influences in more or less ideal surroundings for, say, thirty hours a week and living the ordinary Indian home life during the rest of the time. What was done at school would be very largely undone at home.

The theory may be sound, and it looks as if it had much to commend it ; but for its success in India we should require a complete change in our background of education. The present commercial spirit would have to be eliminated. The love of pure education would have to be fostered—and it is a delicate plant for these climates ! The institutions would have to free themselves from all outward control, either official with Government or indirect with public examinations. But this is not such a wild and impossible thing as it might sound. I know at least one Cambridge graduate—a Professor out here—who is dissatisfied with the present system of education and is withdrawing from it. It is much too machine-like, and leaves too little room for the development of personality. He at least is one who is willing to try other methods in spite of dismal estimates of their possible success. If a Christian University were founded it might do something to undermine the present value attached to the mere degree, and also award degrees for something else than the accumulation of facts repeated parrot-fashion. How many other such Professors are there in the service of Missions in India?

I have already referred to Theological education

in India, and stated that the foundation of a Christian University in India would help enormously in centring this study. It is one of the most serious problems now facing missions. India has had Christianity in her midst as long as most of the Mediterranean countries, and has not produced a single heretic nor a heresy ! Indeed, Indian Christianity has contributed very little to the common stock of the Church or to the life of the nation. It has no burning missionary zeal. Christian communities sit down quite quietly and peacefully surrounded by non-Christians, and they do little to evangelize their neighbours. They show a delightful unconcern for them. And it has produced few leaders from itself. Its great need now is for good pastors, and they do not arise. Somehow or other we do not seem to be able to get just the right men and give them the right training. Maybe it has been for so long living on the West for its culture and its support that it has never learned to stand on its own feet—but be the reason what it may the fact remains.

A Christian University should go far to enable us to improve such matters.

Rather than an increase in the quantity and quality of the higher education, although the latter is sorely needed, what India needs is a broadening of the base of education by greater permeation of the masses, and how to accomplish this is the difficulty.

Undoubtedly we need a bettering of the class of elementary school at present in existence—but there are dangers to be avoided. To improve considerably the lot of this type of teacher might attract the wrong type. As the eighth quinquennial review says, " A word of warning is needed for the zealous reformer who would spend all available funds in raising the quality of primary education. There comes a point at which, if the pay is made sufficiently attractive, the wrong type of young man considers it worth while to turn, if only for a while, to teaching. The best type of village teacher is the intelligent village boy, who has worked his way through the primary and middle classes with the definite aim of joining a normal school and becoming a village schoolmaster. There is a real danger, if the pay is indefinitely increased, of attracting the out-of-work or failed matriculate—possibly a townsman, certainly one who has been unsuccessful in his life's aim, and who enters the blind alley of the village teacher's life as a last resort."

From a review of the rules in force in the various provinces, we get many useful suggestions. It is said to be a matter of universal experience, for example, that the best teacher for children is a woman, and that no amount of pedagogic training can make up the natural deficiency of a man in this respect. We are told that the middle vernacular examination should be the minimum standard for

teachers, and Rs. twelve per month the minimum pay. No teacher should teach more than fifty pupils or more than one class. In some cases the teacher may have the assistance of his wife in order to be able to fulfil these conditions. There should be one supervisor for twelve to thirty schools—a wide margin. In the Punjab there is a school every two miles. Bombay aims at having a school in every village with a population of two hundred. In Bihar and Orissa the rule is to have an infant school for every two and a half square miles, a lower primary for every ten and an upper primary for every twenty-five square miles. One fact that shows how necessary it is to improve the quality of primary education is that thirty-nine per cent. of the pupils relapse into illiteracy. "The night school, in our opinion, is an institution the usefulness of which is not sufficiently recognized, if only as a means of preventing this relapse into illiteracy."

Seriously to interfere with the present curriculum of elementary schools does not seem to be very advisable or very successful. Many in trying to relate the curriculum to village life are concentrating on agriculture and cottage industries, but it is very questionable whether this should be attempted in the early stages. There is a great deal said and written at this stage of our development about ruralizing education and teaching agriculture and other things of prime importance to the children of cultiva-

tors who make up the vast majority of the school population of India. But the Education Commissioner to the Government of India says it is a mistake to suppose that any steps to ruralize education will appeal to the rural parent. The farmer sends his son to school not to learn farming, about which he knows more than the teacher, but to get an education that will protect him against the landlord and the moneylender, or it may be to escape from the rigid social barriers imposed by caste, or to obtain some small Government or clerical employ. If this is so, then the three "R's" should continue to be the basis of such education, taking its examples from objects with which the scholars are familiar in everyday life in the village, and not from translated English school handbooks and primers. This foundation well laid, then the education can go on to tackle the question of agriculture and village industry.

The Bishop of Gloucester says, "Education is not necessarily good: it may be very bad. It may do a great deal of harm. The only true thing about it is that it is important. A great deal of the writing of the present day suggests that, provided you have education, and provided you spend a great deal of money on it, the result must certainly be satisfactory. This is of course not the case. Many boys and girls have their lives spoilt by unsuitable education!"[1]

[1] *Church Quarterly Review*, No 207, p. 127.

CHAPTER VIII

MISSIONARY INSTITUTIONS

FROM the problem of education it is a natural transition to pass to the more general question of the place of institutions in general in our Missionary endeavour. Here Missions have raised a problem for themselves. Without including the number of Elementary Schools and such smaller institutions, it is recorded that the Protestant Missionary Societies have 25,000 institutions in India and Ceylon. This number is made up of Colleges, High Schools and Hostels, Printing Presses, Agricultural Settlements and Co-operative Societies, Dispensaries, Hospitals, Leper Institutions and Tuberculosis Sanatoria, Orphanages and Homes for the blind, for women, and for converts. The total number of schools and colleges maintained in India by Protestant Missions in 1923 was 14,244, and they educated in the collegiate grade 20,387 young men and 2,173 young women ; in the secondary grade 77,178 boys and 30,646 girls ; in the primary grade 287,576 boys and 172,583 girls. The figures for Roman Catholic institutions are not available at this moment. They must be almost as high, if not even higher ! Of the foreign workers in India, rather more than half are fully engaged in institu-

tional work, compared with just under half in Pastoral and Evangelical work. And institutions tend to increase in number and complexity. Mission headquarters stations are usually full of all kinds of large buildings serving different institutional purposes.

One missionary who feels the burden of this increase of official and routine duties, the filling up of returns and the checking of ledgers, expressed himself thus before a group of his fellow missionaries—

"At the outset I think we must all feel that for this end we desire some great simplification of our complicated tasks, and some great reduction in the amount of official duties which fall to the missionary's lot. I don't think St. Paul had nearly as many affairs and arrangements to consider as we have. We really have too many, and nearly all of us by the time our probation is over have too much to do. The tendency seems to be for us to have more and more of this work. We could be better men and women, much more effective spiritually, if we were a little freer and less tired. Surely *one* of the aims of all developments of missionary policy nowadays should be this one of simplification of the missionary's life and work, and diminution of the average missionary's official burdens."[1]

If a Christian missionary is on tour and camping

[1] The *National Christian Council Review*, March, 1925, p 97.

in a village, how seldom does he do or get the opportunity for doing any spiritual work or of giving "ghostly counsel and advice." Some well wants cleaning out, a building wants repairing, and the local congregation cannot do it for lack of funds; or somebody wants financial help in order to educate their children at a good school out of the village.

One would not wish to deny that by the very nature of our task we must engage in some kinds of institutional work; but I am raising the question here in order to enquire whether we are not overburdened with institutions and in danger of killing the spirit of Christianity by these organizations.

The natural tendency is to centre your institutions in one place and thus make the question of supervision the easier—and also often one institution is dependent to some extent upon another. This tends to concentrate Christians in one place and withdraw them from their villages.

The gospel bids us seek first the Kingdom of God, and all these things will be added unto us. We are ourselves doing the adding and trusting that thus the Kingdom of God will come.

One result is that we are not producing a robust, self-supporting community, but rather one that is dependent upon the missionary and his resources for all things. It is a danger always besetting the Christian Church that our people should expect

prosperity in material things. On the Mission field too often we hear the argument for Christianity based on a comparison between the so-called Christian peoples and the non-Christian. It runs something like this—"Look at our country and our people. Here we are depressed and plundered—not masters in our own house. We are ignorant, poor and needy, the spoil of the Christian nations; and look at Britain—the mistress of the world—rich, educated and powerful. Why? What makes the difference? Surely it is this very same Christianity that we need. Let us too become Christians and we shall be rich, and powerful, and soon be able to drive out from our country these foreign oppressors." Too often we hear variations of that theme, not played by the foreign workers but by the Indian Christians, and it is one against which we must set our face very sternly.

I have myself heard a pastor say to first generation Christians, "see how your status has been improved since you became Christians. Is it not a good thing to be a Christian?" And I have been advised to help the non-Christians and they will soon become Christian! Indeed, sometimes one hears the direct question, "If I become Christian what employment will you give me?" The gospel does not promise education, money, position, comfort or influence; it promises the cross, and we should teach our people to take up the cross and follow Christ. But then

there is the example of the foreign Missionary! The Indian Christian looks upon our salary as princely. I find it difficult to live on mine. They look at the prestige we enjoy—personally I hate it. They think of our resources of mind and money—I find it difficult to maintain either. We can preach the pure doctrine of the Word as we see it, and be outspoken against parasitical Christianity and moral sins; they dare not, for their position is much less stable than ours. We can go without fear of persecution, they live in daily dread of it. It is all right for us, it is not so for them.

To be a Christian in India is a hard task—it is at home too! But in India if a man becomes a Christian he is cut off from the family estate if there is any. To his parents and relatives he is as though dead. He finds it difficult to get work from the Hindu landlords—the services of the village washerman are denied him, and violence even is often used. The missionary then feels a necessity to help such converts by providing them with such work or other help as will keep body and soul together at least for a few years. This is often best done by the creation of an industrial institution in some place where such converts can be supported and can learn some trade or do agricultural work. Then these things grow and we have industrial schools, lace schools, agricultural settlements, printing presses and what not on our hands. I wonder

if this kind of thing is right? So far as we can we ought to help our brethren and save them from starvation and persecution, but there is the other side—that we should encourage them to get victory over the world and to fear not them that can kill the body and after that have nothing more that they can do. They must not withdraw from their persecutions, but by patience under them gain victory over them. Only so I believe would we get the stout, robust Christianity in India which to-day we have not got. It is a hard saying, but so are many of the gospel sayings, and after all the Master Himself was crucified.

An Indian writer who is a member of the Servants of India Society in a recent article says—

"It may seem almost superfluous to stress this point, when so much actual missionary work is concerned already about work on this common basis of natural religion. Already it is hardly an exaggeration to say that no Mission is considered complete which does not go in for educational, medical and 'social service' work generally. Famine relief, agriculture, temperance, hygiene, women's education, hospitals, aid in epidemics, maternity care, civics, co-operation, workmen's institutes, wholesome lodgings, playing fields, journalism; nothing is nowadays considered outside the scope of a Mission. What are all these activities but attempts at bringing about the Reign

of God? Yet I venture to think that it is not otiose to stress even to-day the fact that the Reign of God is primary. Unless Missions are quite clear themselves, and make it quite clear to others: (1) that all these activities are good and worthy ends in themselves, and (2) that for all that, these activities do not constitute Christianity, the danger seems to me not merely imaginary that on the one hand missionaries may look upon these activities as so much stage property, merely intended to render more effective the sole object they have in view, proselytization; and that on the other hand non-Christians may be put off the quest for Christ by imagining that in these activities they have already, and without Christ, found all that even Christ could give them.

"Even to-day I think it is very necessary to stress the fact—at least if addressing the missionary-hearted—that for the sick to be cured, for slums to be abolished, for the ignorant to be instructed, is so good that it is its own end, or rather, perhaps, that the change effected is from a condition opposed to God's will to one in conformity with God's will, and therefore worth doing for its own sake. 'Who is not against us, is with us,' hence even if the motives of non-Christian collaborators in such works are not identical with our own, they surely are doing some part of God's will, even as we are doing. Hence I venture to think that Christians having a

vocation to medicine, to social service, to education, are well employed 'about their Father's business,' though joining medical, social or educational institutions which ignore, and members of which may even deny, the Christian motive. But I would go even further. Though no Christian missionary nowadays may tolerate even the idea of bribing non-Christians into the Church of Christ by medical missions, orphanages, etc., the fact remains that large non-Christian sections do believe that such alone is the motive ; and so far from being impressed by the self-sacrifice of missionary workers so employed, they discount it all, because done, as they believe, not for its own sake, but as a proselytizing method. It seems to me, therefore, most desirable that Christians should increasingly demonstrate beyond cavil that their medical or educational work is to them of primary importance, and it seems to me that such demonstration could take no more cogent form than that of serving in hospitals, schools, etc., under non-Christian management. The question does not even arise perhaps in Africa or Greenland ; but here in India (and in China) the plan is not merely a speculative contingency, but a very real and possible alternative to much actual missionary work. And when I suggest that Christians should so serve I would even demand that they did it, not with the mental reservation of engaging in a *praeparatio evangelica*, but with an

absolutely open mind (and therefore a humble one) as to whether such work of theirs for God's Kingdom should prove in the end to have been such 'preparation' in the sense we mean, or in a sense of which this generation of ours knows nothing yet. The Y.M.C.A. is doing this kind of work, and is doing it splendidly; but just because one welcomes it so whole-heartedly one may be forgiven for doubting the propriety of retaining the "C" in the title. Already in India the Y.M.C.A. receives munificent endowments from Hindus and other non-Christians; in practice adherents of all kinds of faiths already join together on this basis. Why not then candidly acknowledge that the practice is right, because it springs from a theory which is right too, namely, that the bringing about of the Reign of God is a matter for every human being *qua* human being; that it is not a matter for this or that supernatural religion, but for the natural religion which is common to all men?"[1]

We agree with this Christian writer in much that he says. If medical work and education are worth doing at all they are worth doing for their own sakes, as ends in themselves and not merely with the object of subserving other interests—which is, to put it plainly, a bait. They are only worth doing if they can be done well, and Missions should realize that there is little virtue in numbers. To have a

[1] The *National Christian Council Review*, June, 1925, p. 223.

large number of institutions is no credit to a society ; unless we know what kind of institutions they are we cannot evaluate their worth. In the case of elementary education this is a particularly relevant remark. Most missions of importance have numerous elementary schools badly staffed and badly equipped. Money is short and the work urgent, therefore anything is better than nothing. But is it ? The result is that in some cases our elementary schools have not got the goodwill of the villagers, and the work done in them is desperately poor. If we could set ourselves to engage only suitable teachers and pay them a decent salary, it might not be any extra burden to the Societies ; for a better type of teacher would engage the goodwill of the villagers and probably the village school would be better supported and the fee income increase accordingly. But that is not our point here ; the danger is that some Christians think it quite legitimate thus to bait the hook—a very pernicious doctrine.

But if these institutions are not " bait " for Christianity what are they ? Would the supporters of our Foreign Missions, the Christians and Church members at home who subscribe to the funds, be willing that their money be spent in purely educational work or in purely social work ? Do not Mission advertisements and appeals often themselves suggest that by doing this work we are preaching the gospel to the non-Christians ?

Missionary Institutions

What is really meant by the statement that our Missionary societies are definitely missionary in their objective? And what exactly is the relation of this objective to, say, medical work? That is really the root of the problem. If we are to engage in these humanitarian labours—and perhaps nowhere are they more needed than in India—then we should declare our purpose without any ambiguity. They should be engaged in because of the need for them, and not because they give us contact either with the high caste or the low-caste and give an opportunity for preaching Christianity to them. The confusion which at present exists in our own minds is reflected in the minds of the Indian, Christian and non-Christian. They suspect it is bait and do not bite! If we were clearly understood to engage in this work for its own sake, I am sure our hospitals and institutions would rise to much higher levels of influence in India. The present nauseating feeling that sometimes arises in the Indian breast when we talk to them of "Christian Hospitals" and "Christian Colleges" would disappear and they would be welcomed much more freely than they are at present.

There is also a danger involved in the confusion between being engaged in good works and being a Christian—and these things are far from being the same. Many of us try to love our brethren and have little love left for God! The two things must go

together ; and unless our institutions are expressions of our love of the brethren under the impulse of our love of God they are failures. If they are accessory tools in our effort to convert Indians to Christianity we should do without them. Truth standing in its own light must be allowed to commend itself to the mind free from hypocrisy.

But to produce the mind free from bias is the difficulty, and here might be the place for education to play its part.

There is a great tendency in our day to add the tag 'Christian' to something or other and think that thereby we change its meaning. Thus we have much talk of "Christian Justice," a contradiction in terms ! Justice is merely retaliation, and Christianity knows nothing of that ; and to add the word Christian to it does not alter its nature. Christianity should talk of love, and not this cumbersome term of "Christian Justice." So with "Christian Education"—what does it mean and what differentiates it from mere education ? Are Oxford and Cambridge for instance centres of education or of Christian Education ? If the term is meant to imply merely education by Christians, then there seems little need to add the word "Christian" to term. But is not more meant ?

CHAPTER IX

EVANGELIZATION

By this title I do not mean to suggest that what I hereafter describe is the only method of evangelization, but I do wish to suggest a contrast between evangelization and proselytism. The latter I take to be the type of mind which aims at adding converts to its own community regardless either of how they are obtained or how they fare once they are within the fold. As an example of this we might be allowed to name St. Francis Xavier, for whom numbers seem to have been the great objective. Although I thus name a Roman Catholic saint, I also confess that many Protestant Missions have been guilty of the same attitude. The *Indian Social Reformer* refers to proselytism as follows—" It is sufficient to say that proselytism is the method of recruiting non-Christians to Christianity much in the same way as labourers are recruited to colonies or soldiers to regiments by prospects of social and economic amelioration, better food, better clothing, better housing and, above all, a protected life. The Salvation Army, for whose social work we have nothing but appreciation, is the avowed exponent of this method, while other missions follow it more

or less under names not so suggestive of Army methods."[1]

In contrast to this, I take evangelism to mean that the preacher or missionary is conscious of possessing a message of good news or a Gospel which from his own experience in life he feels and knows to be good news. This gospel he is certain is capable of standing on its own feet, and in its own light commending itself to the unbiassed mind. It then needs no further extraneous aids than merely to be proclaimed, and being proclaimed faithfully it will work out its own results. All aids or helps to such a gospel are really hindrances. It must have free course—and then it will be glorified.

I must attempt to describe briefly the usual mission organizations. The head body and organ is, of course, the Missionary Society or Committee at home. In England this is usually a separate society not directly controlled by any Church—except the Presbyterian Society which is a direct department of the Presbyterian Church of England. In England only in this Church and the Roman Catholic Church does Church membership entail direct responsibility for foreign missions. The bigger societies have divided the field on a territorial basis, so that for instance in South India the area round Madura is occupied by the American

[1] The *Indian Social Reformer*, vol xxxvi, No 44, p. 686.

Madura Mission (Congregational), South Travancore is occupied by the London Missionary Society, North Travancore by the Church Missionary Society, and so on till the whole field is covered. The mission in a district will select a headquarters at which it will probably concentrate its higher institutional work. Here will be stationed at least one Western Missionary and in all probability many more. The larger towns and villages in the area will be similarly occupied so far as men and money are available. These form strategic points from which the work of the Mission is carried on. Usually the Western Missionaries in the area form a Mission Council which elects a chairman and a secretary and which in consultation with the home committee decides and directs the policy of the Mission.

Now these Western missionaries cannot possibly do all the work, and they employ Indians of various grades to work under them, such as Assistant Missionaries, Evangelists, Catechists, Colporteurs and others. In the eyes of the Indian all these grades are carefully classified and the proper prestige attaches to each—as well as the proper salary. To be elevated from a catechist to an evangelist is a very desirable promotion, but if the next step to an Ordained Pastor is possible then it is still more desirable ! There is so much prestige attached to the Guru or Swami. And it means an increase in

pay and allowances. All these subordinates are paid by the missionary out of Mission and Congregational funds, and he is responsible for their supervision. If they are paid monthly, probably at the time of payment he will conduct a small retreat for them and give some theological instruction.

The duties of these subordinates are various and multitudinous. They are to visit the villages in their areas and to engage in open air preaching. More especially they are to help in instructing any enquirers in their areas and in cases where churches are without settled pastors they have the oversight of such congregations.

Now this does look very like the system of the Roman Government and its Pro-Consuls and Satraps. You place your head-quarters in the largest town in your area with outposts in all the next largest towns and subordinates in the other places, and you are not content unless the whole territory is thus covered. Thus imitating the system of the Roman Government—now represented by the British—much of its spirit has entered into the Mission organization.[1] The district missionary is much mixed up with institutions which are distinctly connected with Government—for instance schools with government grants or industrial work being similarly helped. With the Mission Councils and larger bodies like the Provincial Christian

[1] Indians often think that the Missionary is a Government Official.

Councils and the National Christian Council all asking for various information, and in addition to this the burden of Assembly Committees and Church Committees, his post bag is usually fairly full and much of his time necessarily must be spent in attending to correspondence. The oversight of his institutions at headquarters also takes up a little time, and it readily happens that such oversight and correspondence leave him very little time for either preaching in the villages round about or in study for his own mental development. Nowadays he more often than not has a motor car at his disposal, and if he does do any village work it is the villages on the main road or adjacent to it that receive attention; and, further, whereas in the old days the missionary would travel by slow bullock cart, which necessitated his staying the night in the village, he now rushes out and back in the same day. How much he thus loses and how much the villagers thus lose it is difficult to estimate. Doubtless there was much discomfort in the old method. The journey was slow and one felt every pebble on the road, for the carts have no springs. You had to take practically all your food with you, and were never sure of the kind of accommodation that would be available in the villages. It was far from an attractive business on this side of it, but it was all forgotten when in the cool of the evening, as the sun was sinking and the moon rising, one after

another would come to you and sit in quiet conversation—always good listeners and very respectful. Is it not in the evening or in the darkness that our hearts are the sweetest, when conversation is the freest and companionship and friendship the ripest and deepest? Bright sunshine and deep thoughts do not go together. They would hear you to the end with patience, then they would tell their troubles and cares. Two hours of such intercourse was worth many motor cars! And the advent of the motor car has tended to emphasize the already wide difference between the status of the missionary and of his converts. In fact it is sometimes hard to distinguish a missionary from a Government servant. The attitude to their work and their methods of tackling it are so very similar—though their income is totally different! It is not the men who are at fault or to blame, it is the system.

If the system has attacked the missionaries in this way, it has attacked what one may call, without offence, the subordinates, in a worse degree. They have become very much like Government servants. If they go away from their village they must receive an additional allowance based on the mileage, and if they have to stay the night in another place, they must get an allowance for that. Every item of expenditure is carefully recorded and charged up to the mission, and I have seen very unworthy

haggling going on as to the amount of travelling allowance and whether the rate should be four annas a mile or six annas ! I fear many of them regard their occupation as a profession and not a vocation. The spirit of service and self-sacrifice has been commercialized. The Government system has further crept in, and I know at least one mission where the catechists are required to produce monthly a list of villages visited. I saw one such list of eighty visits a month ! Doubtless they were short visits ! I have also heard of them manufacturing converts in order to please the missionary and to secure the desired promotion to the next grade.

I do feel strongly that if we ask people to help us in this way and appoint them to be evangelists and catechists we should trust them and not so very carefully and minutely supervise their movements. If they are good Christians as they should be, considering their work, then we should trust them to do their work as unto the Lord. If they are not such and we cannot trust them, then neither should we employ them to do this work. Either one or the other. And we should not encourage them to look upon this task as a profession. All travelling allowances ought to be abolished. They should be paid a living wage, but on the same proportionate scale as the Christian missionary. Indeed we are not paid wages. We get subsistence allowance, and I cannot even subsist on mine ! Why should not the

Christian Church in India be tutored in the same spirit? I have a grave suspicion that the whole method is wrong and wants revising, but before I pass on to that I wish to say here that I also admire the work done by many of our Indian helpers. Without their help the work would have been impossible, and many of them are excellent, self-denying men and women. I am only sorry that I cannot testify thus for them all.

But is not the whole method altogether wrong? There is no room in the Christian Church as at present organized for the Sanyasi. To all Indians this is the ideal religious figure. One who has renounced all riches, who possesses nothing and wants nothing (cf. St. James), who goes from place to place teaching as he can and being supported by charitably disposed people. Thus they wander from Temple to Temple, covering thousands of miles. The Sadhu Sundar Singh has adopted this kind of life, and he has caught the ear of the people. They listen to him. What a change there would be if we could start an order of Christian Sannyasi! We would get the ear of India as never before, and the heart too. India cannot understand at all the Christian Catechists being paid a monthly salary and a travelling allowance based on mileage. They think it savours too much of the mart! When our catechists go to some of the villages they are

told that they are paid for coming there and people listen to their preaching as so much routine to be endured for a season in the full assurance that the intruder will depart in due time. He is paid for it—just as a Government officer is sent to inspect some office in the village—he is also paid for that and will depart in due season. But if our teachers were imbued with the old Indian love of religion and were being "burned up" in preaching it, God knows what impression we might make on India. A missionary of wide experience in India recently told an Edinburgh audience that his considered belief was that if the Christian missionaries had been sent out to India without any salary Hinduism would now be dead and decently interred.

And what about the foreign missionary—what place is there for him? Well, he has not got the hope that India will be converted by his efforts. We all know that it is the Indian Church itself that must take over this responsibility. We do not know and never can know the Indian mind as the Indian knows it, nor can we use the language with the same facility. Nor are we sufficiently numerous to cover the whole country. Yet, for some time there will undoubtedly be a place for the foreign missionary in India.

Certainly our methods must change. Some few years ago at a large hall in Georgetown, Madras, two of the foremost leaders and speakers of the

missionary cause in South India held an evangelistic campaign. The hall had a seating capacity of over one thousand. The district round the hall was carefully surveyed before the campaign began and apportioned out among Christian workers for more intensive work. Thirty thousand preparatory handbills were printed and distributed. Daily fifteen thousand invitations were personally handed to individuals and otherwise distributed by the workers. For eight nights over a thousand people attended that hall ; it was full every night and mostly with non-Christians. The Gospel was preached with power by these two leading speakers in South India. In all, in answer to an invitation given nightly, 180 expressed a desire to know more of the gospel. They gave in their names and addresses and were divided among the city churches according to the district of their residences. No baptisms are known as the result of this campaign.

From the same hall in one year, 200,000 copies of a sixteen page booklet " The Message of the Cross " were distributed. The last page bore the name and address of a well-known missionary with an invitation to call on him and talk over the matter further. He got only two or three enquiries and no baptisms.

It would be wrong to judge both of these efforts by the baptisms resulting from them. That would

be the very poorest level on which to work. But still, the fact of their absence and the obvious lack of enthusiasm in both cases are indications that some of our old methods have lost their cutting edge. We want something new. A very good missionary, an excellent man, worked for twenty years in one of the poorer quarters of Madras. In all that long time he had three baptisms, and even these three were not all satisfactory. A poor result in numbers !

I would like to see the foreign missionary cut away from all organizations—even his home society. He should be given a roving commission, a tent and a bullock cart, and let loose on the country. Then I would like to see him avoid the great cities and go to the villages. Let him set up his tent in a village for a fortnight at a time. Without going out into the open air and shouting himself hoarse he will find people will come to him. By personal contact he would get to know the people and could sow the seed. If he had with him a few Christian young men of good education, such as our Christian Colleges should turn out, eager to find for themselves lives of service, let him leave a couple of them in the village to continue the teaching and let them be supported in food and shelter by the villagers, Let us be saved from becoming merely officials and let us preach the gospel, not by living in the largest and most comfortable bungalow in the village, and

trusting that the people will come to us, but going to them. It is very uncomfortable—it is even dangerous to health, and we may bring on ourselves an early death. But do any of these things matter much in the sight of God? The Kingdom of God might be of more importance than that I should live to be three score years and ten!

I fear that Christian Missions in India have almost forgotten the Christian "sacrament" of shaking the dust from off our feet and leaving the place. We go on and maintain all our Christian mission activity for years in places where there is no response. The teaching of the Gospel is not merely an education of the intellect—it demands a moral response. If that response is withheld, ought we to continue the teaching? That is why so much of our work is ineffective. Where this response is lacking should we not go away and preach to others who are awaiting us and who might be willing to respond?

Our Christian forces should be much more mobile than they are. In certain parts of India this century has seen great mass movements of the people towards Christianity. Whole countrysides of thousands of inhabitants express a desire for baptism. As the territory is divided among the Missionary Societies geographically such a movement is felt only by the Society working in that particular area. In one place 8,000 gave in their

names to be prepared for baptism. It is no light task to undertake the Christian teaching of 8,000 non-Christians who are probably without exception illiterate. To admit them to the church without such education would be a danger to the church. A Society faced with such an alternative usually prefers to postpone the baptism until it can muster greater forces to deal with the situation. But perhaps by then some years have passed and the attitude of the people has changed.

"A missionary in the United Provinces received one day a deputation sent to him by a mass meeting of 3,000 men, who represented a large number of outcastes in their district. The 3,000 had met in conference for three days to consider whether or not they should all seek for Christian instruction, since so many of their number had already become Christians and were obviously changed men. The deputation that day came to inform the missionary of the unanimous decision of those men to place themselves under Christian instruction and to ask for teachers. But the missionary had no teachers to send!"[1]

When a movement like this takes place why should not all the Christian forces in that language-speaking area be concentrated on this soul-stirring place? Missionaries of all denominations should be willing to leave their work and face the new situation.

[1] *The World Call to the Church—India*, pp 65-66.

Surely many opportunities have been lost just because missionaries had not this sense of a common cause and continued their routine work instead of rushing to aid in the newly arisen opportunity. We all think that our own work is of supreme importance—all missionaries need to be continually pondering and renewing the springs of vision. It is so easy to see mole hills as though they were mountains. It is so easy to argue that our own work is of supreme importance and cannot be left even for a day. But probably if it were left for a year nothing very serious would happen! A certain amount of correspondence would be left unanswered, but would that be fatal to the Kingdom of God?

The missionary should be as free from all organization as possible. It is appalling how little organization can accomplish, and how much time it claims. Many of us spend almost our whole time starting, helping, tinkering and doctoring some organization or another. This involves letters, reports and committees which gradually eat into our time till we have none left for the pure gospel. We may on some occasion serve the Kingdom well by acting on a committee, but I fancy such occasions will be few and far between. The note of the primitive church was joy and enthusiasm, the note of the modern church is committees and organization—and how little we accomplish! The missionary should have no concern for making Christians—

his is to preach the gospel—it is God that gives the increase.

If such a programme of work as I have detailed should be felt to necessitate celibacy—well, what of that? The Indian quite understands and appreciates celibacy on the part of his religious teachers. As it is, the home life of the average missionary is a difficult problem. The missionary ought to do much travelling, leaving his wife alone in the house for lengthy periods or taking her with him much to her inconvenience. Then she should be three months or so every year in a hill station, only part of that time with her husband. If there are children, when they reach the age of six or so the wife has to decide whether she will stay with her husband or go with the children to Europe, a very difficult choice. Altogether the home life of a missionary is necessarily much broken and cannot be the factor as an example to the Christians that the home life of a pastor in England can be.

The question whether a foreign missionary should be granted leave to enable him to return to the West is a much debated one, and one which probably never will be settled. The arguments on both sides are powerful. Most Protestant missionaries look to having a year's furlough every five or six years and returning to their home-land. This not only renews the body after a period in a trying climate, but also enables one to renew contact with

family and friends, which makes life ever so much richer for us. It sharpens the mind, and by enabling us to get away from our work we are able to get a truer perspective of it. But the missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church have no such provision, and expect to return home again only in exceptional circumstances. I do not know that as a body Roman Catholic missionaries are shorter lived than Protestant missionaries—though I have no statistics on the point. Which is the better system? I think it is a right judgment to make when it is said that the Roman Catholic missionaries know their people better than do the Protestants, but that may be due to other causes such as the Confessional. It must also be recorded that the fact of going home is a little unsettling to a Protestant missionary. It does make us feel that after all we are but pilgrims and sojourners in the land—our real home is elsewhere. The period immediately before furlough makes us hesitant in introducing schemes which we shall not be able to carry through *in absentia*, and the period immediately after is spent in picking up the threads of work left over a year before. There is a continual stream of divided interests, but whether it must be tolerated for the sake of the benefits of furlough I cannot decide. I sometimes feel that our periodical visits to the West prevent us from identifying ourselves more closely with our people, but that is only a personal feeling.

Yet I am sure that they keep us in a state of divided mind. Our interest in the Home mail is far greater than in the local mail, and generally we read the Home newspapers and periodicals with far greater zest than we do those of India.

I would much like to see the salary system entirely abolished among us and our helpers. An Indian writing in the *National Missionary Intelligence* for January, 1926, says—

"Indian Christians have imbibed from the religious atmosphere with which they are surrounded a great deal of the belief that matter is essentially evil and as a result of that the most spiritually minded among them have a tendency to despise all material aids for the carrying on of religious work. Their ideal of a Christian worker is a wandering Sannyasi who is celibate, who owns nothing in the world and who throws himself on the charity of others. They cannot quite reconcile themselves to the idea that a Christian worker should be given an allowance to keep him above need and to enable him to carry on the work without any anxiety about the support of his family. Though the exigencies of Church life and religious work under modern conditions are making Indian Christians accustomed to the salary system for Christian workers, and other business-like arrangements for carrying on religious work, we will find that deep down in the minds of several good men there is a lurking

fear that all this is something un-Christian and unspiritual. There is a similar attitude towards organizations also. Organizing Christian work is generally considered to be something which is antagonistic to spiritual life. Organizations and constitutions set up for carrying on Christian work are looked upon as denying the very purpose of religion."

With this protest many missionaries would agree —the difficulty is to find the spirit of self-sacrifice in the Christian community that will force men to leave all and follow Christ. Too often in the past the missionary has done too much for the converts, and he has been looked upon as a kind of " fairy godmother " who can supply all their wants. Still, there are hopeful signs that the Indian mind itself is beginning to protest against this coddling. " Good mother is bad mother to me." If we could raise up bands of wandering Christian Sannyasi it would be a great step forward, and I believe the Indian Christian community, poor as it is, would support all such that might arise.

Another Indian writes—

" For the fulfilment of this ideal it is necessary that the Indian Christian Church should strive to employ suitable methods and men. The choice of workers is a problem which is yet to be solved. The discussion of this matter of supreme importance finds a place in your programme, and it will be

initiated by one who is making a practical study of it in his own life and work. Some of us are persuaded that the *Rajasik* method, now so common in Christian missionary efforts, must be replaced. The warning given by the financial disabilities of foreign missions cannot be ignored by us. With a laity which is still far from wealthy, the support of missionaries is an ever present problem difficult of solution. Shall our ideal be a school of Christian *Sannyasis*, whose voluntary choice of poverty will absolve the Indian Church of a great burden while it will, by approximation to Indian ideals of the religious life, make it easier for the preacher of the Word to command the attention of his countrymen? The missionary education of the layman must continue, and by degrees he must realize the responsibility that is wholly his, for feeding and clothing the men and women who by their renunciation and poverty shall impress the Christ-life and ideal on the people of this land. India, the Mother, hungers for the Child; her mother-love yearns for Him. Through the ages she waits for the advent of the Eternal Son whose star of birth was seen on her eastern sky."[1]

New methods of evangelization are needed, but how they are to be got I have no idea. But I do feel that it is not preaching that is going to bring in

[1] The *National Missionary Intelligence*, February, 1926, p 33.

the Kingdom of God. It is the power of a Christian life—or, in the plural, Christian lives. Somehow the power of the gospel oozes out of the consecrated life, and this fact is our strongest force. Men see our good works and come to glorify our Father who is in Heaven. Still more if we can get men to see the character of Jesus, and for this the gospel story itself is the place. There He stands out as a Man above all men, and if thus seen He convinces. To this end the sale of Gospels is a vital factor, and one cannot too highly praise the work of the great Bible and Literature Societies which provide these for our work. Very often the reading of them is the beginning of an interest that leads to acceptance of the Christian ideal.

An interesting experiment has been made in community life by the beginning of the Ashram at Tirupattur. It is one of two I know of in India—that is Christian Ashrams—and is closely connected with the National Missionary Society of India—an Indian Christian Society which has an annual income from contributions of over half a lac of rupees—about £4,000. This Ashram is an interesting experiment, although at the time of writing (1927) it has still only two members—both medical men, one Indian and one Britisher.

In an article in the *Christian Patriot*, Dr. Jesudasan, the Savak (servant) of the Ashram, explains the basis of the society of the Ashram as follows :—

"It is laid down in the constitution that permanent members should be unmarried. They should give up all personal property, but are quite free to dispose of their possessions in any way they like. What they decide to give to the Ashram goes towards a 'common fund' held by a board of trustees of whom two shall be permanent members and one appointed by the Executive of the National Missionary Society of India. The trustees will carry out the unanimous decisions of these members in the expenditure of this money.

"Now no fellowship or friendship could be be made to order. It must be a growth through loving, personal intimacy. I am learning more and more that the secret of true and lasting fellowship is the secret of (or rather the grace for) forgiving one another. For to *For Give* is to—*give much*, *i.e.*, to love. Hence it is laid down in the constitution that no one shall be elected to permanent membership excepting after a period of three years' continuous stay at the Ashram.

"But then there will be men and women, married or unmarried, who, while unable to satisfy the condition of permanent membership, are still anxious to devote a short period of their life to this fellowship and service. To meet such a need, provision is made in the constitution

for the admission of *temporary* members who decide to come and share the life of service of the Ashram for six months. These may after this period (if members and they agree) continue longer up to three years. Of course when they are at the Ashram they conform to the common life of the Ashram (and they have to leave their families behind if married). We have had several temporary members in the past with us, who have been a great help and inspiration to us.

" Then again, we have had several who have been with us for shorter periods as volunteers or visitors.

" Thus the family is constituted. All are expected to do any form of service however ' menial ' or humble, such as sweeping or cooking or carrying patients, etc. As members of the family are drawn from different parts of India (literally from the Punjab to Tinnevelly) the common language is English. Both Europe and Asia are represented, although at present we are only a very small family.

" The Ashram is not attached to any denomination. The *only* condition of membership is ' FAITH AND DEVOTION TO JESUS CHRIST.' Members may belong to any nationality, but they shall consider themselves as citizens of the Kingdom of God, placing loyalty to Christ above everything.

"At the same time this is not an attempt to start any new sect, rather it is an attempt to unite in loving fellowship and service members of all Christian denominations, moved by common ideals of service for the advent of the Kingdom of their Lord.

"At present the only two permanent members are medical men, and the only form of service possible for them is naturally medical. But it is earnestly expected God will bring into this fellowship others gifted with different talents, who will find here ample scope for developing new forms of service other than medical."

Could we not make much more use of the Guru method? At present theological education in India differs little, except in quality, from that of the West. Intending pastors are required to attain to a certain level of general education before they are allowed to take up their theological studies, and when these begin they are of the usual Western kind and largely conducted by Western scholars. They do good work, excellent work, and we would bear testimony to it, but the curriculum pursued was developed in the West. We need theological curricula worked out with a view to giving the average student of theology a training which will fit him for his work as a pastor and preacher of Christianity in India. There is a widely-expressed feeling that the theological schools in India make

but a poor job of this task. There is an utterly inadequate provision made to help men in the task of relating Christianity to the rich Indian heritage. They teach theology of a Western character, and most of their pupils acquire enough knowledge of this subject to be ever afterwards bound to it—they never acquire enough knowledge of it to make them entirely free. The Theological Colleges should make far more use of men who are authorities on Hindu and Mohammedan culture—not Christian missionary scholars who have acquired a knowledge of these cultures but have never lived in them, but men who are the acknowledged leaders of these great societies and who could give us the spirit of them as well as the letter. Then I think every intending pastor or ordinand should have spent a period of time in a Hindu Ashram or centre of learning, not in a propagandist spirit, but in a spirit of learning and appreciation. Only thus can one get a knowledge, real knowledge, of the ancient Hindu religion and culture. Above all things it is necessary to understand the religious atmosphere that surrounds us in order to appreciate it, and also that Christianity may be brought into contact with it.

But instead of thus introducing a Western system of theological education, with its lecturers and tutors, its class examinations and terminal examinations, its diplomas and degrees, could we not have a system of

Guru teaching? Found a community not in the large cities where the crowds are,' but in some beautiful country place where Nature is, and there let some of the Christian saints take up their abode. Living expenses would be very small, a little agriculture and dairy farming might make the community self-supporting. Thither let the students of Christianity resort for their teaching, and let it be imparted only when sympathy has been established between teacher and pupil. From whom did we learn most at the University? Was it not from those Professors with whom we had most personal contact and sympathy? So in the proposed Ashram, theological talks and discussions should be permitted only between those of mutual sympathy.

Over one per cent. of the population of India is now Christian. Is that not enough to secure the complete evangelization of India within a generation? If they were all men and women imbued with vision and steeped in consecration it would be enough. But not so. The Christian life too often is not related to that round about us. Christian communities now live complacent, self-satisfied lives, deluding themselves that they are the elect of God and looking on the " heathen " round about them as objects of pity. The Christians must first be evangelists—not an unnecessary statement to

anyone who knows anything of certain branches of the field in South India at least. If these few millions could be stirred to real Gospel fervour we Europeans could retire from the field to-morrow. The burden of evangelizing India must be felt by the Indians themselves ; then and only then will they discover the best methods.

In the past fifteen years or so attempts have been made by the foreign missionary societies in India to transfer the responsibility for the mission work to Indians, the idea being to hand over the responsibility for mission work to the Indian Christian Church and community which must ultimately take over the task of evangelizing India. Various schemes of this nature have been launched by the larger societies, each one being made suitable for the area concerned. Such attempts have been briefly referred to as " Devolution in Missions."

Doubtless this movement has been stimulated by the somewhat similar transfer of control on the part of the Indian Government. In 1919 certain departments of public interest were handed over to the Legislative Councils from whom were appointed the Indian ministers. This also was devolution, but in the Mission work such schemes were in force about 1910, whereas Government did not move till 1919. But both movements can go back to the increasing national consciousness of India which this century has seen. Due to various

reasons, which fortunately I have no need to trace here, India suddenly awoke at the beginning of this century and called for a share in her own concerns both national and provincial.

Missions have employed agents all along, and in some cases agents were doing responsible work. Missions had also founded congregations, and in cases where these were self-supporting they had been granted full self-government—that is in the missions of self-governing polity. But the work called by the technical name of " evangelism " had been kept a close preserve for the missionaries. Only foreign missionaries were allowed to sit on the Mission Councils which were the supreme governing body in the field of each mission. It was they who had the shaping of the policy and the spending of the budget sent out from the West.

Under various schemes Devolution Boards were formed, and Indians invited to share this work of council. It was considered that the creation of such boards would accomplish much and be the means of quickening the sense of responsibility on the part of the Indian Church for the evangelization of India. From this it was expected to follow that such boards would introduce new and more appropriate methods of evangelization and give a broader policy to the Boards. The Indian Church was expected to be thus benefited by the strengthening and the deepening of its spirit and the widening of

its conception of the gospel, and from this it was thought that a new zeal and enthusiasm would arise for the work in which the foreign missionaries were engaged, and that by the contribution of workers and funds this work could be expanded.

So far as launching out on new and distinctive methods of evangelization more attuned to the Indian mind is concerned, these boards have done nothing. They have been too well nurtured by their missionary gurus for that to happen. When left to themselves they are more American than the Americans. They hold their correct number of meetings and appoint their committees quite regularly. They are careful and faithful in the disbursement of the foreign grants, and carefully supervise the schools on the lines laid down by the missionary societies. They carry on the evangelistic work just as the Western missionaries did—and so on. They have been faithful to tradition and nothing startling has happened. "Speaking generally, the boards have failed to quicken a desire in the Church for undertaking evangelistic work, or to arouse the young men and women to do some voluntary service, or to inspire acts of self-sacrificing service for the Church or for the country; or to interest the members of congregations to any appreciable extent in raising funds for increasing the scope of the activities of the boards."[1]

[1] The *National Christian Council Review*, April, 1926, p. 216.

There is no doubt that these Boards, even though mainly or largely composed of Indian members, are of foreign origin. They are distinctively Western in their character, and the Indian is not accustomed to handling their cumbersome and expensive machinery. They are out of touch with the Indian Church, and so long as they remain what they are so long will they remain out of vital relation with the Indian Church. Then the Indian Church has still a large and vigorous spirit of dependence ! The Indian Church is undoubtedly poor, but that is no reason for them to be so dependent on the West ; in fact there is little spirit of cheerful giving and little sense of doing voluntary work for the Kingdom. Of course it could not be expected that they should shoulder the financial burden of the present expensive mission work without a heavy subsidy from the West, but they show no signs of realizing their responsibility in the matter, nor is there any sign of the Church trying to evolve a cheaper and more economical machine which is able to carry on the work by indigenous methods. Some of the missions, especially those working in South India, have made an agreement whereby their grants of money to these mission fields will be reduced proportionately annually till they altogether disappear. Some have fixed one-twentieth, some one-fiftieth as the percentage of annual reduction, thus reckoning on them disappearing

altogether in twenty or fifty years. It is too early yet to see how this will work out, but it is doubtful if any Indian Church could at any time in the next generation shoulder the present financial burden of the missions in their areas—at least on the present scale. If home grants are thus to disappear the work will have to be reorganized on a cheaper scale than at present.[1]

So long as Western money is available and Western missionaries control the work and supply the ideas, little or no progress can be expected here. The Indian Church is walking with a crutch, and to ask for co-operation on these devolution boards is not solving the problem. The all-important question of the control of finance crops up at all stages. The only practical way is for the Indian Church itself through its own Church Councils resolutely to take up the work of evangelization independently of the foreign missionary. How few of our Indian congregations really show an anxiety for the non-Christians living round their doors! True, they do occasional preaching—some churches do it regularly and have preaching bands which go out periodically with a view to doing some evangelistic work, but most of the Indian Christians still look to the foreign missionary to do what is needed. It is the task of the foreign Missionary Societies

[1] No branch of the Church in India has ever been free of foreign association

and not of the Indian Church to evangelize India—so it is thought, and in saying this, I am not forgetting that the Indian Church in Tinnevelly has a Missionary Society of its own, which curiously enough does not work among the Tinnevelly people at its own doors where only one in fourteen is Christian, but goes off to Dornakal for its field of labour—some hundreds of miles away ! And there is also the National Missionary Society of India doing useful work. But all such work is on a small scale compared with what it might be and should be if the Indian Church had a real missionary zeal. The Indian Church should now start evangelistic work on its own account independently of either Western money or Western ideas. Using indigenous methods of their own and employing whatever money is available out of their own resources—be it small or great—they should themselves shoulder the responsibility at present being very largely carried by the Western Missionary Societies. India has behind her—and indeed not yet altogether behind—a large and worthy heritage of self-denial and self-sacrifice for the sake of religion. Why is it not so evident among the Indian Christian community as it ought to be ?

Then, launching out with their own resources and their own methods the Indian Church would be expected to gradually assume the responsibility, and the Western missionary would hope soon to

retire to his native land. This is a policy that would have far greater chances of success in associating Indians with the problem than has the present scheme of Devolution Boards. Such schemes should receive no financial assistance whatever from foreign sources, in fact it is time that the Indian Churches told the Missionary Societies with which they may be connected that they will no longer accept subsidies in any form or undertake the responsibility of the disbursement of mission funds or the administration of foreign mission affairs or finances. Politely and courteously telling the foreign missionary this, it should add a willingness to be consulted on mission problems in general and in its own area in particular. Thus would there be some hope of the Indian Church ending its present somewhat parasitic career. It may be replied that the Indian Church is too poor to be able to do this. If so, does that mean that Christianity is too expensive for India, and must continue to be subsidized by the West? I do not think so. Such an argument gains the semblance of plausibility only because Christianity has come to India in a Western garb, with all the expensive trappings of the West—which are not at all essential. To some Indians the only time they ever sit on a chair or a bench is at church. At all other times they are quite happy to sit on the ground. Then why should the Church provide benches or chairs and thus add to its expense?

This is the kind of thing that goes on and which adds to the "cost" of "Christianity"! All unnecessary and even bad. The Indian, like every other human being, can pay what is necessary for the support of his religious ordinances, and is willing to do so; but they must be in his form and not in European form. That is the difference and it can be remedied.

With the West supplying most of the money for our evangelical work it is almost inevitable that the spirit of master and servant enters into our relations. So long as the West pays the piper it will continue to call the tune. What we want is a brotherhood in India in which both foreigners and Indians should be on the same level and normally accept finance only from India. Within the Church in India there are resources of evangelization yet untapped. Indian Christians are not shown the need, and for lack of knowledge do not show a keen interest in evangelism. They need to be educated up to their responsibilities, and then having compassion they will preach the Gospel. The problem of un-christian Christians is always with us. The difficulty is not money but indifference.

CHAPTER X

INDIAN INTERPRETATION

"WHEN I think of this field in regard to Christianity, I always remember the parable of the sower. If there was any soil that would have yielded thirtyfold, sixtyfold, an hundredfold and even a thousandfold it was this. But unfortunately under the Catholic and then Protestant régime, the sower that came did not know the true nature of the soil, nor of the seed, and consequently made a mess of the whole. It is sad to confess that under both of these régimes, Christianity came not as the Kingdom of Heaven, but as the kingdom of this world, being loaded with Europeanism, Imperialism, and such other things belonging to their or even the nether world. It came very like Mohammedanism in the past. The only solitary exception on a noteworthy scale was the work of Robert de Nobili and some of his followers for about a couple of centuries, work which came to a sudden end in South India owing to the war between the French and the British, and 'the conquest of the country by the Europeans' to use the words of the Abbé Du Bois."[1] So runs a paragraph in a paper read by an Indian before a meeting of the All-India Council of the National Missionary Society held at Calcutta in December, 1925.

[1] *National Missionary Intelligence*, Feb., 1926, p 34

In similar strain Meredith Townsend writes, "The missionary never becomes an Indian or anything which the Indian could mistake for himself. The influence of civilization is too strong for him. He cannot help desiring that his flock become 'civilized' as well as Christian: he understands no civilization not European, and by unwearied admonition, by governing, by teaching, by setting up all manner of useful industries, he tries to bring them to his narrow ideal. That is, he becomes a pastor on the best English model, part preacher, part schoolmaster, part ruler; always doing his best, always more or less successful, but always with an eye to a false end—the Europeanization of the Asiatic—and always acting through the false method of developing the desire of imitation. There is the curse of the whole system, whether of missionary work or of education in India."

Things have changed a little since Townsend wrote thus, but not materially. Missionaries are still under the dominance of Western influence, and how can it be otherwise? They are of western race, they are brought up in western countries, go to western universities and study largely western literature and thought. All the most impressionable years of our lives are spent in the West. We come out East fully developed, and usually with developed and firmly set characters and dispositions. Coming out East in such circumstances and finding ourselves in such entirely

different and unthought of surroundings, with a different history, a different ethic and of a different race, how could it be other than that we should take the line of least resistance and endeavour to maintain our old ideals of civilization and life in these new surroundings? After all, we in the West are a greater people than those in the East—especially so if we happen to be British! Do we not belong to a great Empire upon which the sun never sets, whose inhabitants are more numerous than the sand upon the seashore or the stars in the Milky Way? And surely this position has been built up by our superior Western civilization. If so, why exchange this for the Eastern? If this is not just the exact question—then it is this: Great Britain is greater than India. Great Britain stands for Western civilization, India for Eastern. If India would only give up this conservative and useless civilization, then she would be a greater country than she now is. Such has been the unconscious working of some of our minds, though when faced with it thus bluntly, most of us would vehemently deny it.

Under such influences even the best Indian converts not only became correct Anglicans or Presbyterians or Congregationalists, but they swallowed along with their religious beliefs the manners and customs of their teachers and masters. They aimed at becoming Englishmen, or Scotsmen, or Americans, and they were successful. It is no won-

der that such a man as Dr. Narayan Sheshadri could say of himself, " I am just a black Scotsman." They not only became Christians, they also became Presbyterians or Anglicans, and we might also say that they became " European."

The results of this phase of Christian Missions in India have been disastrous in the extreme. Till now, except in some small areas where the European has been withdrawn and the work given entirely into Indian hands, the Indians are more European than the Europeans ! They have been so carefully schooled in Western methods that they now excel their masters.

Then again there are Indian congregations which have been introduced to Western music under the tutorship of their missionary seniors and have had this for so long that now they have no taste for their Indian music. Their services are notable for the lusty and beautiful singing of the solid German hymn rather than the delicate Indian lyrics. In fact, these particular churches have acquired almost a dislike for Indian music. At every service it is Western music which they use. So it is with the Anglican Church largely. After attending a service at which the Bishop and I were the only Europeans present, the former remarked that the service was just a bad copy of Matins as sung at Westminster Abbey ! And so it was—a bad copy !

As with music so it is with the whole form of service. The Anglican Church in India uses the

liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer—translated into the various languages. The other denominations use those forms of order of service which their parents in the West have come to adopt after long usage. The sermon has come to be the accepted thing in all services, and periods of silence the unusual thing. Now, remember that the Hindus, who form by far the larger part of the population of India, and who provide the Christian Church with by far the larger part of its converts—have no organized worship of this nature at all. Certainly they worship at their Temples and shrines, but it is not organized worship and there is nothing there at all corresponding to our sermon. Go to the Temple at Madura and see there the crowds of Hindus engaged in devotions, and no one can doubt that a real spirit of worship exists ; but it has no congregational element. And, after all, how much is attained by our present congregational services for worship ? How often is the spirit of reverence and devotion missing from them !

There is a place for the Christian minister to exercise his ministry of teaching, but I doubt very much whether in India the pulpit with its sermon in the middle of the devotions is the place for it. Worship and teaching might well be separated in India—if not also in the West.

Then we have introduced the Church's calendar into the East, with peculiar anomalies. It is amusing in a country part of which never knows snow to

see an imitative manger at Christmas time covered with artificial snowflakes ! Or to hear a congregation bid frost, hail, fire and snow to praise the Lord and magnify Him for ever. In the West a farmer who sows his seed is certain of a crop. It may be good or it may be poor, or it may even be bad—but he gets something. Not so in India. Here time and time again a farmer sows seed and in doing so he is merely wasting money, for he gets absolutely nothing in return. The seed rots in the ground. It is all dependent on the rain. Now in the south, at least on the West Coast, the first rains are due to arrive in April or May. When the peasants are watching with anxious eye for the first signs of rain clouds and later the monsoon, the Church bids them celebrate Easter or Whitsuntide—both supremely times of rejoicing. How can they rejoice, bearing within them such anxious hearts ?

The Church buildings are the same. They have been introduced from the West without alteration. I have in mind a building in which I attended service in a village a little north of Madras. It measured about sixty-five by thirty feet. The men sat on one side and the women on the other—families were broken up in order to maintain this sex division. It had mud walls and mud floors and a thatched roof, two doors and three small windows. At some time or other the walls had been white-washed—but not recently. Opposite one of the doors there was a small raised platform—perhaps

eight inches above the general level of the floor. The furniture consisted of a table and three chairs on this platform, and about fourteen or twenty forms. The congregation was about forty persons and I should not think the building cost more than Rupees 120—about £10. There was not a spot of colour or a thing of beauty in the place—excepting some of the congregation! It was a Presbyterian Church and it would have satisfied the eye of the wee-est of the Wee Frees of Scotland for plainness! The next week I was in the Temple at Madura and could not refrain from making contrasts in my own mind. Here they use colour and imagery almost to excess. The kind of art portrayed at Madura does not appeal to some of us as beautiful, but it is doubtless considered so by others, and they are the people who use the Temple. The massive monolithic carving and the delicate detail, the idols and the mythical figures, the gold and silver and colour all over the place—the lights and the smells, the candles and the ghee, the parrots and the bats, all go to make an indelible impression of something which if not religious is somehow felt to be very near it. And surely it expresses the Indian mind and genius much better than do our Christian Churches.

The root of all this evil, of course, lies in the fact that Christianity came to India as a foreign faith—a foreign religion. For years it was regarded as such and not a voice was raised. Supremely it was associated with the British, who were the

ruling race in India ; and when an Indian became a Christian he was at once denationalized. He then began to prefer to talk in English if he was educated enough to do it ; it was below his dignity to talk the native language.[1] Instead of wearing a cloth round the body and a turban on the head, it was now necessary to wear trousers and a coat, boots and a sun hat. Some of the results were really comical—still more among the girls who were largely clothed out of the missionary boxes sent out by kind friends at home. These set the fashion in ladies' dress ; and in parts of Central India to-day it is very difficult to get the girls and educated women to give up the old ugly blouse and skirt of our grandmothers' time and to return to the much more suitable and beautiful Indian ladies' dress. That is a real problem in some of the girls' schools up north. Continuing to wear these Victorian clothes simply draws attention to them, and they are made the butt of all kinds of insulting remarks till it is almost dangerous to allow them to travel alone to and from school at the beginning and end of term.

This century has seen amazing strides in Indian national consciousness, and with the introduction of the political reforms of 1919 this consciousness has grown. Now one side-issue of this growth has been to show to the Indian Christian community how strongly and universally they are identified in

[1] I know Indian Christian families who speak English at home, and whose children know no vernacular.

the minds of their fellow nationals with the ruling power. In all the controversies of the last ten years or so the Indian mind consciously and unconsciously classed the Indian Christian as a Pro-Britisher, till the idea of a Christian who also was a Home Ruler came to be almost unthinkable and a contradiction in terms. This situation has driven the community to examine its position, and it seems to have realized with somewhat of a shock what its real position is. Fortunately this examination has been done by Indians and not by Westerners. Now one of the catchwords of the Indian Church is "An Indian expression of Christianity."

It has been the privilege of the West to be allowed to bring to the East the germs of Christian life—but we have been in great danger of confining the growth of these too rigidly to Western forms. In nothing is this transplanting more apparent than in the buildings in which the worship takes place. Already we have referred to the Western form of most Christian places of worship. Those who from infancy have been brought up in such a place, even if it is but a poor imitation of a Western church, sometimes acquire a love for the place for the sake of its spiritual associations, if not for its intrinsic beauty of form. But why should we not take the Indian form of architecture which is so appropriate in this land of sunshine and adapt it to Christian uses? Christianity will modify it, as it did the basilica of old days, but we should use it. Too

often in India the churches have been strictly utilitarian and severely plain—and even when real beauty of form has been attained, it has been on Western models and probably has failed to appeal to the Eastern mind. Can there be any doubt that in a church of really Indian character, worship is easier for the Indian than in surroundings which suggest an alien race?

Both the Hindu and the Mohammedan worship to a large extent in the open air. In the mosque only a small part is roofed—the privacy necessary for worship is secured by the wall surrounding the court in which the majority worship under the canopy of heaven. In the Hindu Temple the shrine is small and the surrounding court large, while many of the Hindu's devotions are performed on the banks of rivers or under trees. Could the Christian Church not adapt itself to like buildings? In the Moradabad district of the United Provinces experiments are being made in this direction.[1]

There they have built churches which consist of a covered part measuring about fifty feet by twenty-five feet, with a central dome and lantern, covered with a globe and cross and four minarets, opening out through a large arch into an open court. This court measures some fifty feet by fifty feet. The outside walls are ornamented with simple recessed arches, and the entrance is surmounted by a cross. Round the three sides of the court,

[1] See the *National Christian Council Review*, January, 1926.

away from the covered part which forms the chancel and sanctuary of the church, run cloisters eight feet broad. These supply additional accommodation in hot weather, and are useful for group meetings as for Sunday Schools. In the open court a few trees could be planted and a few creepers cultivated, and these would add colour and beauty as well as give shade in the hot weather. Certainly great beauty has thus been obtained—and they are churches which are Indian, not western at all. The dome on a building is usually associated with Hindu temples, minarets with Mohammedan mosques. Could we not adopt some other equally beautiful architectural form already associated with church architecture? What about the turrets of typical Armenian churches—would they be appropriate in the smiling plains of India or do they require the sterner background of Asia Minor to make them look their best? Still, this is a great step forward, and one would wish to see such churches grow and multiply all over India. They are open all day and every day—not merely for three hours on the Sunday and then carefully double padlocked for the rest of the week. Worshippers should be able to come at all hours to pay their devotions and give the worship of their souls.

In such churches I would make full use of colour, and of flowers and leaves. Scriptural scenes might be depicted in colour on the walls, if a good artist

were available. If they were not grotesque figures of the Master, the apostles and saints, I would not prohibit them. I would have a dado of coloured flowers and leaves embossed in clay right round the wall on the inside.

Should we not go further and provide some kind of shelter for passing pilgrims? In such churches as I have detailed above would it be possible to set apart for pilgrims of all religions, say, one of the cloisters where they could come and take rest on their long and weary marches from shrine to shrine? Or better still provide some porch-like structure, not opening directly into the inner court, where pilgrims could rest for a while from the heat of the day or even spend the night? In suggesting this I am not unconscious of the kind of pilgrim one sometimes gets in India—the dirt and filth—but I think it is a scheme worthy of consideration.

An Indian speaker at a Calcutta conference lately expressed the hope that "the day may be near when the call of the Muezzin to prayers shall be in the name of Jesus, and the evening bells and the blowing of the conch-shell in the temples shall proclaim the Arathi of Christ the Lord of India."[1]

"Have not some of us dreamt of a Temple dedicated to the Crucified, wherein gathers a vast assembly of reverent and barefooted devotees, with bent heads and folded hands, to listen with rapture to the eternal story of the Cross as it is unfolded by a

[1] *National Missionary Intelligence*, February, 1926, p 33.

Sannyasi priest whose renunciation is greater than that of a Chittaranjoris or a Gandhi? Have not some pictured to themselves a House of God where in the outer courts Bhaktas gather together for sankirton (the worship of songs), while others foregather for spiritual communication, and yet others seek out quiet places for communion apart with the Master? And the temple gates do not close after the hours of appointed worship, for men and women love this House of God and wait at its doors at all times of the night and day."[1]

May it come true!

From church buildings we turn naturally to church services, and here one is amazed at the similarity between Indian Church services and English Church services. It is retorted that both being Christian this is not to be wondered at. But it is to be wondered at. In Indian religious life there is nothing like the Church Service, where a hymn alternates between prayer and scripture reading, and the whole is a wearisome process of getting up and sitting down so that the rest of at least twenty minutes assured by the sermon is to be welcomed! Contrast this with the devotions in the Hindu Temple at say Madura or Conjeeveram.

One would wish to see a great change in the form of Christian worship in this country. Although the congregational element is absent from Hinduism

[1] *National Missionary Intelligence*, February, 1926, p. 33.

it is probably fundamental to Christianity and must be retained. They who love the Lord Jesus in truth feel a necessity to come together for praise and worship, but I much doubt whether we need make the sermon the central act of worship as is now done in so many churches. After all if we put it to ourselves very frankly, does the sermon accomplish much ? It is a great strain on the pastor to be under the necessity of preaching weekly at least two sermons, and to prepare these takes up an inordinate proportion of his time, which would perhaps be put to better advantage in visiting his congregation and influencing them by his character.

In prayer the important element, at least in the Indian interpretation of it, is meditation. " That costly sacrifice of prayer." Yet in our churches, more often than not so far as the congregation is concerned, it is neither costly nor a sacrifice. Our minds very easily, far too easily, wander. If we could have periods of silent prayer, perhaps with our thoughts reverently guided by the minister, we could the better realize the meaning of prayer.

Then also probably in the majority of our churches there is no necessity to provide pews, chairs or benches. The people are accustomed to sitting on the floor, and it would suffice if we merely provided some cheap straw mats for them to sit upon. This would more easily allow the element of prostration to take its place in worship—a beautiful Indian custom which I have seen only in one

Christian church, though very probably others also engage in this act of reverence.

One Indian writes—

"Why may not our ministers wear the saffron-robe, the proud, ancient garb of the Indian Sadhu? Why need we ape the West with cassock and surplice? How dare Christian Indians strut to the Holy of Holies with leather-shod feet? The very thought is repulsive to Indian minds. Why should the turban or head-dress be removed in church, when according to Indian culture it is disrespectful to uncover the head in the presence of a superior, and much more so before the Creator? The Epistle to the Corinthians has not decided these observances for India. Where has faded the dulcet music of our Motherland that we borrow Western forms for our public worship? Christ came to fulfil, not to destroy the Jewish Law, and it is the same with regard to the nobler elements of true Hindu Law—*Bhakti Marga*."[1]

There cannot be a Christ peculiar to any clime or country. But I venture to ask if there cannot be a Christianity whose forms of worship are peculiar to a nation, and to India, a nation which boasts of a rich heritage of culture and philosophy, of simplicity and earnestness?

I have already referred to the music used in our worship, and undoubtedly the Christian Church has denied itself a powerful and delightful element in

[1] *National Missionary Intelligence*, Sept., 1926, pp. 191-2.

worship by giving such a small place to music. The Indian—at least the Hindu devotee—gives music a large and prominent place, and surely it is far better that our congregations should engage in Indian lyrical music rather than sing translations of Western hymns to German hymn tunes—good music as they are. They are western, and Indian music differs from western music very profoundly. Sometimes it is difficult for us missionaries to appreciate the beauty of Indian music, but it ought nevertheless to be encouraged. The bhajan or song-service in which all take part should be encouraged. "All over Bengal the song service sways and enthrals great masses of people and, not seldom, effects cures and conversions." With Indian music you can always get a crowd. I have seen an Indian crowd—non-Christian—sit for three hours at a stretch almost without a movement entranced by a native musician telling the story of the Prodigal Son in song. I did not enjoy it, but from the look on the faces of the crowd I could see its strength and how eagerly they listened to the story. It was a great strain on the musician, who was perspiring freely and obviously pouring out his soul in music, yet many are prepared to do this. "Nothing will capture the imagination of India as Christianity expressed through song."

The difference in worship is the difference in religious nature. The Westerner is active and wants to be moving all the time. The Indian is con-

templative and wants to meditate. We should make greater provision for this element in our services.

We might with profit adopt some of the forms of the services of the Society of Friends, and meet together for worship in which silence plays a great part. Have no "Order of Service," but as each or any is moved to contribute to the meditation let him or her do so.

Then there is also the question of festivals on which I have already touched. The Christian festivals in the Church grew up in many cases quite late—it was some centuries before the Church began to celebrate Christmas—and the times of the festivals were not always decided by scholarly chronological research! But that is not important. Now I do not know enough about the Hindu calendar to make suggestions as to what festivals the Christian Church in India might keep. In the South, late in the year, there is a great festival when all good Hindus consecrate anew the tools by which they earn their sustenance. The carpenter will take his mallet, the clerk his pen, the coolie his mamootie, and offering them at the Temple will give thanks for them and for what they mean to him. I see no objection to the Christian Church adopting a similar festival, and I am sure there are others equally beautiful which could be adopted. In the Hindu life festivals play a great part. Why should they not do so in the Christian life?[1]

[1] The full possibilities of the Harvest Festival do not seem to be realised as yet by the Church in India.

From worship we pass naturally to religious instruction. In the Christian Church this is given before baptism and maintained afterwards largely by the sermons from the pulpit on Sundays. Now in Hinduism if one desires instruction in religious truth it is to be got only from the guru. Before it is imparted intimate personal contact is established with the disciple or "chela." The two live together for a while, sometimes months—getting into contact with each other and understanding each other before any religious instruction is given. Only after the chela has given sufficient evidence of his capacity for receiving the teaching is it given. Could the Christian Church not adopt a similar method?

We will complete this section dealing with the "externals" by briefly referring to the place of religion in family life and in social life. It is a subject deserving of much fuller treatment than can be given to it here, and I must content myself with stating the contrast. For a Hindu, religion is bound up with his family life—every day brings its obligations to the Divine, indeed they are not separate obligations, for his whole life is a religious life. That many fail in this is to be admitted, but still a good Hindu would miss anything rather than his daily worship in the home. There he has his sanctum which is respected by all, and he begins his day in worship and ends it in worship. His family system has a religious basis and his social

life also. What can the Christians substitute for this? Family prayers doubtless—but they do not. Too often they imitate the West and keep their religious observances for the Sunday and even then not every Sunday.

Will men arise within the Christian Church in India imbued with a sense of devotion to their Lord and a mission to express Christianity in an Indian garb? It would be simple folly to imagine either that this can be done in a day or that if done it would mean the conversion of India to Christianity to-morrow. It will probably need to be done piece by piece, "line upon line." N. V. Tilak, a Brahmin by caste, was deeply under the influence of Bhakti religion before he became a Christian, and so it was that he was able to produce hymns of devotion which the Marathi Christian Church will always love to sing, and sing with much spiritual profit. We want other men in other fields. Who will lead the way for us in reforming our services for worship? The Western missionary cannot do it; in nothing does he feel his limitations of birth more. We do not understand the Indian mind; at the best we catch but glimpses of it for short periods in particular subjects. But it flees us as swiftly as it approached us. The best of us, and that only after long residence in the country, approach an understanding; we do not fully acquire it. It is ever surprising us by presenting itself in new light.

Indian Interpretation

Then we must also bear in mind that this Indian expression can be fully manifested in the Indian Church only in the natural course of its history. In other countries this has been so—it cannot but be so in India. Considering that for the greater part the Church in India is still young, that into that Church it has pleased God to call "not many wise," "not many mighty," "not many noble," but the despised and the suppressed of the land, and that Christianity has not had a chance in India of being considered apart from its unwholesome political associations, as it happens to be the religion, nominally at least, of the alien race that rules India, it will take many more generations before we can expect it to become rooted in the Indian soil and grow as an Indian plant. The difficulties are great, and India is before all things conservative, so that the natives cling to theories and forms which did service for them in the past, but no longer do so. They are like a congregation I know at home which had a sand-stone pavement approaching the door of the church. After years and years of service the stone got worn, and on wet days the water stood there and the congregation had difficulty in maintaining dry feet when passing over it. Nevertheless the deacons would not lay down new stones because of the sacred associations of the old ones which had been worn by the hallowed feet of generations of worshippers.

Yet the Churches in India should be given

facilities whereby they could develop, under proper guidance, a church organization, church life and church worship in harmony with the religious spirit of India. But these are merely externals—outward changes and adjustments. The outward expression will be right only if the inward apprehension is right. This process will begin when the central teachings of Christianity are thought out afresh, and re-interpreted in the light of the best religious thought and experience of India. When this takes place the right expression will follow. Not that the supreme realities—Christ and God—need any Indian expression. They are surely above all expression—for they are timeless and cannot be expressed in time. Christ is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. But our apprehension of Christ and our interpretation of the unique experience through which we pass when Christ touches our lives—these are things that need restatement from age to age.

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