Hinduism have been called upon to suffer much for their faith. On being openly baptized their families have repudiated their relationship and refused to have any further contact with them. To their parents they are as dead and can no longer live in the home with them, nor eat together, nor have any share in the family wealth. Sometimes Hindu parents of wealth have given small allow-

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ances to sons who have confessed the Christian faith, but far more often the convert at baptism owns nothing in this world and has to face the prospect of isolation from his former home and even much persecution. This has involved the Missionary Societies in the necessity of providing Converts' Homes where such as are young in the faith can be supported and if possible taught a trade in order to make them self-supporting. Sometimes it has further driven Societies unwillingly to venture on industrial undertakings where they can give employment to such people and help them to support themselves. It has also meant serious and regrettable disruptions of families, with much bitterness and much suffering, so that Christianity among certain castes, or rather families, is looked upon with loathing. Further, it immediately withdraws the Christian influence from the family, the little leaven that leaveneth the lump. So that instead of having Christians all over the countryside the tendency has been to collect them round the house of the missionary, where they could be protected and supported. This must have been a serious handicap in the spreading of the gospel. Now what is to be done ?

At the present moment I know of two caste Hindus, young men of University education—who call themselves Christian. They have neither of them been baptized, and both live with their

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parents. They both attend church at irregular intervals, and have a good knowledge of the Christian gospel. One of them says he sees no need for baptism, which would break up his home life and be a bitter blow to his parents, to whom he owes so much and to whom he is affectionately attached. He does not go to the Temple except on very special occasions, but he does take part in the family devotions. He says when he repeats mantras about Agni he means the Holy Spirit, and of course he has no intention of idolatry. His parents know in part what he thinks and say nothing so long as he is willing to take part in the family devotions. He is a good man and leads a life that one would be justified in calling Christian. Should a Christian minister who is his friend press him to receive baptism and confess a formal creed with all its consequences to his family life? The other case is in many respects very similar, except that here the youth wants to seek baptism, which will at once cut him off completely from his family. Would it not be far better for both of them to remain unbaptized and thus be able to remain with their families and there shine forth as lights in the darkness? It is not an easy question to answer. Undoubtedly the open confession of faith has been valuable in many cases as testing the degree of Christianity of the convert and making him appreciate its importance; and the memory of that

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confession has often been helpful in strengthening the young Christian in the faith and enabling him to stand persecution and trial. But we cannot argue that baptism is necessary to salvation, nor that the mere recitation of the Apostles' Creed ever saved a soul. It is life that counts—this do and thou shalt live.

And why do so many Hindu converts when they come over to Christianity take to beef-eating, much to the annoyance and real pain of their family? There seems little or no good reason for it, yet it is fairly general. One could almost wish that the Indian Church would adopt a universal vegetarianism—I am very sure that our relations with the Hindu community would be much more cordial if we did so. It is difficult for a Westerner to appreciate or indeed to have any idea of the abhorrence which the good Hindu has for anybody who eats the flesh of the sacred cow.

At a Missionary conference held in Bangalore lately Mr. Gandhi told the missionaries that they were trying to do the right thing in the wrong way. Said he, "I want you to complement the faith of the people instead of undermining it. As the Diwan of Mysore said in his address to the Assembly, the Adi Karnatakas should be made better Hindus, as they belong to Hinduism. I would similarly say to you, make us better Hindus, i.e., better men or women. Why should a man, even if he become



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a Christian, be torn from his surroundings ? Whilst a boy I heard it being said that to become a Christian was to have a brandy bottle in one hand and beef in the other. Things are better now, but it is not unusual to find Christianity synonymous with denationalization and Europeanization. Must we give up our simplicity to become better people ? Do not lay the axe at our simplicity."

Probably by mass movements will come our greater accession to Christianity in India. But a note of warning is needed that from the beginning we do not tolerate caste within the Christian community; the danger here is that such bodies entering the Church under a common impulse at one time will endeavour to maintain themselves as a separate community within the borders of the Church. The Church must sternly set its face against any such isolation.

With such movements, and it is by no means a blind forecast—there are signs of them here and there—the Christian forces will be increased and strengthened, but it is not likely that even these will cover the whole of India's millions in the immediate future; but I have great hope in the present movement to make Christianity pass through the Indian mind. If this is successful, and I refer to it in more detail later, it would make us much more powerful, and these two factors together will enormously strengthen the influence of the Christian

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religion in India. It will be the Indian genius handling the Christian religion and thus producing a national or racial or eastern type—whichever word is preferred for the adjective. Then I see some hope of its influence on Hinduism being so great that Hinduism will Christianize itself; it will not destroy itself, but the old will change, giving place to the new, and no one can say how beautiful a thing the new might be.

Such a movement to my mind must necessarily arise outside the organization of the foreign missionary agencies in India—for after all they are foreign in spite of all attempts to disguise the fact. What form it might take one is loth to speculate. To such a movement the better informed Missionary Societies would be among the most sympathetic observers and helpers, for then they would see some hope of Indians undertaking the task of the evangelization of their own country—an ideal which has for long been before the Missionary Societies, but has been sought to be fulfilled by inviting the co-operation of Indians with the Western Missionaries in an organization almost wholly Western or at best but slightly modified. I shall have occasion later to refer to this again, and here would merely repeat my view that our hope lies in the growth of an indigenous movement outside the trammels of our Western methods and organization.

## PART II

## CHAPTER VI

### THE MISSIONARY PROBLEM

INDIA has known Christianity for perhaps 1,500 years. The Syrian Churches have been established in Southern India—in Travancore and Cochin—for all these long centuries. In many parts of India what is now the Roman Catholic Church has been a well established feature for five centuries. The Protestant Churches have had two or more centuries of established life in well defined sections of the country. Considering the length of time, the vitality of our religion, and the quality of the Indian peoples, one would have expected Christianity to have spread over the country like a prairie fire. Instead of which—what is the picture? It seems probable that early in this millennium, Christianity was more widespread in the East than it is to-day. In Ceylon, the number of Christians belonging to all Churches and denominations combined is to-day about the same as it was a hundred years ago. In India itself, out of a total population of some three hundred and twenty millions, Christians number just over five millions. That is, after fifteen centuries of residence in this country, some one and a half per cent. of the population is Christian; in Ceylon it is ten per cent.

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It is true that in India the Christian community now seems to increase each decade by about thirty per cent., but this figure should not be taken too rapturously. The changed mode of life of the Christian will probably add to his longevity. I have no statistics, but I judge that infantile mortality is less among the Christian community than the average for all India ; and also, longevity is greater than the average. Therefore, by self-propagation and conservation, the community would tend to increase beyond that of its neighbours. But apart from this, it is significant that the increase of the Christian community is recorded largely, not in those areas where the Church has been well established for many generations, but almost entirely in those districts where missionary work is of very recent history. The statistics themselves are really very discouraging, but seldom do figures indicate the measure of our hope of the coming of the Kingdom !

According to the statistical returns, so far as the South is concerned, the districts showing the greatest increase—indeed almost the only increase—are some of the Telugu Districts and Coimbatore—just those districts where mass movements are going on at the present time. In all other Tamil districts, as also in Malabar, the figures are practically stationary. This indicates two things (1) all previous mass movements have come to a standstill, (2) the older,

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well-established congregations have not been able to carry the work further.

In Madras city Christianity is very old. It is even said that the Apostle St. Thomas was martyred near there, but whether we accept this tradition or not, Christianity in that city can claim an ancient foundation. Madras with a population of 526,000 has about 150 foreign missionaries resident and working in the city in an area of 27 square miles. Many eminent men and women have laboured there and laid down their lives for the gospel. Indian Christians too in that city have shown in their lives the virtues of Christ and of His gospel. Christian activities have been carried on with great energy and zeal. Counting the number of churches in Madras, the figure would compare not unfavourably with cities of similar size in Europe. The list of church services in Madras published in the Saturday newspapers for the forthcoming Sunday is almost as imposing as the weekly list given in the Saturday edition of *The Times*. Yet, in spite of all this, Madras does not show any increase in the number of Christians.

Tanjore District saw the beginnings of Protestant Missions in South India. Ziegenbalg landed in Tranquebar and a number of devoted German missionaries did a very noble work in those parts. The name of Schwartz of Tanjore will always stand foremost among Protestant missionaries in India.

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A numerous Christian community was the result of their work. There was progress up to a certain point—but then standstill.

Perhaps no district has been extolled so much as Tinnevely. The Tinnevely Christians are very numerous, and they are found in prominent positions all over India. The Tinnevely Christians were the first to form a Missionary Society, which is still doing a zealous work in the Nizam's dominions. I think it is quite possible to point to various causes for the lamentable fact that the Church in Tinnevely has not been able to expand in its home. It is not necessary to do this now. The fact anyhow is there. Tinnevely shows no startling increase.

It is the same in Malabar. The Christian community there seems to be content to accept the existence of great masses of non-Christians round about it as a matter of course. The Church sits down under the unevangelized multitudes and in thus trying to save its own soul it may be that it will lose it! Things in South India at least seem rapidly consolidating into this state of affairs. Of course they have the example of the Syrian Church before them. Established in India in the early centuries of our era, these Christians consolidated themselves into separate caste or community recognized by government as a special caste with its special rights and privileges and regulations.

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Instead of being the salt of the earth and the leaven that leavens the lump they became a separate, self-contained, and self-enclosed community.

Christian missionaries are in part to blame, but not wholly. In our anxiety for the new converts, to save them from troubles and persecutions, we withdrew them from their natural surroundings and provided "Christian" colonies for them where we carefully shepherded them from all harm. The result has been that their character is weakened and the Hindu community deprived of the influence of Christian lives. But the blame is not wholly ours. These days of colonies are past—largely but not entirely—and the evil takes to itself another form. The Christians no longer wish to live in colonies, but in their villages they are fast making themselves into another of India's castes with their own political and social rights and rites ! The social conditions of the country may have something to do with producing this state of affairs. Hinduism, from which the majority of our Christians have come, knows nothing of evangelization, or until modern times of proselytism. It is an extraordinarily tolerant religion, and perhaps we owe this "caste" feature in our Indian Christianity to this. With caste all round them, what more natural than that the Christians should also regard themselves as but another caste in India's rôle ? It may not be Christian, but it is Indian. Yet, if Hinduism knows



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nothing of evangelization, it knows a good deal about religious teaching, with its ashrams, Gurus, and Sannyasi, and this element has not yet come into Christianity. Maybe that is due to the presence of the foreign missionary, who up till quite lately set his face very sternly against anything that might savour of Hindu methods !

In a country where caste is already deeply rooted, it is very easy, all too easy, for the system to pass into the Christian Church with the caste converts. Christianity knows no such division as caste creates, and should know none such. All we are brethren—and if we have caste within the Christian Church we should somehow combine Hindu with our name and call ourselves something like Neo-Hinduism !

Here is a paragraph from a newspaper report of a meeting of the Caste Catholic Association held at Trichinopoly in 1926.

“ Mr. Kolandassamy Pillai regretted that the terms of compromise entered into between the clergy and the Catholics were never put into effect, but that the clergy were still trying to mix the high with the low castes.”

This question of caste arising within the folds of the Christian Church is an indirect effect of Christian Mission work. Its value we are not called upon to assess ; there it is, and Christianity introduced by the Western Church has taken to itself some of the colour of its surroundings.

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It is a question at which we shall have to look later, but it seems almost as if we are still suffering in a measure from this early policy of isolation adopted by the foreign missionaries. By withdrawing Christians from their homes in the villages we withdrew them from contact with their own people and with the general atmosphere of life in India. It was then easier for the Christian converts to adopt European manners and customs. They generally took to themselves Western surnames and later adopted Western modes of dress.

Here we have one result of the very well-intentioned "Mission box." Most Societies have themselves so organized that each Mission field has a "patron" at home who collects clothes and toys and other oddments which are boxed up and sent out annually to the field. The clothing contained in the boxes was invariably European style of dress. It was ultimately handed over to the Christian pupils in boarding schools and Christian families attached to the Mission. Having some resemblance to that worn by the missionary, it acquired a certain added sanctity and set the fashion for the costume of the community—and most atrocious combinations were perpetrated! When the arrival of these boxes became less frequent the Christian community itself set to work to copy the fashions, and in certain districts the stiff and ugly late nineteenth century bodice and skirt became *the* thing to wear. And

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now, when we do try to encourage the Christians to keep to their very beautiful Indian costumes, we have the utmost difficulty.

Thus were set up barriers against free intercourse with their own non-Christian nationals. The result was seen some few years ago when the Indian national consciousness was intensified ; and when feeling arose against the governing power, the Indian Christians were almost invariably and without argument assumed to be on the side of the governing power. A Christian Home Ruler was thought to be a contradiction in terms ! Wrongly so, for many of them were swayed by exactly the same political emotions and hopes as rose in the breasts of their non-Christian brethren ; but the Indian mind could hardly realize this. In fact the division sometimes adopted was Indians and Christians ! This phase has passed to some extent, and Indian Christians now take their full share in politics and join political parties without suspicion. But the tendency has been to make them a separate class in the country and closely associated with Western ideals. Considering the history of Christianity in India and how it was introduced in later times at least by foreign missionaries, this was perhaps in part inevitable, but the consequences have been disastrous. It has meant that all Christian teaching and Christian institutions have received the stamp of the West. There has been no growth of an Indian interpreta-

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tion of Christianity nor an Indian expression of it. One must not forget Robert de Nobili's work in Madura, which was an attempt at an Indian expression of Christianity, but as it was based on falsehood it did not abide. Now, with India's almost passionate repudiation of all that savours of the West, the problem has changed somewhat. The emphasis is now put on the Eastern character of Christianity, which after all had its birth in Asia, and efforts are being made to feel after what is the kernel of its message, and taking that, to see how the Indian mind will express it in its own country. And who is there who will not encourage them?

Between Christians and the other religious communities there is no trace of that communal tension which exists so strongly between the Hindu and Moslem communities. But I am inclined to the view that that tension is not due to religious differences so much as to political exigencies. The Moslem is in a minority, and sees the Government positions largely occupied by Hindus; and he is afraid he is not getting his fair share of the offices and so expresses his fear in this way. It is really political fear and not religious hatred. So far the Indian Christian has not got that large slice of the plums of office which need make his neighbours jealous of him.

Truth to tell, our greatest problem is just to decide what is the Gospel message. Our fathers in

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the cause came to India naturally dominated by the expression which Christianity has taken to itself in Western Europe with all its churches and organizations, threatening to crush out the spirit of the early gospel message. They preached and taught, and if any believed they baptized them and formed congregations. These congregations were formed into local denominational churches on Western models. The organization was western, the buildings were western, the music was western, the form of service was western. Just a copy of a village congregation in England, and like all copies, less valuable than the original, indeed bad. The local Indian clergy copy their Western gurus. They wear clerical collars, black frock coats and, were they not so expensive, would like silk hats. I have never seen them wearing these, but I daresay on special occasions they do wear them.

The Western missionary has not been able altogether to free himself from the idea that he belongs to the highest caste of all in India—the white caste—the ruling caste.<sup>1</sup> This puts on him certain obligations which he must recognize. He must maintain a certain standard of living, the European standard. He must treat all Indians with reserve. There are certain things he must do and certain

<sup>1</sup> Work such as that of Mary Slessor of Calabar would be almost impossible in India.

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things he must not do. He must not criticize any of the acts of the government—is that not just treason to his own caste? A few years ago one Missionary brother dared to do so in a mild way—it is still remembered against him. He must move in a dignified manner. Some time ago I was going into a village with a senior missionary to visit the Christians and to preach. Our mode of conveyance was perhaps the most uncomfortable that the world has yet invented—a bullock cart. Yet in India, with the sanctity attached to the cow and the place given to the bull—such vehicles are far more “respectable” than horse carriages in the eyes of the country people. As I preferred to walk I got down and did so. When we approached our destination, my colleague suggested that I should get into the cart and ride into the village, as the Christians would not like it if the preacher came walking into the village! It was undignified and out of harmony with white caste custom! In a neighbouring village, or rather small town, for it must have a population of between thirty and forty thousand, the same mission has founded and allowed two separate congregations of Christians to grow up—one for the high caste and one for the low caste. And of course the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans! How it has arisen, I do not know, but as the missionaries have been maintaining caste so the Christians are maintaining caste in their own

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way. Of one very distinguished missionary in South India who shall be nameless, an Indian pastor once told me, "Yes, Dr. A. was a great and good man. He never asked us to dine with him as some of the younger missionaries do. He taught us to know our place. Yes, we are always thankful that we knew him, for we learnt a great deal about Christianity from him!"

Did the missionaries, realizing at once the danger of caste and its strength in India, consent to receive into the Christian Church by baptism converts who were not yet conscious of the brotherhood of man, hoping that after baptism the growth of knowledge and of the Spirit of Christ would drive out all caste feeling within the Church? If so, and such was the attitude of St. Francis Xavier, then it has not worked in this way, and caste remains within the walls of the Church, daily denying Him Whom we call Master and Lord.

Then we say that we are trying to train up Indian Christians themselves to take the leadership in their own churches—looking forward as we do to the day when foreign missionaries will not be needed in this land. The indigenous Indian Church will accept the responsibility for evangelizing the country and will produce its own leaders. Well, Christianity has been here for at least fourteen or fifteen centuries, and our great British Missionary Societies for well over a century—working in much toil and

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served by magnificent servants, and after it all we do not see these Christian leaders arising. We of the younger generation are encouraged by being told, "Yes, but it is a slow process." It may be, but a century is a long time ! But it is not so much that it is such a slow process as that we are on the wrong lines. If we come across a promising youth in our Mission schools we ear-mark him. If he progresses as we expect, we somehow or other raise the money and have him sent either to America or to Europe for his higher education. Taking a degree in those countries, he returns to his own country different from when he left it. Now he knows that he is destined for a high post in a Mission ; he might even rise to be a missionary and have a seat and a vote in the Mission Council ! Very often this all goes to the head, and is a barrier between him and his family and friends. No longer can such a one sit cross-legged on the floor and eat his meals with his fingers from a plantain leaf. No, no. He must have a table and chair and crockery and cutlery. No longer does he go barefooted with a turban and a cloth, but he must now wear boots and stockings, trousers and coat and a pith topee ! He but copies his masters, and all copies are bad !

This whole question must be referred to later, and I just mention it here as noting a problem of the indirect effect of Christian Missions.



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Then there is a fearful dread of allowing the Indian any real responsibility. There is a fear of chaos resulting if the Indian is allowed to do things for himself. *What matter if chaos does result for a while?* In spite of the New Testament parable, there are other ways of the Kingdom of God approaching than that of the seed growing secretly—and sometimes chaos may be one such way. There is just cause for the complaint sometimes made that Indians are never allowed to do things for themselves. If it is a question of church music, a Western missionary is found to lead the movement of reform and to edit the book of lyrics. If the Indian Christians are doubtful of the ultimate validity of the present denominational differences of the Church in India, if they ask whether they can be in truth Anglican Christians, London Mission Christians, or American Mission Christians, instead of leaving it to the Indians to solve the difficulty, it is the European missionary who leads the movement for the discussion of Union proposals. I am not suggesting that the European does these things badly ; but I do wish to draw attention to the fact that the Indian is given little opportunity for leadership, with the responsibility of bearing his own burden, devising his own schemes, making his own mistakes and correcting them if need be. All too often the European is allowed to lead, and if mistakes are made he is called in to correct them.

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It is not thus that the spirit of healthy independence and responsibility is developed.

We need seriously to consider what are the essentials of the Christian faith. Can we say that the expression of Christianity as we know it in the West with all its added burden of organization, creed and interpretation, is final and necessary to salvation? In further study of this question we shall find our most fruitful examples of the indirect effects of Christian mission work in India. The early Protestant missionaries were much better Christians than some of us are, but they did have this confusion between the institution and the gospel, and by introducing the institution have created many of our difficulties for us.

Certainly there is much in our expression that seems far from the Master's mind as we see it recorded in those four short books at the beginning of the New Testament, which we have come to call the four gospels. Should we endeavour to transplant the whole superstructure from the West to the East, or should we rather endeavour to bring with us the seed, and planting it here in a new and different climate allow it to grow to its own form? That form undoubtedly will be different from that with which we of the West are accustomed, but does that matter? It will assuredly be beautiful. We have in India birds which we call thrushes, robins and blackbirds; but although of the same

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family they are very different from the European birds of the same name. Why not the same with Christianity ?

Repeating what someone else has said, " It is my considered opinion that the East is not crying out to the West for light."

On the whole the considered opinion of the East is that the less that they have to do with Western ideas, Western thought, Western organization and Western policy, the better it will be for the East. There is a very widespread suspicion of everything Western, including religion.

In South Africa, where many Indians have gone to settle, such of them as are Christian dare not cross the threshold of a " white " church.

The Maha-Bodi journal says : " Notwithstanding the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount, Europe is an armed camp. The religion of Europe is the opposite of all that is associated with mercy, gentleness, charity and truth. . . . And yet, *these* people talk of converting *us* to *their* religion ! "

In 1924, Professor Radhakrishnan, speaking to the Calcutta Missionary Conference on the subject of the recent war, in which all the Christians of Europe were seen by the non-Christian peoples to be engaged in blowing each other to pieces and practising upon each other the most diabolical cruelties known either to civilized or savage peoples, and indulging in an orgy of hatred, said : " If

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millions of (western) people who conscientiously believe that they walk by the light of Jesus, have not been able to possess the necessary spiritual power either to see the right or to do it, it is too much to expect that Jesus would be such a power in Hindu India."

Again Professor Radhakrishnan insists that western civilization is not an ideal civilization, and has utterly repudiated the teachings of its Founder. "Civilization is what it is simply because it is based on an open repudiation of 'blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth.' Those who have inherited it are by no means meek, but they are the most *determined* nations of the world, composing their mutual differences with the sharp edge of the sword."<sup>1</sup>

One of the younger Indians, a devoted disciple of Gandhi, while acknowledging the spiritual grandeur of Jesus, insists that Christians do not follow Him or make Him their ideal, whereas "*Our* Hindu ideals are far more *spiritual* than those of your Christians. *Our* heroes are a Gandhi, an Andrews, a C. R. Das—men who have lived the life of simplicity and self-sacrifice ; *you* glorify the millionaire and the war-lord ; your gods are the bombing plane and the dollar. *We* care for the things that are unseen and eternal ; *you* set your heart on the things that are seen and temporal ! "

<sup>1</sup> See also the Earl of Birkenhead's Rectorial Address before Glasgow University.

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This is not to suggest that there is no place for Christian Missionaries in the East—far from that. Missionaries are still needed, though their task is now more difficult than it was, say, fifty or even twenty years ago. “What we most need in all our missionary work is a few saints, a few men who are really living such a life as apostles of Christ ought to live, whose lives are a living testimony not only that they believe what they teach but that what they teach is the most holy and beautiful creed that could be professed. That surely is the way that our Lord both taught Himself and wished that His religion should be propagated by personal influence, like the ancient torch race in which the tired torch-bearer handed on the lighted torch to another. This demands as missionaries men who carry the torch, real Christian saints who will go out full of love and sympathy, without any social prejudice, and who will be careful not to quench the smoking flax nor to break the broken reed.”

Mahatma Gandhi was once asked : “How can Christianity be naturalized in India ?” His answer was :

1. All Christians should begin to live more like Christ.
2. Practise your religion without adulterating it or toning it down.
3. Make love control your lives, for love is central in Christianity.

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4. Study the non-Christian religions more sympathetically to find out what is good in them in order not to harmonize, but to have a more sympathetic approach to the people.

No small task, surely, but He is sufficient.

There is a suspicion occasionally voiced that the Christian missionary propaganda indulged in largely if not solely by the white race is based upon a "superiority complex"—if one might here be allowed to use a word which usually I abominate ! So far as the British people and Indian missions are concerned, it is sometimes suggested that Christian missions are part of the Imperialistic scheme. That is, that by circumstances not to be too closely enquired into, Britain and India are bound together politically ; it follows as part of our responsibility to give India all the good we have ; as we have given them Western education, Western dress and Western speech, so it is also necessary to give them our own religion. I scarcely think the argument to be very serious or one worthy of much discussion, but it deserves mention.

But all this discussion tempts me to try to define the task of Christian Missions. First we must endeavour to agree on the distinctive features of Christianity ; and with Unitarians at one end and the Greek Church at the other it is a supremely difficult task. Nevertheless there is something that is common to them all and which is sufficient to

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distinguish them, so that they can be called Christian. What is it? First, it must have some relation to Jesus Christ, anecdotes of Whose life and teaching are preserved for us in the first four books of the New Testament, the four gospels. And second, it must have some relation to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Then we need not look for uniformity of dogma, creed, ritual or organization. These things are secondary. What is primary is difficult to determine, and I really hardly know what it is. If pressed to answer I would be inclined to state that it is a belief in the Fatherhood of God as revealed in the life of Jesus Christ, and in an increasing ability to discern the truly sacred.

This doctrine of the Fatherhood is, I venture to suggest, the distinctive mark of Christianity. The interpretation of the doctrine must be based on the light that is in the Gospel story. It then includes the brotherhood of all men with their consequent equality in the sight of God. It includes a belief that God cares for us all, feeding us and clothing us and even numbering the very hairs of our head. Yea, He so cares for us and our welfare is so bound up in Him that we are to fear not them that kill the body but after that have nothing more that they can do. Our Father is a God of Love, Who has compassion upon His children. This and much more that might be written on the same subject we see exemplified in the life of Jesus Christ Whom we

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call Lord. "He went about doing good." He lived a life in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin. Day by day and hour by hour He lived in this consciousness and His was surely a beautiful life of calm and repose and strength. He loved God with all His being and He loved His neighbour as Himself. When He saw a man in need He seems to have been ever ready to help him as far as lay in His power. "He had compassion and healed them."

If the Christian missionary could live thus, there would be no indirect effects of his life. All the effects would be direct, the result of a radiating love. How far is it correct to say that we only have indirect results as our method or personality is less than the highest ?

As to the sacred, He found men bound to superstition and endeavoured to show them what was the truly sacred. Men were regarding the washing of hands and the eating of certain foods as sacred. He taught that these things were not specially sacred, but rather the things which they were neglecting were sacred—the things which proceeded from the heart. The intention rather than the deed was the sacred thing. Sin was not merely a matter of neglecting even accidentally certain ordinances, as eating with unwashed hands, but was rather a question of refusing to live up to the light that is in us.\* Knowing the higher thing and the better way



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and refusing to follow it. To Him that and that only was sin. This also is a thought that could be much enlarged, but this must suffice.

No one who has lived out East or in Africa but must be impressed by the many and various things that people call sacred. Indeed the lives of the common people are dominated by superstition, and when Christianity comes to such countries, its converts do not at first feel an overpowering sense of freedom from sin but rather an immense feeling of release from the bondage of superstition. They can now stand up to life instead of crawling before it, for the power of the demons is broken for them.

Then is our task not just to plant among the peoples the seed of this rich doctrine of the Fatherhood of God and to help them to discern that which is truly sacred? No two civilizations have developed this doctrine in quite the same way—nay, hardly two countries have developed it in the same way. Sweden and Spain are both Christian countries, yet it could hardly be argued that their Christian organizations could be interchanged without adjustment being necessary. So it is with Germany and Greece, and even with England and Scotland. Taking each the same seed, the resulting plant in different environment is different. Then with India, it is the same. Indians can hardly be expected to become Anglicans, Scots Presbyterians, or Roman Catholics. The polity and doctrine

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that these names stand for are the product of an environment and the fruit of a civilization that is not Indian. We shall expect India to produce its own distinctive polity and doctrine while remaining true to the Gospel narrative.

We should then feel the necessity of carefully placing our emphasis, not on the non-essentials of organization or of creed, except so far as the latter is justified by the Gospel story, but on what Jesus Himself stood for, remembering that Jesus promised eternal life to the man who would love God with his whole being and his neighbour as himself. Such a statement, coming as it does from the Master Himself, would seem to be a rebuke to much of our present Christian teaching and anxiety for creeds and organization. Later we shall have to discuss this question at greater length and in some detail, and I merely mention it in this place as a general principle.

If Christian Missions would agree on these essentials, telling us what is the heart of our message and allowing us to preach it, then we could speak with one voice. But perhaps each is to find out for himself and from his own experience what is the heart of the Christian message, and even so I do not think that would give us fatal diversity so long as we all put the emphasis on the essentials and not on the non-essentials—on the medicine and not upon the bottle! With some few exceptions this is really what is happening, but there still lingers with

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far too many of us a desire to see our own denominational polity and creeds planted in this land, so that some Indian Christians can say and with some truth that they are but black Scotsmen ! That is the deadly thing against which we need to be warned, for while that spirit is here we shall never see India converted to Christianity nor shall we ever develop that indigenous Christianity which we so much desire to see.

Ordinarily the presence of numerous denominations in India does not trouble me. I believe there are now somewhere about 160 of them ! If we were concerned merely to plant the seed and leave the growth of it to God, it would be no hindrance so long as we have a right perspective of the Gospel message and men imbued with Christian charity. The trouble arises when we put the emphasis on the non-essentials and make points of organization and creed supreme. If we are trying to make Anglicans and Scots Presbyterians of the Indians, then friction is bound to arise ; but if we are trying to make Christians of them, then I see no need for friction. This is where one ventures to suggest—and that with all charity and brotherly love—that Adventists and Pastor Russellites, to name only two such, are often hardly a help but rather tend to confusion. They put the emphasis on what at least the majority of their fellow Christians agree to be hardly the basic principles of our faith.

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Planting the seed, then, one must not be surprised if India produces a type of Christianity very different from that to which we of the West are accustomed ; nor should we be disappointed. Little else is to be expected. When Christianity moved out of its birthplace in Judæa to the wider world it was powerfully influenced by the prevailing Greek philosophy and Greek mode of life. We of Western Europe have inherited this same philosophy, modifying it a little here and a little there, and we have found it comparatively easy to assimilate the current type and thought of Christianity ; though I repeat that even so, each nation has been able, and has felt itself free, to adapt this inheritance. India, I suggest, has not inherited this type of philosophy, but has her own ancient, distinguished, and distinctive thought, and this doubtless will modify Christianity when it gets a firm hold on the country. Indeed, one of the most hopeful signs in India to-day is that she has now the power to distinguish between Christianity and Western civilization, and between the Christianity of the New Testament and that of Christians. If she can maintain this distinction, maybe some day soon someone will arise and develop Christianity from its fundamental principles according to Indian thought, and we should not be nervous lest such a development will exclude some dogmas of Western Christianity which are the product of St. Augustine and the Western Fathers

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of the Church rather than of the Gospel story. As Sir William Ramsay has said : " It was when Christianity appealed direct to the people, addressed them in their own language and made itself comprehensible to them on this plane of thought, that it met the needs and filled the hearts of the Roman world."

What is our hope for Christian Missions in India ? Are we going to win converts, one here, one there, till we have converted the whole of India, or is it more likely that the Indian religions will, by absorbing Christian elements, Christianize themselves ? The individual, one by one method, will be a slow business, very slow. With the aid of mass movements, and after a residence in the country of some fifteen centuries, and nearly two centuries of more or less active Protestant and a longer period of active Roman Catholic Missionary propaganda, the Christian Church embraces only  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the total population. Deduct from that number the European and Anglo-Indian population who are not converts to Christianity for our purpose, and the number of Christians who can be traced to the result of Christian Missions will be reduced to even less than this percentage, say little more than one per cent. If this is the result of the active labour of two centuries, it is a long and difficult task to accomplish 100 per cent. For myself I cannot possibly see the end being attained by this means ;

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and in the higher castes especially, and among the better educated of India, I cannot find any hope. At present Christianity is barely touching this class of people, who are on the whole the leaders of the lower classes and their spokesmen. Though Christians are the last people in the world who should bow down to birth, wealth or learning merely, regardless of the character of the persons bearing these gifts, yet it is impossible to neglect such important sections of any community as the higher castes in India represent. It is true that these have an admiration of Jesus as an ethical teacher and as a good man. They are more and more willing to confess that the ethics of Jesus are the highest and best that they know. They even judge themselves and each other by these standards. Their newspapers often and often hold up New Testament ethical precepts as admirable and worthy of emulation. But when it comes to the religion it is a different story. They will have nothing to do with Christianity as a religion. And I claim it is a religion and not merely an ethic. The Christian ethic is impossible and impracticable apart from the religion ; it is the natural outgrowth of the religion, and the two cannot be divorced. To do so and attempt to live up to the Christian ethic is courting disaster. It cannot be grafted on to another religion. A combination of the Hindu religion and the Christian Ethic is impossible. The two

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will not mix. This is why I can see no hope of success for those who preach and teach Christianity as being the "Crown of Hinduism." It is in fact no such thing. This is an unconscious attempt to unite a Christian ethic with a non-Christian psychology. The task is impossible. "The Kingdom of Heaven was not revealed to the reason, however it may be with the attributes of God." The Founder of the Christian morality demanded a complete change of heart from those who would practise it, nothing less than the birth of a new man. Whatever we may think of that as a psychological possibility, it is certain that nothing less will do as a foundation of Christian morality. Without it the most ardent disciple of "universal benevolence" will come only to the painful knowledge that "the wise want love, and those who love want wisdom."

## CHAPTER VII

### MISSIONARY EDUCATION

I NOW turn to discuss Education, for it is here that I consider that Christian Missions have raised most of their most difficult problems for themselves. I would be willing almost to argue that all the educational work of Christian Missions is an indirect effect of their own work. I mean that they have been driven into this work by the force of circumstances and not as directly Christian propaganda. In many cases Mission educational institutions are the growth from small beginnings intended primarily for the education of their own converts to Christianity, and then opening their doors wider so as to include the non-Christian element. In other cases they are used as the only means of approach to the caste Hindu. But in very few cases, if any, are they either on the one hand purely educational institutions or on the other hand purely Christian institutions. The attempt has been made to combine the two with what I feel are disastrous results. I cannot refrain from quoting the following short extract from a recent mission report. "In the Montessori class, babies of two years old love to come to school and enjoy themselves. To those who watch and train their little lives in-



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pressive truths reveal themselves." Is this a direct or an indirect effect of Christian Mission work ?

It is not my duty here to discuss the educational policy of the Government of India or of the Provincial administrations. This is being hotly discussed elsewhere and as I am dealing primarily with mission work it is to that I turn.

Most missions, in fact all that I know, have associated themselves with the Government in their educational policy. From the elementary schools up to the first grade colleges they receive money grants from Government and are subject to Government inspection. This involves them in teaching certain subjects and almost in a specified way at specified times ! The question of religious teaching I leave for the moment to return to it later. But generally speaking the curricula for the schools are laid down by Government and there is not much room left for any departure from them.

The question of elementary teaching is difficult ; the leakage among the pupils is very great. They are more profitable to their parents at home than at school, and in such poverty as prevails in India even if a boy or girl can earn the equivalent of only a penny or two a week, it is an important item in the family budget. The parents prefer that additional income to sending their children to a school.

In the higher branches for the most part it is a purely literary education that is imparted, and in

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India as in other countries the village boy who has been to College seldom returns to his village after his study. He prefers life in the town and cities, and the result is that a very large number of middle class educated boys are in the cities finding it extremely difficult to eke out an existence. One of the problems at present before the Government is just this—the large number of the educated middle class who are unemployed. Truth to tell, the city markets are over-stocked, and the only solution is for the graduates to return to work in their villages, which for the most part they are very unwilling to do.

Then the commercial element has entered into the University degree to a greater extent in India perhaps than in any other country. The value of the degree is nearly always estimated in terms of rupees. This is the kind of advertisement that appears almost daily in Indian papers—it is taken from the leading South Indian paper. “**MATRIMONIAL WANTED.**—A Young Husband, *Bachelor* or *Widower*, fair, independent position, real reform spirit, to marry a highly accomplished *Iyengar Virgin Widow* of 15½. Minimum conditions : School Final Pass and some property, or Graduate in decent employ or large property.”

The degree is a means of barter in marriage and fixes the dowry ! The gradation is interesting.

It is the same in the case of employment. The fact that a man holds a degree means that he expects

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higher pay than the man who does not, regardless of real qualifications. It is the degree that counts and not what the degree stands for. While that is so, it distorts the perspective in all studies ; indeed there is very little real higher education in India ; it is saturated with cramming. And the system encourages it. The degree examination syllabus is so overloaded that students and teachers alike have very little time for thought; all their energies are absorbed in covering the extensive ground.

With the growth of vocational schools the situation is improving, and perhaps some of the present complaints against the system will soon no longer be justified. Many experiments are being undertaken by missionaries and others in an attempt to find a curriculum more in touch with the needs of India's peoples, and if these succeed they give fair promise of bridging the present gulf between education and life in India.

But why should missions engage in education at all ? It is the duty of the Government to provide facilities for the education of its people, and the Government ought to realize its responsibility in this respect. It is an enormous task in India, but the present British Government has been there long enough to realize its task, and it should have done much more in fulfilment thereof than it has done. Missions sometimes argue that until the Government feels able to do more in this direction then

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they ought to help. But just because the missions have done so much in this direction the Government feels it can do the less. Peoples have a right to education, but it should be a claim on the State and not on philanthropy. If the State was doing its share, then philanthropy might still find a place in providing special kinds of education—what we might call the luxuries of education—but philanthropy should not be called upon to provide the elements of education.

Admittedly it is difficult for Christianity to approach the higher castes in India ; but why should we trouble much about that ? We can preach the Gospel to them. The Christian Church has seldom numbered many wise, many wealthy, many mighty among its numbers, and when it has it is very doubtful if those days have been the proudest days of the Church. When that pioneer Missionary Duff of Calcutta launched into higher education, it was with the avowed object of thus gaining contact with the higher caste people of this land. It was also thought that by teaching these people to think logically, and by giving their minds a scientific training, the inconsistencies of their own religion would become apparent to them and it would collapse as a pack of cards. Doctor Duff, before the 1835 General Assembly of the Church, said, " Let it then be understood and for ever remembered that in India all systems of learning

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being of a sacred character may be pronounced as really theological. Every branch of some general knowledge which you inculcate becomes the destroyer of some corresponding part in the Hindu system. And if branch after branch be communicated, one stone after another will be thrown down from the huge and hideous fabric of Hinduism. And by the time that an extensive range of instruction is completed the *whole* will be found to have crumbled into fragments—not a shred will be left behind.” We have had more than two generations of this higher education, and missions have done nobly in spending men and money on it. Some of the best Colleges are those of the Christian Missions, but Hinduism has not collapsed and shows no sign of doing so !

Indeed, Hinduism is not the product of logical thought or of scientific minds. It is full of philosophic inconsistencies to our way of thinking, but what does that matter ? It shows an amazing capacity for absorbing within itself its rivals, and it might well be that instead of Hinduism collapsing under this attack, it will merely come to a fuller understanding of the strength of Christianity and adapt itself to absorb that religion also, so we shall have a new Hindu-Christianity with Jesus as the tenth avatar.

If this result is not coming from higher education, then we are told that Missions ought to continue

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in it because of the influence of Christian teaching and Christian teachers. Honestly, is not this much over-rated? The Christian Colleges that are residential Colleges are very few—I recall only one such of the first grade in the part of India which I know. And it is Christian in name only. It provides for its non-Christian students by having separate hostels for them in which the dining arrangements allow them to keep caste. Certainly most Colleges have hostels in some ways attached to the college in which students can live and eat for a fixed monthly charge. In such cases, with a good Christian warden, I grant that strong influences can be exerted on the boys for good. The hostel is the home of the boys during term time, and the extent and quality of the home influences depend on the warden. Missions could develop hostels without indulging in all this expensive higher education; that is if they wished to enter this field at all, and such hostels could be and should be self-supporting. But there are serious difficulties here, at least in the South. Owing largely to caste laws the hostels of a College are arranged on a caste system. The Brahmins will not eat with those of a lower caste, nor must their food be handled by such, thus necessitating what one might call “Brahmin segregation” with Brahmin cooks. So with the other castes and also with the Christians who are seldom vegetarians and thus are not welcome in a Brahmin hostel. The

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result is that a College with, say, five hostels has two of them filled with Brahmins, one caste hostel for non-Brahmin caste-Hindus, one Christian, and one cosmopolitan hostel. This surely cuts at the roots of Christian influence. When the students need and demand such careful class or communal discrimination, all the Christian leaven which might be permeating the lump is boxed up in one hostel.

The influence of the Christian professors can be great or it can be negligible. I could easily cite instances of both extremes. In school there is certainly the usual scripture hour, often taken in turn by the professors. At this the whole school, or rather College, will usually be present. But then it is a scripture hour, and scripture and religion are far apart. I doubt much whether religion can be taught at all ; it seems a kind of thing that is not acquired by learning so much as by infection ; it is like smallpox—it is caught. Then the Indians of all people on this earth are already religious ! The result is that, for the non-Christian members of a College, this hour is an infliction to be borne cheerfully for the greater glory it worketh later, for are not the Colleges of the Missionary Societies good colleges ? They go to the class as one in England might go to a lecture on the Hindu Scriptures—not with the least intention of carefully weighing the merits and claims of Christianity and Hinduism ; to thus become a Hindu is the last

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thing in the world that we should dream of—we go because it is a means of acquiring information which might be useful to us or because it is a strange subject about which we are ignorant and ashamed of our ignorance. So with these non-Christians. I know many good caste Hindus who got the scripture prizes at Christian Colleges in their younger days.

In the course of the actual College teaching I do not see that the Christian point of view can be much presented—at least in some subjects. Chemistry, physics and mathematics do not seem to be capable of a Christian presentation. English literature, history and philosophy might be a little more elastic, but I am told that the degree syllabus covers so much ground that all the time of teacher and pupil is needed, if it is to be done at all, and there is no time for diversion on Christianity.

The private influence of a professor can vary very much according to the personality of the professor and also according to where he lives. In Madras city, some of the professors live four and five miles away from the institution they serve. Boys will not go that distance after college in the evening in order to see a professor, unless it is very urgent. And living such a distance away from their work they are themselves eager to depart home as soon as it is over. I know at least three men who have felt themselves thus handicapped, and who have not returned to their old educational



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work, feeling that they were not able to pull their full weight in Christian influence.

When this factor of distance is not present there is often that of personality. Some of us of the West are not very approachable, we are naturally shy and retiring. We resent people troubling us, we are not very happy or at ease in the presence of strangers. Add to this the difference in colour, and in standards and modes of life, and it will be realized how difficult it is to get natural contact with the Indian, who is also shy and retiring. In many cases this initial disadvantage is overcome and great influence can be exerted ; but in some cases it is not.

Then many of the European professors in the first grade colleges, at least in the south, know no vernacular. Their work allows them little time for its study, and they do not attempt it. Even the principal sometimes does not know the vernacular of his pupils. I do not suggest that this hampers their work as educationalists, but I do suggest that it is a severe limitation in their approach to their pupils. Conducting the conversation in English one does not get very near to the heart of the Indian student !

In "A Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands," issued recently by the Philippine Government, appears this paragraph :

"That aspect of conduct designated good manners depends to a large extent upon mastery of special

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and approved forms of speech. Even so important a factor in life as good morals and right conduct depends largely upon a familiarity with language forms. Consequently, attention might well be given to the possible use of the dialects in giving instruction to children in manners and morals."

A suggestion such as this needs careful reflection. Is there something peculiar in religious and moral instruction which demands instruction in the child's mother tongue, whereas a foreign language may be used as a vehicle in "professional, intellectual, political and cultural affairs"?

One result of this situation in our higher educational institutions is that they provide us with very few definite conversions in proportion to the material that passes through their hands, but on the other hand they exert a great influence for Christian moral standards. The "scripture hour" falls into an ethical talk—Christian morals are put forward as the highest code of morals, and as never before it looks as if India were accepting that code of morals. In all kinds of out-of-the-way places we find non-Christians judging each other by Christian standards. The Hindu newspapers often give countenance to this basis of judgment. As for Mr. Gandhi, so for many others, they regard the teachings of Jesus Christ as of immense moral value for mankind, and Jesus as one of the greatest teachers that ever lived; but beyond that they will not go.

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They tell you that they believe in Krishna, Buddha and Jesus. And what can you do to help such ?

The extent to which missions have engaged in education is obvious to all who know India. The latest figures available give the proportion of Evangelistic to Educational workers as 1 to 1.3, and this last figure tends to increase. To 21,298 evangelistic workers, Indian and foreign, employed by the Protestant Missionary Societies, there are 26,144 educational workers so employed. It would be useful as well as educative to have an analysis of the budgets of missionary societies, showing how much of their total expenditure is devoted to education, but this is not available. The National Christian Council of India, which might have been expected to have such information, states that it has not got it, nor has it had any need for gathering it !

Nor is all this labour and money spent on Christians—far from it. I know of only one college, the majority of whose members are Christian and whose staff is entirely Christian. The other mission colleges have a minority of Christian pupils and in some cases have not got even a completely Christian staff. If one were to estimate the proportion of Christian to non-Christian students in missionary colleges, it would probably be 1 to 3. This raises the whole question of the attitude of missions to education, and I am inclined to argue that while our resources of men and money are so limited, we

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are not justified in devoting so large a percentage of both to educating non-Christians under a Government system of education that ties our hands on every side. Apart from the interference of Government inspectors and the trouble of supplying Government with the returns and information for which they ask, the very fact that the pupils are studying for the public examinations limits the scope of a missionary engaged in educational work, and unless the mission institutions did thus co-operate with the public examination bodies they would soon lose half their pupils—aye, even four-fifths of them !

In a country like this, where the Government is stable and does accept responsibility for the education of its citizens, however feebly it may fulfil that responsibility, I maintain that the limit of the educational responsibility of foreign Christian Missions in higher education is to provide education for the Christian community under Christian influence. If such a policy were accepted, then three-quarters of our higher educational institutions could be closed at once, and the men and money that they represent could be used to better advantage in other forms of labour.

For higher education in Christian institutions I would wish to see a few general maxims accepted by missions. These I briefly refer to now.

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There should be no denominational spirit in these colleges, and I doubt whether any one denomination should entirely support one institution. They should rather be on a union basis—many societies combining in the support of one good institution. But already this is largely accomplished in South India at any rate, and is not a burning question there. Then such colleges should be residential as far as possible ; only students able to live with their parents, or friends within reasonable distance of the college, should be exempted residence. Admissions should be so arranged that always at least 80 per cent. of the students are Christian ; others who come into residence should have no special arrangements made for their dining ; this will obviously exclude Brahmins and other orthodox caste Hindus. All the staff should be Christian, without exception. Yes, I would except the lecturers on Hinduism and Mohammedanism, who should be men of those communities. We who are not within the community can never fully appreciate the spirit of these great bodies of truth, and our students should know something about them.

Few in number as such places would necessarily be, would they not exert a great Christian influence ? First on the students themselves, who in the formative years of their lives would be under Christian influence all the time, and not as at present under the mixed influences of our present colleges—some-

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times, I fear, not very good. There is, of course, the charge of isolation or segregation to be met, but I do not think that is a serious charge. After all, while there are benefits to be obtained by mixing with all sorts and conditions of men, I doubt very much whether such variety is good for the student days, especially for the Indian student, who, while he may be a little older than the corresponding English student, I should judge is much less mature in his judgments and less strong in his self-control. For that reason, and the fact that his company in later years will be sufficiently diversified to satisfy most tastes, I do not think that this isolation would be at all bad, and I would hope that it would give us boys of a much stronger character in the Christian community than we have at present.

Then such communities would be centres of influence in the districts in which they were placed. Consider the influence of the University of Cambridge on its town, with its low infantile mortality rate, and its comparative cleanliness. Would a Christian institution in India not have a much greater influence for good and for Christianity on its surrounding district? It would truly be a light shining in the darkness.

To complete this scheme I venture to think it very desirable that we have in India a Christian University. Such a name need not be a contradiction in terms. India has trebled or even quad-

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rupted her universities in this century, and now has a Hindu University at Benares and a Mohammedan University at Aligar. Why should not the Christians, who are the third greatest community numerically and perhaps the best educated community in India—why should they not have a University? Again there is the cry of segregation raised, but it sounds more plausible than it really is. Truth to tell, our little leaven that is supposed to leaven the lump is so thinly spread over the lump of India that it is not functioning in that way at all! It is in danger of dying out altogether—"going bad," as some say! We ought to concentrate our forces, and a Christian University would help us in this. There is no doubt at all that the faculty of such a university could be the best in India. Think of the excellent material in our missionary colleges that we should be able to call upon for the proposed University!

With a charter of its own such a centre of learning would be careful gradually to wean its students from mere information to true learning. That is the great need of Indian education to-day, and it would be a great thing if in this as in so many other things the Christians were able to show the way. Also, an important function would be the study of Christian Theology, which might give us light in the present darkness on this subject. At present, excepting Serampore in the north, there is no important centre of Christian theological learning

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in India, and those that do exist are merely copies of Western patterns.

Great results might come from a Christian University with a theological faculty free from the control of Western missions and able to branch out on new lines. It might be the solution of a great many of our present difficulties and give us new light in leading these peoples to a knowledge of the true God and Father.

There are many, very many, practical difficulties involved to which I do not refer, as I am not going into the details of the scheme, but am only suggesting it for the consideration of the bodies concerned.

Before leaving higher education, I turn to the vexed question of what has commonly come to be called the Conscience Clause.<sup>1</sup> I do not intend to raise here the whole question of the relation of Church and State—that would be far too ambitious; yet I should state that I am strongly of opinion that the less the one has to do with the other the better for both. If the question of the Conscience Clause hardly raises this deeper and more fundamental question, it does raise the problem of religious instruction. So far as I know, all missions with higher educational work in India receive Government grants in support of their work. In Madras, if Government recognize a college they will give a

<sup>1</sup> See the *National Christian Council Review*, October, 1925



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building grant up to 75 per cent. of its cost, equipment grants on the same basis, and an annual grant equal, roughly, to half the net expense of running the college. Thus they share with the management the debit on the school's working. Now in India only some  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the population is Christian. In these mission schools which receive Government grants religious instruction is given, and attendance thereat on the part of the pupils is compulsory, and this religious instruction is Christian. These are the facts that have created the problem. In 1917 the matter came into prominence, and it was then generally felt that if missions were not to be allowed to impart this religious instruction, then they might as well retire from the field of education. And also unless attendance at this period of instruction were compulsory it would be a case of talking to a timber yard of wooden benches, for all would exercise their option of being absent.

Opinion has changed since the question first came into prominence, and in some provinces conscience clauses have been inserted in the education codes, notably in Bombay and the United Provinces.

It is the universal testimony of all those who have adopted the clause that the religious usefulness of their institutions is in no way lessened, and that virtually no exemptions have been claimed. In St. John's College, Agra, for instance, only five

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students out of four hundred took advantage of the exemption in the first year, 1922, and no further applications for exemption have been received. At a conference on Christian education in the United Provinces, held at Lucknow, March 2-4, 1925, the following resolution was passed :

“ The Conference records its sense of gratitude at the fact that the introduction of a Conscience Clause in the Province has not circumscribed the religious opportunity or impaired the efficiency of the religious teaching of the school and colleges which have accepted it ”

The question of a general Conscience Clause has been raised in the Madras Legislative Council and also in the Senate of Madras University. In each case the proposal was decisively rejected.

It is important to observe that the acceptance of a conscience clause and the institution of “ voluntary ” religious teaching are quite different things. Under a conscience clause, at the beginning of a session a student is either placed on the roll for attendance or he is removed from it. If he is on the roll he has to attend. Some institutions, e.g., the Lucknow Christian College, have gone beyond the requirement of the conscience clause and made attendance at religious instruction, in the strict sense, *voluntary*. It is to be presumed that they have taken this step believing in its religious efficacy. They have not been compelled to do so by accepting the conscience clause.

I have been unable to find any instance of

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objection being raised to the introduction of Christian ideas and examples, or quotation from Christian books into the teaching of subjects such as history or philosophy, in schools or colleges where a conscience clause is in force. It was feared when the first conscience clause agitation began that the acceptance of the clause would prohibit a teacher from introducing Christian material into the teaching of "secular" subjects, but experience suggests that this fear has proved illusory.<sup>1</sup>

It is to the credit of Missions that at first more than one mission refused all Government grants-in-aid. In 1855 the American Madura Mission declined any financial assistance from Government, fearing the results of such a connection with Government both as to the influence of inspectors and as to restrictions imposed on their freedom in religious teaching. In 1870 they first received Government grants-in-aid, which other missions since 1854 had "held out both hands to receive."

Here are two questions involved—first the fundamental one of Christian Missions receiving money grants from the State, and second, institutions being thus partly supported by a State whose inhabitants are not Christian and which yet makes Christian Religious Instruction compulsory on its pupils. I cannot think that either position is ultimately tenable. Why should Hindus and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the similar policy of the Roman Emperor Julian.

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Muslims, who together form the vast majority of the population of India, and also provide India with her revenues, give these revenues in support of a Christian College where Christian Religious Instruction is compulsory? If in England, say, the Woking Mosque proposed to start a Muslim school where the teaching of Mohammedanism was compulsory, would the British Government give it a grant-in-aid? No one should be called upon to pay for religious instruction of a kind with which he profoundly disagrees. Non-Christian students go to such Christian colleges and suffer this disability—for such it is to them—because those Colleges are frequently the best available in the district, and they do not fear the result. An amusing incident occurred in the south some years ago. It was a Girls' High School and Prize Day. The prizes had been distributed and one of the invited guests—a non-Christian and a leading barrister in the place—was invited to speak. After exhorting the mothers to educate their daughters, and extolling the virtues of this particular Christian High School whose guest he was, he proceeded, "And why do you not send your daughters to this school? You agree that they should be educated, you agree that this is a good school, what hinders you therefore? Are you afraid of the Christian teaching that is given here? Do you think that your daughters will become Christian? If so, be

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comforted. In thirty years' experience of this place, I have never known that happen ! ”

I know of at least one Christian High School that had to close its doors for some time because of the excitement consequent on two of its boy pupils becoming Christian and being baptized.

The very tolerance which the non-Christian shows towards our Christian religious instruction in the schools and colleges is its own condemnation. It is in their opinion not to be feared—and it seems as though practically they are right. It is harmless. Then why should we make it compulsory ? Compulsory religious teaching is surely as nearly a contradiction in terms as we can get ! It is the very last thing that should be compulsory, and it would be but an act of grace on the part of all Christian Colleges and Schools to forgo their present right of compelling attendance, and not only adopt a conscience clause, but also go further and make attendance absolutely voluntary. The numbers at the morning hour might be thus reduced, but I doubt very much if the good work done would be at all diminished. If they do not thus act, it is not at all unlikely that the Government will soon impose it from above. It only needs the growth of a public opinion in India to make the present position intolerable—as it really is. If the position were reversed the British would be the first to cry out against this “wicked wrong” and demand religious freedom.

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Here is the reverse side of the medal. The Minutes of the meeting of the Missionary Educational Council of South India held on August 8th, 1926, contain *inter alia* the following :

“ The fact was brought out that in certain Government Training Schools distinctly Hindu songs in praise of specific gods and goddesses are used, and that Christian students are expected to sing them.

“ The matter was referred to the Executive.”

What is one to make of it all ?

The Act of 1904 saw the rise of the Passive Resisters in Great Britain. The situation is much worse in India, for non-Christians are compelled to pay for Christian religious instruction. But the British do not suffer, so nobody complains ! May the missions do voluntarily what the Government might soon impose !

An Indian Headmaster of a High School, who is not himself a Christian writes in an article in the *National Christian Council Review*—

“ Let me explain more fully, before I proceed further, why the first condition is considered necessary. Whatever may have been done in the past, and howsoever the procedure may have been justified, it may be taken for certain that a Conscience Clause in the Education Manual or Act is bound to come, sooner or later. No popular minister can justify or succeed in convincing a council of elected members that it is desirable to let a missionary

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institution getting aid from Government compel non-Christian students to attend lessons or lectures on the Bible. Suppose a Muhammadan or a Hindu institution tried compulsorily to teach non-Muhammadan or non-Hindu students—say Christian students—in the tenets and beliefs of Muhammadan or Hindu faiths. The position is unthinkable. The missions would have been the first to raise a howl against the iniquity of the attempt. Would the educational officers have dared to prevent the opening of a mission school in that case on the ground that the Muhammadan or Hindu school must be full, as laid down by the Educational Manual, before a new school can be allowed to open? But at present, in certain places, Government-aided and even unaided schools are not allowed to open, because a missionary institution is there and it is not full, and it does, of course, give compulsory religious instruction. So far the public has tolerated such things, because its voice had little chance of being heard, as against the influence of missionary bodies; but with elected members of the councils, ministers depending upon popular support and educational agency more and more Indianized—with nationalistic feelings getting stronger and stronger—the voice of opposition will also get stronger and stronger and ultimately succeed. It seems to me that the wisest course for missionary bodies is to voluntarily give up their right, before

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angry feelings are roused which may sweep away even useful and valuable aspects of their work.”<sup>1</sup>

In addition I consider that the Christian Missions should abandon all Government grants-in-aid. This again on principle and merely forestalling what must inevitably come. I cannot see a completely Swaraj Government in India continuing to give grants-in-aid to Christian Colleges. The refusal of such would mean a great curtailing of our present activity, but I do not look upon that as an evil. We should cut our coat according to our cloth, and if we can have only a lounge coat instead of a morning coat, then let us be happy with a lounge coat ! Admittedly it would be difficult thus to break connection with Government, but we should breathe more freely if that were done, and we were free from inspections and government returns which occupy so much of our time at present. With a system of purely Christian institutions and a Christian University it would be a much easier proposition, but even now it should be done. It is peculiar how ideals for which we would die in the West do not turn one of our hairs out in India ! How many of the non-conformist bodies in England would tolerate their churches receiving grants-in-aid from Government, and with their keen sense of religious toleration would countenance compulsory attendance at Christian religious teaching ?

<sup>1</sup> *The National Christian Council Review*, March 1926, p. 147.



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Here is the confession of an Indian :—

“ Here in Poona I have talked with many educated Hindus. They have lost faith in the Hindu religion and they imagine that no religion and no sacred books can satisfy their reason. It is partly because we have taught so far in our schools and colleges to Hindu young men that the Bible is verbally inspired, and if they cannot believe in the scientific accuracy of the story or stories of creation in the Book of Genesis, and if they cannot believe that Jonah was actually alive in the belly of the whale for three days, then they cannot become Christians ! In fact, it seems to me that even compulsory Bible-teaching in our mission schools and colleges may be doing more harm than good. For the Hindus have the idea that missionaries come to India to force their religion down the throats of people who do not want it. Nay, they even think that missionaries have their salaries increased according to the number of converts they make, and therefore that the missionaries are doing their work for the sake of money. So often, Hindu young men who have had their education in missionary institutions boast that they know as much of Christianity as anybody else. Because they have been forced to read some of the Gospels, they use their little knowledge to attack Christianity and ruin their own souls.”<sup>1</sup>

The question, then, is this : What is our aim in education ?

<sup>1</sup> *The National Christian Council Review*, Dec., 1925, p. 573.

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Some educationalists of repute are now inclined to hold that as all life is one—religious and secular—so all education is one, and it is wrong to divide on the basis of secular education and religious education ; that as you teach the child the love of the good, the true and the beautiful, it will not only be acquiring knowledge, but also be acquiring true religion. And the more natural the growth of the child the better will be the ultimate religion. As a theory of education this has much to commend it, and if our mission institutions in India would adopt some such principle, and have the complete oversight of the children with the co-operation of their parents, they might be encouraged to extend their educational activities ; but the position is far from that. The association with the Government on the one hand and public examinations on the other cramps their style. The aim of ninety-nine per cent. of our students is to pass the examination ; and this aim dominates them as no similar aim dominates an English student. This means that colleges must teach with this end in view, and very definitely in view ; and anything that does not very directly lead to this is of little use in the curriculum. Further, such a theory of education requires the active co-operation of the parents of the children, which it is impossible to obtain in the present circumstances in India. It would not work with the children under the care of Christian teachers and Christian